Edited by Elisabeth Barakos & Johann W. Unger

DISCURSIVE
APPROACHES TO

LANGUAGE POLICY

Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

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Editors

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Introduction: Why Are Discursive Approaches to Language Policy Necessary?

Elisabeth Barakos and Johann W. Unger

1.1 Discursive Approaches to Language Policy—Why Now?

This volume is a series of explorations of language policy from a discursive perspective. Its chief aim is to systematically explore the interconnectedness of language policy and discourse through what we are terming 'discursive approaches to language policy' (DALP). We show that language policy is a multilayered phenomenon that is constituted and enacted in and through discourse (which is defined more closely in Sect. 1.2). Language policy is a fast-growing, vibrant, and interdisciplinary field of inquiry that offers a variety of theoretical frameworks, methodologies, analytic approaches, and

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empirical findings: the framing sections at the beginning of each part of this volume and the commentary at the end frame the discussion of developments in language policy and especially the role of DALP therein.

Like the field of language policy and planning (LPP), discourse studies comprises a broad range of frameworks and conceptualisations, including diverse theoretical and methodological angles (see Wodak and Meyer 2015). Language policy is not least an ideological phenomenon that constructs, transports, and recontextualises ideologies about the value of languages and their speakers. We argue that in order to account for and analyse the multiple layers of language policy and its concomitant impact, we need to theoretically, methodologically, and empirically engage with policy in terms of both structure and agency, and this is made possible by applying various forms of critical and discursive analysis to language policy situations.

The fields of language policy and discourse studies have been subject to a series of 'critical' turns, which have shaped applied linguistic and sociolinguistic research in the social sciences and humanities. Among other challenges to existing approaches, these turns have meant that scholars have engaged with what is going on 'beyond the text'. Moving to this 'more-than-textual' realm means that scholars must take up notions of space and time; engage with the visual, the material, and the affective; and look at these from a diachronic and synchronic perspective and in specific social and discursive contexts. We may therefore ask where this leaves the study of language policy as well as of discourse more generally. In an effort to answer this question, the present volume not only offers a valuable theoretical and methodological addition to the scholarly inquiry of language policy from a discursive angle but also illustrates how to turn knowledge gained from research into practical applications, but without losing sight of some of the key tenets of critical language policy research: to expose and seek remedies against social inequalities and injustices, and to mediate and improve communication about and around language policy.

1.2 What Is a Discursive Approach?

The notion of 'discourse' is famously slippery. While in some forms of applied linguistics, it can mean something as relatively straightforward as the level of language above the sentence (see, for instance, Stubbs

1983), in critical discourse studies, it has come to be associated with two different ways of understanding the link between society and language. Fairclough (2003) distinguishes between 'a discourse' or 'discourses' plural on the one hand, and 'discourse' as a noncount noun on the other. The former suggests a particular ideology or 'way of seeing the world' and is more closely aligned with Foucauldian discourse analysis, while the latter is more akin to the understanding of discourse developed in other critical discourse studies approaches (see, for instance, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, or Wodak and Meyer 2015 p. 5ff for a brief overview): it is essentially a text in its social context, or language treated as a form of social action. While all these understandings of discourse can be found to varying degrees in this volume, it is the latter that particularly characterises the 'discursive' in DALP. Although many of the contributors in this volume are concerned with ideologies, these could be investigated in a variety of ways. Some language policy work that may take account of or at least mention ideologies (for instance, Grin 2013) could not be reasonably described as discursive in nature. The contributions in this volume, by contrast, focus on close textual, contextual, and socio-historical analysis of language policies and associated practices from a critical perspective.

Criticality is the second major strut in the DALP framework. By critical, we mean adopting a problem-oriented approach: questioning what is taken for granted, indicating problematic discursive practices by policy-makers and other elites, and challenging dominant ideologies and normative assumptions. The contributions examine the discursive construction of language policies and their social effects, be they material (in terms of access to resources in particular spaces) or symbolic (in terms of identity politics and language attitudes, and how they change over time), or a conflation of the two. This approach allows us to connect to several themes that are currently resonating more widely within the field of sociolinguistics/applied linguistics, namely language in relation to the neoliberalised global economy, citizenship, education, regional/national/transnational identities/migration, and superdiversity on the global versus the local scale. Again, it is possible to analyse these themes without taking an overtly critical stance (for instance, Spolsky 2004 describes a number of these areas without necessarily critiquing the underlying conditions in the polities he investigates),

and certainly without taking a discursive approach; some research is more concerned with economic aspects, or more with the overt content of language policy texts, than with the underlying ideologies. Johnson gives a brief overview of the critical turn in LPP in his framing section for Part I of this volume, but this topic is much more extensively dealt with in Johnson (2013). In summary, while there is now a substantial body of work that can be described as critical in orientation, there is still work to be done, and of course, it is patently obvious that there are still inequalities too numerous to mention in language polities around the world.

1.3 Key Questions for Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

Our decision to develop this volume originated from a conference panel entitled 'Discursive approaches to language policy' that we organised at the 2014 Sociolinguistics Symposium in Jyväskylä, Finland, and which led to lively debates and interactions. After the initial discussions sparked during the colloquium, we felt the need to take this project further in order to do justice to a range of pressing questions in the fields of language policy and discourse studies, which we had both also started to explore in our own prior research (see, for instance, Barakos 2012; Unger 2013). In this volume, we bring together some of the participants of this original panel along with several additional contributions that augment our understanding of the theory, methodology, and practice of DALP. The key questions our contributors address are:

1. How can we rearticulate the meaning and practice of the concepts of 'language policy' and 'discourse'?
2. What can be gained by bringing together language policy and critical discursive approaches?
3. How does discourse frame language policy action and actors and vice versa?
4. How do social actors sustain or resist language policy processes in and through discourse?

By putting such questions up for debate, this volume adds to the existing and proliferating body of literature on critical and discursively oriented language policy work. While Ricento's seminal (2003) article 'The discursive construction of Americanism' may be seen as the start of an in-depth engagement of the North American LPP tradition with the largely European traditions of critical discourse analysis, the field has expanded over time, as evidenced by a clearly growing body of critical, discourse-analytic, ethnographic, and anthropological work on policy discourses and practices, by, for instance, Johnson (2009, 2013), Heller (2006), Shohamy (2006), or Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2011), to name just a few and leave many unnamed. There have also been a number of relevant journal special issues and handbooks or edited collections that have, in part at least, addressed issues of criticality and various methodological (see Unger's framing section for Part II) issues that are of concern to DALP. For example, a special issue of *Critical Discourse Studies* on the theme of 'Ethnography and Critical Discourse Analysis' includes a highly relevant contribution by Johnson (2011). This special issue is also indicative of the wider 'ethnographic turn' within both language policy and discourse studies around this period (see also McCarty 2011). Published even more recently, Hult and Johnson's (2015) textbook and Ricento's (2015) three-volume handbook contain numerous chapters concerned with discursive analyses of language policies alongside other approaches such as corpus or economic analyses. These various works demonstrate the ongoing relevance and need for language policy and discourse scholars to engage with new theories, methods, and practices within and between disciplines.

The scholars generating this body of work have not necessarily all explicitly labelled it as constituting a discursive approach, while some have, of course, operated overtly under this paradigm. In essence, the present volume expands the range of theoretical and methodological approaches within language policy by explicitly proposing that we view language policy through a discursive lens and by offering a more systematic discussion of discursive policy work and research. It also addresses some of the challenges and opportunities that an investigation of language policy from a critical discursive angle invariably raises. Namely, what notions such as text, discourse, and genre bring to the understanding of language policy, and what the nodal points of language policy, ideology, and discourse are?

1.4 Outline of the Volume

The present volume consists of a brief introduction, followed by three main thematic parts with a theoretical, methodological, and empirical focus, respectively. Each of these parts is introduced by short framing sections which provide the context for the ensuing individual chapters. The contributions are written by scholars working on innovative language policy projects. They provide rich theoretical insights, take up new methodological developments, and showcase their empirical applications of DALP. Strictly speaking, each contribution has theoretical, methodological, and empirical components, and the research underlying each chapter could have been used in any one of the different parts. Our reasons for dividing this volume in this way were to give each contributor a chance to reflect on different aspects of their work, without the pressure of presenting a complete theoretical and methodological framework as well as substantial data analysis that characterises most journal articles and book chapters in the field. By focussing mainly on just one of these aspects, we feel the contributors have been able to present a much richer picture of their work in relation to that aspect. Those aspects not covered in this volume, however, are mostly also treated elsewhere, in existing or forthcoming publications by our contributors, all of whom are active scholars in the field. This has also allowed us to strengthen the coherence of the volume as a more thorough illustration of DALP.

In the framing section for Part I, 'Theoretical foundations for discursive approaches to language policy', David C. Johnson gives a brief history of the field of critical language policy and the various 'waves' and orientations of LPP research. He frames discursive approaches to language policy as falling under the current fourth wave of LPP research and concludes by discussing its merits to the field. At the beginning of Part II, 'Methodological innovations in discursive approaches to language policy', Johann W. Unger outlines the methodological frameworks for the analysis of language policies applied in this volume. In particular, he discusses the notion of interdisciplinarity as one key feature of DALP. In the final framing section for Part III, 'Empirical applications of discursive approaches to language policy', Elisabeth Barakos summarises the essence of each empirical chapter and draws out the contributors'

different engagements with the notions of discourse and language policy and their practical applications of DALP.

The volume concludes with a critical commentary provided by Thomas Ricento. He reflects on the contribution of the volume from a political economy perspective and situates DALP within the field of LPP. Essentially, he teases out four themes that have emerged from the present body of work: discourse and the political economy, language ideologies, policy development as nonlinear, and interdiscursivity/intertextuality. He concludes by linking the approaches represented in this volume to the field's current orientation towards language policy agency, while acknowledging the necessity to keep engaging with the historical-structural dimension of policy and discourse.

