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Special Issue: Language Ideologies and Teaching in Multilingual Contexts

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Notes de les editores

Aquesta monografia recopila articles que tracten sobre les ideologies lingüístiques i com es pot observar l'impacte que tenen sobre l'ensenyament del llengües. En el context del creixent nacionalisme i debats polaritzats sobre la immigració, aquest volum explora com les ideologies presents en la planificació, polítiques i implementació de l'ensenyament del llenguatge influeixen en el disseny curricular, les pràctiques a les aules, i la percepció de la identitat. Clau en tots els articles és el predomini de l'anglès, una llengua amarat amb nocions de prestigi, i aparentment, promogut com una 'moneda' lingüística globalitzada, essencial per accedir a oportunitats futures.

La nostra autora convidada per a aquest volum és la investigadora Andrea Young, qui estudia les ideologies lingüístiques que es presenten en l'ensenyament del francès en un context educatiu. Pel que sembla, tot i les realitats multilingües de les classes de francès actuals, l'ideal monolingüe encara preval.

Nocions de monolingüisme també són prevalents en el segon article, en el qual Clare Courtney destaca l'aparent manca d'importància posada en ESOL (anglès per a parlants d'altres llengües) al Regne Unit. Ella reflexiona a la inconsistència entre els discursos dominants (governamentals i socials) i el finançament del govern, i els efectes d'aquests en les actituds de les i els professors. Allunyant-nos del tema de les ideologies monolingües, Alicia Fernández Barrera documenta el ràpid increment de programes bilingües en escoles d'Espanya central, on l'apropiació de l'anglès permet a les institucions oferir-se en el mercat com a col·legis d'elit i sentir-se orgullosos dins de les comunitats lingüístiques locals 'imaginades' (Anderson, 1991).

El concepte de comunitats imaginades també és central en l'estudi de Yuta Mogi d'un *nihonjingakko*, una escola Japonesa complementària a Bèlgica: mentre que l'objectiu de l'escola és ensenyar japonès i cultura als nens vivint en la diàspora, s'observa més èmfasi en la importància d'aprendre anglès com a llengua addicional que a aprendre la llengua local, la francès. La noció de la priorització del global sobre el local es reitera en l'article final, on Joanna Duggan presenta un estudi sobre la selecció de llengües d'ensenyament oficial en les escoles a les Illes Balears. Tot i la coexistència de dues llengües oficials, català i espanyol, hi ha hagut una tendència cap a incrementar l'ensenyament de l'anglès com a llengua estrangera. Després d'aquests articles, John O'Regan li parla a Alexantra Georgiou sobre les ideologies lingüístiques i el predomini global de l'anglès. Aquests temes també són explorats en el llibre que destaquem: *Foreign Language Education in Japan: Exploring Qualitative Approache*, escrit per Sachiko Horoiguchi, Yuki Imoto, i Gregory S. Poole, ressenya feta per Takako Yoshida.

En resum, els articles en aquesta edició especial examinen les ideologies lingüístiques i els seus efectes en les pràctiques educatives en diversos contextos. Les i els autors van ser contactats per contribuir al volum ja que totes i tots tenen experiència treballant en el camp de l'ensenyament del llenguatge. Esperem que els articles contribueixin al debat actual sobre el paper de l'anglès en l'educació en el sempre-canviant ambient multilingüe.

Sara Young i Emma Brooks, maig-juny 2017

Referència:
Anderson, B. (Rev Ed) (1991). *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Biodata:
Sara Young és doctoranda a University College London. La seva recerca explora la construcció d'identitats ètniques i lingüístiques entre adolescents nascuts a Polònia que viuen al Regne Unit. Sara també té un Màster en Investigació de l'Institut d'Educació de University College London; la seva tesi va investigar l'impacte de la crisi econòmica sobra l'ensenyament de l'anglès a Grècia.
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Emma Brooks és doctoranda a University College London. La seva recerca explora les pràctiques comunicatives en consultes prenatals amb dones immigrants. L'estudi se situa en un suburbi súperdiverso de Londres. Emma també treballa com a coordinadora ESOL i està a càrrec d'un projecte sobre les inequitats en salut de les comunitats immigrants.
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Nota de las editoras

Esta monografía recopila artículos en lo tocante a las ideologías lingüísticas y cómo se observa que éstas impactan la enseñanza del lenguaje. En el contexto del creciente nacionalismo y debates polarizados en inmigración, este volumen explora cómo las ideologías presentes en la planificación, políticas e implementación de la enseñanza del lenguaje influyen en el diseño curricular, las prácticas en la sala de clases, y la percepción de la identidad. Clave en todos los artículos es el predominio del inglés, un idioma empapado con nociones de prestigio, y aparentemente, promovido como una moneda lingüística globalizada, esencial para acceder a oportunidades futuras.

Nuestra autora invitada para este volumen es la investigadora Andrea Young, quien estudia las ideologías lingüísticas que se presentan en la enseñanza del francés en un contexto educacional. Al parecer, a pesar de las realidades multilingües de las clases de francés actuales, el ideal monolingüe aún prevalece.

Nociones de monolingüismo también se destacan en el segundo artículo, donde Clare Courtney recalca la aparente falta de importancia puesta en ESOL (inglés para hablantes de otras lenguas) en el Reino Unido. Ella reflexiona en la inconsistencia entre los discursos dominantes (gubernamentales y sociales) y el financiamiento del gobierno, y los efectos de éstos en las actitudes de las y los profesores. Alejándonos del tema de las ideologías monolingües, Alicia Fernández Barrera documenta el rápido incremento de programas bilingües en escuelas de España central, donde la apropiación del inglés permite a las instituciones ofrecerse en el mercado como colegios de elite y sentirse orgullosos dentro de las comunidades lingüísticas locales 'imaginadas' (Anderson, 1991).

El concepto de comunidades imaginadas también es central en el estudio de Yuta Mogi de un *nihonjingakko*, una escuela Japonesa complementaria en Bélgica: mientras que el objetivo de la escuela es enseñar japonés y cultura a los niños viviendo en la diáspora, se observa más énfasis en la importancia de aprender inglés como lengua adicional que en aprender la lengua loca, francés. La idea de la priorización de lo global sobre lo local se reitera en el artículo final, donde Joanna Duggan presenta un estudio sobre la elección de idioma en escuelas en las Islas Baleares. A pesar de la coexistencia de dos lenguas oficiales, catalán y español, ha habido una tendencia hacia incrementar la enseñanza del inglés como lengua extranjera.

Después de estos artículos, John O'Regan le habla a Alexantra Georgiou acerca de las

ideologías lingüísticas y el predominio global del inglés. Estos temas también son explorados en el libro que destacamos, *Foreign Language Education in Japan: Exploring Qualitative Approaches,* Sachiko Horoiguchi, Yuki Imoto, y Gregory S. Poole, la reseña está escrita por Takako Yoshida.

Los artículos en esta edición especial examinan las ideologías lingüísticas y sus efectos en las prácticas educativas en varios contextos. Las y los autores fueron invitados a contribuir al volumen ya que todas y todos tienen experiencia trabajando en el campo de la enseñanza del lenguaje. Esperamos que los artículos contribuyan al debate en curso sobre el rol del inglés en la educación en el siempre-cambiante ambiente multilingüe.

Sara Young y Emma Brooks, Mayo-Junio 2017

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Evaluadores del volumen 10.2
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Editors' notes

This monograph brings together articles on the theme of language ideology and how it may be seen to impact on language teaching. Against the current backdrop of increasing nationalism and polarising debates on migration, this volume explores how ideologies underpinning language planning, policy and implementation influence curriculum design, classroom practice and perception of identity. Key to all articles is the dominance of English, a language imbued with notions of prestige, and seemingly promoted as a linguistic globalised currency, essential for accessing future opportunities.

Our invited author for this volume is the scholar Andrea Young, who examines the language ideologies which underpin teaching in a French educational context. It appears that despite the multilingual realities of contemporary French classrooms, the monolingual ideal still prevails.

Notions of monolingualism are also tackled in the second article, where Clare Courtney highlights the apparent lack of importance attached to ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) in the UK. She reflects on the inconsistency between dominant discourses (governmental and societal) and government funding, and the resulting effects on teacher attitude. Shifting from monolingual ideologies, Alicia Fernández Barrera documents the rapid increase in bilingual programmes in schools in central Spain, where the appropriation of English enables institutions to market themselves as elite and to take pride in local 'imagined' bilingual communities (Anderson, 1991). The concept of imagined communities is also integral to Yuta Mogi's exploration of a *nihonjingakko,* a Japanese complementary school in Belgium: whilst the aim of the school is to teach Japanese language and culture to children living in the diaspora, there is an emphasis on the importance of learning English as an additional language, rather than the local French. This idea of the prioritisation of the global over the local, is reiterated in the final article, in which Joanna Duggan presents a study of language choice at schools in the Balearic Islands. Despite the co-existence of two official languages, Catalan and Spanish, there has been a move to increase the teaching of English as a foreign language.

Following this, John O'Regan talks to Alexantra Georgiou about language ideology and the global dominance of English. These topics are also explored in our featured book, *Foreign Language Education in Japan: Exploring Qualitative Approaches,* Sachiko Horoiguchi, Yuki Imoto, and Gregory S. Poole, reviewed by Takako Yoshida.

The papers in this Special Issue thus examine language ideology and its effect on

teaching practices in various settings. The authors were approached as they all had experience of working in the field of language teaching. We hope the articles in this volume will contribute to the ongoing debate on the role of English in language education in an ever-changing multilingual environment.

Sara Young and Emma Brooks May-June 2017

References:

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Reviewers for Volume 10.2

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Emma Brooks is a PhD student at University College London. Her doctoral research explores communication practices in antenatal consultations with migrant women; the study is situated in a superdiverse London suburb. Emma also works as an ESOL coordinator, and is responsible for an ongoing project addressing health inequalities in migrant communities.
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Lettre des éditrices

Cette monographie rassemble des articles sur le thème de l'idéologie linguistique et sur son impact perçu sur l'enseignement des langues. Dans le contexte actuel de nationalisme croissant et de débats polarisants sur la migration, ce volume explore comment de telles idéologies, qui sous-tendent la planification linguistique, la politique et la mise en œuvre, influencent la conception de programmes d'études, la pratique en classe et la perception de l'identité. La clé de tous les articles est la domination de l'anglais, une langue imprégnée de notions de prestige, et apparemment promue comme une monnaie linguistique globalisée, indispensable pour accéder aux possibilités futures.

Notre auteur invité pour cet ouvrage est l'académicienne Andrea Young, qui examine les idéologies linguistiques qui sous-tendent l'enseignement dans un contexte éducatif français. Il apparaît que, malgré les réalités multilingues de classes contemporaines françaises, l'idéal monolingue prévaut encore.

Des notions de monolinguisme sont également abordées dans le deuxième article, dans lequel Clare Courtney souligne le manque apparent d'importance accordé à ESOL (anglais pour les locuteurs d'autres langues) au Royaume Uni. Elle réfléchit sur l'incohérence entre les discours dominants (gouvernementaux et sociétaux) et le financement gouvernemental, et les effets qui en résultent sur l'attitude des enseignants. S'éloignant des idéologies monolinguistiques, Alicia Fernández Barrera documente l'augmentation rapide des programmes bilingues dans les écoles du centre de l'Espagne, où l'appropriation permet aux institutions de se présenter comme une élite et d'être fières des communautés bilingues locales « imaginées » (Anderson, 1991). Le concept des communautés imaginées fait aussi partie intégrante de l'exploration par Yuti Mogi d'une *nihonjingakko*, une école complémentaire japonaise en Belgique: bien que l'objectif de l'école soit d'enseigner la langue et le culture japonaises aux enfants vivant dans la diaspora, on met l'accent sur l'importance d'apprendre l'anglais comme langue supplémentaire, plutôt que le français, la langue locale. Cette idée de la hiérarchisation du global par rapport au local est reprise dans l'étude de Joanna Duggan sur le choix de la langue des écoles aux Iles Baléares. Malgré la coexistence de deux langues officielles, le catalan et l'espagnol, il y a eu un mouvement pour augmenter l'enseignement de l'anglais comme langue étrangère.

Par la suite, John O'Regan parle à Alexantra Georgiou de l'idéologie linguistique et de la domination mondiale de l'anglais. Ces sujets sont également abordés dans notre livre en vedette *Foreign Language Education in Japan: Exploring Qualitative Approaches*, Sachiko

Horiguchi, Yuki Imoto, et Gregory S. Poole, examiné par Takako Yoshida.

Les articles de ce Numéro Spécial examinent ainsi l'idéologie linguistique et son effet sur les pratiques pédagogiques dans des divers contextes. Les auteurs ont été approchés puisqu'ils avaient tous une certaine expérience de travail dans le domaine de l'enseignement de langues. Nous espérons que les articles dans ce volume contribueront au débat en cours sur le rôle de l'anglais dans l'enseignement des langues dans un environnement multilingue en constante mutation.

Sara Young et Emma Brooks mai /juin 2017

Référence

Anderson, B. (Rev Ed) (1991). *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

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Au comité de lecture du volume 10.2

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Renseignements sur les auteurs
Sara Young est une doctorante à University College London. Son étude doctorale explore la construction identitaire ethnique et linguistique chez les adolescents nés en Pologne vivant au Royaume-Uni. Sara est également titulaire d'un MRes (Maîtrise en Recherche) de l'Institut d'Education de UCL; sa thèse a étudié l'impact de la crise économique sur l'enseignement d'anglais en Grèce.
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Emma Brooks est une doctorante à University College London. Sa recherche doctorale explore les pratiques de communication dans les consultations prénatales avec les femmes migrantes; l'étude est située dans une banlieue

« superdiverse » de Londres. Emma travaille également comme une coordinatrice d'ESOL, et est responsable d'un projet en cours sur les inégalités de santé dans les communautés de migrants.
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"Non, moi je lui dis pas en turc, ou en portugais, ou en, j'sais pas moi en arabe": Exploring teacher ideologies in multilingual/cultural preschool contexts in France

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Abstract
This contribution explores the relationship between language ideologies and teaching with specific reference to the French national education context and in particular with respect to the education of children for whom French, the language of schooling, is not the language spoken in the home. The discourse of three teachers working in multilingual/cultural preschools is examined, revealing both beliefs about languages and practiced language policies underpinned by deep-rooted language ideologies which perpetuate a monolingual habitus. It is argued that in order to challenge the myths which support this monolingual mindset, it is essential to nurture teacher language awareness, underpinned by knowledge, values and a deeper understanding of the complexities of living and learning through multiple languages.

Keywords: France, multilingualism, practiced language policy, preschool

Résumé
Cette contribution explore la relation entre les idéologies linguistiques et les pratiques pédagogiques d'enseignants d'école maternelle en France envers les élèves pour qui la langue de l'école n'est pas la langue parlée à la maison. L'analyse de discours de trois enseignantes qui travaillent dans des contextes linguistiquement et culturellement hétérogènes, révèle des représentations ainsi que des politiques linguistiques pratiquées, ancrées dans des idéologies qui font perdurer *l'habitus* monolingue. Dans l'optique de remettre en question les mythes qui sous-tendent cette vision monolingue de l'apprentissage et de l'enseignement, le développement d'une conscience linguistique, nourrie par des connaissances, des valeurs et une meilleure compréhension des complexités associées à l'apprentissage et à l'enseignement en milieu multilingue, est proposé.

Mots clés: France, plurilinguisme, politique linguistique pratiquée, école maternelle

Resum
Aquest article explora la relació entre ideologies lingüístiques i pràctiques educatives dels mestres de preescolar a França, en particular mestres qui treballen amb alumnes per als que la llengua de l'escola no és l'idioma que parlen a casa. Anàlisi de discurs de tres professors que treballen en contextos lingüística i culturalment heterogenis revela que les seves representacions i les seves polítiques lingüístiques practicades, són arrelades en ideologies que perpetuen *l'habitus* monolingüe. Per tal de desafiar els mites subjacents a aquesta visió monolingüe d'aprenentatge i ensenyament, cal desenvolupar la

consciència lingüística, alimentada pels coneixements, valors i comprensió de les complexitats associades amb l'aprenentatge i l'ensenyament d'idiomes multilingüe.

Paraules clau: França, el multilingüisme, la política lingüística practicada, llar d'infants

Introduction

In this article, I will explore the relationship between language ideologies and teaching with specific reference to the French national education context. Particular attention will be paid to the education of those children for whom French, the language of schooling, is not the language spoken in the home.

My starting point will be to listen to the voices of a variety of experienced teachers as they discuss language learning and teaching in a multicultural environment. From these windows into teacher cognition, what teachers know, believe and think (Borg, 2003), I will firstly explore how language ideologies specific to the French context have evolved and endured from the revolutionary period to the present day. Secondly, I will identify and analyse traces of these ideologies to be found within the teachers' discourses, demonstrating how language ideologies influence teachers' beliefs about languages and consequently their practiced language policies (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012).[1] Finally, I will argue that challenging deep-rooted monolingual ideologies and ensuring appropriate, effective teaching in a multilingual/multicultural context does not rely on the provision of materials, pedagogical tools and toolkits, nor the formulation of top-down policy in isolation, but the nurturing of teacher language awareness (Pomphrey & Burley, 2009). Such awareness is underpinned by knowledge, values and a deeper understanding of the complexities of living and learning through multiple languages.

Listening to and contextualising voices: beliefs, ideologies and practiced language policies

The following extracts[2] are from interviews conducted in 2014 with three nursery school teachers, Mme X, Mme Y & Mme Z., working in the Alsace region of north eastern France.

là ça fait depuis une semaine que j'ai fait des groupes donc là ils sont plus ensemble pour le travail. Mais sinon euh voilà ils s'expliquaient en turc comment faire le travail ils restaient toujours ensemble donc là forcément maintenant j'ai un petit peu essayé de séparer les choses donc ils se retrouvent un peu moins ensemble. Mais là dans la cour de récréation ils étaient de nouveau tous les deux

[there it's been a week since I made the groups so there they are not together anymore for working. Well otherwise well they were explaining to each other in Turkish how to do the work they always stayed together so there now obviously I've tried to separate things out a bit so they find themselves together a bit less. But there in the playground they were both again]

(Mme X, teacher of four-year-olds)

je suis persuadée que on a beau répéter, répéter en journée, s'il y a pas un minimum de français à la maison, s'il y a que la langue étrangère à la maison, les quelques heures de français à l'école ne suffisent pas.

[I am convinced that no matter how often we repeat, repeat during the day, if there isn't a minimum amount of French at home, if there is only the foreign language at home, the few hours of French at school are not enough.]

(Mme Z, teacher of five-year-olds)

Mais quand je vois des fois que les enfants paniquent à cause de, de quelque chose que je leur dit ou, alors que je sais qu'ils sont en mesure de comprendre et que la maman derrière veut traduire juste pour rassurer l'enfant je dis non ! Il faut qu'ils comprennent ça en français ! « Viens prendre ton prénom », moi je vois pas pourquoi la maman le traduit en turc. Il faut qu'il comprenne qu'il entre, qu'il prend son prénom, qu'il le mette là-bas, que après il prenne le jeu d'ici, les crayons de couleurs d'ici ! Non, moi je lui dis pas en turc, ou en portugais, ou en, j'sais pas moi en arabe!

[But when I see sometimes the children panicking because of, of something I tell them or, when I know for a fact they are capable of understanding and the mother behind wants to translate just to reassure the child I say no! They have to understand that in French! "Come and take your first name", I don't understand I don't why the mother translates it into Turkish. He has to understand that he comes in, that he takes his first name, that he puts it over there, that after that he takes the game from here, the coloured pencils from here! No, I tell him not in Turkish, or in Portuguese, or in I don't know what, Arabic!]

(Mme Y, teacher of five-year-olds, 2014)

This type of discourse is not unusual amongst teachers in France (see Young, 2014a, 2014b for further examples and discussion). The above extracts reveal some of the practiced language policies, defined by Bonacina-Pugh as policies "found within language practices" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p. 216) of the three teachers interviewed. What is striking about these extracts is the amount of energy which the teachers appear to devote to excluding all languages other than French from the classroom. That the teachers feel a responsibility and undoubtedly a certain pressure to equip their pupils with enough French to allow them to

function in the classroom, to socialise with the French-speaking pupils and to access learning across the curriculum through the French language is understandable; as Mme Y says, "Il faut qu'ils comprennent ça en français!" (They have to understand that in French!). But that this should be achieved through the prohibition and negation of their first language does not equate with research-based evidence which underlines the importance of promoting the transfer of skills and knowledge between languages (see Cummins, 2011 for a review of the research). These findings present a strong case for the recognition of pupils' linguistic skills, irrespective of the language, and the support of their use as cognitive tools for learning (Cummins & Persad, 2014).