The contributions in this volume are situated in specific places and times and therefore cannot and are not meant to be exhaustive in their depth and breadth. We thus cannot claim global coverage, but our contributors do present data from four continents and ten countries. Furthermore, while the contributions use relatively contemporary data, there is a concerted effort, particularly by those contributors who align themselves with the discourse-historical approach, to situate the language polities under investigation in their historical, political, and social contexts. Despite being rather heterogeneous, the contributions function as a network of approaches and cases, with many cross-references between them to establish coherence throughout the volume. We invite readers to reflect critically on the extent to which the studies and their theoretical and methodological frameworks might characterise DALP as a growing subdiscipline in the fields of language policy and discourse studies. We believe that these contributions can be said to open up a new field of inquiry at the intersection of discourse analysis and language policy and chart the connections between them.

In all, we hope that this volume, with its interdisciplinary and international orientation, will appeal to a broad readership of scholars and (postgraduate) students in the fields of language policy, discourse studies, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics. In its interdisciplinary endeavour, it crosses disciplinary boundaries to potentially address not only linguists but also political scientists, economists, sociologists, and anthropologists as well as anyone else engaged in studying language

policy. Its ultimate endeavour is to generate further conversations, directions, and, most importantly, questions, which can be used to bring about change in making language policy more accessible, democratic, and socially equitable, a major tenet in language policy, critical discourse studies, and sociolinguistics.

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Part I

Theoretical Foundations

Introduction to Part I: Theoretical Foundations for Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

David Cassels Johnson

1.1 A Brief History of Critical Language Policy

The field of language policy and planning (LPP) has historically enjoyed more theoretical than methodological development. Since Haugen (1959) coined the term 'language planning', conceptual and theoretical frameworks have flourished. Edited volumes like *Can Language Be Planned* (Rubin and Jernudd 1971), *Language Planning Processes* (Rubin et al. 1977), and *Progress in Language Planning* (Cobarrubias and Fishman 1983) forwarded LPP theory as it relates to religion (Das Gupta 1971), the status/corpus planning distinction, economics (Jernudd 1971), ethics (Cobarrubias 1983), and education (Rubin 1977), among many other topics.

While this early language planning research built the essential foundation for the field, the criticism that followed focused largely on the lack of emphasis on the ideological and sociopolitical impact of language

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planning. Early 'critical' considerations include Cobarrubias (1983, p. 41), who notes that language planning processes 'are not philosophically neutral [which] … raises ethical issues', and in a discussion of language planning orientations, Ruiz (1984) makes an argument reflecting poststructuralist thought: 'Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues. … In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society'. Still, Tollefson's (1991) book *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* was the first to clearly demarcate a critical approach to LPP research and served as a fork in the epistemological and theoretical road between earlier language planning research and what would come after.

Tollefson (1991) reconceptualized 'language planning' as a potentially hegemonic mechanism within a larger social system that exacerbates imbalances of power in education and society. Since then, Tollefson (2002, 2006, 2013) has further developed the 'critical' in critical language policy (CLP), which (1) is critical of traditional language planning research; (2) is influenced by critical social theory; (3) emphasizes the relationships among language, power, and inequality, which are portrayed as central concepts for understanding language and society; and (4) entails social activism. About point (4), Tollefson argues that language policy researchers are 'responsible not only for understanding how dominant social groups use language for establishing and maintaining social hierarchies, but also for investigating ways to alter those hierarchies […] thus, research and practices are inextricably linked through this important social and political role of linguists and their work' (p. 4).

Tollefson was at the forefront of what Ricento (2000) and Johnson and Ricento (2013) describe as a third wave of LPP research (1990s–2000s), which is characterized by increasing attention to how language ideologies and discourses interact with LPP processes. This body of work foregrounds language policy as a potentially hegemonic political mechanism that enacts State ideology (Shohamy 2006), marginalizes minority languages in schools and society (Wiley 2002), marginalizes the voices of minority language advocates in schools and society (Johnson 2013b), legitimates linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 2003), and facilitates the spread of colonial languages around the world, which put indigenous languages and dialects in danger (Chimbutane 2011).

One of the hallmarks of this third wave of LPP research has been an emerging, yet inchoate, debate about how to balance critical analyses of the power of policy (discourses) with empirical understanding of the agency of policy actors. For example, Menken and García's (2010a) edited volume *Negotiating Language Policies in Schools: Educators as Policymakers* prioritizes this debate, and in their introduction, they draw upon Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) metaphorical LPP onion to reposition teachers as the final arbiters of language policy implementation (cf. Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Menken 2008). Johnson and Johnson (2015) expand on this, conceptualizing *language policy arbiters* as individuals who wield a disproportionate amount of LPP power relative to other individuals in a particular context. They suggest that the heterogeneity of language policy texts, and the diversity of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts in which policies are interpreted and appropriated, creates opportunities for human agency; still, in the course of discursive events, some individuals get positioned as more powerful (cf. Johnson 2013b), and this positioning tends to rely on traditional/dominant sociolinguistic and sociocultural hierarchies, and thus, 'agency and structure in both discourse and language policy dialectically shape each other' (Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2).

Another hallmark of the third wave of LPP research has been an interest in uncovering how macro-level policy texts and discourses relate to micro-level interactions, or, as Ricento (2000, p. 208) asks, 'Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence—and how are they influenced by—institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational)?' Of course, the interest in the macro–micro dialectic extends beyond LPP research, to sociolinguistic research and the social sciences more generally. Yet, conceptualizations of a macro–micro dichotomy have been criticized for being overly homogenous and static since what is considered 'macro' and what is considered 'micro' are relative depending on the context, individuals involved, and the discursive event (Johnson 2009). Monolithic depictions of a homogeneous macro structure do not account for the multiple, heterogeneous, and multiply layered constraints that govern social interaction, which can change (or even disappear) over time (Wortham and Reyes 2015). Similarly, depictions of the micro may overestimate the

power of individuals to spontaneously call upon their agency through novel and seminal action. As Wortham and Reyes (2015) argue, social change is usually enacted by groups over time and is not always 'intentional'. Instead, both structure and agency are heterogeneous, they occur at different scales across time, and both are often at work in individual speech events, for example, in the discursive formation of social identity (see Mortimer, this volume, Chap. 4).

Another inchoate area of research is the conceptualization of 'scale' to reveal how sociolinguistic processes rely on meanings established at both the macro and micro levels. While a multiply layered understanding of context is implicit in the macro–micro distinction (especially when other 'meso' layers are added), ideologies are multiply layered as well and can change (Blommaert 2013). As Mortimer and Wortham (2015, p. 163) argue, 'Instead of connecting micro-level events to macro-level structures (e.g. connecting a classroom language practice to an official policy), we must explore heterogeneous domains and scales of social organization relevant to understanding meaningful social action'. Therefore, within any discursive event, there are many potential sociolinguistic scales at work and the analyst identifies how the unique configuration of semiotic resources are made relevant within the interaction.

1.2 LPP Research: The Fourth Wave

Questioning and reconceptualizing the macro–micro dialectic is becoming an important feature of the fourth wave of LPP research, which is inspired by increasingly sophisticated research methods being leveraged to illuminate language policy texts and discourses. Other essential features include (1) shifting definitions of 'language policy', (2) the continued exploration and testing of theoretical frameworks with empirical data collection, and (3) increased focus on research methodology, which has entailed (among other things) increased attention to ethics, positionality, and advocacy; and development of discourse analytic approaches for LPP research.

The field of language planning began as something that linguists *did*—particularly in postcolonial contexts dealing with sociolinguistic

concerns—and only later became a subject for research. Early reports, and most of what followed, lack clearly delineated research methods. This important focus on descriptive and conceptual research continues to this day, but increasing attention to *how* we study language policy texts and discourses is a hallmark of a new wave of LPP research. Mostly, this involves applying research methods from other disciplines beyond (socio) linguistics, including economics (Grin and Vaillancourt 2015), political science (May 2015), anthropology (Mortimer 2013), sociology (Fishman 1993), and law (Kochenov and de Varennes 2015). This multidisciplinarity is the focus of edited volumes by Ricento (2006) and Hult and Johnson (2015), as well as of an annual conference, Multidisciplinary Approaches in Language Policy and Planning, organized by Thomas Ricento.

Engendering this movement toward appropriating particular research methods is a growing concern that, while analyzing policy documents is essential, the 'analysis of textual policy data alone no longer suffices to grasp the complex interaction of policy actors, action and political, economic and social structures shaping these' (Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2). This has been inspired, in part, by expanding definitions of 'language policy' that cover not just policy documents but sociolinguistic practices. For example, Spolsky's (2004, p. 5) definition includes language practices or 'the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire', and McCarty (2011, p. 8) defines a language policy 'as a complex sociocultural process […] as modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power'. If we consider language practices to be, in and of themselves, language policies, then alternative research methods—beyond the analysis of policy documents—is, of course, required. However, even if the data *is* primarily policy texts, or the meaning therein, applying specific discourse analytic methods strengthens the analysis, especially since 'policy meaning is discursively constructed, and […] discourse about policy can thus be considered constitutive of policy meaning and constituted by it' (Savski, this volume, Chap. 3). Much of what we do in LPP research is analyze texts—and by 'texts' I mean products of discourse, which are both spoken and written—and so it behooves the field to leverage research methods that are specially designed for this task.

A welcome by-product of this focus on research methods in LPP research is an interrogation of researcher ethics and positionality. Tollefson (2006) positions the commitment to social justice as concomitant to, and reliant upon, a critical examination of interactions with participants: '[Critical language policy] researchers seek to develop a "critical method" that includes a self-reflective examination of their relationship with the "Others" who are the focus of research'. A defining characteristic of the field is the focus on power and social justice, yet, traditionally, 'activism' and 'research' have often been separated, thus perpetuating divisions between participants and observers that reify objectivist epistemologies. For example, William Labov's language policy activities included testimonies before the US Congress in support of bi-dialectal education, but this activism is often separated from his (more 'scientific') variationist research on African-American language (Labov 1972). Yet, in 'Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science', Labov (1982) proffers a framework for language scholars' responsibility to the speech communities in which they work. Essential to this discussion are two principles: (1) the principle of error correction—'A scientist who becomes aware of a widespread idea or social practice with important consequences that is invalidated by his own data is obligated to bring this error to the attention of the widest possible audience' (p. 172); and (2) the principle of debt incurred—'An investigator who has obtained linguistic data from members of a speech community has an obligation to use the knowledge based on that data for the benefit of the community'.

In Lin's (2015) discussion of researcher epistemology in LPP studies, she argues that a critical or emancipatory perspective includes self-reflection on one's position in institutional hierarchies and an interrogation of how such institutional hierarchies produce and reproduce domination and subordination. Instead, the goal of the researcher should be knowledge coconstruction: 'In the critical research paradigm, both the researcher and the researched are subjects of knowing and enter into a dialogue on equal footings' (p. 26). Canagarajah and Stanley (2015) argue that academic writing genres tend to silence the voice and agency of minority communities, and thus, it is essential that LPP scholars push back against positivistic reporting techniques, the goal of which is generalizable and monolithic 'truths':

> Since the subjects exist in the report only through the voice of the researcher, there is a tendency for their complexity to be suppressed and their identity to be generalized (or essentialized) to fit the dominant assumptions and theoretical constructs of the researcher and the disciplinary community (p. 41)

1.3 Discursive Approaches to Language Policy: What Is Gained?

Increasingly, sophisticated discourse analytic techniques will certainly lead to better analyses of policy texts and discourses. A major influence has been critical discourse analysis (CDA)/studies, as evidenced in Barakos (this volume, Chap. 2) and Savski (this volume, Chap. 3), both of whom propose innovative frameworks and approaches for 'analyzing the trajectory of language policy [texts and discourses] through time and space' (Savski, this volume, Chap. 3). Critiques of CDA are well documented (e.g., see discussion in Barakos, this volume), but scholars using these approaches make important contributions by illuminating operations of power within and across language policy texts, discourses, and contexts. The inherent multilayered frameworks and conceptualizations within CDA theory (e.g. Fairclough 2010; Wodak and Meyer 2015) align well with CLP, and approaches that combine CDA with empirical data collection in schools and communities are increasing (e.g. Barakos 2012; Krzyżanowski 2011; Cincotta-Segi 2011).

Incorporating a different method of discourse analysis, Mortimer (e.g. Mortimer 2013, p. 67) utilizes techniques from linguistic anthropology to examine language policy as 'a constellation of communicative events' in which linguistic signs and social meaning emerge and change. Utilizing the concept of speech chains (Agha 2003), Mortimer proposes something like a discourse analytic operationalization of intertextuality (Bakhtin 1986), which is grounded in ethnography (cf. Johnson 2013a). This innovation might lead the way for those who want to study LPP processes and sociolinguistic phenomena within and across communicative events.

It is tempting to equate structure with macro-level social processes/systems and agency with micro-level human interactions, yet both macro and micro discourses, and both structure and agency, can emerge in a single discursive event and shape a single policy document. Policy texts, discourses, and practices are heterogeneous, and ideologies are multiply layered, and all can change from context to context over time. As illuminated in this volume, discourse analysis techniques empirically uncover how LPP processes can lead to both social change (Mortimer) and hegemony (Savski). They contribute to a theory of social change within language policy processes, thus helping to develop critical theories for sociolinguistics more generally. They complicate well-established definitions and conceptualizations, including the time-honored macro–micro dialectic. This is precisely what the field needs. It was necessary to borrow from other disciplines in the past, but a new wave of LPP research will help create theories and methods specific to the field and discursive approaches will give the 'critical' in CLP some methodological teeth and empirical rendering. With contributions like the chapters in this volume, our discipline will continue to grow.

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2

Language Policy and Critical Discourse Studies: Toward a Combined Approach

Elisabeth Barakos

2.1 Introduction

Some of the most pressing concerns of recent language policy research (and neighbouring disciplines such as applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and critical discourse studies [CDS]) have been how to analyse and understand the links between 'macro' and 'micro' as well as 'structural' and 'agentive' phenomena of texts, discourses, and social life (Johnson and Johnson 2015; Hult 2010, p. 7; van Dijk 2009, p. 80; Heller 2001, p. 212; Wortham 2012, p. 128). Of late, a number of theoretical and methodological considerations have been becoming more prominent, namely those which share the endeavour of going beyond merely analysing the power of policy 'on paper' and foreground the power of 'agents, levels and processes' (Ricento and Hornberger 1996, p. 408) as well as the experiences involved (Johnson 2009; McCarty

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2011; Tollefson 2006; Shohamy 2009). The growing focus on 'policy as practice' (Bonacina-Pugh 2012) through ethnographic approaches means that 'policy is thus more "things people do" – social action – than a thing itself' (Mortimer 2013, p. 69). This practice-based view of language policy indicates that an analysis of textual policy data alone no longer suffices to grasp the complex interaction of policy actors, action, and the political, economic and social structures shaping these.

Following in this vein, I aim to explore further how language policy is conceptualised as a process phenomenon that navigates the dichotomy between structure and agency and to propose a critical discursive approach to studying it. I offer an interdisciplinary framework that expands Shohamy's (2006) critical language policy theory and integrates perspectives from the context-sensitive discourse-historical approach (henceforth, the DHA) to CDS (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2009; Krzyżanowski 2010). The chapter begins by outlining the problem-oriented, reflexive grounding that guides the proposed framework. This is followed by a discussion of Shohamy's language policy theory and the DHA, in which the specific ways of combining these approaches are examined and evaluated. I illustrate my argument for combining these approaches with data from a critical language policy study in Wales, showing how the discursive promotion of Welsh plays out in company-specific policy mechanisms, ideologies, and practices, and how these layers of policy intersect against the macro-structures of policy and situated policy agency.

2.1.1 A Problem-Oriented, Reflexive Research Framework

In order to account for the complex relationship between specific discursive events and their consequences, I follow an approach that is problem-oriented and reflexive. The discursive lens guiding this approach is premised on a range of ontological and epistemological concerns. These are grounded in the critical (e.g. Johnson and Ricento 2013, p. 11; Pennycook 2001, p. 5), social/discursive (e.g. Coupland et al. 2001; Horner 2013, p. 28) and reflexive turns (e.g. Clark and Dervin 2014, p. 1; Lin 2015, p. 22) in late modern language policy, sociolinguistic and

applied linguistic scholarship. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to engage with the various takes on criticality, discursivity and reflexivity (see also the Introduction to this volume, and Johnson's framing section), the following presuppositions guide my ontological understanding of the social world around us and my epistemological steps as to how to empirically engage with this world in relation to language policy.

2.1.2 Problem Orientation in Language Policy and CDS

The problem-oriented nature of the fields of language policy and CDS is fundamental. Rather than purely linguistic phenomena, the scholarly enterprise is stimulated by a concern for individuals or social groups who are affected by social or linguistic inequities, hegemony and power in policy formation and practice (Tollefson 2006; Shohamy 2006). One critical ambition of many studies in language policy and CDS lies in their identification of such problems and their aim to expose inequalities, ideological conflicts, and power asymmetries as they arise from the perception, treatment and valuation of language as bounded, essentialist and territorialised entities (Heller 2011; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). A second ambition lies in the attempt to problematise commonsense views and treatments of language as a means of prestige, distinction, inclusion or exclusion and as a symbolic and material resource (Bourdieu 2006). This problem orientation requires us to go beyond mere descriptive analyses of policy data and take up questions of 'who uses language, how, why and when' (van Dijk 1997, p. 2)—an idea we can date back to Fishman's 'Who speaks what language to whom and when' (1965).

2.1.3 Criticality and Reflexivity in Research Practice

The notion of critical research rests on different theoretical perspectives within both language policy and CDS. A more detailed discussion of critical research is provided in Wodak and Meyer (2015). Critical language policy research is grounded within the frame of critical social

theory (Tollefson 2006) that broadly focuses on the relation between power, social institutions and behaviour. For example, the works of Foucault (2008, 1991, 1972) and Bourdieu (1991, 1982) have provided important stimuli for studies to engage with language policy through the lens of power structures from a macro-structural theory (Unger 2013; Pennycook 2010; Johnson 2013b). Likewise, many approaches in CDS, and especially the discourse-historical approach (DHA), adhere to the traditions of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, represented by Horkheimer, Adorno and Habermas, among others, and Bernsteinian sociolinguistics (Fairclough et al. 2011; Wodak and Meyer 2009a).

I start from the premise that criticality is grounded in social constructionism, which in turn conceptualises social life as discursively constituted (Fairclough 2003, p. 22). The critical theory of the Frankfurt School holds that 'critique is the mechanism for both explaining social phenomena and for changing them' (Fairclough et al. 2011, p. 358). I would further like to link this understanding of critique with Foucault's (1998, p. 155) account that 'a critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept, rest'. In this way, a critical discursive orientation towards language policy is then also 'one manifestation of modern reflexivity' (Fairclough et al. 2011, p. 373). Crucially, reflexivity generates questions concerning the motivation for research, its data collection and analysis. The following types of questions, which are grounded in Heller's (2006, 2002) critical sociolinguistic tradition, are important ones to be asked by language policy scholars and critical discourse analysts alike: In which ways, under which conditions and to which end does language policy as a social process work? Which short-term consequences on a local scale or a long-term impact as to social change can be charted? Who will be affected by such consequences? On a different level, Wodak (2001, p. 9) claims that part of such a criticality involves 'self-reflection as scholars doing research'. This entails asking questions about how data are collected, analysed and presented and what the implications are for the analytical process, the position of the analyst and the analysed subjects.