If teachers are not basing their practiced language policies on research findings, what are they basing them on? The response is multiple, complex and frequently the product of engrained monolingual language ideologies (Shohamy, 2006), deeply rooted in the social, historical, economic and political context. In France, there is a strong relationship between the national language and the values of the République française which continues to influence teachers' attitudes towards both the national language and languages other than French. The French language is regarded as the bedrock of the nation, the common medium of expression which unites citizens; as such, it is enshrined in the French constitution as the language of the République (article 2 of the Constitution, modified by constitutional law n°95-880 on 4 August 1995). The official status of the French language also has repercussions on the relative importance of other languages in France. For example, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages remains unratified by France (Council of Europe, 2017) and parliamentary debates on this subject arouse strong national and protectionist feelings amongst some members of parliament who fear that recognition of other languages might undermine the status of French.

Historical perspective: Revisiting the past to understand the present

In order to understand where these attitudes originate and what they are founded upon, it is necessary to briefly revisit the language policies and planning implemented by the government from the time of the French Revolution to the present day (see Kremnitz, 2013 for a more detailed account). These comprise a national strategy to create a unified state with a shared and unique language, French. Following the revolution, a report produced by Abbé Grégoire (1790) stated that French was not spoken in four out of five administrative areas, or départements, in France (Broudic, 2013). In order to remedy this situation and allow all

citizens equal rights and emancipation through developing competence in the French language, the 1794 Lakanal education law stipulated that instruction was to be carried out in French and that local languages were only to be used for learning support purposes (ibid.). By 1864, according to a report commissioned by the then Minister for Education, Victor Duruy, the number of départements where children aged 7 to 13 could neither speak nor write in French stood at 57% (Webet, 1983 in Broudic, 2013). A further law in 1880 reinforced the status of French as the sole language to be used in school (Chanet, 1996, in Broudic, 2013).

The central role played by school, in particular since 1882 when compulsory schooling was introduced for all children between the ages of 6 and 13 (Broudhic, 2013), in enforcing "la langue de la République" across the length and breadth of the country needs to be acknowledged. One of the reported means of enforcement, was to encourage pupils to denounce their fellow classmates for using their local language, rather than French. This method was still frequently employed during the period following the Second Word War in regions all over France, from Brittany to Alsace to Provence. It was done through the passing of a symbolic object such as a ring or a placard from one child to another whenever the forbidden language was heard within the school premises (ibid.). Some researchers have referred to the francization process supported by schools and also by national conscription, effectively delegitimising regional languages, as "the promotion of monolingualism in the name of liberté, égalité et fraternité… a form of internal colonialism" (Hechter, 1975, in Heller, 2009: 4). Over the centuries, schools, in their attempts to mould future French citizens, have effectively adopted practices, underpinned by a once overt, now covert, ideology, which seek to promote the French language through banning all others.

With the decline in family transmission of regional languages in France (Filhon, 2010), their perceived potential threat to French has waned; such languages may even be found on the school curriculum as school subjects or as the medium of instruction in bilingual classes. However, the monolingual mindset persists and prohibitory practiced languages policies previously directed towards Alsatian, Breton, Occitan etc. are now directed towards languages spoken by persons of immigrant background.

The monolingual inheritance

In spite of European language policies advocating a plurilingual approach to language learning (Little, 2012; Beacco et al., 2010), the implicit norm at school in France is monolingual and monocultural. The language(s) of the home and the language(s) of schooling

coexist within the individual on a personal level, but on an institutional level, languages other than those on the curriculum are frequently ignored and sometimes regarded as a handicap or a hindrance to the acquisition of French. A report compiled by the Inspectorate (M.E.N., 2010) specifically states that even though the constitution recognises French as the sole official language, this should not prohibit teachers from developing pedagogical practices which value heritage languages. However, inclusive approaches which attempt to capitalise on funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) and linguistic skills cultivated outside school in order to enrich learning and deepen understanding in class remain rare.

In addition to the compartmentalisation of languages into separate, unconnected spaces (languages of the home, the language of instruction, foreign language classes), languages are ranked within an unofficial linguistic hierarchy at school. In a pyramid-like structure, a highly standardised, academic form of French is positioned at the summit, foreign languages recognised by and taught at school in the intermediate position (sometimes in competition with standardised forms of indigenous regional languages) and finally, at the foot of the pyramid, lie the neglected languages of migration.

The practiced language policies mentioned by the teachers at the beginning of this article appear to confirm the unrecognised, unvalued and undeveloped learning potential of knowledge and skills in languages other than French. This would seem to be the case in Mme X's class, as although she appears to acknowledge that a shared home language, in this case Turkish, can be used by pupils to explain to each other "comment faire le travail" (how to do the work), she negates the power of this cognitive tool by deliberately separating the children for group work. She describes how the two four-year-old cousins frequently sought each other's company, playing together during break time and explaining learning tasks to each other in the classroom, and how she endeavoured to discourage this collaboration. Her use of the word "forcement" (obviously) indicates that she feels there is a shared belief in this practice and the ideology behind it.

The underlying reason as to why Mme X believes this practice to be appropriate is hinted at in the interview when she talks about encouraging the Turkish-speaking children to mix with the others ("s'ouvrir aux autres"). She suggests that she fears the children will remain within their home language and culture group (Turkish) and not integrate into the class group, posing a threat to class, and potentially national, cohesion. The teaching of shared values and a shared language in support of national unity has always lain at the heart of the French education system, as has already been discussed: of these values, it is the notion of

laïcité (secularism) in particular which has been prioritised in teacher education (Commissariat général à l'égalité des territoires, 2016) since the attacks in Paris in 2015. In this climate, communautarisme (communalism), staying within one's own community, is viewed as a threat to social cohesion by many French citizens, including teaching professionals.

With regards to Mme X's class, in addition to the fear that the Turkish-speaking children might not fully integrate into the class group, it could also be that the teacher believes that if the two children are separated in class, they will be forced to use French as the language of communication, and that their competences in the language of schooling will therefore develop more quickly. This is a common belief in contexts where a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997) or mindset (Clyne, 2005 in Hajek & Slaughter, 2014) is dominant and where languages are viewed as if they are in competition rather than functioning in a complementary manner.

Traces of this belief can be observed in the extract from the interview with Mme Z in which she expresses the difficulty she experiences in supporting children for whom the language of the home is not the language of the school. She says she is convinced ("persuadée") that if there is not a "minimum" input of French in the home, the few hours ("quelques heures") of French at school are insufficient ("ne suffisent pas"). By considering the two languages with which the children are in contact as vying with each other for time and space, Mme Z reveals a monolingual conception of how multilingual learners function, using their languages separately, rather than in tandem. Mme Y's comment: "moi je vois pas pourquoi la maman le traduit en turc" (I don't see why the mother translates it into Turkish), also reveals an incapacity to appreciate the reinforcement of meaning through the use of the home language. Yet research supports Cummins' (1979) interdependence hypothesis which maintains that knowledge and skills can be transferred from one language to another and that this process facilitates meaning making and deeper understanding.

Furthermore, it should be noted that pre-primary children of this age spend between 23 and 31 hours a week at school, depending on whether they stay for lunch or not. If they attend after-school care, this can increase to 50 hours per week. They consequently spend most of their waking, active day at school during weekdays. Exposure to the language of schooling therefore represents more than just the few hours ("quelques heures") mentioned by Mme Z. However, with up to 32 children in an ordinary preschool class and only one teacher, interaction in French may be limited. This lack of frequent one-on-one interaction and

interactive meaning making renders acquisition of the language of schooling difficult for children who speak a language other than French. Yet many teaching professionals still believe that children will acquire the language of the school through simply being immersed in or exposed to it, and often, like Mme Z, they place the responsibility for limited acquisition of French with families, not schools.

Knowledge about second language acquisition is clearly insufficient and training in how to support learners for whom French is an additional language is practically non-existent (M.E.N., 2010). Mme Z reveals the nature of her teaching strategies and expresses her exasperation with the ineffectual provision of language support through the repetition of the verb "répéter" (to repeat). Repetition of lexical items, akin to the memorisation of foreign language vocabulary lists may be appropriate in certain situations, but for very young learners a motivating, language rich environment in which meaningful interaction takes place is key to their language acquisition, as is underlined in the national curriculum for pre-primary (M.E.N., 2015).

Another feature of Mme Z's discourse is the dominant position she ascribes to French. In this way, she reveals the underlying language hierarchy previously referred to in which languages are ranked according to perceived importance, and where the language of the home is relegated to the position of foreign language ("langue étrangère").

Her use of the term "langue étrangère" suggests her own incapacity to decentre, given that from the child's perspective this language is not foreign, but intimately familiar and personal as her/his language of primary socialisation in which family relationships are forged. For teachers with limited knowledge about language and or an incapacity to decentre and empathise (viewing the world from another perspective), the vacuum left by a lack of research-based knowledge may be filled by what Grosjean (2010) terms bilingual myths. For example, they may believe that multilinguals mix languages due to confusion and/or lack of competence and that consequently bi/multilingualism is harmful for both linguistic and cognitive development. Such bilingual myths lead them to uphold an institutional monolingual habitus through a variety of practiced language policies, such as expecting parents to speak the language of schooling at home with no consideration of the linguistic competences and preferences of the family, as does Mme Z. Another example is the banning of learners' home languages from the classroom, as does Mme Y when she says "non!" to a mother translating into the home language for her child as he enters the classroom, transitioning from his home environment to that of the pre-school. Sometimes teachers even

attempt to prevent children from using their home languages in the playground (see Ağirdağ, Jordens & Houtte, 2014, for examples from the Belgian context). Such practiced language policies have been discussed by some researchers within the framework of language rights and as such are viewed as acts of linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008) or glottophobie (Blanchet, 2016) due to their exclusive and discriminatory nature. Perhaps Mme X is aware that her practice of separating the Turkish-speaking children is questionable, given that she nuances her expressed belief through the use of the words "un petit peu" and "un peu" referring to the separating of the children, as if while expressing these views she becomes aware, possibly as a result of the interview situation, that this may not be an appropriate action.

Challenging monolingual ideologies through the nurturing of teacher language awareness

However, not all teachers in France adhere to the monolingual vision of a French only policy at school. There are examples of inclusive practiced language policies scattered throughout France (see Mary & Young, 2017; Krüger, Thamin, & Cambrone-Lasnes, 2016; Simon & Sandoz, 2008; Clerc, Cortier, Longeac, & Oustric, 2007; Hélot & Young, 2006; Auger & Balois, 2005). Nonetheless, such initiatives remain the exception rather than the rule, in spite of top-down policies which advocate a plurilingual inclusive approach (MEN, 2015).

Whilst acknowledging official policy documents as powerful instruments, especially in centralised countries such as France where all teachers are civil servants, top-down, I argue, as do Bonacina-Pugh (2012) and Spolsky (2004), that it is the transition from paper to classroom, the enactment of policies, the bottom-up, practiced language policies which have the greatest impact on learning due to their repetitive and personalised nature. Macro-level government policy effectively devolves decision-making to micro-level agents who negotiate policy through the micro-level pedagogical activities (Liddicoat, 2014). This view relocates the focus of power and potential for innovation in the classroom firmly with the teacher who, through her/his daily actions, words and attitudes towards the languages of his/her pupils, negotiates and reinterprets top-down policy (Valdiviezo, 2009) at the micro level of the classroom.

Recognising teachers as key agents in language empowerment, and critiquing the monolingual lens through which language education is frequently framed, some researchers have advocated a multilingual turn which recognises and builds on the multiple competencies

of bi/multilingual learners (May, 2014; Conteh & Meier, 2014). As facilitators of this multilingual turn, teachers need to develop their knowledge about and their awareness of language. Language awareness has been defined as "a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life" (Donmall, 1985, p. 7, in James & Garrett, 1991, p. 4). Language awareness develops as a result of greater understanding, empathy, experience of and knowledge about language and languages. Knowledge about language is a key component of language awareness, without which teachers may be aware of the linguistic and cultural difficulties experienced by the pupils for whom the language of the home is not the language of schooling and empathetic towards their situation, but powerless to act without the necessary knowledge and understanding.

Consequently, teachers may struggle to ensure access to the curriculum through the language of schooling for these pupils and fail to develop a shared common culture and a sense of belonging with a view to promoting social cohesion. This uncomfortable professional situation may lead teachers to hold families responsible for lack of proficiency in the language of schooling, rather than questioning their own professional competences and responsibilities, as found by Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag (2015) in a study in Flanders, and much as Mme Z does.

Given that many teachers feel ill-equipped to meet these challenges (Thomauske, 2013; Cajkler & Hall, 2012; Jensen, 2010), the role of initial teacher education and continuing professional development programmes in preparing and supporting them to play a positive role and to function effectively in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts is clearly of paramount importance. As previously mentioned, teacher education in France in this domain is inadequate (M.E.N., 2010), although some initial teacher education programmes have attempted to introduce elements of language awareness into their packed curricula (Krüger et al., 2016; Mary & Young, 2010). However, time and space are scarce in these often intensive, short programmes which, given the deep-seated nature of beliefs and attitudes, poses an additional challenge to the development of critical language awareness with a view to contesting the monolingual mindset.

Progress has recently been made in this direction through the forging of two additional pathways. The first pathway has been opened up by non-governmental organisations in France such as DULALA (D'Une Langue A L'Autre) and Familangues. In an attempt to bridge the knowledge gap relating to multilingualism in French society, these organisations use evidence-based research to allow both parents and professionals to become better

informed and to question the monolingual habitus: this is done through informal workshops, meetings, conferences and online resources. .

A second pathway is currently under co-construction by practitioners and researchers working together (Mary & Young, 2017; Krüger et al., 2016). Acknowledging the strategic position of teachers as interpreters and negotiators of language policies, acting as the "final arbiters of language policy implementation" (Menken, 2008, p. 5), several teacher educators/researchers have decided to work alongside experienced teachers both in and out of the classroom. Their goal is to observe, record and analyse when, where and how teachers act as language policy arbiters. They then share and interpret the data with the teachers in order to understand more fully the challenges and opportunities of teaching in a linguistically and culturally diverse setting. These practice-orientated, collaborative approaches in research projects invested and enacted by teachers appear to offer an alternative route towards cultivating teacher language awareness and facilitating ideological shifts (see the CUNY-NYSIEB project website for an illuminating example). The development of a deeper understanding of the complex issues relating to language, ideology and learning, illuminates the role of all teachers as facilitators in language education processes, as enactors of policies (Menken & García, 2010; Menken, 2008) and as agents of language empowerment.

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[1] I follow Bonacina-Pugh in her spelling of 'practiced'

[2] All translations are by the author.

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Making Sense of ESOL policy: Tutor Perspectives

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Abstract

This paper explores tutor perspectives on ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) learners in the UK. Government policy towards ESOL is increasingly driven by an ideology in which citizenship is conflated with the acquisition of English language skills. Underpinning this way of thinking are concepts of Othering and deficiency. My research aimed to investigate how tutors "make sense" (Spours, Coffield, & Gregson, 2007; James & Biesta, 2007) of ESOL policy in the UK, how this informs tutors' attitudes towards English language learners, and to understand the potential impact that such attitudes could have on learners. The study demonstrates that tutors are influenced in their attitudes towards their learners by the persistent external issues of funding and the contradictory discourse implicit in ESOL policy. Such attitudes can have a tangible effect on learners.

Key words: deficiency, ESOL, ESOL teaching, Othering

Résumé

Cet article explore les perspectives des éducateurs sur les apprenants d'ESOL (anglais pour les locuteurs d'autres langues) au Royaume-Uni. La politique gouvernementale envers ESOL est de plus en plus guidée par une idéologie dans laquelle la citoyenneté est confondue avec l'acquisition de compétences en langue anglaise. Sous-jacent cette façon de penser sont des concepts du « Othering » (de l'Autre) et de la défience. Ma recherche visait à examiner comment des éducateurs « rendent sens » (Spours et al., 2007; James & Biesta, 2007) de la politique envers ESOL au Royaume-Uni, comment cela informe leurs attitudes envers les apprenants et quel est l'impact potentiel des attitudes sur les apprenants. Cette étude démontre que les éducateurs sont influencés dans leurs attitudes envers leurs apprenants par les problèmes externes persistants de financement et le discours contradictoire implicite dans la politique envers ESOL. De telles attitudes peuvent avoir un effet tangible sur des apprenants.

Les mots clés: défience, ESOL, enseignement d'ESOL, « Othering »

Resumen

Este artículo explora el punto de vista de profesores con respecto a hablantes de otras lenguas (ESOL en inglés) en el Reino Unido. Las políticas gubernamentales hacia la provisión de ESOL están cada vez más guiadas por una ideología en la cual la adquisición de nacionalidad está mezclada con la adquisición de habilidades en inglés. Conceptos tales como la Otredad y deficiencia sustentan esta manera de pensar. Este estudio tiene como objetivo investigar cómo los profesores "comprenden" (Spours et al., 2007; James & Biesta, 2007) la política ESOL en el Reino Unido y cómo ésta informa sus actitudes hacia los aprendices de inglés. El estudio también intentó entender el impacto en potencia que las actitudes de los profesores podrían haber tenido en los aprendices, demostrando que sus actitudes son influenciadas por las persistentes problemáticas de financiamiento y las nociones contradictorias

implícitas en la política ESOL. Dichas actitudes pueden tener un efecto real en los aprendices.

Palabras claves: deficiencia, ESOL, enseñanza del ESOL, 'Otredad'

Introduction

Immigration has always been a part of UK history, raising questions pertaining to language use and citizenship; in the contemporary climate, however, the topic has become the subject of heated debate. Even before the most recent cases of immigration, and the June 2016 referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU), immigrants were under pressure to prove themselves of value in the new society. One way of assessing this is through individuals' commitment to the acquisition of English language skills; this conflation between language learning and citizenship can be detected in much of government-funded ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) provision. However, underpinning such policy are ideologies which position immigrant learners of English as Other and draw on paradoxical notions that migrants are simultaneously deficient and "a threat" to society (Brine, 2006).

Having worked in various ESOL settings, I was interested in how the tutors themselves made sense of this "messy" (Hamilton & Hillier, 2009) area. Ball, drawing on Foucault, asserts that policy takes the form not only of text but of relations of power, which can be developed through "a production of truth and knowledge, as discourses" (1994, p. 21). Placing a focus on those who construct and occupy this area of ESOL is important in understanding the design of ESOL policy. Lederach explains that we do a disservice to the generation of knowledge within our professions when "we believe in the knowledge we generate but not in the inherently messy and personal process by which we acquired it" (2005: viii). My Master's study, conducted in the summer of 2013 in language centres in a large city in northern England, thus aimed to investigate tutors' perspectives on ESOL policy and how their understanding of it informs their attitudes to the English language learners they are teaching.

This current paper draws on interviews conducted with ESOL tutors. I firstly explore how some commentators conflate a lack of competency in English with an unwillingness to commit to notions of citizenship. I will also look at how migrants are frequently positioned as deficient. This is followed by a brief description of how the study was conducted, and the main findings of the data. I suggest that ESOL tutors' attitudes to their learners can unwittingly echo those found in the wider societal discourse regarding migrants.

Language and Society

Migrants and migration are issues that dominate media and political debates surrounding British national identity (Cooke, 2006). Fuelled by the media, immigrants are often demonised (Ameli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007). They are portrayed as a drain on the economy (Doyle & Walker, 2011), to which they are however unable to contribute (Gillborn, 2010). Lacking knowledge and skills, they are characterised as "in 'need of training'" (Brine, 2006, p. 651). There is thus a sense that immigrants are some sort of problem to be solved.

Aligned to the above is the issue of language: the linguistic needs of Britain's more recent migrants have been/are framed by strong views regarding national identity and the English language (Cooke, 2006; Hamilton & Hillier, 2009; Conteh, 2012). The supposed relationship between poor language skills and lack of assimilation can be traced back to the Bradford Riots of 2001 (see: Blackledge 2000; Cooke 2008), following which Ann Cryer (then MP for a Leeds constituency) directly linked social unrest in northern towns to certain people's lack of ability to speak English (BBC news, 2001). The link was also made explicit in the Community and Cohesion Report into the riots (Cantle, 2001), although this correlation was widely disputed (e.g. Han, Starkey & Green, 2010).

Following the Bradford Riots, the Home Office commissioned a report into integration, 'Indicators of Integration'. The report set out to identify certain indicators which would point to an individual having become part of the host society (Ager & Strang, 2004). One of the key facilitating elements in this process was identified as "Language and cultural knowledge"; that is, an individual is said to have integrated when she has "sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge […] to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship" (Ager & Strang, 2004, p. 5). This in turn has fed into government policy on ESOL and learning. In order to become a naturalised British citizen (UK Border Agency, 2013), migrants have to take English language and sit citizenship tests about 'Life in the UK' (Gov.UK, 2013a). Although this may appear logical, with English being the main language spoken in the UK, the message here implies that the critical factor in validating 'Britishness' is possessing a command of the nation's dominant language and having a knowledge of selective aspects of culture. Accordingly, the motivations behind these compulsory tests and language programmes have been contested (e.g. Han et al, 2010; Goldsmith, 2008).

The association between language skills and citizenship pervades further through to

ESOL related government policy texts. In 2009, John Denham, then Secretary of State for the

Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills, stated:

> Learning and using English demonstrates to the wider community an individual's commitment to adapting to life in the UK and enables them to make a productive contribution to the nation's economy (2009, p. 2).