2.1.4 Dialogic Relation Between Discourse and Society

The problem-oriented nature of critical language policy studies starts from the premise that discourse—taken generally as any form of language use—is central as it is socially constituted or shaped, but also shapes its surrounding structures and agents (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). The dialogic nature of discourse and social reality also means that discourse is both an analytical category per se and the means through which social phenomena such as bilingualism and attendant ideologies are constructed, interpreted, negotiated and recontextualised in policy text, talk and practice.

2.1.5 Agency and Structure as Mutually Constitutive

Agency and structure in both discourse and language policy dialectically shape each other. As I argue elsewhere (Barakos 2016), from a Foucauldian perspective, the hegemony of the state exerts, resists and influences power as much as individual agents do through their micro-discourses and practices. Foucault sees power as located everywhere and coming from everywhere, 'so in this sense [it] is neither an agency nor a structure' (Foucault 1998, p. 63). Van Dijk (2009, p. 80) argues that CDS needs to adhere to micro (text and talk) and macro (structural) dimensions and that 'society and its structures […] are "locally" produced by its members' (from a sociological perspective, see Giddens' (1984) notion of structuration and its link to local practices). At the same time, van Dijk holds that the macro-micro dichotomy is a mere 'analytical metaphor' (quoted in Lin 2015, p. 215). As Wortham reminds us in a similar vein from a linguistic anthropological perspective, we should not 'cast this as a simple two-part model – sometimes called the "micro-macro dialectic" – in which events create structures and structures are created in events. In fact, there are many scales of social organization relevant to understanding language in use' (Wortham 2008, pp. 92–93). By conceptualising language policy as a discursive process and as action rather than solid structure, I argue it is possible to engage with both the macro- and micro-dimensions of policy.

Based on these ontological and epistemological presuppositions, there is one key aspect that constitutes a critical discursive approach to language policy, namely heterogeneity, and, by extension, an interdisciplinary orientation. While 'critical language policy' theory (Tollefson 2006, p. 44) provides a theory and rationale for studying language policy, CDS, as a heterogeneous and interdisciplinary school of thought, offers diverse theories of discourse and a range of methodological frames and tools for analysing, interpreting and critiquing language use (Hart and Cap 2014; Wodak and Meyer 2009b). This heterogeneity is a strength that invites researchers to draw on a combination of theory and methods to account for the needs of the research context in which the data are collected (see e.g. Lawton, Chap. 5, this volume, and Huang, Chap. 6, this volume). Indeed, both interdisciplinary and heterogeneous endeavours lie at the heart of language policy (Ricento 2006; Hult and Johnson 2015) and CDS (Weiss and Wodak 2003; Unger 2016).

In the next section, I bring Shohamy's language policy framework into dialogue with the DHA with an eye to articulating the possibilities and limitations that each of these approaches may bring to the analysis of language policy as a process phenomenon (for a fuller discussion, see Barakos 2014).

2.2 Shohamy's Approach and the DHA

Shohamy's framework and the DHA each attend to central questions of ideology, inequality and power, and the interaction of macro-structures (in Shohamy's case, most notably of the state) and micro-processes of linguistic and social practices, that is, the realities, experiences and actions that are represented through discourse.

While both approaches take texts as their empirical focus, they have also argued in favour of moving beyond these towards a practice-based orientation. In particular, the DHA aims to provide 'a bridge between macro- and micro-structures involved in the processes of social interaction' (Wodak 2011, p. 16). In doing so, a recent concern of this approach has been to confront the traditional and often criticised solely textual discourse analysis (for such a critique, see e.g. Blommaert 2005) with

agency and experiences through ethnography (see e.g. Krzyżanowski 2014, p. 418; Machin and Mayr 2012, p. 214, who also address these points of critique). Likewise, Shohamy's aspiration lies in transcending the mere analysis of 'declared language policy' to include 'evidence of personal experience and ethnographic study' (Shohamy 2009, p. 12). For a similar account, see Kremer and Horner, Chap. 7, this volume.

Another central tenet of both frameworks is their concern with opaque agendas and ideologies in and about language and how they shape discursive and social practices. Shohamy (2006) has eloquently elaborated a theory that explores the hidden agendas that function behind language policy. With a critical lens applied to democracy, human rights and political domination, Shohamy presents and discusses different policy contexts, from language education policies in Israel via language testing to linguistic landscapes. With her framework, she explores the hidden and discriminatory agendas of language policy and the ways powerful public bodies such as governments and institutions steer and control policy mechanisms that eventually shape *de facto* language policy. Drawing on the work of Spolsky (2004), her framework is grounded in her expanded view of language as fluid, dynamic and negotiation-based. At the same time, she adopts an expanded view of language policy as falling 'between language ideology and practices' (Shohamy 2006, p. xv). Central to her view are a range of everyday mechanisms which she defines as 'overt and covert devices that are used as the means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies' (Shohamy 2006, p. 46). These five mechanisms, displayed in Fig. 2.1, comprise 'rules and regulations, language educational policies, language tests, language in the public space as well as ideologies, myths, propaganda and coercion' (Shohamy 2006, p. 56).

The limitations of her approach lie, however, partly in these static and bounded mechanisms and her concern with the impact of the structural components of policy, rather than with the role of agents in (re)producing these devices (see also Nero 2014 for a similar critique). While she acknowledges that 'policy is practice and practice is policy as languages are discussed, negotiated and battled for using a multiplicity of discourses in very complex ways' (Shohamy 2006, p. 165), the framework could do more to include the actual practices of agents who shape policy structures

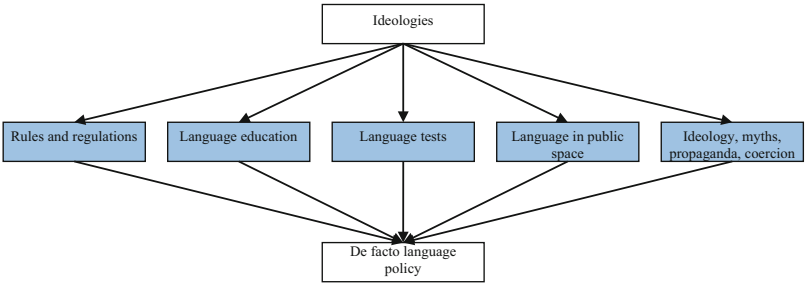

Fig. 2.1 Mechanisms between ideology and practice, based on Shohamy (2006, p. 58)

and mechanisms. Furthermore, while Shohamy (2006, p. 3) sees ideology as a salient component of language policy which may be the product of language ideologies or functions as a means of circulating and (re) producing these, she does not provide a theoretically robust definition of the term (see e.g. Johnson and Ricento 2013; Milani and Johnson 2008; Lo Bianco 2009; Johnson 2013a on the centrality of language ideology to language policy). Rather, she confines her account of ideology to Spolsky's (2004, p. 5) approach to language ideology as 'the beliefs about language or language use'. In contrast, the DHA offers a useful analytical path to approach the analysis of ideologies and the other factors central to Shohamy's comprehensive theory—mechanisms and practices as *de facto* language policy—and to mediate between language use and its social structures (Wodak and Meyer 2009a, p. 21).

As widely discussed in this volume (see contributions by Huang, Chap. 6, Lawton, Chap. 5, and Savski, Chap. 3), the DHA's strong points are its theoretical stance on discourse, text and context and its methodological conventions for analysing power in and over language. Through these, it becomes possible to analyse both the macro-structural and the micro-textual. The term historical has a central role in the DHA; as Wodak and Ludwig argue (1999, p. 12), discourse 'is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before'. This explicit focus on historicity proves useful for capturing language policy as a historically reliant process of power relations. However, criticism has

been targeted at earlier approaches of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the DHA, which have proposed a 'multi-level yet somewhat "static" definition of context' (Krzyżanowski 2014, p. 419) and which treat text as rather bounded analytical categories (Heller and Pujolar 2009, p. 198). In contrast, this more recent conceptualisation of the DHA proposes an expanded-context model which considers the co-textual, intertextual and interdiscursive as well as the extralinguistic and broader contextual conditions of discursive events (Wodak 2008, p. 13). This multilevel definition of context pays attention to the micro- and macro-conditions of text and discourse production as well as to processes of recontextualisation, through which meaning is shifted across different texts, discourses, and genres. Yet I would argue that the context model does not fully account for the role of social actors in shaping these conditions and processes.

Through the DHA's three-level linguistic and interpretive analysis—the content of policy text and talk, discursive strategies, and the linguistic means used to enact these—it is possible to systematically trace what Shohamy (2006, pp. 49–50) calls the implicit policy agendas and ideologies that manipulate language behaviour. At the same time, such an analysis raises challenges since policy texts, in particular, tell a story of multiple voices (Blackledge 2005, p. 14). Following Lemke (2003, p. 130), texts are tools of social structuration; that is, they are material artefacts and tools of organising what can be said and done and what is left unsaid. Accordingly, it is important to understand not only what policy texts say micro-linguistically but also when and how people, in their situated discourses and practices, make use of these texts (Johnson 2009, p. 142; see also Unger 2013). This gives rise to the need for scholars to treat (policy) text and context as not necessarily separate analytical entities. Rather, it is pertinent to view them as interwoven and part of social policy processes and consider the role of actors as co-constructing policy along the way (Krzyżanowski 2010).

After having articulated some of the possibilities and limitations of Shohamy's language policy theory and the DHA, I suggest that language policy research can benefit theoretically from the DHA's delineation of analytical categories such as discourse, text and context. Although I have argued that this distinction is not without problems, it can be of particular value to examining how ideologies and policy mechanisms

shape language policy processes and actions through a systematic discursive and interpretative approach. The concerted approach of language policy and the DHA can enable the analysis of various policy components, which contribute to unpacking what Wodak (2008, p. 6) calls the implied 'patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures' in discourse. This way, we can attend to questions of how social and linguistic inequities in minority language contexts, latent or manifest power dimensions, and ideologies work within the use of language, and which ramifications this has on policy, agency, and wider social practices. It is these components in the Welsh language policy context that I now turn to in the next section by way of illustration.

2.3 A Discursive Approach to Language Policy in a Minority Language Context

The language policy model I present in this chapter foregrounds discourse as an inherent component of language policy, which is constituted, enacted, interpreted, contextualised and recontextualised in and through language (Barakos 2012, p. 169). A discursive approach to language policy suggests that language policy forms part of meaning-making activities that are steered by a net of social actors who operate in distinct contexts/times/places (see also Chaps. 4, 3, Mortimer and Savski, this volume).

As can be gleaned from Fig. 2.2, the framework proposes viewing Shohamy's language policy mechanisms, ideologies and practices through a discursive lens. My argument is that through integrating discourse, the double function of language both as the objective of language policy and as the means of (re)constructing it can be better problematised. However, while discourse has a central role in and shapes our experiences of the world around us, it is not a monolithic entity that predetermines ideologies, mechanisms and practices.

My contention is that language policy lies close to Shohamy's core factors of mechanisms, ideologies and practices, which themselves shape and are shaped by discourse. Following the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 89), I define discourse as 'context-sensitive linguistic practices

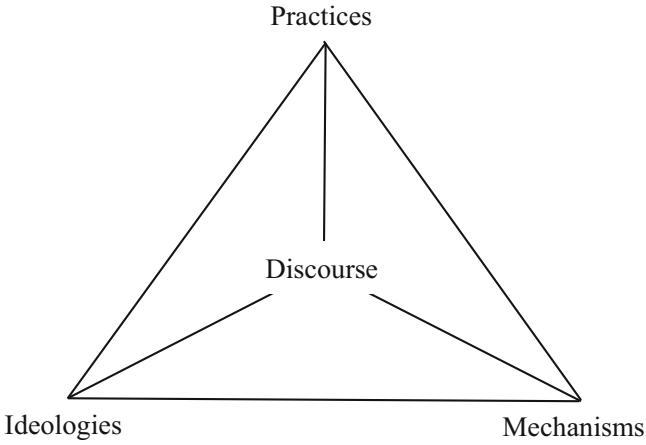

Fig. 2.2 Language policy as social and discursive practice

that are located within fields of social action, are related to a macro topic and encode particular beliefs, values and positions' (Barakos 2014, p. 47). To illustrate this definition as regards Welsh language policy, the fields of social action relate to the processes of how and where the discursive promotion of Welsh in business is produced. The macro topic relates to the promotion of bilingualism in businesses in Wales. Pluriperspectivity is expressed by indicating the multitude of ideologies present within this discourse. Ideologies may then be expressed explicitly or implicitly through various argumentative and other discursive strategies (such as the positive self-presentation of the companies and Welsh managers or mitigation strategies deployed to navigate the type and scope of Welsh language service provision).

In understanding language policy as a discursive phenomenon, it is helpful to delineate *mechanisms*, *ideologies* and *practices* from one another and treat them as distinct, albeit interrelated, mutually inclusive components. As I elaborate on these factors in the next Sects. 2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, I will integrate examples taken from my own research in bilingual Welsh–English business contexts. CDS has traditionally addressed powerful texts from the political field or mass media. While it may have been used for studying corporate discourses as an expanding analytical domain

(see e.g. Clarke et al. 2012; Koller 2008), this has not yet been fully exploited. Koller (2008, p. 155) even claims that the lack of research on the corporate sphere means that 'critical researchers leave corporate voices in a position to shape the public sphere to an ever greater extent and thus contribute to the power asymmetries they set out to remedy'. I will include a concise analysis of selected spoken and written data to exemplify my conceptual approach. Due to space limitations, no detailed analytical and methodological account can be provided. See Barakos (2012, 2015) for the former and Barakos (2014) for the latter.

2.3.1 Mechanisms and Discourse

While Shohamy enlists five mechanisms as central to turning ideology into practice, I limit them to 'rules and regulations' and reframe them following Lemke's (2003) discursive tools of structuration. In the context of my framework, mechanisms denote the tangible, material, written policy statements such as government language strategies, company language schemes, language standards or language laws. Such mechanisms are explicit in that they discursively structure the status, role, function and distribution of languages, and access to them in specific milieus and the attendant allocation of symbolic or material resources (Bourdieu 1982) to realise the policy visions. Mechanisms may also have an implicit agenda in that they yield latent ideologies and emerge from policy stakeholders' practices and ideologies. In the same way that Shohamy calls for unveiling the implicit agendas of policy mechanisms (albeit here reduced to rules and regulations), the DHA is concerned with making explicit the ideological nature of discourses shaping different types of policy statements.

Before embarking on a micro-analytical study of any policy mechanism, some of the central analytical questions need to include:

- What makes policy statements mechanisms?
- What is characteristic of the genre within which the policy texts are embedded?
- What is said or included and remains unsaid or excluded?

In my broad understanding of language policy mechanisms as rules or regulations, they are hybrid tools of knowledge circulation and structuration that belong to larger social processes and chains of action. They are material artefacts that allow agents to organise what can be said and done and what can be excluded in authoritative ways. Policy statements thus represent organisational and bureaucratic discursive practices. They outline an institutional (be it political or corporate) body's orientation and philosophy towards a language policy issue (such as the promotion of language use in specific areas in business); they stipulate ambitions, goals and means by which to achieve this promotion in practice; they are aimed at multiple policy stakeholders, that is, all bodies that have an interest and are affected by the institution operation and performance, such as customers, workforce, and the wider community.

Such policy texts are realised in specific genres, and these have to be viewed in terms of their situatedness (Wodak 2011). The need to address the embeddedness of texts in genres and to engage with genre analysis in critical discourse analytic studies is supported by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 36), who argue that the linguistic peculiarities of texts cannot be fully understood unless one knows more 'about the general features and structures of the semiotic type, that is to say, of the institutionalised, codified pattern of linguistic (inter)action to which the concrete text belongs'. To illustrate this, in my research on Welsh language policy, I worked with political texts from the Welsh government, which belonged to the national language policy genre and with corporate texts that belonged to the voluntary corporate language policy genre. Despite differing genre characteristics, the texts share the primary purpose of minority language promotion and oscillate between informative, persuasive and promotional angles. It is in such hybrid ways that language policy mechanisms oscillate between 'telling' and 'selling' (Fairclough 2010, p. 184). That is, there is a multiple focus on informing the targeted audience of the government's or company's approach towards bilingualism, on imposing duties on certain social actors to comply, and on positively self-promoting or mitigating the various bodies' goodwill and resources in doing so. This hybrid nature of language policy corresponds to Fairclough's (2003, p. 216) claim that 'a text is not simply "in" a genre.

Texts often mix or hybridize different genres' (see also Cap and Okulska 2013 for a discussion of the hybridisation of discourses, texts and genres).

I exemplify one such policy mechanism with data collected from a large communications services company located in a high-density Welsh-speaking area of north Wales. The company has integrated Welsh into its corporate governance and social responsibility agenda, and it has voluntarily adopted a written bilingual language policy that is accessible to the public via its website. As such, it belongs to the voluntary corporate policy genre. The following extract is taken from the corporate language policy document entitled 'Bilingual Code of Practice'. Indeed, the title construes the document as something that has practical value and outreach—a set of standards or rules of behaviour that guide the company's ethos regarding Welsh in business. The policy was produced in its current form in 2005 and was written by the company's regional Wales team at the time. As an organisational code of practice, it is a tool of structuration in that it details the type and scope of the company's bilingual internal and external business communication and service provision. As I argue in Barakos (2015), it also incorporates constructions of the Welsh language as a symbol of pride and carrier of cultural heritage that have been recontextualised from the political to the business sphere.