Comments in the same vein were made in 2013 by Eric Pickles, then Member of Parliament

for The Department for Communities and Local Government; Pickles suggested that a lack of

English is detrimental to:

> people's ability to integrate into British society; to participate in the life of their local community; to support their children through their education and to contribute to the wider economy. (2013, p. 3)

Two aspects of these remarks seem worthy of note. The first is the explicit association

between linguistic competency and societal value. The second implicit message is that the

sole responsibility for demonstrating societal worth lies with the individual, rather than it

being a two-way responsibility (Goldsmith, 2008). It thus becomes incumbent upon each

individual immigrant to acquire the requisite language skills needed to integrate and through

this, express commitment to the host society and to contribute to the economy (Cantle, 2001).

Although ostensibly addressing linguistic competency, ESOL policy has become

concerned not only with the provision of language classes, but draws on a deeper ideology

whereby language acquisition is aligned implicitly with citizenship. Barton, Ivanic, Appleby,

Hodge, and Tusting have described ESOL classes as:

> Community based language teaching with the ethics of social integration for ethnic minority people planning to be long-term residents. (2007, p.10)

Two ideological positions may be identified as underpinning the wider thinking behind ESOL

provision: the notion of the Other, and the idea of deficiency. This paper argues that even

though tutors are sympathetic towards the learners in their classes, they are influenced by

these two ideological positions.

Construction of the 'Other'

Said posits the notion of the Other is a "man-made" construct, created by discourses of

imagined histories, ideas, and cultures (1978, pp. 4-5). The power of these forces is

maintained by systems of communication. Thus, the construction of the 'Other' has been

described as an external label (Skeggs, 2004), placed onto an individual to serve the outside

which "generates coherence for the purposes of understanding control" (Benhabib, 2002, p.

5). Cherif argues that Othering occurs due to entrenched attitudes from the West, stemming

from a "refusal to accept plurality and to recognize that there exist other, completely different ways to see the world" (2008, p. 10). How the 'Other' is constructed is crucial in understanding where inequalities in the multicultural UK are generated and the negative impact they have on ethnic minority groups (Ball, *et al*., 2002; Archer, 2008; Gilborn, 2010). People who do not fit into mainstream thought and categories of culture in a country are seen to be a threat to society (Brine, 2006). Within such a framework, the immigrant is thus seen as the 'Other' in British society. Drawing on such notions, Tate regards it as a given that learners in ESOL classes will have experienced elusive and "deeply ingrained" (1997: 234) forms of 'Othering' in their lives (Ball et al., 2002; Archer, 2008). Integral to the process of 'Othering', is the positioning of language learners as deficient.

Deficiency

Deficiency is said to occur if individuals are expected to have a preconceived standard set of skills against which their ability and intelligence are measured (Barton et al., 2007). However, by emphasising what an individual does not have, rather than acknowledging the set of skills and experiences she does have (Mehmedbegović, 2012), this notion may be seen as a form of 'Othering' (Conteh, 2012; Mehmedbegović, 2012).

In the context of ESOL, Barton et al. (2007) argue that the language used to describe *Skills for Life* learners in the UK reinforces a deficit view of such individuals. Mehmedbegović's (2012) research also reveals the deficient terminology used amongst staff in primary education to describe students who have English as their second language. Such individuals are categorised as learners "with bilingual problems" or even "with no language" (2012, p. 68). Thus, not being able to speak English is seen as a deficiency, an attitude which is also reflected in tutors' attitudes to adult learners. Here, linguistic resources or an individual's "funds of knowledge" (Conteh, 2012), are considered to be of minimal value and are overlooked. Thus, while an individual may speak several languages, an ESOL learner could be regarded by ESOL tutors simply in terms of their apparently problematic lack of English language proficiency. It is important to note that not all ESOL teachers subscribe to such a view; the focus here is on those who, however, unknowingly, do so.

ESOL: a solution to the problem?

There is a long history of ESOL provision in the UK (see: Rosenberg, 2007); many changes have been made in regard recently both to the nature of ESOL and to the way in which it is funded (Refugee Council, 2011). However, this paper will focus on developments since

ESOL was incorporated into the government's *Skills for Life* strategy.

The association between ESOL and immigration can be seen in the way in which ESOL has been funded. Initially, rather than funding coming from the Department for Education and Science (DES), as might be expected for language classes, until 1998 ESOL funding came from the Home Office known as 'section 11' (Hamilton & Hillier, 2009). For Hamilton and Hillier, it was this that led to the "framing of ESOL as an immigration issue"; accordingly, ESOL "was treated as a social "problem" resulting from immigration rather than primarily as an educational issue" (2009, p. 4).

Several studies have explored the challenges ESOL face in terms of funding (e.g. Cooke, 2006; O'Leary & Smith, 2012). In more recent years, ESOL funding has become still more complex, demonstrating the contradictory nature of government attitude towards ESOL. For even as the government emphasised "the importance of English for integration", it "was simultaneously responsible for cutting funding for the very ESOL classes that would enable immigrants to meet this requirement" (Roberts, Cooke, Baynham, & Simpson, 2007, p. 20). Confusion over eligibility for ESOL funding has continued, as emphasised in the NIACE (National Institute of Adult Continuing Education) Policy Briefing of 2011.[1] ESOL funding now falls under the Skills Funding Agency (SFA), which stipulates that free or subsidised classes, are also linked to achievement. According to the Skills Funding Agency guidelines for 2013-4:

> Eligibility for funding is based on the idea that any learner, of any age, must be able to achieve the learning aim or programme of study within the time that they have available. (2013, p. 9)

This may be seen to put additional pressure not only on ESOL learners, but also their tutors when it comes to selecting eligible learners for exams.

In addition to this, how teachers redefine their professionalism is strongly influenced by the impact of funding, government policy and auditing (Shain & Gleeson, 1999). It affects their "economies of performance": choices, decisions and meeting targets in the workplace (Stronach, Corbin, McNamara, Stark, & Warne, 2002). Other research has reported extensively on the detrimental effects of funding on staff (Colley, James, & Diment, 2007; O'Leary & Smith, 2012).

Concern arises when tutors are also expected to be supportive and understanding of the many complex issues the learners face outside the classroom in regards to immigration, employability, health, social and economic issues and discrimination. Colley et al. touch on

the idea that external pressure that teachers face conflicts "with their own deeply held professional ethos of caring for their students" (2007, p. 175), raising a conflict of expectation between the tutor and the external policies placed upon them. Integral to the provision of ESOL are the tutors who are conducting the classes and who often take on additional roles: counsellor, social services advisor and advocate for the learners, amongst others (NRDC Roberts et al, 2004b). As Hamilton and Hillier note, not only do "ESOL teachers have to work within a cultural and political climate that is marked by racism and xenophobic attitudes towards newcomers", but they also have to confront the predominant discourse through which ESOL is regarded i.e. "a compensatory education programme to aid the assimilation of immigrant communities into what is perceived as a traditionally monocultural, monolinguistic heritage" (2009, p. 4).

The study

Research Questions

The aim of the study was therefore to investigate how tutors understand ESOL policy and how ideologies underpinning this policy inform tutors' attitudes to the English language learners they are teaching. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do ESOL tutors make sense of the thinking behind ESOL policy as defined above?

2. How do tutors make sense of ESOL policy through their attitudes towards the learners, and the decisions that they make as a result?

3. Does this making sense of ESOL policy by the tutors have an impact on the learner, and if so, how?

By *make sense* I mean to *mediate* and *translate* national policy and the messages surrounding it (Spours et al, 2007; James & Biesta, 2007). Mediation is used here as a general process by which actors on different levels interact with policy (Spours et al., 2007: 194); translation is used to refer to specific interpretative acts by either professionals or policy-makers within the general process of mediation (ibid). In this study, the aforementioned actors are ESOL tutors, while the processes of mediation take the form of the tutor's interaction with messages surrounding a learner's culture(s), her perceived abilities and the ESOL system in which they both operate. The acts of translation take the form of the tutor's decisions made or attitudes generated as a result of this mediation.

This paper constitutes part of a wider ethnographic study of two Adult Learning Centres in a city in northern England, conducted in the summer of 2013. The participants

were Janet, Sally and Anne,[2] three ESOL tutors who worked at various Adult Learning Centres across the city. These teachers were selected because they were female, white, and their dominant language was English. Based on experience and relatively recent statistics (Lucas, Casey, & Giannakaki, 2004), these were typical characteristics of an ESOL tutor in adult learning centres across Britain at the time of the study.

The paper focuses on the data collected through a series of semi-structured interviews where scenarios were used as a starting point for discussion. While Sally was interviewed by herself, Anne and Janet were interviewed together. The three scenarios used were developed from a reflective journal written by the researcher during a 13-week ESOL project; the aim was to bring my own employment experience as an ESOL tutor to the research questions, process and analysis (Gunter, 2004). Three main themes started to emerge from the journal: personal ideas of culture, ESOL policy, and teaching methods. Drawing from the reflective journal, three fictional scenarios were then written to provide a framework for the interviews.

Emergent Themes

The analysis will be categorised loosely by the themes from each scenario and matched with the three research questions consecutively.

Incoherence

Tutors appeared to recognise the incoherence of policies surrounding ESOL, and the effect of such incoherence both on themselves and on learners. Anne admits:

> It just feels like really hotch-potchy doesn't it? Like pulled in all different directions and no one's got really any clear ideas.

The tutors feel that the emphasis on ESOL being linked to employability restricts what they are able to teach. Janet sees the focus on employability as a "bone of contention"; she suggests that the pressure to teach particular vocabulary linked to employability, as well as having to get learners through the exam, restricts lesson time allocated for "improving" learners' English for everyday life. Anne echoes this view:

> If you're not improving their English, you're not improving the skills that they need to get a better job you know, so you are literally just preparing them for a job that they can do at their level.

Tutors therefore express sympathy with the position in which learners find themselves, and share their frustration with a system which they feel is similarly constraining for tutors. However, although they do not necessarily appear to make the wider connection, the way that

tutors view the learners is nonetheless shaped by wider policies. As Ball suggests, "we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies" (1994, p. 22). The tutors are often contradictory in their attitudes; something which may be argued to echo the incoherence of ESOL policy itself.

Deficient learners

The notion of deficiency as explored above is apparent in many of the tutors' comments. All three tutors describe some of their learners as "weak" or "very very slow", while Anne and Janet categorise learners as either "fast-tracks" (able), or "plodders" (not able) and having "poor literacy" skills. These comments appear to emphasise what an individual does not have, rather than the previous set of experiences they do have. Such experiences could be seen to include proficiency in their first language(s) (Mehmedbegovic, 2012), "gained at home or in a complementary school, or maths skills related to a specific cultural activity practised in the community" (Conteh 2012, p. 102). The idea of ESOL learners being compared to children (Barton *et al*., 2007) is also evident in tutors' comments. On one occasion, Sally compares the literacy skills of one of her learners to those of a child: she has the "literacy of a 14-year-old", a comparison which is highly problematic. Not only does it disregard the possibility of very able teenagers, it also ignores the wide range of skills, knowledge and prior experience adult learners bring with them.

Ethnicity or Otherness

A tendency to infantilise ESOL students was also observed in tutor's perceptions on learners' beliefs. This following extract shows Janet reliving a lesson where she attempted to discuss homosexuality:

> There was a lesson I did a few years ago […] we were looking at. Gay ... lesbian … transgender, […] I don't know why I was doing all of this... maybe it was a week of equality and diversity […] and one man did actually say: "I'm sorry […] I can't stay for this, and I thought well ok yeah and he'd stayed for like 10 -15 minutes and was like no I can't…

This is Anne's response to Janet's story:

> I think it's such a foreign concept – you know when I was like 10 or something and someone told me what lesbians were or something and I was like "really?!" and I think that... *they're at that level* do you know what I mean? (emphasis added)

Although Anne attempts to personalise the situation and try to understand it in a familiar context, she nevertheless places the man at "that level" of thought, suggesting that his views are undeveloped and child-like. In these conversations about fixed ideas of culture, tutors

unknowingly express attitudes that devalue 'other' viewpoints and appear to position learners as lacking more dominant, "high knowledge skills" (Brine, 2006), containing "liberal" "civilised" and "Western" ideas (Said, 1978; Cherif, 2008).

While the tutors appear to be complimentary towards the learners, they nevertheless appear to limit expectations for some learners. If students from certain ethnicities are successful language learners, this is seen as extraordinary. Archer argues that minority ethnic or 'Other' success is always positioned as "abnormal", whereby a student is considered to be "achieving it in the wrong way" (2008, p. 101). Janet and Anne mention a student from Kurdistan who was "really good" and therefore an "exception" compared to other Kurdish learners. Shazma, a student in her 20s from Pakistan in the beginner-level class, is also seen as an "exception".

This reveals a contradiction: Anne and Janet appear to doubt Shazma's ability, while earlier Anne also shows recognition of what may be holding learners back, that is, the restrictive nature of language lessons. Thus, tutors may be seen to replicate and yet question the way in which ESOL policy positions learners as deficient.

Tutors' attitudes also reflect the notion that a learner is supposed to take sole responsibility for her own learning (see: e.g. Brine, 2006). Sally appears to imply that her learners are putting the onus on the teacher to provide what they need, rather than contributing to their own learning. Tutors do not see their learners as very engaged with what they are learning, describing them as "very passive" (Janet), "taking what they can get" (Anne). Sally also appears to feel that students put the responsibility on teachers, something which she resents. The learners whom Sally feels are not "hard workers" and not achieving "very, very quickly" do not, in her view, deserve to be there:

> I've seen people 3 years – stuck in E1 [beginner level]. We should you know – we shouldn't really be giving them a chance really not taking it upon themselves to make progress.

This way of thinking is further echoed by Anne. When Anne is asked if her learners disclose any information about their experiences of discrimination in Britain or British culture, she asserts that "I don't think people put themselves out enough for that to happen". She elaborates:

> I think they're very very much in their own cultures because a woman asked me "oh could you give me advice on how to practise my speaking" and I said do you speak to any English people and she said no but I think she was expecting me to say read this book and do this grammar exercise and I said […] why don't you go to a toddler group, […] that would be really good and actively do things with your children and

she was like "oh no" I said you could volunteer in a charity shop she was like "oh no" things like that that are so normal for us would be really difficult for them I think.

Anne acknowledges at the end that the different choices and decisions someone can make in Britain are so "normal for us" and that it would be "difficult for them", but does not then make the connection that language could then be a potential barrier stopping learners from putting "themselves out enough". Despite learner motivation and "investment and individual 'agency'" (Cooke, 2006), such as when the woman approaches Anne for suggestions to improve her English, learners are still positioned as the problem, for not "putting themselves out enough". However, whilst many ESOL learners may face a plethora of barriers that inhibit their language learning, tutors do not always appear to take external factors into account.

Potential impact on learners

While tutors may sometimes show themselves sympathetic towards their learners in acknowledging the challenges they face, their overriding assumptions regarding their learners can be seen to feed into a lack of expectation. Tutors often saw learners' prospects as limited:

> Sally: [R]ealistically in lots of cases with ladies who are in their sort of 50s, they're never going to – they're going to – be – literate. […] They're never going to get to the stage where they are passing their level 1, level 2 exams.

Tutors seemed resigned to what they saw as the apparent inertia of their students. Janet explained:

> There are people who have been in the system for years and years and just kind of stagnating and they're never going anywhere.

More than simply expressing a defeatist attitude, such negative assessment of students' abilities to progress can have a direct impact on their futures. As mentioned previously, providers receive funding based on whether a learner achieves a certain level of English (Skills Funding Agency, 2013-14). This has a direct impact on tutor's decisions. Janet explains here about other learning centres:

> Janet: [S]ome people are also very selective over who they enter. For exams whereas I think maybe we perhaps bear towards –

Anne: Being generous.

> Janet: Yeah and on a good day, if they've eaten a good breakfast, they might possibly pass.

Learners who are seen by tutors to possess the appropriate skills are the ones that tend to be

entered, as they have more chance of passing, securing funding.

Sitting English language exams is necessary not simply as a way of showing attainment in the language, but is tied to other aspects of an individual's civic life. According to the UK Border agency (2013), an individual must have attained Entry 2-3 English to be able to take the 'Life in the UK' test which allows them to apply for citizenship. Learners in receipt of Job Seeker's Allowance (JSA), also rely on exams and qualifications to demonstrate their commitment to learning English and actively searching for work. Without proof of this commitment through the acquisition of an appropriate language qualification, job centre advisors may implement sanctions or withdraw benefits (Gov.UK 2013b).

It is therefore of concern that tutors have the power to decide whether a learner has the opportunity to take an exam. As mentioned earlier, all three tutors reflected the incoherence of ESOL policy and did not make the connection between barriers to learning and assumptions of ability, thus expressing attitudes of a link between learner ability and ethnicity. Because of this, certain learners could be positioned as "never" being able to learn, or "stagnating" due to their positioned deficiencies. As a result, learners perceived as 'Other' could be excluded from being selected for exams, and this could restrict their access to further opportunities.

Conclusion

Successive governments have made explicit the way in which English language skills are related to issues of social cohesion (Blackledge, 2005). The overarching aim of ESOL policy is thus to enable migrant learners to become part of British society, to support their families and show a commitment to the wider economy. However, this may be seen to be undermined by the ways in which ESOL learners are often framed as 'Other' and deficient, by both society and their tutors.

This study therefore implies contradictory perspectives. Tutors' comments suggest that they feel that learners have a choice to learn and progress, reflecting wider thinking implicit in ESOL policy whereby learners are seen as autonomous: when progress is not made, learners are seen as responsible for their own failures. However, little attention is paid to the knowledge which learners bring with them, including their linguistic repertoires and skills. Although it may be unintentional, tutors also appear to regard learners as 'other', suggesting that they are directly influenced by the thinking which underpins ESOL policy. Yet in contradiction to these findings, all tutors allude to e of a lack of learner voice, suggesting that learners in fact, did not have a choice.

This attitude also has an impact on learners' lives beyond simply not progressing in their English language skills. Exemption from exams can have a tangible impact on learners, given that progress in English language is seen as a sign of their commitment to becoming part of British society. Overall, a bleak picture of ESOL emerges from the study, with the paradoxes implicit in the tutors' comments suggesting at the deep incoherence in successive ESOL policies.

While the study on which this paper is based was conducted in the summer of 2013, many of the points remain relevant in a society where social values and knowledge of the English language are conflated. Arguably, in a new post-Brexit environment, such questions will only become more pertinent and the strains on ESOL teaching and the juxtaposition between language and citizenship in a post-Brexit will become still more complex and intricate.

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[1] Also, see NATCLA (National Association of Teaching English and Community Languages to Adults)

[2] All names are pseudonyms.

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Language Appropriations, Ideologies and Identities in Bilingual Schools in Castilla-La Mancha (Spain)

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Abstract
This article addresses language ideologies and identities through the appropriations of the English language in two prestigious secondary bilingual schools in La Mancha City (pseudonym), as part of a team-based linguistic ethnography carried out in the region of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain). Since the exponential increase in different types of bilingual programmes (Spanish-English), language ideologies circulating among the local 'imagined' bilingual communities as well as bilingual identities of school stakeholders have been transformed and (re)shaped within the era of 'bilingualism fever'. By drawing on linguistic and ethnographic empirical insights on CLIL classroom practices and interviews, this article explores how bilingual identities are co-constructed in relation to language policies, language ideologies and appropriations of English within the institutional spaces as a marker of distinction, elitism and prestige in the local/global market.

Key words: appropriations, bilingualism, ideologies, identities, linguistic ethnography

Résumé
Cet article traite des idéologies linguistiques et des identités à travers les appropriations de la langue anglaise dans deux prestigieux lycées bilingues à La Mancha City (pseudonyme), dans le cadre d'une ethnographie linguistique menée par une équipe dans la région de Castilla-La Mancha (Espagne). Depuis l'augmentation exponentielle des différents types du programme bilingue (espagnol-anglais), des idéologies linguistiques circulant parmi les communautés bilingues locales « imaginées » ainsi que les identités bilingues des parties prenantes de l'école ont été transformées et (re)façonnées dans l'ère de la « fièvre de bilinguisme ». En s'appuyant sur les connaissances empiriques linguistiques et ethnographiques sur les pratiques CLIL en classe et sur les entretiens, cet article explore comment les identités bilingues sont co-construites en relation avec les politiques et les idéologies linguistiques et les appropriations de l'anglais dans les espaces institutionnels en tant que marque de distinction, d'élitisme et de prestige dans le marché local et global.

Mots clés: appropriations, bilinguisme, ethnographie linguistique, identités, idéologies

Resumen
Este artículo aborda las ideologías lingüísticas e identidades a través de las apropiaciones de la lengua inglesa en dos prestigiosos centros de secundaria bilingües en La Mancha City (pseudónimo), que forman parte de una etnografía lingüística en equipo llevada a cabo en la región de Castilla-La Mancha (España). Desde el aumento exponencial de diferentes tipos de programas bilingües (español-inglés), las ideologías lingüísticas que circulan entre las

comunidades 'imaginadas' como bilingües a nivel local, así como las identidades bilingües de los agentes sociales implicados en los centros, se han transformado en la era de "la fiebre del bilingüismo". Tomando la etnografía lingüística como acercamiento metodológico empírico para analizar las prácticas de CLIL en el aula y las entrevistas, este artículo explora cómo se co-construyen las identidades bilingües en relación con las políticas lingüísticas, las ideologías y las apropiaciones del inglés en los espacios institucionales como marca de distinción, elitismo y prestigio en el mercado local y global.