Throughout the company's Bilingual Code of Practice, different discourses are articulated together, which conflate the company's concerns over the socio-cultural and economic value of Welsh. Although the policy statement belongs to corporate discourse and the field of business, it explicitly includes visual markers of national belonging, such as the Welsh national flag, images of rural Wales and the capital Cardiff as well as the daffodil, Wales' national flower. This way, bilingualism becomes strategically promoted as a 'key feature of maintaining and reproducing "cultural heritage"' (Blackledge and Creese 2012, p. 116). The image used in Fig. 2.3 pictures a red dragon, as part of the national flag, on a child's sports shirt. These 'banal artefacts' (Billig 1995) contribute to the discursive construction of national identity and mirror essentialist ideologies about territory, community and culture. Such artefacts are often recontextualised in different public discourses (Krzyżanowski 2010, p. 47)—here clearly in Welsh corporate language policy discourse. The visual markers add an implicit agenda to the discursive practice of

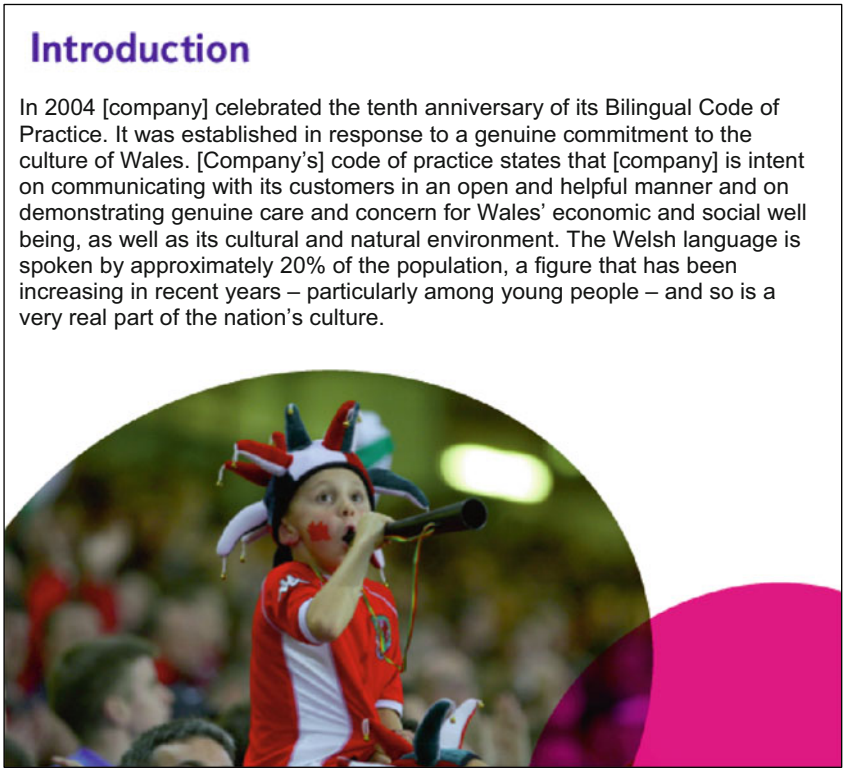

Fig. 2.3 A 'banal artefact' included in the Code of Practice

this language policy mechanism. After all, they are powerful instances of 'unsaid, unexpressed assumptions that implicitly frame a text and enable its coherence' (Woolard 1998, p. 9).

2.3.2 Ideologies and Discourse

Discourses are linked to ideologies insofar as ideologies are understood as means of structuring action, and therefore inform the discursive production and content of language policy texts and the associated behaviours of policy actors. Following the DHA, 'ideologies are constantly formed and reshaped by new discourses and interdiscursive dynamics'

(Khosravinik 2009, p. 479). Discourse and ideology are thus in dialogic interaction; that is, discourse carries but also generates ideologies through social actors' behaviours. However, unlike Shohamy, who conceives of 'language ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion' as a policy mechanism in its own right (2006, p. 130), I treat it as a more holistic component of language policy that may infuse not only material mechanisms, such as Welsh language schemes adopted by companies, but also the practices and experiences of language policy actors, such as bilingual company managers.

In accordance with definitions of (language) ideology from sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (e.g. Blackledge 2005; Schieffelin et al. 1998; Blommaert 1999; Gal 2006), I view (language) ideologies to be socially situated and commonly accepted sets of beliefs that may be manifest or latent and that materialise synchronically and diachronically in discursive and social practices. Being manifested explicitly and implicitly in discourse, ideologies may materialise through 'argumentative patterns, certain topoi, and the impact of these on listeners/viewers and readers' (Wodak 2007, p. 2). In this sense, ideologies are often deeply ingrained in society so that they may become accepted as natural and may motivate action (for an example, see van Splunder and Weber, Chaps. 9, 8 this volume).

In this vein, ideologies and their analyses need to be addressed at both a macro- and a micro-level, guided by the question of how, where and why ideologies emerge. The macro-level relates to meta-discursive action, for example, policy debates about language, people's ordinary beliefs about language and their actions in specific contexts. The micro-level affects which discursive strategies and linguistic realisations are used in such debates and in people's (inter)actions, as well as how ideologies are circulated, negotiated and transformed in such practices. For example, by paying close attention to the lexical and syntactic choices in bilingual corporate policy documents, and by comparing these to the wider-circulating Welsh language policy discourses and common-sense assumptions about equal language choice and 'full bilingualism' in customer service provision, insights can be gained as to how ideologies about bilingualism manifest themselves and become recontextualised.

As part of my fieldwork, I interviewed Colin, who works as Welsh language policy manager for the communications company introduced above. As such, he is in a powerful position to steer matters related to Welsh in the firm, including the company's voluntarily adopted Bilingual Code of Practice. He was also involved in the creation of the document in 2005. In the following interaction, Colin explains the creation of the policy and its functions. This extract has been chosen as it illustrates the lived ideologies underlying the manager's argumentative discourse and their interplay with corporate policy mechanisms and practices:

Extract 1

I: Do you have a Welsh language policy?
Colin: Yes.
I: Was it mainly based on the Welsh Language Board policy template?
Colin: No, we did it.
I: Did you seek any support from the Board or did they approach you?
Colin: No, we just came up with it ourselves. It's been in existence since 1994. So,
it's guidelines we came up ourselves.
I: Ok. What about the necessity of having an explicit Welsh language policy?
Colin: (…). Hm, it depends a lot. It certainly helped me within my role. If somebody like the payphone group, they needed to justify why they were
spending extra money on bilingual notices in pay phones, for example. So I could
go back and say we have a written bilingual policy, supported by the company's
Group Board, and that was fine. It gives you the justification. It's all long and good
supporting the language, because it's the right thing to do. But in business, you
need something to actually, I wouldn't say to force people's hands, but I think you
need a solid reason to do things. Because we got the written policy, that's the
foundation. So we can build on that.

There are several points of note here. First, in lines 4–7, Colin insists that the company produced the Welsh language policy on an individual basis, independent of the former Welsh Language Board. The company's proactive stance is foregrounded through nomination and perspectivation strategies, here realised through the repeated use of 'we' ('we did it'; 'we came up with it ourselves'). The use of personal deixis also 'clearly has an argument-supporting role' (Krzyżanowski 2010, p. 131) that nurtures a collective corporate identity construction. Second, as part of Colin's argumentation, he intensifies the policy's long-term existence by invoking the *topos of fact* in line 6 ('since 1994'). The numerical evidence makes his claims more official and factual and makes a case for the company's overt stable position on the Welsh language. Third, Colin's example of the payphone group (lines 10–13) illustrates the practice of drawing on the Welsh language policy as a mechanism of justifying bilingualism ('It gives you the justification'). At the end of his narrative (lines 13–14), Colin invokes the support of Welsh as a commonplace or generally accepted truth ('because it's the right thing to do'). At the same time, he argues that such general support is not sufficient 'in business', for which 'a solid reason' (line 16) to use Welsh is needed. Again, he draws on the written policy as a mechanism of displaying such authoritative reasoning 'on paper'.

At a later stage of the interview, Colin reiterates the practical value of the company's policy in overcoming challenges regarding a consistent approach to producing bilingual phone books:

Extract 2

1 Colin: There is some issue with phone books because of the amount of text. There is
2 always a balance of trying to keep the Welsh and the English the same, and to make
3 sure that the page layout stays the same. So that's a constant battle. But again,
4 because we got that bilingual policy, it's easier for me to put more pressure on phone
5 books to make sure that they do comply with that.

Rampton (1995, p. 309) reminds us that ideologies 'are not like rarefied, disembodied voices, and are instead given material force in the practice of institutions'. As can be seen from Colin's discourse and reported practices of his organisation, his lived ideology of keeping 'the Welsh and the English the same' (line 2) mirrors broader circulating ideologies about 'parallel' bilingualism, according to which 'Welsh and English must be given equal weighting and prominence, so that the same access is afforded to each language' (Coupland 2010, p. 87; see also Heller (2006) for the notion of double monolingualism). As I discuss elsewhere (Barakos forthcoming), such an ideology of full language equality through parallelism has characterised Welsh political language policy debates and has been recontextualised to the field of business. Here, it is 'given material force' not only in Colin's language use but also in the situated practices and experiences he reports regarding the equal amount of Welsh and English text used for phone books.

Wortham (2008, p. 43) argues that 'any adequate account of language use must include language ideologies and describe how they become salient in practice'. It is thus important to pay attention to the discourses of policy agents and to zoom in on their lived ideologies, experiences and practices as they are shaped or influenced by broader political or economic forces.

2.3.3 Discursive and Social Practices

Shohamy uses the term *de facto* language policy to refer to policy as practice, which may be similar to or different from what is explicitly stated in language policy texts (see Johnson 2013a, for a critical discussion of the *de facto* label). She goes on to argue that it is through 'different mechanisms that ideology is meant to affect practice' (2006, p. 57). To further understand the discursive nature of mechanisms and ideologies and how they shape practices, the dimension of language policy agents needs to be considered. After all, as Fairclough (1989, p. 9) makes the point: 'what one needs is a theory of social action – social practice – which accounts for both the determining effect of conventions and the strategic creativity of individual speakers, without reducing practice to one or the other'. This being so, it is in the discursive actions and interactions of agents in social

contexts that discourse and language policy is constituted. The notion of 'practice' is, however, a complex one and depends on the research design, question, scope and breadth of critical discursive language policy studies. To take an example from my own work on corporate bilingualism, I understand practices in three dimensions of making meaning:

- as the practice of policy-making in terms of textual artefacts that are declared, for example, explicit language policy documents that may shape *de facto* language policy; these instances of discursive practice are analysed in relation to their micro- and macro-structures;
- as the reported bottom-up language-use practices and experiences by policy stakeholders in relation to the production, distribution and consumption of the policy texts; these are examined through survey, interview and ethnographic data;
- as the wider social practices surrounding such meaning-making processes, that is, the role of policy actions and actors in relation to ideologies and power that structure social life.

These accounts of practice are motivated by tracing the relationship between how the promotion of Welsh in business is lived, negotiated and experienced by business employees, and how it is discursively constructed and represented in language policy documents and related to broader social and political discourses about minority language promotion. Such dimensions of practices open up a terrain for researchers to reflexively engage with the ways, conditions and ends to which language policy as a social process works. Colin's example demonstrates that only by attending to the links between mechanisms, ideologies and practices can we make better sense of how situated social actors engage with and are affected by language policy work. His discourses reveal a range of reported, subjective and situated practices and experiences about the management, promotion and use of bilingualism. As I show in Barakos (2015), language policy documents such as the Code of Practice serve as regulatory tools to perpetuate certain corporate policy agendas that are coupled with wider essentialised ethnonational concerns over language. Indeed, such mechanisms are drawn upon to 'perpetuate de facto language behaviors and practices in the midst of the struggles for power and representation' (Shohamy 2006, p. 41).

I have argued up to now that language policy denotes the broad phenomenon of policy processes that are shaped by ideologies, mechanisms, practices and discourses. It is in and through discourse that the boundaries of languages and their speakers are defined and that social norms and categories about language are powerfully distributed, utilised and controlled. These extracts, taken from a specific and limited business setting, have provided a window into the ongoing navigation between policy as structure and as agency. In the reported discursive events, language policy mechanisms are strategically exploited to overtly empower the Welsh language in business while also acting as catalysts of corporate governance and positive company self-presentation.

2.4 Conclusion and Reflections

In this chapter, I have attempted to navigate a conceptual path through language policy as a procession phenomenon. I have argued that conceptualising language policy as a social and discursive process brings macro-structures of policy into dialogue with the agents involved in implementing policy in practice. The combined approach of Shohamy's language policy theory and the DHA may help us tackle the gulf between the analysis of only policy texts, which dictate social practices, and the analysis of agents who produce, influence, steer, resist, and consume such texts and influence policy through communicative interaction in concrete situations.

The Welsh example shows how the combination of Shohamy's policy framework with the DHA allowed me to examine language policy at different levels of macro-structural and micro-linguistic analyses, ranging from policy mechanisms as texts to ideologies in text and talk and reported practices of policy agents. The data extracts have provided an insight into the representation and experience of bilingualism as instances of discursive action. By attending to discourse as a window into investigating human agency and structure, it is possible to provide a more complete picture of language policy as orchestrated at different levels through social action. Together, Shohamy's language policy approach and the DHA marry the linguistic with the social in language policy research. In

brief, such an approach strives to pay attention to micro-interactions of policy agents and their textual practices as much as to the broader orders of discourse, systems of knowledge and ideologies that structure such interactions and texts. As Hornberger (2006, p. 35) puts it, language policy is a field that is 'poised perpetually between theory and practice'. The proposed framework is intended to create further conceptual synergies in language policy and CDS. It comes with an invitation to be challenged and expanded not only through scholarly dialogue but also by applying it to emerging language policy debates that keep reproducing social structures of power, prestige and authority as they reside strongly in the fields of the workplace and in corporate communication.

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3

State Language Policy in Time and Space: Meaning, Transformation, Recontextualisation

Kristof Savski

3.1 Introduction

Analysing language policy-making practices in contemporary nation-states presents a number of different challenges: researchers must take into account the diversity of different actors involved in language policy, the different spaces policies are created and interpreted in, and the potential for actors in such spaces to gain agency or to establish hegemony. At the same time, the gradual broadening of scope in the field of language policy has facilitated a move away from narrow studies of top-down intervention, towards more localised approaches which are able to describe language policy as a diverse phenomenon that governs language practices in a number of domains. This has increased the theoretical and methodological diversity of language policy and has opened new avenues for studies of state-level language policy.

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In this chapter, I present a framework designed to study the genesis of language policy documents and of their trajectory once they have been officially adopted. I draw on several theoretical and methodological streams, including contemporary state theory, interpretive approaches to policy analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and mediated discourse analysis, to create a comprehensive framework for analysing the trajectory of language policy documents through time and space. I draw on my research on Slovene state language policy (Savski, 2016) to give examples of how the framework can be applied to a concrete example of policy.

3.2 Theoretical and Practical Underpinnings

3.2.1 Language Policy and State Power

Johnson (2013, pp. 26ff) tracks the historical development of how scholars have approached language policy since the first appearance of the field in the post–World War Two reconstruction period (see also Ricento 2000). In summary, this development can be seen as a gradual broadening of scope: while the early language planning literature mainly concerned itself with top-down legislative action, later work began to gradually pay greater attention to the different social forces that govern language practices. Such approaches study explicit or de jure policy, as well as implicit or de facto policy, and do this in a number of different domains, ranging from educational institutions to the family. In sum, they see language policy as 'not only official acts and texts, but also undeclared, unofficial interactions and discourses that regulate social statuses, uses, and choices, and that are transacted in everyday social practice' (McCarty et al. 2010, p. 32; see also Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004; see also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2).

While discussing its various relevant aspects, Jenkins (2007, pp. 25–26) highlights the organisational nature of policy as a social practice which assumes an established structure and authority within the polity where it is set. In the research framework I outline below, the organisation or polity that the policy relates to is a state, the Republic of Slovenia. Following

Jessop's strategic-relational approach to state power, I will understand the state as 'a distinct ensemble of institutions and organisations whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on a given population in the name of their common interest or general will' (Jessop 1990, p. 341). In this context, policy-making is then an exercise of state power, a practice which involves setting a transformative goal as well as the projected means needed to achieve this goal (Levinson et al. 2009, p. 770), and which is lent legitimacy by the authority of the state.

This does not, however, indicate a return to a view of policy as linear top-down intervention. In this context, the state is in fact not seen as an actor in itself, but as an array of 'various potential structural powers [which through its institutions offers] unequal chances to different forces within and outside of the state to act for different political purposes' (Jessop 2007, p. 37). Thus, while the nature of state power is by default top-down, the various institutions of the state are also sites which provide opportunities for policy actors to exert agency, depending on the momentary balance of forces in the political context and the existence of a will for policy (Levinson et al. 2009, p. 771). Politics and political action are also understood in this light as those (formal or informal) actions and practices which are oriented towards exercising or shaping state power, regardless of whether they support or resist it, and regardless of whether they occur in the traditional political sphere or outside it (Jessop 2014, pp. 2–3).

3.2.2 Discourse and the Construction of Policy Meaning

In a narrower sense, a discourse-oriented conceptualisation of policy draws on postpositivist approaches in policy analysis. Like contemporary approaches in language policy, these have developed partly as a reaction to a rigid neo-positivist tradition: as with 'classical' language policy (see Ricento 2000), the beginnings of the field of policy analysis were rooted in the immediate needs of the post-World War Two context, particularly to political scientist and communications theorist Harold Lasswell's

vision of a 'policy science' which would apply itself to contemporary social issues (Turnbull 2008). In the following decades, the prevailing interpretation of his vision was based on a view of policy as a cyclical sequence of events and stages, from agenda setting and problem identification to implementation, which ultimately meant policy was framed almost exclusively from a top-down perspective (Jann and Weigrich 2007). Little attention was paid to the interaction between different policies and laws (*ibid.*), to any potential ulterior motives of actors in policy (Weiss and Wittrock 1991), or to the agencies of the actors involved in the policy cycle (Pülzl and Treib 2007).

Fischer and Forester (1993) find that the field of policy analysis underwent an 'argumentative turn' in the late 1980s and early 1990s, whereby its main focus became how language, argumentation, and, in a broader sense, social practices reflect and create policy meanings, that is, 'the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and "read" by various audiences' (Yanow 2000, p. 27; see also Wagenaar 2011). Such audiences come from different communities and their readings of policy are embedded in social practices, all of which policy analysis takes into account when analysing policy meaning (Stone 2012; Yanow 2000). In contrast to the rigid approach of 'classical' policy analysis, this leaves space for individual and group agency, for contestation of policy, and for a more contextualised analytical approach based primarily on qualitative research methods (Yanow 2007). All this means that the rigid hierarchical structure of the policy cycle model becomes eroded, and that greater attention is paid to studying policy implementation from the perspective of how grassroots actors integrate policy directives into their existing practices (e.g., Levinson et al. 2009).

Various frameworks have been developed to operationalise this theoretical perspective. Roe (1994), for instance, proposes to analyse competing 'policy narratives' through a conceptual and analytical framework based on literary theory—others have, for instance, created frameworks based on argumentation theory (e.g., Fischer 2007) and rhetoric (e.g., Gottweis 2007). The goal of such approaches, as summarised by Fischer, is for researchers to become actively involved in the policy process with the aim of helping 'decision makers and citizens develop alternatives that

speak to their own needs and interests, rather than those defined and shaped for them by others' (Fischer 2007, p. 225). Another stream in policy analysis focuses on how policy is translated from context to context, and how its meanings change due to this constant recontextualisation, whereby it is effectively re-created and a new array of potential interpretations is enabled (Lendvai and Stubbs 2007, pp. 176ff).

Recently, various analyses have also been built around CDA. When describing the main ideas that have brought together the various approaches and frameworks collectively known as CDA, Wodak and Meyer foreground 'the common interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)' (2009, p. 3). As with language policy and interpretive approaches to policy (see above), this common interest has united a number of research streams which differ greatly in terms of their epistemology and methodology (for a summary, see Wodak and Meyer 2009).