Key words: apropiaciones, bilingüismo, etnografía lingüística, identidades, ideologías

Introduction

Over the last two decades, bilingual education in the central autonomous community of Castilla-La Mancha has been transformed by the effects of increasing globalisation and the dominance of English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Seidlhofer, 2005). There have been significant transformations not only at the institutional level but also in terms of ideologies and identities. Having Castilian as the official language, central Spain has traditionally held a monolingual view of the sociolinguistic regional panorama. However, through the new linguistic landscape a more plurilingual perspective has emerged. Social demand for foreign language competence, mainly English, has increased. In turn, language policy makers have prioritised foreign language learning through mainstream education.

Consequently, an exponential increase in bilingual education programmes was initiated as part of a signed agreement between the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MECD) and the British Council (1996), thus implementing the 'Bilingual and Bicultural Project' through a Content and Language Integrated Learning approach (CLIL). CLIL is defined as a dual-focused educational approach emerging in the early nineties which involves an additional language as a medium of instruction for learning and teaching of both content and language (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010).

In a region which has traditionally felt ashamed of its citizens' poor English skills (compared to other European countries), the schools of Castilla-La Mancha have successfully reimagined themselves as bilingual communities. Here, the term 'bilingual communities' refers to those Spanish speakers involved in the process of teaching/learning English as part of one of the Linguistic Programmes implemented in most schools of the region. The desire of these school communities is to be able to function equally well in both English and Spanish, transforming dominant self-perceptions and ideas of what it means to be bilingual.

Despite the efforts made in order not to be left behind the rest of the European

members in terms of bilingual education and English proficiency, the common feeling of inferiority remains. This is illustrated by the following extract from an interview conducted with Julia, the English language teacher in San Marcos' School, one of the focal educational sites in this article:

> *Extract 1. San Marcos'. Interview with Julia.[1]*
> From a comparative point of view with the rest of Europe […] we are shameful. The English are, for example, worse without doubt. But we are shameful. And it is weird if you go to the Netherlands or Denmark, or other countries, the normal thing is that they have their language, maybe because they think they are a corpuscle. I think all people there are bilingual. I think governments here in Spain expect us to be compared with that. What I don't know is if we will because maybe the motivations are different, the historical background is different, or many other stories, but I think that the fact striving for this is because they say 'damn it, if the Dutch can do it, why can't I?'

An English teacher for many years, Julia's scepticism about becoming bilingual brings to the fore ideological and identity issues which have emerged from the rapid implementation of so-called 'Linguistic Programmes' currently practised in most primary and secondary schools in Castilla-La Mancha.

In this article, I consider these schools in Castilla-La Mancha to be "imagined" bilingual communities (Anderson, 1991; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), in the process of reconfiguring their institutional identities. For this purpose, this article discusses what being bilingual actually means, in two school communities of Castilla-La Mancha, by addressing the following questions:

1) How is English appropriated in these institutional spaces?

2) What language ideologies circulate among stakeholders' discourse and how are they socially constructed, reproduced, transformed or contested in daily classroom practice?

3) How do language ideologies shape and how are they shaped by participants' and schools' identity as members of an "imagined" bilingual community?

Drawing on Heller's social perspective, the purpose of this article is to discuss different conceptions, beliefs and values concerning bilingualism as a rather "materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action" (2007, p. 1). This way, bilingualism is understood as ideology and practice; it is therefore through situated social practices that this paper attempts to describe the extent to which language policies influence ideologies and identities, and how these two dimensions are interactionally co-constructed from a sociolinguistic ethnographic approach. This may be defined as a qualitative approach based on epistemological and ontological ways

of understanding the social world through a close analysis of communicative situated practices (Heller, 2006; Copland & Creese, 2015).

Section two of this paper gives an overview of the language policies implemented in Castilla-La Mancha as central to understanding ideological and identity shifts, while section three focuses on the methodology, and briefly describes the two schools under study. Section four, explores the commodification of English, elitism and bilingual identities. The last section comprises a critical reflection on the most relevant issues discussed in this article: the language ideologies emerging in discourse and interaction regarding the concept of bilingualism, the appropriations of English and legitimisation of certain language practices as well as social categorisation processes in these bilingual schools.

Language policies in La Mancha: ideological and identity shifts

In Castilla-La Mancha, bilingualism and bilingual education have been two politically and socially controversial issues since the initial implementation of the so-called 'bilingual programmes' (BPs, hereafter) in both primary and secondary schools. In 1996, the first BPs implemented in La Mancha region ('MECD/ British Council Agreement') had two main goals: to increase the students' level of English, and to offer students the possibility of attending an official bilingual and bicultural curriculum in state schools following CLIL parameters (de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010).

These BPs under European language-in-education policies (LiEP) have undergone several nomenclatures in the last decade. In 2014, they became *Programas Lingüísticos* ('Linguistic Programmes') under the provisions of the regional *Plan de Plurilingüismo* ('Plan of Plurilingualism'). These Linguistic Programmes made it possible for any school, state, private or state-subsidised, to opt into this type of bilingual education. One of the main goals of the Plan of Plurilingualism is to make Castilla-La Mancha bilingual by 2018 (see: El Diario, 2014). As the number of schools implementing one of these Linguistic Programmes has increased dramatically since 2005, it seems that language policy makers in this region are on the way to realising the dream of becoming Spanish-English bilingual.

Every school is expected to implement one of the Linguistic Programmes promoted by the Plan of Plurilingualism. Students can choose the bilingual curriculum, thus attending one, two or three subjects taught in English alongside the corresponding English language subject. Programmes can be adapted by schools according to the availability of teachers qualified to teach content subjects in English. Teachers involved in the programme are required to reach a

minimum B2 level (intermediate) of English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning (CEFR, 2001). Despite having their own bilingual education programmes, the two state-subsidised religious schools selected here as objects of study have opted into the regional Linguistic Programmes.

Spaniards' lack of communicative skills in a second language has become an outstanding feature of their traditional 'monolingual' identity. This was strictly reinforced by nationalist ideologies during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), and for many decades the Spanish education system was constrained to a rather draconian monolingual model. This placed Spain behind those European countries which had quickly recognise the importance of English language competence in an increasingly globalised world; hence the urgent implementation of new LiEP.

In today's plurilingual and multicultural scenario, English has become the global language for communication: an instrument or a product of New Capitalism, for which "knowledges are produced, circulated and consumed" (Fairclough, 2002: 164). In this sense, English carries a symbolic capital that enables individuals to gain access to the global market (Bourdieu, 1985). However, LiEP have also been attempting in the last decade to achieve a more varied sociolinguistic reality not only in terms of multilingualism, understood as the varieties of languages in the whole European territory, but also plurilingualism, reflecting the languages individuals may use in a specific geographical area. LiEP in Europe aim at achieving social cohesion and integration of European nations, including minority languages and identities. In this sense, both the Council of Europe and the European Commission promote linguistic diversity to "enable citizens to communicate in two languages other than their mother tongue" (Barcelona European Council, 2002). The adoption of CLIL programmes was one way of achieving this. The explosion of interest in CLIL spread across the European Member States, putting a special emphasis on early language learning but at the same time challenging existing effective pedagogical practices.

LiEPs in Castilla La-Mancha are key to understanding more clearly the significant ideological shift from considering 'being monolingual' as shameful towards a feeling of pride attached to 'becoming bilingual'. Languages have gained value both in the political and social arena, and have transformed the school communities. The symbolic capital attributed to certain languages by social actors, is tightly linked with wider ideologies embedded in political and economic processes (Bourdieu, 1985). One dominant linguistic ideology which circulates among education stakeholders' discourse is that "students following this

programme are expected to be able to manage themselves in different cultures and to be better prepared to face the 21st century demands in a more and more competitive and multilingual Europe" (MECD, 2016).

Language learning in Spain has always focused on a traditional method which lacks emphasis on communicative skills (Gálvez, 2000); the implementation of bilingual programmes was therefore intended to shift language pedagogy towards a more communicative approach to linguistic competence. These first bilingual programmes combined Spanish and English, while some trilingual programmes included French or German. Since then, bilingual schools in Castilla-La Mancha have acquired a prestigious status. The programmes have been provided with the support of a native English assistant for every state school so as to promote this type of bilingual education, and thus encouraging all schools to implement the regional language policies. In this sense, these native language assistants represent the Chomskyan "ideal speaker" concept (1965), as they are regarded as authentic speakers of English, and thus considered key to the process of implementation of such programmes. In subsidised schools, these native English assistants are hired by the school itself.

Bilingual education in this region thus carries an added symbolic value of "pride and profit" (Duchêne & Heller 2012, pp. 4-7), since it is within institutional sites that language is utilised as a source of pride and prestige to compete in the market place. Schools' linguistic resources are used to promote a top-quality education that will open doors to students when accessing higher education and the job market. In this way, the English language *per se* is commodified as embedding power and capital (Park, 2011) against the backdrop of globalisation processes related to transnational mobility and neoliberal forces.

Whereas language policy makers are adopting the English language as a source of pride, prestige and profit in the local and global market, institutional sites are in turn appropriating English (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, & Riazi, 2002) in their curricular activities and linguistic practices to construct their own identity as bilingual school communities. School stakeholders as local agents socially construct their "bilingual selves" (Pavlenko, 2006) through the circulation and transformation of ideologies related to the concept of bilingualism and bilingual programmes.

In the case of institutional spaces in Castilla-La Mancha, appropriating the English language into the daily functioning and communicative practices serves two functions. It is a marketing strategy to attract students, that is, bilingual education as a service and foreign

language learning as a product (see the customer metaphor by Holborow, 2007); it is also a way to co-construct their identity within an "imagined" bilingual community (Anderson, 1991; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). No rigid measures are taken at the national/regional level in designing the bilingual curriculum; this allows schools to adjust LiEP on their own terms. Schools' own management of their bilingual programmes thus implies a sense of ownership/membership (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) of a particular social group, that of a specific school community whose bilingual programme stands out as distinctive and prestigious.

Methodology: data collection and description of sites

Linguistic ethnographies provide analytical tools and empirical methods to better understand meaning-making in situated social practices (Copland & Creese, 2015). In this article, I adopt a linguistic ethnographic perspective in order to explore the relationship between language ideologies and identity construction through situated appropriations of the English language in two educational settings which have implemented the Linguistic Programmes.

Data collection

Data collection in two institutional sites in La Mancha City involved long-term participant observation (2014-16), fine-grained field notes, school artefacts (e.g. school brochures, pictures from institutional spaces and teaching material) and institutional documents of the LiEP implemented in Castilla-La Mancha. I also audio-recorded the following: 1) classroom interactions in content subjects taught in English; 2) semi-structured interviews with teachers, students, bilingual programme coordinators, educational inspectors and language policy makers; and 3) focus group discussions with students in the BP. These data were collected with the aim of identifying the language ideologies circulating amongst participants, and underpinning the curricula developed by the schools.

Focus group discussions and interviews were analysed in terms of relevant content issues that are key to better understand the triangulation of language ideologies, identities and policies. Furthermore, classroom audio-recordings were analysed by taking into account recurrent interactional moments in the course of an educational activity in a particular CLIL Science lesson. Following Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), the research uses a linguistic ethnographic lens: it pays close attention to turn-taking, participation frameworks, language choice and social categorisation with the aim of tying processes of identity construction to language ideologies (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) that circulate widely in Castilla-La

Mancha's bilingual school communities and which contribute to legitimate (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991) bilingual selves.

Description of sites

San Marcos' and San Teo's belong to the state-subsidised group of schools in La Mancha City that have opted to implement one of the Linguistic Programmes on the development level. Both fulfil the two official requirements: availability of teachers with an accredited B2 level of English and providing at least two curricular subjects taught in English. Through their bilingual programmes, the institutions are currently aiming to become national reference schools: these are educational institutions which carry out successful innovative projects such as those involving bilingual programmes. In most bilingual schools in Castilla-La Mancha, the native language assistants provided by the regional administration (for state schools) and those hired by subsidised schools (as in the case of both schools under study) generally come from either the UK or the US.

San Marcos'

Built by a religious order, the school is located in a traditionally working-class neighbourhood near the city centre where new wealthy families have settled in recent decades. Lately, the school has implemented the 'Multilingual/Trilingual Programme' (Spanish-English-French), which creates a group of students in the 3rd grade of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE) labelled as 'trilingual'. Students in Grades 1, 2 and 4 are separated into two different groups only when attending CLIL and English language classes. This establishes two categories for each group: bilingual and non-bilingual students. It is in English language classes with the bilingual group that the native English assistant supports the English language teacher every other week by preparing and delivering different oral activities related to English/American culture. However, these assistants are not necessarily required to be trained teachers.

San Teo's

San Teo's, also a religious school, was built in 1978 on the outskirts of the city; it is now surrounded by both the traditional Roma communities and the newly arrived upper middle-class families. Regarding the BP, all students are integrated into the CLIL classroom, although parents can choose whether they want their children to follow it or not. If students are enrolled in the BP, they are required to pay extra fees to receive the privilege of being taught by a native English teacher. While the term 'native speaker' is problematic, the term will be used for the purpose of this article in the way that participants utilised it, that is, as

encapsulating those speakers whose first language is English.

Data analysis: commodification, elitism and bilingual selves

In order to account for the appropriations of the English language that, in turn, (re)shape language ideologies and identities in La Mancha City, it is necessary to understand the role of education as a key site in the production and reproduction of social order, and school as an institutional space which manages linguistic resources and constructs what counts as 'appropriate' and 'legitimate' in terms of knowledge, language choice and participation of speakers as social agents (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). Classroom interactions were transcribed following Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Jefferson, & Schegloff, 1984) to better grasp essential interactional information. For this paper, however, the original interview transcripts have been simplified, as content is the focus of the analysis here. The following data analysis will be structured according to three main emerging issues: 1) commodification of English; 2) elitism and bilingual community membership; and 3) appropriation and bilingual selves.

Commodification of English: Capital and success

The way these institutional spaces in La Mancha City have incorporated the English language into their daily practices relies on sharing and shaping dominant ideologies of English as a profitable commodity, rather than merely a means of communication. English is seen as a useful tool to gain access to many social spheres, and to have better job opportunities in the future. This ideology is reflected in the extract below. The trilingual students in San Marcos' were asked about their opinion on the bi/trilingual programme. (See transcription conventions in Appendix.)

Extract 2. San Marcos': Focus group discussion
(Helena (H): researcher; Ana (A): student)

1   H: What do you think about the bilingual programme?
2   A: It will improve our level and it will be better for our future
3   H: Why?
4   A: Because every day English and other languages are more useful in our lives and
        when I talk with my mother she told me I don't know English ↓ ((@@@)) and it's
        if you don't know English it's bad for you.

From Ana's perspective, language learning implies personal improvement and greater opportunities to develop language skills, which in turn embeds enhanced possibilities of getting a better job. By aligning herself with the dominant ideology circulating among

parents' discourse, Ana brings to the fore the 'good/bad' dichotomy about the presence or absence of English (line 2). Knowing English is categorised as 'good' as opposed to the negative aspect of lacking such knowledge embodied by previous generations of ashamed parents that could not learn English in the mainstream education (line 5). In this sense, it is remarkable how this student positions herself in a more privileged place than her mother was able to enjoy. The falling intonation emphasises Ana's mother's sadness and shame; this immediately evokes laughter from other students and consequently Ana's clarification about the 'sad' point of lacking knowledge of English. This echoes the discourse of not knowing English as something which is considered as 'bad'. This links to the interview with Julia, the English teacher at San Marcos', where Julia gives a sceptical view of overcoming that shame in relation to other European countries which boast a higher level of English (see extract 1 in Introduction).

In San Teo's, commodification of English takes tangible shape in the form of additional fees (39 euros/month) paid by those parents whose children receive bilingual education. Capital is not only symbolic but also material in the economic sense. Even though bilingualism is offered to all students in Castilla-La Mancha, the availability of language assistants who are native speakers of English is limited in most state bilingual schools of the region.   State-subsidised centres have enough private financial support to hire their own teachers; the teachers involved in the bilingual programme who are considered 'native speakers' fulfil the language requirements. However, they do not necessarily have any CLIL or specialised-subject training (e.g. Technology, Science, Religion, or Arts and Crafts). Yet in San Teo's, these native speakers of English do function as CLIL teachers. The added value English takes in this particular school context is reinforced by the presence of the 'native speaker'.

Native speakers of English is seen as an integral part of San Teo's bilingual programme. For families, the term 'native' was conceptualised as being inclusive of those Spanish teachers with a C1 level of English (CEFR). Nevertheless, in an interview, mothers claimed that they were paying for those native teachers as "an extra". Families' conceptions of the native speaker tightly connect with the Chomskyan "ideal speaker" perspective (1965), which is imbued in the image the school projects as part of their bilingual identity construction. Similarly, this institution appropriates the term 'native' in order to construct what they imagine as 'a real bilingual identity'. Nativism is therefore commodified as "extra", that is, native English teachers are constructed as objects providing goods to be consumed.

Elitism and bilingual community membership

In these bilingual institutional spaces, appropriating English knowledge (understood not only as the language itself but the actual native English teachers embodying it) as part of the school's daily communicative practices makes the school socially acknowledged as 'better' than any other school in the local community. The co-construction of bilingual identities is therefore a cause-and-effect of the social image the schools 'sells' to the local community. In this way, ownership and membership (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) are two features shared by bilingual schools in Castilla-La Mancha that make them distinguishable both from each other and from other non-bilingual schools, all of them competing for prestige.

According to one of the two native English teachers in San Teo's, Sandra, the school is constructed as offering "the best bilingual classes" in La Mancha City due to the availability of native English teachers that make this school unique in the local area. This is illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 3. San Teo's. Interview with the native English teacher
((Sandra (SR))

> And then other teachers say yes really good their English was really good the parents in general all the comments that I've heard from parents are really positive like it's really good you know we are really really pleased we've got the best bilingual classes in ((La Mancha City)) you know

From Sandra's position as a 'native', the construction of this school as 'proper bilingual' is reliant on how she aligns herself with teachers' and parents' discourse about having native English teachers in the bilingual programme. Sandra brings to the fore the 'nativist' ideology of the 'ideal speaker' by positioning herself as an "animator" (Goffman, 1981) of the voice of other teachers and parents for whom a native English language is regarded as the most desirable form of knowledge. In fact, she evaluates students as having a 'good' English level as a consequence of "the best bilingual classes" in secondary education: these are classes that Sandra herself teaches.

Likewise, when Claudia, the coordinator of this bilingual programme was asked about teachers' required language accreditation, she acknowledged that native teachers were the reason why the school was constructed as having "a bilingualism of excellence":

Extract 4. San Teo's. Interview with Claudia, the BP coordinator
((Claudia (C))

> Now we are forcing a bit with the C1 but actually our eh well we are bilingualism

of excellence […] but what happens our bilingualism is actually taught by the native

At language policy level, and even though the constructed identity of the school as a 'top' bilingual community is linked to the native English teachers, the school did not fulfil all the requirements to implement the 'excellence' stage of implementation of the BP. In order to be officially categorised as an 'excellence' bilingual school, at least one of the specialised-subject teachers must hold a C1 level accreditation, which was not the case in San Teo's. As a consequence, native English teachers in this school are the ones sustaining this 'imagined' bilingual community of members, boosting the prestigious and distinctive quality of their bilingual programme.

Appropriation: 'bilingual selves'

San Teo's School´s elitism and authenticity are attributed to the nativist ideology of the English language contributing to the construction of valued bilingual identities. In fact, this particular institutional site as an 'imagined' bilingual community has coined the neologism: '*bilingüistas*' (an English equivalent might be 'bilinguist'). This category only makes sense within this bilingual community, as it originally referred to their English native teachers but then extended its meaning to non-English native teachers with an accredited C1 level also involved in the BP. This social category based on native-like speakers of English therefore (re)shapes 'bilingual selves' in San Teo's. Through the appropriation and transformation of the adjective 'bilingual', teachers have created a new noun by adding the Spanish suffix '–*ista*' ('-ist'), which entails connotations related to professional jobs or doctrines of which one is in favour. This category that defines the identity of San Teo's as being a prestigious bilingual school presumably includes the 'good' teachers. As the BP coordinator pointed out in an interview, this school community feels "very lucky to have the bilingüistas" (interview with Claudia, BP coordinator).

In San Marcos', identity construction also functions in the intersection of social categorisations and linguistic appropriations; the process is however slightly different and so is the management of the BP. In fact, the English language assistants teach only in the English-subject lessons while supporting the English language teachers whose students belong to the bi/trilingual group. The reason for such an arrangement relies on official language policies, which prevent the segregation of students in pure bilingual/non-bilingual groups for all subjects so as to avoid creating ghettos. It is precisely this categorisation of bilingual/non-bilingual students that creates a core elitist group of pupils privileged over those

disregarded as 'not good enough' to become a member of the bilingual elite. In the words of Ernesto, the Physics teacher in this school, this bilingual/non-bilingual dichotomy sets a clear-cut distinction among students by establishing categories according to their academic and intellectual performance:

Extract 5. San Marcos'. Interview with Ernesto, the Physics teacher

> Here it is definitely polarised [between bilingual and non-bilingual groups]. The bilinguals are the smartest and the others are silly, lazy… […]. Sometimes one has the feeling that being bilingual here means belonging to the most elitist intellectual class.

Ernesto's critical voice is representative of the dominant ideology among the school community regarding what 'being bilingual' entails for stakeholders. Bilingual identities seem to be socially co-constructed under the grounds of social categories of what counts as 'appropriate' bilingual selves, thus appropriating the term 'bilingual' with significant connotations to actually label those students intellectually outstanding (lines 2-3). In real classroom practices, San Marcos' bilingual students are categorised and evaluated by CLIL teachers according to 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' participation. These two categories can be inferred from the language choice and use in the course of an interaction between the teacher and the students, as well as what the teacher considers as "good" or "bad" learners depending on whether they comply with the school's expectations about those students following the bilingual curriculum (i.e. "good" bilingual students are constructed as highly-skilled, well-behaved and successful, whereas non-bilingual ones are deemed as lazy, poorly-skilled and rather badly-behaved). In this sense, interactional patterns are key to better analyse the co-construction and reproduction of those social categories and how they affect participants' identity in the classroom.

In the following extract, Juan, the Science teacher in the first grade of CSE corrects some exercises on a photocopy by nominating students. In the process of this interactional sequence, turn-taking, positioning of both teachers and students, and language choice are central to grasp how these 'bilingual selves' are co-constructed or contested:

Extract 6. San Marcos. Science class, 1ˢᵗ grade of CSE
((Juan (J), Science teacher; Daniel (D), Luisa (L), Students (Ss)))

```
1   J:   Ok (.) do you agree? all of you?
2   Ss:  Yes
3   Ss:   yes
4        (2.0)
5   D:   Eh (0.5) stems
6        (4.0)
```

7   J: Vamos (.) que no lo has hecho
            Come on (.) you haven't done it
8   (1.0)
9   D: No ((laughter))
10   (3.0)
11   J: Continue please
12   (1.0)
13   D: These (.) eh these are the main reproductive organs
14   J: Stamens (.) these are the main reproductive organs (.) ok
15   D: Sepals (.) eh colloc (.) collectively
16   J: Collectively
17   D: collectively these are called the
18   J: A bit more English accent please
19   (3.0)
20   J: And style?
21   (1.0)
22   D: Eh style (.) (xxx) the (.) pistils [to the pistils]
23   J: [to the pistils] ok (4.0) good (.) eh Luisa Ramírez
24   (1.0)
25   L: Es que el otro día los escribí (.) y los he metido esta mañana (.) y es que
            the other day I wrote them down (.) and I took them this morning (.) and it
26   J: han desaparecido=
            they have disappeared=
27   L: = No pero es que creo que las metí en algún libro o algo y no sé dónde las he dejado
            = No but I think I put them into a book or something and I don't know where I left them
28   J: de verdad (.) eso se llama organización
            seriously (.) that is organisation
29   L: Ya
            yeah
30   J: Ya
            Yeah
31   ((background noise))
32   J: No sabéis ni en qué día vivís hijos míos (6.0) can you read it (.) in another paper (.) please?
            You don't know what day it is today, my dear boys (6.0) can you read it (.) in another paper (.) please?

In this extract, Daniel's and Luisa's participation is deemed 'non-appropriate' according to the school´s ideological standpoint of what belonging to the bilingual group implies (i.e., clever, hard-working, highly-skilled students). It can be noted how Juan negates Daniel's inappropriate response by switching to Spanish to emphasise he has not done his required homework (lines 7-9). After demanding that Daniel (back to the English language) continue correcting the exercise, Juan's turn in line 19 evaluates negatively Daniel's English accent when reading the exercise aloud; this categorises him as not fulfilling the standards required

for the students to belong to the BP. Juan's critical intervention silences Daniel, who is asked by Juan again after a few seconds. As Daniel's response is deemed 'appropriate', Juan evaluates it as "good" and starts a new turn by nominating another student, Luisa (lines 21-24). Unlike Daniel, Luisa intervenes in Spanish for excusing herself for not having these exercises (line 26), which leads to the subsequent negotiation turns in Spanish by Juan and Luisa until the end of this sequence. The teacher interrupts her with a sarcastic utterance ("*han desaparecido*" / "they have disappeared"), thus demonstrating his disappointment (line 27), which is immediately followed by Luisa's excuse again trying to convince her teacher whose turn overlaps and, once again, interrupts her explanation (lines 28-32). After this teacher-student exchange in Spanish, Juan switches to English and turns back to the main task by politely asking Luisa to read the exercise from one of her classmates' photocopies so that they can continue with the activity.

From this sequence of action, it is significant how this teacher shapes students' performance as bilingual speakers by drawing on what he considers as a 'good' or 'appropriate' English accent, particularly taking into account that he has an accredited B2 level of English. According to what he explained in an interview, he truly believes that "it is good to be forced to learn English" as "the future is going to be like this, even though we don't like it". Thus Juan, a (non-English native) CLIL teacher, positions students as 'good' or 'bad' bilingual learners through their interactional categorisation as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' participants. This social categorisation influences identity construction and determines whether these students deserve to belong to the bilingual school community.

Conclusion

This article has shed light on some of the ideological dimensions of the concept of bilingualism in Castilla-La Mancha. The conceptualisation of this term has proven to be rather controversial in terms of what stakeholders understand by "being/becoming bilingual". This co-construction of the concepts of bilingualism and being/becoming bilingual seems to be tightly related to the LiEP enacted by the institutional sites of this study, as each single school manages the institutional demands on bilingual education in their own terms depending on the school's resources.

The analysis of interactional and interview data has revealed how ideologies are co-constructed in discourse and legitimated in situated classroom practices for specific social, economic and political purposes in the intersection of wider social, economic and political

processes of globalisation and neoliberalism.

In relation to the dominant language ideologies in Castilla-La Mancha, this article has provided insights into the commodification of English as a useful tool to compete in the job market, as well as on the construction of "bilingual selves" through the appropriation of the English language and native teachers as an emblem of elitism within an "imagined" bilingual school community. Similarly, stakeholders' identities are legitimised through social categorisations of 'good/bad' and 'appropriate/inappropriate' labels regarding three different aspects: 1) bilingualism as 'excellence'; 2) bilingual students as 'brilliant'; 2) 'bilingüistas' as teaching 'the best' bilingual classes. Labelling and categorising participants in those terms has led not only to the establishment of elitist school communities, but also inequalities between bilingual/non-bilingual (excellent/worse) schools and students who cannot benefit from specific linguistic resources. The "bilingüistas" or the CLIL teachers are assigned the best group of students, as those following the bilingual curriculum tend to be considered as excellent pupils in terms of academic performance. Therefore, some tensions and dilemmas seem to exist regarding the management of bilingual education in Castilla-La Mancha; this leads to complexities in the social order of these schools striving to become bilingual.

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Appendix

Transcript conventions (adapted from Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974)

@@@	indicates laughter
(1.3)	time elapsed in tenths of seconds
(.)	micropause
[word]	overlapping speech
(( ))	nonverbal behaviour, transcriber note
(words)	non-audible segment, uncertain
word=word	no interval between adjacent utterance

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[1] Names of participants and places have been anonymised throughout this paper.

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'It's a pity that they have to choose between French and English': Language ideologies at a Japanese overseas school in Belgium

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Abstract

This article is based on my doctoral research, a qualitative study of a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium where students choose either English or French after primary 3rd year. *Nihonjingakkō* is a full-time day school for children of Japanese sojourners. The study investigates the complex language ideologies circulating in the school. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the school principal and language teachers, and were supplemented by other datasets such as questionnaires and analysis of teaching materials. Drawing on the conceptual framework of imagined communities (Anderson 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003), this paper attempts to illuminate the fact that English receives higher language status than French. However, this article will mainly focus on English. To conclude, Japan's school and university entrance examination system can be seen to make students lose interest in learning foreign languages other than English.

Keywords: Belgium, English, French, Japan's Overseas School Education, language ideologies

Résumé

Cet article est basé sur ma recherche doctorale, une étude qualitative d'un *nihonjingakkō* en Belgique où les étudiants choisissent d'apprendre soit l'anglais soit le français après la 3ème année primaire. *Nihonjingakkō* est une école de jour à temps plein pour les enfants de séjournants Japonais. L'étude examine les idéologies linguistiques complexes qui circulent dans l'école. Des entretiens semi-structurés ont été menés avec le directeur de l'école et les professeurs de langues, et ont été complétés par d'autres ensembles de données tels que des questionnaires et l'analyse du matériel pédagogique. En s'appuyant sur le cadre conceptuel de « communautés imaginées » (Anderson, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003), cet article tente d'éclairer le fait que l'anglais obtient un statut linguistique plus élevé que le français. Cependant, cet article se concentrera principalement sur l'anglais. En conclusion, le système japonais d'examen d'entrée au lycée et à l'université peut être perçu comme faisant perdre aux étudiants de l'intérêt à apprendre et à interagir avec des langues étrangères autres que l'anglais.

Mots-clés: Belgique, anglais, français, éducation scolaire japonais outre-mer, idéologies linguistiques

Resumen

Este artículo está basado en mi investigación doctoral, la cual es un estudio cualitativo de un nihonjingakkō en Bélgica, donde los estudiantes eligen entre inglés o francés después del tercer año de primaria. Un nihonjingakkō es una

escuela diurna de tiempo completo para hijos de expatriados japoneses. El estudio investiga las complejas ideologías lingüísticas que circulan en el colegio. Se realizaron entrevistas semi-estructuradas con el director de la escuela y los profesores de idiomas las cuales fueron complementadas con otras bases de datos tales como encuestas y el análisis de los materiales de enseñanza. Mediante el uso del marco conceptual de comunidades imaginadas (Anderson, 1991), este artículo propone que inglés recibe mayor estatus que francés. Sin embargo, el artículo se enfocará principalmente en inglés. Para concluir, se observa que el sistema de evaluación para entrar a la educación secundaria y universitaria en Japón hace que los estudiantes pierdan interés en aprender e interactuar en idiomas extranjeros que no sean el inglés.

Palabras claves: Belga, inglés, francés, educación escolar en el extranjero de Japón, ideologías lingüísticas

概要
本稿は筆者の進行中である博士課程の研究に基づき、生徒が外国語教育として小学３年生から英語か仏語を選択するベルギーの日本人学校での質的調査である。日本人学校とは最終的に日本に帰国する日本人駐在員の子女が通う全日制学校を指す。この研究では、日本人学校における複合的な言語イデオロギーを調査する。筆者は校長と語学教員との半構造化インタビューを行い、質問表や教材分析等のデータセットで研究を補足した。本稿は想像の共同体(Anderson, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003)という概念的枠組みを引用し、英語が仏語より高い言語ステータスを得ている事実を明らかにすることを試みる。しかしながら、本稿では主に英語に焦点をあてる。結論として、生徒達の英語以外の外国語の学習と交流に対する興味を失わせているのは、日本における入試システムである可能性が考えられる。
キーワード：ベルギー、英語、フランス語、日本の海外における

学校教育、言語イデオロギー

Introduction

My interest in the topic of *nihonjingakkō* stems from my own upbringing as a Japanese returnee, or *kikokushijo*. *Kikokushijo* are children of Japanese expatriates who return to Japan after a prolonged sojourn in a host country (Kanno, 2003). Due to my father's job, I was born in the US. Since my parents expected that my family would eventually return to Japan, I attended both a local school on the weekdays and a Japanese complementary school (*hoshūkō*) every Saturday to improve my Japanese language skills. When I returned to Japan, I was enrolled in a private high school in Tokyo renowned for accepting many *kikokushijo*. There, I discovered that many students who had come back from non-Anglophone countries had only learned Japanese and English. It seemed sad that they had not used the opportunity to learn the language(s) of the host country(ies) in which they had lived for years. This childhood experience became one of the reasons for selecting language ideologies as the basis

of my doctoral research. Although many researchers have discussed and raised awareness of Japan's foreign language education which puts an overt emphasis on English (Kanno, 2008; Kubota & McKay, 2009), there is a dearth of research on Japan's overseas education in a multilingual educational context. In selecting the research site, I chose the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, as Belgium is a country which is widely perceived as the epitome of a multilingual society (Blommaert, 2011)

Research Questions

Two overarching research questions guided the study on which this paper is based:
1. What language ideologies appear to underpin practices within the *nihonjingakko* in Belgium?
2. What implications do the language ideologies have for *nihonjingakko*, *kikokushijo*, and education in Japan in a multilingual world?

The paper first provides the theoretical framework for the study; it then gives an overview of Japan's foreign language education (mainly English) and Japan's overseas education.

Language Ideology

Since language ideology is the core of this research, I would like to provide a brief account of my understanding on ideology, in particular, language ideology. My way of viewing ideology is twofold. Firstly, ideology is a socially shared belief and value rooted in the experience and interests of a particular group within society (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). These beliefs are treated as 'common sense' and often are not questioned (Gramsci, 1971). Moreover, ideology is closely linked to power, and can be seen to reproduce hierarchies and inequalities within society (Fairclough, 2001). Secondly, I see ideology as multiple and constantly contesting, multilayered construct; it should therefore be examined on more than one level "where ideational, behavioral, and institutional aspects interact and sometimes contract one another" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, pp. 43-44). Therefore, I use the plural form of the term 'ideologies' in my study to reflect my understanding.

Broadly speaking, 'language ideologies' are ways in which human beings perceive languages, and thus shape the identities and behaviours of language users and language learners (Seargeant, 2009).

Imagined Communities

Key to this current study is the concept of imagined communities developed by Benedict Anderson (1991), in his discussion of the birth and development of nationalism. Anderson was concerned with spatial imaginings, how people build ties across space through imagination. However, when the notion of imagined communities was applied to the field of applied linguistics and education in the early 2000s (Kanno & Norton, 2003), the concept was expanded by arguing that people also form imagined ties with the future. In other words, people have imagined communities of which they want to become a member in the future, and these imagined identities influence the learning style and trajectory of learners. Moreover, Kanno (2008) argues that learners are not the only people who imagine their future; parents envision imagined communities for their children, while schools project imagined communities for their students (Dagenais, 2003).

For *kikokushijo* and their parents, *nihonjingakkō* serve as imagined communities where students, teachers, and parents interact. The *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium fosters an atmosphere of intense linguistic and cultural immersion, and when I visited, I felt as if I had stepped into Japan. The school made every effort to ensure that their students maintained a connection to Japan; *nihonjingakkō's* policies and teaching are shaped by how *nihonjingakkō* envision future affiliations for their students. The concept of imagined communities is appropriate in this research since it can further develop an understanding of how imagined communities of schools and *kikokushijo* inform the students' future actions and ambitions regarding language learning.

English education in Japan

Learning English took on special importance after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 (Butler, 2007), when Japan opened its door to the outside world after repeated foreign pressure. To prevent being colonised by Western powers, Japan embarked upon a process of rapid modernisation which involved emulating the technologically advanced nations of the West. The main objective of learning English was to translate English texts and transmit Western knowledge to modernise Japan (Butler & Iino, 2005; Koike & Tanaka, 1995). The government set a high value on writing and reading, rather than on enhancing communication skills (Nishino & Watanabe, 2008). Following this, grammar and translation-based pedagogy remains dominant in the English language classroom (Friedman, 2016).

However, since the end of the 20th century, faced with continuous criticism from the public (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009) for not incorporating English teaching for communicative

purposes, the government has gradually introduced communicative language teaching (CLT) into Japanese primary and secondary education. In 1989, Japan's Ministry of Education (henceforth MEXT) issued a revised national curriculum and declared that the primary goal of Japan's foreign language education was to foster a positive attitude to the international world and develop communicative skills (Yoshida, 2003). In 2003, MEXT announced an Action Plan, which included the proposal of implementing English at primary school level: in 2011, MEXT made English instruction mandatory, beginning with primary 5 at age 10-11 (Hu & McKay, 2012; Yoshida, 2012).

The call for a communicative approach was also powerful from Japan's business world, notably the Keidanren, or the Japan Business Federation, whose members come from Japan's multinational corporations (Kubota, 2011). Attributing Japan's long economic recession to its inadequate English skills, Keidanren's aim was to retain Japan's economic global position by promoting nationwide English learning and usage. This is despite the fact that the majority of Japanese businesses are small and medium-sized enterprises (The Small and Medium Enterprise Agency, 2014), which overall do not see English as a business necessity. In other words, Japan's expansion of a "more and earlier" approach to English language learning "can best be understood as part of a trend to align language education policy with neoliberal economic policies" (Sayer, 2015: 53).

Despite MEXT promoting the acquisition of practical conversation skills, the grammar and translation-oriented approach remains prevalent in Japan's formal school system (Hu & McKay, 2012). This is also reflected in Japan's entrance examination system. Since passing the examination is tied to the examinee's future economic and social wellbeing (Kariya, 2013), both teachers and students conform to a more conventional English language teaching method (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Kikuchi, 2006). To characterise this method, which places overt emphasis on grammar and translation, the term *juken eigo* (English for school entrance examination) is widely used (Yamada, 2013). Within the Japanese school systems, *juken eigo* dominates classroom practice (O'Donnell, 2005). Preparing students to pass competitive entrance examinations is the priority, and the development of students' communication skills is of secondary importance. As Butler and Iino state, "the history of English language education in Japan can be characterised as alternating between a focus on English for practical purposes and English for entrance examination for higher education" (2005: 27).

It is worth noting that, while foreign languages other than English are rarely taught

(Kobayashi, 2012), there has recently been an increase in the number of high schools which provide other languages (MEXT, 2016). Despite the fact that Japan is becoming ethnically and linguistically diverse (Kubota & McKay, 2009), Japanese-English bilingualism is widely assumed to be a practical solution to international communication.

Moreover, the current examination system does little to encourage students to learn languages other than English. Only five foreign languages are offered as part of the Unified University Entrance Exam English, French, German, Korean, and Chinese (Japan National Center for University Entrance Examination, 2015). This reflects MEXT's Course of Study and other policy documents, where 'English' and 'foreign language' are used interchangeably, and the notion that the Japanese public have internalised the equation of "foreign language is English" (Gottlieb, 2008; Yamada, 2015). The complex ideologies surrounding the acquisition of foreign languages other than English is clearly a rich area for research. However, for this paper, I will only focus on the language statuses of English and French as foreign languages in the Belgian *nihonjingakkō*.

Japan's Overseas Education

Kikokushijo became a major social and educational issue in the 1960s (Kanno, 2003; Sueda, 2014) when Japanese companies expanded their business overseas and sent employees to various parts of the world. The majority of Japanese living abroad are temporary sojourners who will someday return to Japan. In order for their children not to fall behind academically when they returned to Japan, groups of Japanese expatriate parents started to establish language schools. These groups mainly comprised elite businesspeople and diplomats with high social capital (Goodman, 1990). Their successful lobbying of politicians and the public pushed the Japanese government to fund overseas schools by providing financial aid and sending teachers from Japan (Kanno, 2003).

Apart from local schools, there are four types of educational institutions where Japanese children living overseas are taught: *nihonjingakkō, hoshūkō,* international schools, and private schools managed by Japanese academic institutions (MEXT, 2015a). Of these, *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshūkō* are supported by MEXT and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and students can receive education equivalent and equal in standard to that provided in mainstream Japanese schools.

Nihonjingakkō

Nihonjingakkō is a full-time school: based on the assumption that students will return to Japan at some point, the school strictly follows the Japanese curriculum developed by MEXT. As of 2015 there are 88 *nihonjingakkō* worldwide, with the majority located in non-Anglophone regions such as Asia (MEXT 2015a; see Graph 1). Every year MEXT (2015b) selects teachers from state and private primary and secondary schools in Japan to be sent to *nihonjingakkō*; these teachers will return to their former educational institutions in Japan after a few years of teaching at these schools.
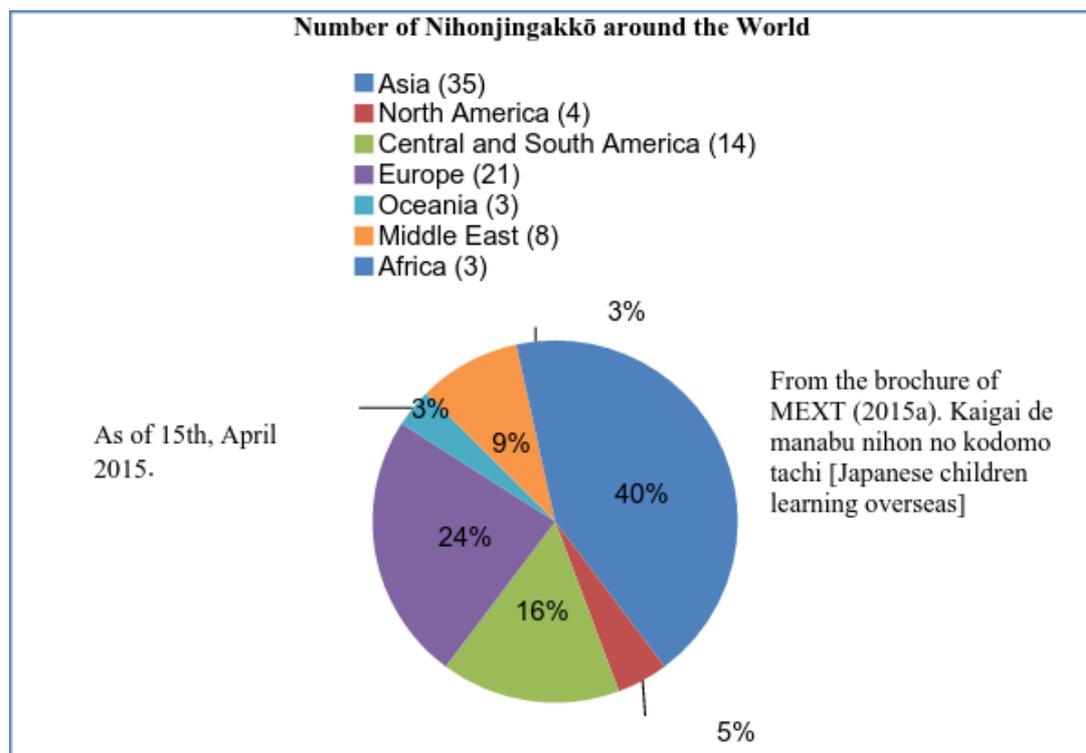
Graph 1: Number of *Nihonjingakkō* around the world.

The Research Setting

The school was established in the 1970s by the Japanese Club, and is one of the oldest and largest *nihonjingakkō* in Europe. Located in a quiet, suburban area of the Flemish-speaking part of Belgium, the school's spacious campus comprises a two-storey building, athletic field, an indoor gymnasium, a library, a music room, and an infirmary. The school also has an official policy of celebrating multilingualism and multiculturalism, reflected in field trips to local museums and class exchange visits with Belgian schools.

       Approximately 300 pupils between the ages of 5 and 15 attend the school. Except for

English and French language classes, students mainly speak Japanese in the school. Yet some students, due to their transient lifestyle, have acquired a fluent level of English before enrolling at the school. After school, some students enjoy activities such as music, or sports. Students' parents are fixed-term sojourners working as employees of Japanese or multinational companies, or Japanese government agencies. Therefore, students return to Japan, or move to other countries within 2-3 years. This life trajectory pattern inevitably impacts upon the students' educational and languages choices, which are however mostly made by parents.

Curriculum

As noted above, the role of a *nihonjingakkō* is to offer a Japanese education equivalent to that of Japan. Therefore, Japanese is mandatory from primary 1 to junior high 3, and English is taught from primary 5. However, the school investigated as part of this study also has its own language courses, which are English and French conversation classes taught by foreign language teachers. While French is compulsory for primary 1st and 2nd years, students have to choose either French or English when they enter the primary 3rd year. However, since English is the compulsory subject in junior high, students who choose French are also required to take English classes taught by Japanese teachers. Thus, students who choose English will have additional time to study English.

Years	Japanese	English	French
Primary 1 to 2 (ages 5-7)	7hrs/week	N/A	2.5hrs/week
Primary 3 to 4 (ages 7-9)	5.3hrs/week	2.5hrs/week	2.5hrs/week
Primary 5 to 6 (ages 10-12)	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week

Junior High 1 (ages 12-13)	3.5hrs/week	3.7hrs/week	3hrs/week
Junior High 2 (ages 13-14)	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week	3hrs/week
Junior High 3 (ages 14-15)	2.9hrs/week	3.8hrs/week	2hrs/week

Table 2: General Overview of Language Courses as of 2014.

Source: School Handbook

Participants

The participants for this study are the school principal and 11 language teachers (4 Japanese and 7 non-Japanese), all of whom have a strong educational background with a university or higher level degree. The school principal and all Japanese teachers (2 teachers of Japanese and 2 teachers of English) were recruited by the Japanese Government, and all non-Japanese teachers (3 French teachers, 4 English teachers) are from European countries, including Belgium, Ireland, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The majority of the language teachers had been abroad before teaching at the *nihonjingakkō*, and are bilingual or multilingual. English was used as a school lingua franca, and I did not witness any language or culture barrier between Japanese and foreign language teachers. Both groups worked together to improve their pedagogy and curriculum.

Methodology

In this study, I adopted a post-modern approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Holliday, 2007). This seemed appropriate given the focus on complex language ideologies apparent in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, and that the study involves a Japanese diasporic education with which I am familiar. Unlike modernist research, which tends to maintain objectivity by keeping a distance from the research site and participants, a post-modernist perspective privileges a deeper engagement with the research participants. With regard to my study, I considered it neither achievable nor indeed desirable to be a neutral researcher, and

recognised the need for a methodology that would allow an interpretive approach to its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). It is necessary to acknowledge that my status as a doctoral student, background as a former returnee, and characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, and age would influence my relationship with the participants and thus the co-construction of knowledge obtained in the course of this study (see Creese & Blackledge, 2012).

After gaining research approval from the school in spring 2015, I conducted two fieldwork sessions in summer 2015 and autumn 2015, with each lasting about 2-3 days. The principal source of data was a series of semi-structured face-to-face interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), focus group interviews (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013), and e-mail interviews (Gibson, 2010) carried out in English with non-Japanese teachers and in Japanese with Japanese teachers. However, for the interview with a Belgian French teacher who is also fluent in Japanese, I used both English and Japanese. I also gathered data from multiple sources including: questionnaires, classroom observation, and written documents such as the school handbook, textbooks, and the school website. Given the limited space available, the data presented in this article will only come from a semi-structured face-to-face interview with the school principal and two focus group interviews with the Japanese teachers of English and the Belgian teachers of French.

The interview data was transcribed in a "cleaned-up" style (Elliott, 2005), since my major research interest was in the content rather than the form of the verbal data. I excluded all nonverbal cues, suprasegmentals, acoustic sounds, and nonvocal sounds. The content was transcribed in both languages in which I carried out interviews, English and Japanese. I then translated the interview transcripts. These translations were verified by colleagues who have professional training in Japanese-English translation.

The content analysis (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011) was employed to identify overlapping themes which emerged from the interviews with participants. These themes were coded and categorised, such as students' languages choice, which shall be discussed in the following section in relation to the research focus of this paper.

Findings and Discussion

Impact of School Entrance Exam on Language Choice
In the first session of fieldwork, I held an interview with the principal of the *nihonjingakkō* regarding foreign language education in the school. Although the principal stressed the

importance of learning the local language of French, he problematised the tendency for the majority of the students to choose English rather than French.

> I do not know the ratio. But there are many students who choose English, and there are few students who choose French. The foreign language teachers will probably say the same thing. Students get caught up with school entrance examinations, regardless of their initial intention. When students foresee their future, they think about the school entrance examination. So the language that is not related to school entrance examination, it's a strange story -students choose English rather than French.

The strong influence of the school entrance examination was also reported in a focus group interview conducted with the Japanese teachers of English[1].

> Shinichi: Well, the parents' needs are [for their children to learn] English.
> S
> akura: Especially when they get older. No matter when you return to Japan in the near future, the students will be taking their high school entrance examination. Although I am not a linguist, from the linguistic point of view, no matter what language you learn, the process of learning the language itself will eventually be very beneficial in learning English. […]
>
> Shinichi: We have been told by parents. English becomes stronger. For us, you see, we would like students to learn the local language. But there are parents' needs and one of our tasks is to support those needs.
>
> Sakura: Unless Japan's *juken eigo* changes [English for school entrance examination], the system of the English entrance examination will not change. If there is a major change in the system of English for the school entrance examination, then there would be great change. […]

Although both Shinichi and Sakura would like students to learn French also, they have to cater to parents' demands for their children to learn English. A focus group interview was held with the French language teachers, Emma and Elena. Here, Emma raised concerns about the dominance of English while acknowledging the fact that the language will be highly important for students after their return to Japan.

> Well, […] it's kind of sad. Of course, we understand that parents want them to learn English for when they go back to Japan. Well it is English which will be important for them. But, I think […] the three of us all think that it's going to be easier for them if they learn French because they will adapt to the environment easily. […] I think it's a pity that they have to choose between French and English. They shouldn't [have to] choose. They should [be able to] have both languages.

After Emma had voiced her opinion about having a dual English and French programme, Elena reported that the majority of students choose English believing that it will help them learn *juken eigo*, which she calls English Japanese.

> So most of them choose English because they think that it will be easier to learn the English Japanese. But it's a conversation class. and the content, and the way of

teaching the English of the Japanese programme is quite different.

Elena is sceptical that selecting English courses taught by non-Japanese teachers will be helpful for students when they return to Japan, since the class focuses on conversation and not on grammar and translation valued in *juken eigo*.

Interest in Learning French

Even though English dominance is prevalent in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, some students do choose French and not English. According to interviews with French language teachers, students who chose French were driven by their integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972); Emma notes:

> But most of the time it's the students who are very interested in languages and the culture. Or they do an out-of-school activity such as football, and they want to learn more French to strengthen ties with local people.

Louis, who has taught in the *nihonjingakkō* for 18 years, gave a further description of students' and parents' increasing interest in learning French by comparing the past and present.

> `I remember a teacher who worked in the school before me. From the start of the school, many years ago, she worked here for more than 20 years, and, what she said was, at that period, Japanese students thought that French classes were kind of a play time. […].` 遊ぶ *Asobu* ("Play"). They didn't see it [French] as something serious to study. That's really changing. And I think it's coming partly from the parents […] them being more conscious about the importance of languages, and I think they give that message to their children. And they show it also through coming to us, and asking, "What can I do so my child improves his French?"

Discussion

This article has presented a snapshot of what makes the majority of students in *nihonjingakkō* choose English instead of French, and indicated why some students chose French. Selected extracts from the interview data illustrate the following points.

First, despite the fact that students and parents are residing in Belgium, most of the students and parents select English. This tendency can be best explained by the strong influence Japan's school entrance examination has on students' and parents' language choice, as learning languages other than English is perceived as unnecessary for this examination.

Second, there are, however, some students who choose French instead of English. This can be attributed to several factors: (1) students are interested in French and the culture

associated with the language, (2) students would like to further develop their relationship with local people by improving their French, and (3) as a personal fulfilment of learning another language since many students have achieved a high level of English. Moreover, there is a growing interest amongst students and parents in learning French.

In sum, the overemphasis on English within Japan's school entrance examination may deter students from learning foreign languages other than English. In Japan, except for a brief interruption during World War Two[21], English has been generally embraced as the dominant foreign language beneficial for personal and economic development (Seargeant, 2011). The power and longevity of socio-historically constructed ideologies of English prevalence in the context of Japan's foreign language education may be reproduced in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

However, language ideologies are multiple and constantly evolving, influenced by various social and political factors. The discourse in which foreign languages other than English are not widely valued and learnt is yet another discourse that cements the linguistic relations of power. Attention needs to be paid to the social practices that resist powerful discourse of English dominance, as seen in the emerging popularity of French in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

A growing interest in learning foreign languages other than English is reported by Sergeant (2009). In interviews held with Japanese participants who studied English at higher education, one student expresses the view that she needs to learn additional languages (French, Italian, and Spanish) since so many Japanese now speak English. Another participant says, "I want to be able to speak Chinese. The reason is simply because the Chinese population will be more dominant in business in future" (2009: 127). It can be said that the value of proficiency in Chinese as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) is increasing due to the rise of China's economic power (Kanno, 2008; Kubota, 2013).

In order to reinforce this counter ideology, one way is to encourage the government of Japan, specifically MEXT, to add more foreign languages as school subjects in high school, and as a subject for university entrance examination. Yet, there are difficulties in choosing which languages and how to implement a multilingual policy. It is possible that the proposal (JALP, 2014a) and guidelines (JALP, 2014b) given by the Japan Association for Language Policy (JALP) for high school students to choose 1 foreign language other than English from

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[1] However, scholars (Imura, 2003; Erikawa, 2009) have stated that some mainstream primary and secondary schools taught English even during the wartime.

7 possible choices (Arabic, Chinese, Korean, French, German, Russian, and Spanish) may become a starting point for discussion on Japan's multilingual education reform.

However, this measure may accelerate the linguistic divide that has been documented in studies (Kanno, 2008; Kubota, 2015) interested in "understanding the role played by language in the reproduction of social inequality" (Ricento, 2006: 13). These studies have argued that middle and upper class people have greater access to English language learning and usage. In this respect, promotion of multilingual education may inadvertently widen linguistic stratification, whereby privileged people have greater advantages to learn languages, and in light of the fact that most *kikokushijo* are children of the new global elite (Vandrick, 2011). This is not to say that those who lack social capital (Bourdieu, 1991) and economic prosperity cannot become multilingual. It may be naive to assume that simply offering languages other than English is in itself likely to foster multilingualism, but that further support to less privileged students must be offered.

Conclusion

As many scholars have discussed (e.g. Kanno, 2008; Kubota & McKay, 2009), due to the advance of globalisation, ethnic and linguistic diversity in classrooms in Japan is set to rise (Noguchi & Fotos, 2001). In most cases, teachers and students of *nihonjingakko* will eventually return to Japan, and are likely to bring with them new practices which will influence Japan's language education. Their experiences and knowledge will help support both teachers and students in Japan who are facing challenges pertaining to globalisation and transnational migration. Further investigations by academics and policymakers on overseas Japanese educational institutions, in particular in non-Anglophone settings, may provide additional insights for multilingual education policies.

Optimistically speaking, Japan's waning internal market and increasing involvement with foreigners may encourage people to study foreign languages other than English. Increasing economic and cultural ties with neighbouring nations may galvanise Japan to revise its foreign language education policy which overemphasises English. It is therefore important for all those working in the field of language education to recognise and promote increasing interest in multilingualism.

Acknowledgement

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[1] All names used are pseudonyms.

[2] However, scholars (Imura, 2003; Erikawa, 2009) have stated that some mainstream primary and secondary schools taught English even during the wartime.

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Interpreting and Negotiating Language Policy at the Local Level: A Case Study from Catalan-Speaking Spain

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Abstract

In the Balearic Islands, where two official languages (Spanish and Catalan) co-exist, movements have been made to increase the role of foreign languages (English, in particular) at the expense of the regional minority language, Catalan. This paper presents findings from a case study investigating language policy at an International Baccalaureate (IB) secondary school in the Balearic Islands. Data were gathered through interviews and classroom observations. Findings suggest that, while the school site maintains a degree of autonomy over its language policy, the local, historical, social, political, and ideological context impact on the promotion of Catalan in the classroom. The results also illustrate the complex interaction between the implementation of governmental legislation, oversight of the IB Organization, and the interpretation and negotiation of policymaking by school staff at the classroom level and elsewhere.

Keywords: Catalan, International Baccalaureate Organization, language maintenance, language policy, language policies in education

Résumé

Aux îles Baléares, où coexistent deux langues officielles (l'espagnol et le catalan), certains mouvements ont été faits pour accroître le rôle des langues étrangères (anglais en particulier) au détriment de la langue minoritaire régionale, le catalan. Cet article présente des résultats d'une étude de cas qui a examiné la politique linguistique dans un établissement d'enseignement secondaire du Baccalauréat international (BI) aux îles Baléares. Les données ont été recueillies à partir d'entrevues et d'observations en classe. Les résultats suggèrent que, alors que l'école maintient un degré d'autonomie par rapport à sa politique linguistique, le contexte local, historique, social, politique, et idéologique conserve une influence sur la promotion du catalan en classe. Les résultats illustrent également l'interaction complexe entre la mise en œuvre de la législation gouvernementale, la supervision de l'Organisation de BI, et l'interprétation et la négociation de prises de décision par le personnel scolaire au niveau de la classe et ailleurs.

Mots clés: Catalan, Organisation du Baccalauréat International, maintien de la langue, politique linguistique, politiques linguistiques en éducation

Resumen

En las Islas Baleares, donde dos idiomas oficiales (español y catalán) coexisten, se han realizado movimientos para incrementar el rol de las lenguas extranjeras (inglés, en particular) a costas del idioma regional minoritario, catalán. Este artículo presenta los resultados de un caso de estudio que investiga las políticas lingüísticas en una escuela secundaria de Bachillerato Internacional (IB en inglés) en las Islas Baleares. Los datos fueron recolectados por medio de entrevistas y observaciones de clases. Los resultados sugieren que, mientras la escuela mantiene un grado de autonomía sobre su política lingüística, los contextos locales, históricos, sociales, políticos, e ideológicos impactan la promoción del catalán en la sala de clases. Los resultados también ilustran la compleja interacción entre la implementación de la legislación gubernamental, el descuido de la organización de bachillerato internacional, y la

interpretación y negociación de la creación de políticas por parte del equipo escolar a nivel de la sala de clase y fuera de ella.

Palabras clave: catalán, Organización de Bachillerato Internacional, mantención del idioma, política lingüística, políticas lingüísticas en educación

Introduction

This article presents findings from one case study that was part of a larger research project in which researchers from the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) in Washington, DC, investigated the development and implementation of language policy in eight International Baccalaureate (IB) schools around the world. The paper explores how staff at a secondary school in the Balearic Islands, Spain, balance the regional language-in-education policy with the requirements of being an International Baccalaureate school, together with their own beliefs about the importance of Catalan in education. The study site, IES Mar Blau[1] is a state secondary school located in an officially bilingual region in Spain where Spanish (the official national language for all of Spain) and Catalan (the regional minority language of the Balearic Islands) have co-official status, as per the Spanish Constitution. According to the 2011 national census, 84% of the population in the Balearic Islands has some level of knowledge of Catalan (IBESTAT, 2014). The school's language policy aims to protect and promote Catalan, endorse multilingualism and the values of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO), and adhere to the regional policies governing education.

The aim of the current paper is to understand how school staff interpret and negotiate language policies in everyday practice. Menken and García suggest that investigation of the negotiation of language education policies in schools around the world can "provide educators with deeper understandings of this process to guide their implementation of language policies in schools and classrooms" (2010, pp. 1-2). This study deals with how the symbolic value assigned to English as a language-of-instruction (LOI) and the way the school responds to the pressure of introducing this language are "indexical of the negotiation of bilingualism as ideology and social practice" (Relaño Pastor, 2015, p. 132). Recent approaches to language policy research reflect an earlier UNESCO resolution regarding the importance of students maintaining a positive identity towards the languages used in their home and community (Wiley, 2008). The current case study fits within this recent thread of language policy, recognising where human rights fit into both the function of top-down language policy development as well as bottom-up implementation, which is seen as dynamic, responsive, and context-specific (Fee et al., 2014).

The paper will first provide background on the value and reputation of the IBO network in the field of education, including its orientation towards multilingualism, and how IB programmes and language policies have been implemented in multilingual communities. An overview of the context of the school setting will follow, with a particular focus on the local political landscape that serves as a backdrop to language policy in the region, and how this fits into the larger national and global context. After a review of the methodology, the article will present findings from school interviews and classroom observations with three teachers in the secondary school. The discussion focuses on the extent to which contextual factors of a particular school influence the development and implementation of its language policy, and how the administrators and teachers interpret and negotiate language policy at the school and classroom level. Finally, there will be a discussion of themes that emerged as factors that influenced staff's ability to negotiate and implement a language policy that allowed them to protect and promote Catalan while adhering to the polices of their governing bodies, the regional government and the IBO.

The International Baccalaureate Organization and Multilingualism

The IBO is a non-profit educational organisation with programmes in over 4,500 schools around the world (IBO, 2016). A school must complete an application process that can take between two and three years before it is an authorised IB school (IBO, 2017). As part of its mission, the IBO promotes intercultural perspectives, including multilingualism, and considers students' ability to communicate in a variety of modes in multiple languages as key to achieving this world view (IBO, 2011). In this vein, the IBO requires its schools to develop and implement their own language policies; these should align with the intercultural and multilingual values of the organisation and the linguistic and cultural context of the community in which the school is based.

The larger body of research to which this study is integral, found that great variation existed in the treatment of language and language policies in the eight IB schools that were a part of the study (Fee, Liu, Duggan, Arias, & Wiley, 2014). The other case studies included other multilingual settings, including a French LOI school in Canada; a trilingual English-Spanish-Hebrew private Jewish school in Mexico; and a private English LOI school in India with Hindi and Tegulu as additional LOIs. In some of these cases, the language policies were developed only by top-level administrators, such as principals or IB coordinators in the school, while in other instances the schools incorporated input from the school community.

The report found that different schools' approaches to language policy development and implementation often reflected the ways in which those schools understood language and linguistic issues. The school that is the focus of this paper, IES Mar Blau, is similar to the French LOI school in Canada, in that both schools use a politically-charged minority language as their LOI, as part of an effort to promote and protect the status of a national minority language. In these two cases, the school community has a more heightened awareness of how language is both a tool and a symbol of identity (Fee et al, 2014).

Schools often adopt an IB programme because of the prestige associated with the global curriculum (Bunnell, 2008); the opportunity it affords for teachers to be recognised for outstanding practice and to take on leadership roles (Hallinger & Lee, 2012); and the advantage it offers students for college admissions (Aldana & Mayer, 2014). The image of IB schools has typically been one of elite programmes, with a curriculum designed to cater to high-performing students (Bunnell, 2008).

The IBO network of schools has experienced rapid growth, increasing the number of IB programmes offered by 44.5% between 2011 and 2016 (IBO, 2016). The site of the current study, which adopted the IB's Diploma Program (DP) in school year 2012-13, is part of the most recent growth of the IB programmes.

Catalan and Language-in-Education Policies in the Balearic Islands

The study was carried out in the Balearic Islands in Spain, an autonomous region that has two co-official languages, Spanish and Catalan, as granted by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the region's Statute of Autonomy. Although Catalan was a fully standardised language and the principal official language of the Crown of Aragon in the late Middle Ages, it was supplanted by Spanish in following centuries. Catalan enjoyed a period of *renaixença* [rebirth] during the 19th century; however, with the military dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1929) and Francisco Franco (1939–1975), Catalan, along with the other regional minority languages in Spain, was suppressed (Vila-i-Moreno, 2008). Its use was prohibited in broadcast media, publications, and shop signs; Catalan was also outlawed in education (Strubell, 2011). The language did not regain official status until 1978, and regional governments in Catalan-speaking areas began to assert its standing in language policies and planning (Strubell, 2011). The Spanish Constitution of 1978 names Castilian Spanish as the official language of Spain, but grants "the 'other Spanish languages' official status in their respective autonomous communities" (Plann, 2009: 369). This includes Catalan in Catalonia,

Valencia, and the Balearic Islands; Basque in the Basque Country; and Galician in Galicia (Plann, 2009).

In the decades following the adoption of the Spanish Constitution, language policy in the Balearic Islands has been closely tied to the Islands' political situation, which has, in turn, been influenced by both the movement to revitalise Catalan and the Balearic identity and neoliberal policies seen elsewhere in Spain and around the world (Relaño Pastor, 2015). Neoliberalism in this context can be seen as putting a price on something (language) that was previously not viewed or produced as a commodity (Harvey, 2005). As critically examined by Heller, the framing of language as commodity is part of the globalised new economy in late modernity, and one of the areas where "tensions and contradictions of commodifying language" are found is in language teaching (2010, p. 107). Although there is disagreement in whether language can be viewed as a commodity (Holborow, 2015), neoliberal policies in this context refer to "the flow of material and symbolic capital facilitated by the mobility of communities of speakers in a deregulated economic market" that adds "value to English as a global language that is available for public" (Relaño Pastor, 2015: 138). In what began in 1986 as a series of policies that sought to promote Catalan as an LOI, language policies, particularly in the last decade, have fluctuated between emphasising the role of Catalan in the curriculum (centre-leftist governments) and reducing the amount of Catalan in the curriculum (conservative governments). The centre-leftist promotion of Catalan can be seen as consistent with a linguistic rights perspective on the maintenance of minority languages through education (Hornberger 1998), as well as being in line with other efforts to revitalise a minority language through use in education, as has been successful with Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand (May, 1996) and Hebrew in Israel (Spolsky, 1995).

The Language Normalization Act of 1986 dictated that all students in the Balearic Islands should be able to use Catalan and Spanish correctly by the end of compulsory education at 16, granting Catalan an opportunity to regain a formal place in education (Juan-Garau & Salarzar-Noguera, 2014). In 1997, a policy known as the Decree of Minimums was introduced, requiring that a minimum of 50% of the curriculum was delivered in Catalan (Conselleria de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, 1997). The policy was not greatly enforced until 1999 when the Pacte de Progrés, a centre-leftist coalition government, gained power and required that all teachers demonstrate knowledge of Catalan (Arnau & Vila, 2013). In 2011, when the conservative Partido Popular (PP) gained control of the regional government, they repealed the Language Normalization Act and the Decree of Minimums, and in 2013

introduced a new law known as the Tratamiento Integrado de Lenguas [Integrated Treatment of Languages] (TIL) (Arnau & Vila, 2013). TIL proposed a trilingual model of education in which the time of instruction would be divided equitably between Spanish, Catalan, and a foreign language, preferably English (Govern de les Illes Balears, 2013). The law describes its objectives as twofold: for students "to acquire command of the two official languages and appropriate competencies in the foreign language of the education plan of the school, preferably English" (Govern de les Illes Balears, 2013).[2] The passage of TIL can be viewed as the PP aligning its policies with its conservative counterparts elsewhere in Spain (in Madrid, for example), and embracing the teaching of English as the promotion of a valuable and marketable skill in the neoliberal job market (Relaño Pastor, 2015).

The law was to be implemented at the start of the 2013-14 school year, but opposition by teachers, school administrators, parents, and students was so strong that strikes delayed the start of the school year by nearly a month (Nichols, 2013). The opposition to TIL stemmed from two main concerns: first, that the emphasis on English would reduce the role of Catalan in schools, therefore also shifting its societal importance as a key local resource; and second, that the schools lacked the human and financial resources to implement such a model effectively (Juan-Garau & Salarzr-Noguera, 2014).

During the time the study was conducted in spring 2014, the state of the new TIL language policy was in flux; however, staff at IES Mar Blau were continuing to follow their school language policy, which still aligned with the Decree of Minimums. In September 2014, the issue of TIL went to the courts, where the Supreme Court of the Balearic Islands nullified the law, on the grounds that the government had not consulted with the University of the Balearic Islands, which is the advisory body on all topics relating to the Catalan language in the Balearic Islands (Manresa, El Pais, 2014).

Methodology

The current study was part of a larger body of work investigating language policy in IBO schools. The research questions in this paper focus on how contextual factors of a particular school might influence the development and implementation of its language policy, and how the administrators and teachers interpret and negotiate language policy at the school and classroom level.

Data Collection and Analysis

The research team used a multisite case study approach (Yin, 2003) to explore the development and implementation of language policy at the eight schools. The data from this case study were collected in April 2014 during a two-day visit to the high school in Spain. Five interviews were carried out, and a total of 153 minutes of recorded interviews was collected. Three teachers were interviewed, as well as two school administrators. The visit also included classroom observations of one class period for each of the three teachers interviewed, totalling 135 minutes of observation time. The interview and observations were guided by protocols developed by the research team and informed by Kvale (1996), as well as Hymes (1980). Protocols were developed to capture the classroom setting, including the class period and time of class; the topic of the lesson; the classroom seating arrangements; the student population in terms of number, ethnicities and language backgrounds; language used for instruction and communication by the teacher; whether and how the teacher encourages the use of languages other than the primary LOI in the classroom; languages used by students in the classroom; and non-verbal behaviour by the teacher or students. Following Kvale's framework, interviews were conducted as conversations, with the structure and purpose defined and controlled by the researcher (1996). Interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder and were saved to a computer and a USB drive.

The interview and observation data were examined using content analysis, which provides "a research method for subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278; see also Kvale, 1996). Since data collection and analysis is inevitably a selective process (Miles & Huberman, 1994), the data were theme-categorised primarily based on the research questions.

School Characteristics

In the 2013-14 school year, IES Mar Blau had over 700 students and was preparing to graduate its first class of IB Diploma Program (DP) students. At the time of the study, there were 21 students in year one of the DP and 18 students in year two.

Participants

The three main participants were content area teachers at the school: an English teacher, a physics teacher, and a Catalan teacher. Additionally, two school administrators were interviewed. The teachers observed in the study were chosen because they taught subjects included in the IB DP programme and their classes included the use of the three LOIs of the

school and the DP programme. The three classes included an English class, a Physics class, and a Catalan literature class.

Findings and Discussion

Language Policy at Mar Blau

Mar Blau first adopted a language policy in the early 1990s that was designed to protect and promote Catalan. The language policy was then re-evaluated and revised in order to meet the requirements of the IBO when the school joined the IB network in 2012.

Mar Blau's version of the language policy revised for inclusion in the IB programme echoes the protection and promotion of Catalan in the language policy document written in the early 1990s. The written policy document allows for the school's unique context and addresses the local government policies, the community's language profile, the students' language profiles, and the role of Catalan as a minority language in the region. The language philosophies on which the document is based call for a culture of dialogue to contribute to a more peaceful world and a commitment to the culture and languages of the region, as well as a commitment to the integration of newly-arrived individuals. The principle objective of the language policy is that all students will be competent in both official languages of the region, Catalan and Spanish, a position in line with the Language Normalization Act of 1986, as well as the Decree of Minimums. A secondary objective is that the school will aim to produce students who are competently trilingual in Catalan, Spanish and either English or French.

In terms of the organisation of languages, the language policy dictates that Catalan is the medium of instruction in the school and that English and French are considered foreign languages. The policy states that the subject of Catalan will always be taught in Catalan, and, similarly, the subject of Spanish will always be taught in Spanish. Foreign languages are ideally to be taught in the foreign language, but when that is not possible, the LOI of the school is to be used. The rest of the subjects are to be given in either Catalan or Spanish, depending in part on the requirements of the *Consejería de Educación* [Department of Education] for secondary education. The exception is the subject of technology, which is to be taught in English, in a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) model in the 2nd and 3rd years of obligatory secondary education (the four years that precede Baccalaureate study).

As per the language policy, all formal documents of the school are written in Catalan, except for documents that are presented to bodies outside of the bilingual region, which are to be written in Catalan and Spanish or in English or French. The school website is written

entirely in Catalan, as is the menu in the school cafeteria. The language policy is posted on the school's website in Catalan, and a version in Spanish also exists. All of the signs in the hallways of Mar Blau indicating directions, offices, and rules are also written in Catalan.

Language Policy Implementation in the Classroom

Data collected from the interviews and classroom observations shed some light on the practices of teachers in the classroom. The English teacher described her implementation of the language policy by saying that she uses English 100% inside and outside of the classroom for interacting with students. Observation of her class supported this assertion, as the teacher never used Catalan or Spanish in the classroom. The teacher explained definitions of words in English; she used gestures and drawings on the board to reinforce meaning, gave examples that were relevant to the students to illustrate the meaning of phrases and idioms, and did not provide translations in Catalan or Spanish. Students often spoke to one another in side conversations in Catalan or Spanish to confirm their comprehension.

Similarly, the Catalan teacher taught the subject of Catalan exclusively in Catalan. During the class that was observed, students responded to questions and prompts in Catalan and all the writing on the chalkboard was in Catalan. As in the English class, side conversations between students were in both Catalan and Spanish.

The physics teacher described her implementation of the policy as being "intuitive." She understood that the main LOI is Catalan, but that her students would be taking exams (and therefore completing coursework) in Spanish, and she could also include English where she felt it was appropriate. She decided the class textbook would be in English because although the main LOI is still Catalan, she felt that having additional materials and the textbook in English improved the students' English, as well as their cognitive ability to switch between languages, and also prepared them to study physics anywhere in the world. The observation of her classroom supported her description of a trilingual environment. The teacher mainly, but not exclusively, delivered the class in Catalan. She used some materials from a website in English which was projected on the board so the vocabulary was visually present to students in English. Students also had worksheets written in Spanish, though Spanish was rarely spoken during the lesson.

Interpretation and Negotiation of Language Policy

On a very basic level, the Catalan teacher noted that that the school's language policy has always been closely linked to regional education policies. She felt the school has always

reacted to and adopted policies implemented by the regional government. Further data analysis revealed a major theme associated with views held by teachers and administrators: that the current regional policy, the TIL, was a top-down imposition of a government with little consideration for what is best for education or the practical implications of shifts in language planning and policy. Administrator B of Mar Blau expressed the following sentiments about the TIL:

> From this year, the students that have begun obligatory secondary school have to take classes in Catalan, Spanish, and English. *But it isn't working. Well, that is the rule, but the reality is that, above all in English, it isn't possible* … Those are the developments, let's call them, but we are waiting. Imagine that! Here we are in April and *we are waiting, we don't know what will happen next year*. (Emphasis added.)

The physics teacher mentioned feeling as though they were waiting on the government's directive as well, "The new law obliges us to teach something like 33, 33, 33% like English, Catalan, and Spanish. Although it's very controversial, so now we're in the middle of nowhere, somewhere in between the two places." Likewise, the Catalan teacher commented, "[W]e are at an impasse with the government's policy and we don't know very well which way they are going to direct us."

The English teacher also described the government's power in shaping the role of languages in education. She described it as the government trying to "*force* Catalan out of it … they wanted to *force schools* to teach in, directly, three languages … So 33% each in Catalan, Spanish and English." (Emphasis added.)

Although the reaction of these staff members mainly addressed the imposition of the policy as a top-down directive that they considered ill-informed in terms of effective implementation, there was also the sense that teachers were asserting further opposition based on ideological[3] concerns related to the reduced emphasis on Catalan and increased emphasis on both Spanish and English. This sentiment was highlighted by the Catalan teacher when she remarked, "the new government doesn't favour teaching in Catalan. Their new plan is to promote trilingualism in English/Spanish/Catalan as if the three are equally integrated in society, which is not the case. This social balance is not reflected at all in society."

A second theme that emerged, concerned the role of the IBO policies, primarily the fact that the IB exams were required to be taken in Spanish, even though Catalan is the LOI of the school. The staff appeared to have accepted the exams in Spanish as a trade-off for being an IB school, and more importantly, being an IB school that uses a minority language as its primary LOI. Administrator A described the tension between having to take the exams in

Spanish and the desire to use Catalan by noting, "We have tried, despite having to do the external exams in Spanish, we have tried all the while to continue protecting and promoting Catalan." She also described the decision to become an IB school, as an opportunity for the school to promote Catalan on a larger scale: "When we thought about applying to the IB, we did it precisely because we knew there was a large respect for minority languages, at least in Europe if not in the rest of the world." Administrator B similarly remarked on their decision to use Catalan as the main LOI in the IB programme, "Mar Blau chose Catalan as main language of school and as the language of the IB programme as part of the recuperation process, and to give Catalan prestige on an international scale."

Discussion

The study suggests that, while the staff feel they must balance the obligations associated with the regional government's language-in-education policy and the ideals of the IBO framework, they also exercise agency regarding language choices and use in the classroom. The physics teacher expressed this sentiment the strongest when she described her language use in the classroom as "intuitive"— by acknowledging that provided she followed some basic rules (primary LOI is Catalan, exam is in Spanish), she felt free to use Catalan, Spanish, and English in her classroom flexibly.

One of the main factors that contributes to the staff's negotiation of language policy is their strong belief in the important role of Catalan in education. The school's language policy document lists proficiency in Catalan, as well as Spanish, as its primary objective. In the interviews, staff discussed the significance of Catalan in the community, and the importance of using it in education as a means of promoting maintenance and giving prestige. Although none of the staff identified it explicitly, their ideological position on the use of Catalan is consistent with a linguistic rights perspective on the maintenance of minority languages through education. According to Hornberger (1998), in successful cases of language revitalisation or reversal of language shift, it is crucial that the native language is valued by the community. Similarly, Eisenlohr highlights the importance of a link between "what is identified as a language to be revitalized and desirable notions of community and identity, often conceived in ethnic terms in a politics of recognition" as "vitally important to the creation of these movements of language activism geared toward language renewal and language shift reversal" (2004, p. 22). The school community of Mar Blau both values the minority Catalan language, and sees it as part of the Balearic identity.

Another theme that emerged as a driver of the staff's negotiation of language policy is their respect for all languages, and a desire to be inclusive of all language and all people. The physics teacher explained how the technology CLIL class taught in English had evolved to make the opportunities for language learning available to all students by noting, "When we starting teaching in English to 13 year olds, we were supposed to choose the best students and we did that for a few years, and then we decided it was better to have an all-inclusive thing." Describing the process of adapting the school's language policy for the IB programme, the English teacher commented, "we talked with all the language departments to make sure that all languages are respected, which is one of the keystones of the school … The goal of the European Sections has been to help students use English in real-life situations … at no time was it meant to exclude either Catalan or Spanish." When discussing the opportunities that the school has attempted to provide to both students and staff for learning English, the English teacher added, "this is not English taking over a school." The staff have tried to balance the desire to give students opportunities to use and learn English in practical settings, with the commitment to maintaining Catalan as the primary LOI at the school. This has been done through a number of initiatives and opportunities for learning and improving English outside class time. The school serves as an examination centre for a certification of English language proficiency where students and teachers can prepare for the exams and can get an accredited diploma. They also have a programme with the local *Escuela Oficial de Idiomas* (EOI) [Official Language School], which allows students to earn a diploma reflecting their foreign language competency from the EOI. Students also have opportunities to participate in exchange programmes with students in English-speaking countries.

The teachers' perception of the open-mindedness of the school and support of the administration was another theme that emerged. Teachers felt they had some autonomy in implementing policy and proposing opportunities to enhance language learning at the school. For example, the English teacher described the getting approval for becoming an examination centre for English language proficiency exams: "we immediately decided 'oh this is the thing for us' […] We came to our headmaster and said 'we want to do this, please let us do this.' And he said yes." She noted that hosting the examination centre is "a lot of work, but he's [the headmaster] always said yes. So I guess I would say that the fact that the school is open-minded about this, meant that implementing a language policy for the IB was very easy." The Catalan teacher mentioned the support of administration as a factor for her participation as a teacher in the IB programme: "The principal is important. I signed up for IB because I knew it

had the support of the principal."

Conclusion

The staff at Mar Blau negotiate and appropriate policy by maintaining a strong belief in the value of their regional minority language, embracing the values of the IBO, and recognising the limitations that regional education policies impose on their decisions. For as long as the regional government in the Balearic Islands continues to change power between parties, the staff at Mar Blau will need to continue the negotiation – finding ways to continue to include Catalan in the curriculum and as a core part of the school's identity regardless of whether the regional education policies *de jour* emphasise Catalan or English.

In 2015, the centre-left PSOE regained control of the regional government and affirmed their stance on promoting the role of Catalan in education and denouncing the PP's prior platform of trilingual education (Manresa, 2015). However, as the general political direction of Spain remains unclear after three indecisive elections in 2015 and 2016, it seems as though the fluctuation between conservative and centre-left parties in the Balearic Islands might be expected to continue in the near future. Although there may be restraints in the form of regional governmental policies in future, the staff at Mar Blau, and the Balearic community at large, have displayed a commitment to protect and promote their minority language. Catalan will thus continue to have a central role in education through the school's language policy and through its involvement with the IBO, even as emphasis on English as a foreign language becomes ever more dominant in education policymaking within the nation-state of Spain and beyond.

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[1] Pseudonyms have been used and interviewees anonymised.

[2] All translations are by the author.

[3] Ideological is used here following the IBO's definition of language ideology, taken from Hornberger and McKay, who see language ideologies as the "understandings, beliefs and expectations that influence all choices made by language users" (2010, p. 28).

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Book Review

Foreign Language Education in Japan: Exploring Qualitative Approaches, **Sachiko Horiguchi, Yuki Imoto, and Gregory S. Poole (Eds.) (2015). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 191 pages, Paperback €45.20 ISBN: 978-94-6300-323-0 (paperback**)

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This collection of ten chapters discusses the complexities present in the enactment of language education policies and their impact on local educational and language practices in and beyond Japan. Exploring the topic on various levels such as state, institutional, classroom, and individual, and through qualitative methodologies, the book illustrates the "cacophony of voices" (p.1) lurking in Japanese society which reflect the ideologies of nation state, language, and national identity. As the contributors to this volume come from not only applied linguistics but also anthropological backgrounds, the book provides unique insights into foreign language education in Japan.

The volume opens with a Foreword by Ryuko Kubota. Here, Kubota highlights the importance of examining language education policies and practices at both macro and micro levels.

Chapter 1 is written by the book's editors, Sachiko Horiguchi, Yuki Imoto, and Gregory S. Poole, and introduces the social and historical background of foreign language education in Japan, particularly English language education. The authors illustrate the historical processes of the formation and reformation of education in Japan, by interweaving its relationship with the social, political and economic shifts of the country. This introductory chapter sets the stage for the discussions in subsequent chapters.

The first section of the book, from Chapter 2 to 6, explores issues of implementing national and transnational education policies in various contexts and institutions both in and outside Japan. The second section, from Chapter 7 to 10, focuses on issues of learning in the context of English language education.

In Chapter 2, Kiri Lee and Neriko Musha Doerr report on an ethnographic study investigating the constraints in establishing and managing a weekend Japanese language school in the US, from the perspectives of the local administrators and the principals deployed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT). The chapter

discusses how MEXT's principle of educating the children of Japanese citizens overseas with a standardised curriculum and state-sponsored textbooks is at odds with the diverse student body, such as children of inter-racial couples and/or with US permanent residency. Lee and Doerr illuminate the incongruity between the image of Japanese citizens embedded in MEXT's approach and the changing relationships to the Japanese language as experienced by transnational families in the contemporary era.

In the following chapter, Thomas Hardy turns the spotlight on the processes of constructing government-approved English language textbooks for junior high school students in Japan. Hardy, a core member of the textbook writing team, reports on his long-term ethnographic study which explores how the identities of characters and locations in the textbooks are negotiated and created by the writers. Issues considered comprise: which nationalities should be included; which geographical location should be chosen for the main setting of the narratives; and which variety of English should be employed for conversations between the characters. The author argues that these decision-making processes construct the cultural *Other* in a particular way and draw the boundary between *us* and *them*.

The paradox of the globalisation discourses in Japanese society is discussed in Chapter 4, where Akiko Murata draws attention to the way in which English is promoted, both in and outside the educational institution. This chapter is based on two case studies. The first one explores language use during a graduate seminar in an engineering school where Japanese and international students study together. The second focuses on the career path of an Indian software engineer in the Japanese labour market. Through these case studies, the author points out that while English is assigned a role as a gatekeeper in the entry stage for foreign students and workers, and that the use of English is officially promoted in various professional contexts, it is Japanese language skills which set the boundaries for educational experiences and career mobility of foreign students and workers. Murata argues that these situations deprive both Japanese and international students of learning opportunities, as well as interfering with sustainable work relations between local and foreign workers.

Drawing on a detailed ethnographic case study (Chapter 5), Yuki Imoto and Sachiko Horiguchi portray the complexities of institutional reform in adopting a European language education policy - the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). The authors focus on the cultural politics involved in bringing a foreign policy into a Japanese institutional context. They also highlight some of the organisational politics present in the context of a large university undergoing institutional reform. Three main factors are identified

as contributing to the failure of the CEFR in Japan: multiple interpretations of the reform objectives and the policies; the status of individuals within each institution, and their ideological orientations towards foreign language education.

Chapter 6 by Gregory S. Poole and Hinako Takahashi discusses the challenges in practising alternative education in Japanese educational contexts. Their account of two private English-immersion primary schools reports that the schools' statuses of being both MEXT-accredited and English-immersion are attractive for the students' parents. This is because these features can offer their children a competitive edge by providing them with 'international' English skills, but still can secure their access to elite secondary schools and universities in Japan. However, the authors point out that the schools' other aim of nurturing students' critical thinking skills in an open classroom environment is secondary to the emphasis given to MEXT-school regulations, which, according to the authors, is closely linked to reinforcing notions of Japaneseness. In parallel with Chapter 2, this chapter raises an important question as to whether and how Japanese school systems can diversify educational opportunities.

The second part of the book (Chapter 7, 8, 9, and 10) focuses on issues of learning in the context of English language education. Thus, Chapter 7 by Tiina Matikainen explores teacher and student beliefs about what makes a good language teacher and a good learner. Interview data, collected from thirty students and five non-Japanese English teachers at a university in Japan, revealed that there was a consensus among the participants that being motivated was the most important characteristic of a successful language learner. On the other hand, the data also showed the difference between the teachers and the students as to their respective ideas of what constitutes a good language teacher. The chapter suggests that understanding each other's expectations and beliefs will help build shared cultures of learning in a classroom, maximising learning opportunities.

In Chapter 8, Akiko Katayama looks at the performances of Japanese EFL learners in a language classroom. The focal point of this chapter is the two differing, inconsistent language practices that Japanese junior college students with English majors demonstrated in two different courses. Drawing on Foucauldian notions of power and discourse, Katayama attempts to elucidate the students' complex attitudes towards learning English. Through observations and interviews, the author associates the students' passion for imitating native-like accents during a pronunciation class with their subjugation to the discourse of nativeness. On the other hand, the author argues that the adherence of the same group of students to

maintaining a heavy Japanese accent and their reluctance to speak English during a discussion class manifest the discourse of being proper 'Japanese' in power among their peer group. The chapter offers an alternative understanding of why incessant state interventions in English language education do not produce the intended outcome of linear development in learners' proficiency.

Chapter 9 by Rieko Matsuoka examines the transformation in Japanese nursing students' communication attitudes and behaviours when speaking English. The author proposes that reducing the level of communication apprehension is crucial for developing an individual's communicative competence in the target language. To illustrate how this socio-psychological state can be controlled, Matsuoka examines the students' understanding of their experiences of communicating in English as interns at an international academic conference. Through content analysis, the author identifies factors of 'competitiveness,' 'perfectionism,' and/or 'other-directedness' causing anxiety. The analysis of the interview data also reveals how these elements were minimised. Matsuoka argues that hands-on, local experiences of using English for communicative purposes led to the students developing their 'self-efficacy' and 'strategy' to increase their willingness to communicate in the target language.

The identity development of a high school English language teacher during a year-long internship at Temple University Japan Campus is reported by Patrick Rosenkjar in Chapter 10. The chapter presents the journal entries kept by the teacher during the internship, accompanied by the responses provided by his supervisor (Rosenkjar). Because of the contemporary situation whereby communicative language teaching has long been endorsed by MEXT for fostering learners' proficiency, the author focuses on how the teacher's perspectives on pedagogy shifted from the traditional grammar-translation method to the communicative approach.

The Afterword is provided by Neriko Musha Doerr, who critically evaluates the arguments developed and the underlying assumptions embedded in the preceding chapters, based on the following topics: (1) language proficiency; (2) native speaker myth; (3) the gap between the rhetoric surrounding and the actual reception of individuals with English proficiency; (4) the notion of English as a global language; (5) the implications of publishing this volume itself in English. While some readers may find it somewhat difficult to trace the connections between the previous chapters when reading them individually, this concluding chapter effectively summarises the interrelated issues as well as clarifying some contradictory points which emerged from the chapters. Doerr's Afterword raises important questions for

further discussions about change in language pedagogy and policy in Japan.

The volume ends with an Appendix consisting of discussion questions set for each chapter. These questions make this volume not only a collection of research papers but also case studies that allow policy makers, researchers, educators and students in the field of language education in Japan to engage in dialogues for policy interventions and pedagogical refinement.

Overall, the book clearly demonstrates the complex and intricate picture pertaining to foreign language education policies and practices in Japanese society, from multiple and interdisciplinary perspectives based on applied linguistics, sociology, and anthropology. However, some of the chapters seem slightly incongruous considering the focus of the book: the line of the arguments throughout the volume centres on the ideologies of nation state, national identity, and language, while other chapters concentrate on the internal processes of individual learners but without linking to the impact of ideologies and discourses that circulate in educational spheres. In addition, it might be argued that the title of the book, *Foreign Language Education in Japan* is misleading. Although the editors note in Chapter 1 that the book mainly focuses on English language education, the interrelationships between English and other foreign languages in the context of language education are largely left unexplored. As a consequence, the book unfortunately serves to underline the hegemony of English in Japan.

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Interview

Language Ideology and the Global Dominance of English. An interview with John O'Regan, Reader in Applied Linguistics at UCL Institute of Education, University College London

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> Dr. John O'Regan is a Reader in Applied Linguistics at the UCL Institute of Education, University College London. He specializes in World Englishes, intercultural communication and critical discourse analysis, and is the author of articles covering a wide range of topics in applied linguistics and cultural studies.
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Interviewer: Do you see any change in the way that scholars in the field study language and language ideologies?

O'Regan: I certainly do see differences in the way scholars approach ideology in relation to language: these are as a result of epistemological differences and perspectives largely around meaning. It was fashionable for a long time to talk about ideology in relation to discourse; often these terms were used interchangeably and without too much reflection on what the distinctions were between ideology and discourse. If you took a perspective that was more aligned with Foucault then you would probably say that ideology and discourse are the same sort of thing, that they are perspectival ways of seeing and knowing. The classical Marxist conception of ideology is that it is a form of false consciousness: that capitalism has effectively made us stupid and has, in the way in which it has arranged social relations, created forms of consciousness which make it difficult for us as human beings to see the reality of our material existence. If people could only see the reality, they would rise up and overthrow the system.

Ideology is often related to this notion of false or distorted consciousness, what Habermas calls distorted communication, that in some way we have been taken away from a path of true awareness of our real conditions of existence. Foucault is interested in understanding how people adopt the identities that they come to adopt in their lives, how people become subjects in relation to issues around power, and how we are always working in

and through relations of power. Any social institution or context has within it some form of subjectivity so that you have to occupy certain kinds of positions in order for the social event to take on a meaningful character. So, you came here to interview me today and you are occupying the subject position of interviewer, and I am occupying the subject position of interviewee. If I decided to do something completely different and not conform to the subjectivities which have been set up for this situation, and I decided to relate to you as if I were a shop assistant, then this would no longer work very well as an interview.

Interviewer: What would be the consequences if you were not operating based on this?

O'Regan: In order for some kinds of social relations to be meaningful, participants are required to adopt certain roles and functions. Foucault says wherever you can detect regular practices where people speak and act in certain kinds of ways, that is when you can start talking about a formation of practice. For Foucault, the history of humankind is a history of social practices: humans have created ways of thinking, knowing and believing about things which have organised their social practices. He called these discourses. For Foucault, discourse refers to ways of doing and ways of saying. That is what discursive practices are. When you have regularities in these areas, then you also potentially have discursive formations. For example, why is a university, a university? Because in the institution of the university there are all kinds of social practices going on which make this space a university, not a hospital, not a ship – but a university. The key thing for Foucault is that the discursive practices do not necessarily need to be true or false, they just need to be believed in. That is how you construct regimes of truth. This does not mean that the practices or the beliefs are true, only that people believe they are true. This brings us to the difference between discourse and ideology. Foucault would say there isn't any difference because they are just ways of doing and knowing and seeing and being. But he would say that he prefers discourse because the term ideology has a Marxist association with false consciousness, and the idea that it is concealing some kind of truth. But if you do not believe that there is any kind of truth, only practices and beliefs which people adhere to or do not adhere to, then the term ideology is problematic.

Interviewer: How do scholars move beyond the approaches taken by Foucault or Marx?

O'Regan: In thinking about these things scholars are ambivalent. Some prefer ideology, and others prefer discourse, or they use ideology and discourse in synonymous ways. Marnie

Holborow, for example, prefers to hold onto the term ideology in preference to the term discourse in any Foucauldian sense because of its association with relativism. She sees ideology as having causal effects related to capitalism which construct certain kinds of misleading beliefs and practices. Somebody like Alastair Pennycook would be much more inclined to use the term discourse to refer to these kinds of things than to use ideology.

There is a lot of confusion about ideology. Terry Eagleton gives seventeen different definitions of ideology in his book [*Ideology: An Introduction*] and one of those that he gives is the classical definition of ideology as false consciousness. This is a very strong definition, because to claim a false consciousness position is to claim you can see the truth that other people cannot see and I think that is somewhat problematic. Nevertheless, I do think that ideology has a property which enables it to become relatively invisible so that people stop noticing it anymore. In this sense, ideology can be thought of as a layered construct in which there are ideological positions that are near the surface so you can see them quite easily, and then there are ideological positions which are much further away and so more difficult to detect. There was recently a referendum in the UK about whether to leave the European Union (EU). Positions which were taken up in relation to Brexit were not very coherent. There was, for example, an anti-immigration position and, opposing this, an 'it will destroy the economy' position. These are ideological positions and it tended to be people who are fairly nationalistic, some might say 'right-wing', who supported the anti-immigration position. The pro-Brexit positions coalesced, as they have done in the United States, into an ideology which was largely anti-immigration, pro-capitalism and pro-neoliberalism. The anti-Brexit positions coalesced into an ideology which saw immigration as a benefit to the UK, and which was interested in a more managed welfare approach to capitalism. These are what I call ideologies near the surface. Gramsci was interested in the ideologies that were much further away from the surface. He was interested in how certain kinds of beliefs become normalised so that people no longer question them. They just think it is obvious that circumstances are the way that they are and so if you question that obviousness, people will look at you as if you are taking up a position that does not make sense. It is obvious, so why question it?

In scholarly work from the 1960s and 1970s, in sociology, in political science, in history but also in some aspects of linguistics, such as systemic functional linguistics, Marxist thinking was for a time quite influential. Marxism was very apparent in a lot of the literature. It is very much the opposite now – you get very little explicit reference to it. Part of the reason

for that is historical. One of the things that the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and then the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 did, was to enable postmodern and poststructuralist positions to overtake Marxist positions. In the 1990s and 2000s, alongside neoliberalism, we have had a flourishing of postmodernist and poststructuralist positions and the submersion of Marxist positions. Postmodernism and poststructuralism reject the notion of truth, while Marxism has always clung very solidly to a notion that there is some kind of truth to be achieved. What you find with poststructuralists and postmodernists, and then Marxists, is that they nevertheless often talk the same kind of language and offer a similar approach to questioning and critique. One might prefer to use discourse and the other might prefer to use ideology in their writings, but the critique is often quite similar in the way in which they deconstruct certain kinds of discourses or certain kinds of ideologies. In some ways, you can think of postmodernism, poststructuralism and Marxism as being on a similar journey; but with Marxism, there is a destination – a society without exploitation. With poststructuralism and postmodernism there is only interminable questioning, and never-ending critique – there is no final destination. Poststructuralism never lets positions settle. Settling is not good because it leads to the sedimentation or fixing of ideas and beliefs. When you have sedimentation of ideas, people start to believe in the sedimented ideas, and treat them as being the most common-sense ones. That is why poststructuralists are always trying to shake things up. The Marxists want to shake things up too, but with the end of overthrowing capitalism. This is their destination.

Interviewer: You have conducted research on Critical Discourse Analysis in the intercultural context of Islamism, white supremacy and multiculturalism. Do you think that discourses that derive from the UK politicians and the effects of these discourses can be found in other contexts? And how do you think they affect our identities as citizens that come into contact every day?

O'Regan: It is not enough to say there have been discourses or ideologies that have been in circulation in the UK which have then been reconstituted in other contexts such as the USA. It is much bigger than that. However, we did have a debate here about membership of the EU and then a few months later we had the election of Donald Trump, and I do think that there, similar discourses were involved. Indeed, Trump very explicitly made references to how his election was the USA's Brexit moment. There are a lot of parallels between the racism and the anti-immigration rhetoric that marked the Brexit campaign here and Trump's presidential

campaign in the US. I think that many of the positions that were taken up here lent themselves to some very distasteful positions towards fellow human beings, such as misogyny, racism, and the irrational hatred of others. Across Europe, there are very worrying signs of neo-Nazi and populist parties coming to the fore. But I do not think this is something that is just about the last year or two. As I have said, it is much bigger than that. This is part of an historical process of crisis in the world system. We are now in a new stage of crisis, and each time the crisis becomes acute, as it has now, the system has to find ever more innovative ways for dealing with it. Today, the innovation is to appeal to base instincts such as selfishness and fear as a way of managing the crisis. So what we have seen is a major movement towards more extreme neoliberal perspectives on the economy along with much more nationalistic perspectives on nationhood.

In recent years, we have had some very major crises coming very close together. The oil crisis in the 1970s gave a shock to the global system; then in the 1980s American economic policy introduced another shock – known as the Volcker Shock – when the US Reserve suddenly dramatically increased its interest rates. This was a major cause of the Latin American Debt Crisis, and most of the 1980s and 1990s was spent working that out. Then there was the South East Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s, and then in 2001 you have 9/11. At the same time developing through this period was a widening income disparity between the North and the South and this was pushing more people to migrate northwards. With 9/11, and the consequences this has caused in terms of western foreign policy, enforced migration as a result of economic deprivation and war has speeded up. The amount of migration from the Middle East to the north and from Africa to Europe has massively increased; and from South America to the USA, the same.

Interviewer: Do you think language ideologies are linked with today's crises: economic, political and social?

O'Regan: The economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s reinforced the belief that the way to control crises was primarily through monetary means rather than redistributive means. So that the way to control a crisis in the system was to ensure that money circulation could continue unrestricted. That meant making it easier for people and nations to borrow, and borrowing and credit became a fundamental principle and belief – an ideology and discourse – of the global world system. Closely related to the promulgation of these beliefs is language, and in the present world system it is English which for historical reasons is the supercentral language of

the system. The supercentrality of English in the system bleeds outwards into ideologies about language and what kind of English it is best to learn. When we say language ideologies, what most people in applied linguistics think of are the beliefs people have about language. So we have the language ideology of native speakerism for example. This is the perception that the best person to learn English from is a native speaker of English. This is not actually true for all kinds of empirical reasons. One is that proficient non-native speakers arguably know the language much better than do native speakers, because they have had to learn it. Then you have language ideologies that promote the idea that the most correct form of English is native speaker English, or standard English. But who supposedly speaks the best standard English? In this ideology or discourse, native speakers do. So native speaker standard English is then associated with being the most correct English. What we are dealing with here are beliefs, not truths. But you always end up somehow back with the native speaker. I think that language ideologies such as these are very closely related to the evolution of global capitalism. The way in which global capitalism has evolved over the last fifty, sixty, seventy years has been to concentrate it on a particular Anglo-American model. Right at the centre of the global economy is the USA as the guarantor of the world system. The United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organisation – all these institutions are in one way or another connected to the centre and they move around like satellites in a world system that has the United States at its core. The international institutions which exist are all part of that system. Because the system is an Anglo-American system, this makes English its linguistic *terra firma*, and the target form for many governments in the formulation of language policy, and for people in the education of their children.

Interviewer: If we accept that the English language is intrinsic to globalisation, the operating system on which the global economy is based today, how do we perceive its dominance or relevance as a *lingua franca* in a post-Brexit environment?

O'Regan: My view is that even if we do have some major financial shocks around the corner, English will remain the *terra firma* of the global capitalist world system because at the present time there is no alternative global infrastructure to replace it. China is an extremely powerful country, militarily and economically. Linguistically, I think the Chinese are very powerful, although not to the extent that Chinese, or Mandarin, will challenge the linguistic infrastructures which have been put in place by the Anglo-American model in all the international institutions of this world, including the EU. There are people in Europe

suggesting that now that Britain has left the EU, it will be possible to downgrade the use of English as the *lingua franca* of the European Union. I do not find this tenable, because linguistically whether Britain is in or out is irrelevant. What is relevant is that the USA continues to be the centre of the global world system and the EU is one of the biggest markets in that system. For this reason, I cannot see the EU giving up English, because this is the language the EU trades in with the United States, and with the rest of the world system. Even though French is still a very powerful language globally, I cannot really envisage the countries who have joined the EU in the last ten or fifteen years all falling over themselves to make French the first language of their school system. I don't think it is a question of danger for English, it is more a question of displacement. Do I think that French, or even Chinese, will displace English in the European Union? No, I do not.

Interviewer: May I also ask about classroom interactions? How is discourse is reflected in classrooms, and to what extent do you think it affects teacher and student identity?

O'Regan: There are all kinds of classrooms. In London, classrooms are largely multicultural. There are also classrooms in China or in Japan where you do not have the same kind of multiculturalism and the same kind of immigration as you have in the UK. Multiculturalism has been part of UK education for a very long time and while there has been an increase in immigration in recent years, there have been migrants coming to the UK for a much longer period. There is a lot of experience of dealing with multicultural, multilingual, and diverse classrooms here. In the UK, the medium of instruction is English and children have to learn to be able to function in English. We do have systems in place in our schools to help young learners who are recent arrivals in acquiring the language through after-school classes and additional classes within school. But many learn English as they are schooled. In these circumstances identities are in flux. Belonging or not belonging exists on a kind of continuum. It is not that I belong or I don't belong – most of us are somewhere in between. Those who are closer to feeling a sense of belonging, I assume they are able to feel more ontologically at ease in the cultural or multicultural environment which they find themselves in. They feel comfortable in it and are able to negotiate it, but there are others for whom their sense of belonging is much further away from that position. They feel more alienated. I don't really know what belonging means; you hear people who claim that they are British or claim that they are English. I don't know what that means. I think we have got a lot of problems in society in Britain in relation to the notion of belonging, but we have that problem because

there are people who insist that there is an ideal way of belonging.

Interviewer: So teachers may present discourses of belonging and make children feel alienated?

O'Regan: Exactly, but teachers are being forced by the government to develop discourses of belonging; and schools have been drawing up lists of ideal British values to demonstrate this. I feel that it is a contradiction, and that the more you emphasise this ideal, the more alienated people will become. You also have the situation where people are bilingual and come from families where the first language is not English. Maybe your mother speaks one language and your father speaks another. You have your school language which is English and you have two additional languages going on. How your identity is affected will be affected by your sense of yourself, your belonging to your home, belonging to your parents' cultures or your parents' identities. So there will always be a tension, some kind of friction or dissonance in identity. If we return to ideology and discourse, the notion of belonging is a construct. It is not so much a question of belonging but a question of feeling less alienated or more alienated. From a Marxist perspective, we are alienated because of capitalism. From a Foucauldian perspective, we are alienated because we realise that the discourses which are circulating, which are positioning us and setting up identities for us, are constructed. This realisation makes us feel alienation, because everything is revealed as a performance. Ideology and discourse enable the suppression of feelings of alienation, but always with an ever-present unease.

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