An early CDA study devoted exclusively to policy is Wodak's (2000) study of how a European Union (EU) policy document on unemployment was constructed through different committee meetings (see also Wodak and Weiss 2001). A number of CDA studies have since examined policy from various perspectives. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), for instance, present an argumentation-oriented framework for discussion of policy-related debates. Mulderrig (2011) uses a corpus-based CDA to analyse trends in UK educational policies since the 1970s, focusing on the persuasive function of discursive shifts initiated by the Blair government in the 1990s. In an extensive study of the EU's language policy, Wodak and others have, for instance, tracked its historical development in relation to changes in political agendas (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011) and have also investigated the various language ideologies that interact in various EU institutions (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010; Wodak et al. 2012).

When considering these approaches in light of policy analysis as described above, the main theoretical assumption that can be abstracted is that policy meaning is discursively constructed, and that 'discourse about policy' can thus be considered constitutive of policy meaning and constituted by it. This discourse establishes a broader space for the construction

of policy meanings, extending across various fields of action, such as governance (Fairclough 2003), policy communication (Krzyżanowski 2013), the media, and others (cf. Koller and Davidson 2008, pp. 315–317). Just as politics and political action are not limited to state institutions (see above), policy meaning is constructed in newspapers and TV reports, at public hearings, in academic papers, at protests, on online media, and so on. A framework aiming to uncover and analyse policy meaning should therefore be sensitive to the concrete differences between the contexts in which they are constructed.[1]

3.3 Time and Space in Language Policy

3.3.1 Time for Policy: Text Transformation in a Changing Political Climate

The temporal dimension has played a crucial role in how policy is understood, both in policy science and in common-sense knowledge. The structure imposed by the model of the 'policy cycle' (see above) includes in its background a number of assumptions which codify a specific power structure, where policy is constructed at the top and then implemented in linear fashion at the bottom, with no space for agency for the actors and groups tasked with implementation. This is an example of how a particular understanding of time, or of the structure of the policy process in time, is a source of hegemony and state power (e.g., Nowotny 1994). Recent research in language policy has demonstrated the greater complexity that lies behind policy implementation and that affords a great amount of agency to grass-roots policy actors (e.g., Johnson and Johnson 2015).

However, there is another way that time is relevant to policy, and that is as a source of uncertainty for policy actors who are exposed to changes in the broader sociopolitical context. Present-day society, where globalisation increased access to mobility and the mediatisation and commodification

[1] I am referring to several grounding ideas of CDA here, namely the view of discourse as socially constitutive and constituted social practice, which is realised through language, through concrete instantiations, which may be in the form of talk, text, or image (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

of culture have brought about a reconfiguration of traditional social relationships (Beck 1998; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Giddens 1991), also offers a source of risk. Theorists who describe this period as *late modernity* have remarked that risk and uncertainty are its immanent features due to the insecurity that our complete reliance on technology and the devaluation of tradition have brought into society (see, e.g., Beck 1992).

For policy and policy-makers, risk can be a driving factor, as can unpredictable events, such as natural or human-caused disasters and crises (Birkland 1997, 2006). For instance, Birkland (2006) demonstrates how the extreme nature and high media and public interest in the 9/11 attacks spurred a number of major changes in aviation security policy, which would previously have been considered excessive due to the low probability of such an attack. At the same time, unexpected events can also alter the intended effects of public policy. Sarewitz et al. (2003) give an example from 1997, when due to the development of El Nino in southern Africa, several agencies warned farmers about the potential drought and suggested measures to mitigate its effects. Ultimately, while the drought never occurred, many farmers followed the instructions given by the agencies, causing a grain shortage in the area.

As an example of how this applies to the study of language policy, I will draw on my ongoing research into Slovene language policy. As a society, Slovenia has gone through a number of major changes in recent decades. In broad terms, these include the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, the corresponding switch from socialism to capitalism, along with EU membership in 2004 and Eurozone membership in 2006. These changes have defined Slovene politics in general, and Slovene language policy specifically. More narrowly, these are related to the social, economic, and political instability that has defined Slovenia in recent years. The latter is particularly well exemplified by the fact that the last time a Slovene government completed a full term was in 2008, when the conservative coalition led by Janez Janša suffered defeat and a left-centre government was formed by social democrat Borut Pahor. Since then there have been two snap elections (2011 and 2014) and three government coalitions led by three different prime ministers.

In this context, language-policy-makers have encountered a number of challenges. A recent example is the Resolution of a National Language

Policy Programme for 2014–2018, a strategic document intended to provide a common reference for all state institutions with regard to what the priorities of Slovenia are in relation to language policy. Its development was particularly strongly defined by the political changes in Slovenia. Planning began in 2010 under the left-centre Pahor government, but it was not until April 2012 that a first version, written by a group of linguists, was made public (see Draft 1 below). By this time, elections had been held and a new right-centre coalition, again led by Janša, had taken power. One of its first moves was to temporarily attach the Ministry of Culture, responsible for the drafting of this document, to another ministry in a bid to reduce administrative costs, adding more instability, this time at the level of public administration.

When Draft 1 was published, it drew a considerable response, particularly from Slovene linguists, and more than 40 texts (containing proposals, comments, or objections) were submitted to the Ministry for consideration, while others were made public in various media outlets. Most of these were highly critical of the text, seeing it as excessively liberal and insufficiently focused on the Slovene language. Eventually, these criticisms led to the appointment of a second drafting team, again composed of linguists, which made substantial changes to the text and produced a second version, which was published in January 2013 (Draft 2).

> (1) The contemporary Slovene language situation requires a considered and active language policy, which, while taking into account historical facts and tradition, at the same time carries out new tasks and achieves new goals under contemporary circumstances. (2) A language policy oriented towards development is based on the belief that the Slovene state, Slovene language, and Slovene language community are vital and dynamic entities, which should further develop and strengthen, in a way that will enable all inhabitants to live in freedom, welfare, as well as tolerance and responsibility. (Preamble, Draft 1, p. 3, my emphasis and numbering of sentences)

> (1) The contemporary Slovene language situation requires a considered and active language policy, which~~, while taking~~ takes into account historical facts and tradition, and at the same time carries out new tasks and achieves new goals under contemporary circumstances. (2) A language policy oriented towards development is based on the belief that the Slovene state,

> Slovene language, and Slovene language community are vital and dynamic entities, which should further develop and strengthen~~, in a way that will enable all inhabitants to live in freedom, welfare, as well as tolerance and responsibility~~. (3) In those areas which require special care in order to preserve the scale, vitality and dynamicity of the Slovene language, measures must be ensured to improve the situation where needed. (Preamble, Draft 2, p. 7, my emphasis and numbering of sentences)

This comparison indicates the various changes that were made to the Preamble during the redrafting. I consider these from the perspective of the various possible transformations that can occur during the drafting of a policy document, namely resequencing, addition, deletion, and substitution[2] (Wodak 2000, p. 77; see also Wodak and van Leeuwen 1999). The new structure of sentence (1) establishes a relationship of equality between the two properties of 'language policy', where in the previous version, 'historical facts and tradition' had clearly been subordinated to 'new goals under modern circumstances'. The combination of the deletions made from sentence (2) and the addition of sentence (3) shift the meaning of the concept of 'development'. In the original, 'development' was defined by other concepts in the immediate co-text, such as 'vitality', 'dynamicity', 'freedom', 'welfare', 'tolerance', and 'responsibility'. The deletion of most of these concepts from the second draft indicates this conflict of beliefs. The addition of the third sentence is what brings a true conceptual shift: the focus effectively switches from 'development' to 'care' and 'preservation', two concepts central to the dominant voice in Slovene language policy (see below).

These transformations become even more salient when considered against the background of the various time-related processes in the political context. Draft 1 had been compiled by a team of linguists appointed by the left-centre Pahor government, and their text reflected the liberal (at times even neoliberal) stance of that government, and the progressive stance of the drafting team itself. With the arrival of the Janša

[2] Resequencing refers to cases where the order of elements, and with it the informational structure of the text, is modified; addition refers to the introduction of completely new elements in the text; deletion involves the complete removal of elements from the text; substitution refers to direct one-for-one exchanges of elements in the text (Wodak 2000, p. 77).

government in early 2012, neither the text nor its authors fit its predominantly conservative stance towards language and culture. The linguists who opposed Draft 1 on the grounds that it was too liberal were therefore successful in lobbying for the text to be changed.

If the state is seen as an array of institutions which offers potential agencies for actors with policy objectives (as discussed above, see Jessop 2007), then the changes which led to the above transformation of the text can be seen as a reconfiguration of this array of potential agencies. They empowered a different group of linguists, allowing it to shift the focus of Slovene state language policy, refocusing it on an ideology of monolingualism and nationalism. This indicates the paradoxical position such actors find themselves in. On the one hand, they are empowered by such reconfigurations, becoming *de facto* agenda setters in a specific policy area, as a result of successful allegiance-building with the incumbent government. On the other hand, this power is, by nature, unstable, ebbing, and flowing as the political landscape around it is reshaped, making such actors subject to forces which are ultimately beyond the scope of their agency.

In this instance, these were a number of dramatic events—though not comparable to the various disasters described by Birkland (2006, see above)—which continued throughout the drafting of this document. The Janša government lasted until the beginning of 2013, when it was destabilised as a result of mass protests and loss of political support, and as the newly appointed left-centre Bratušek government finalised the document, it made several changes which suggested another shift in agenda, this time linked to how the document would be implemented. This underlines how quickly agency can be gained and lost with political change and, ultimately, how dependent stakeholders in specific areas are on the existence of a political *will* to create and implement policy (Levinson et al. 2009, p. 771).

3.3.2 Policy and Space: Text Trajectories and Mediated Action

The second dimension that I structure my framework around is space. Here, I analyse where it is that the discourse about policy unfolds, what actors engage in it, and most particularly, what types of social practices enable

engagement with policy. Here, my analysis also draws on Ron Scollon's mediated discourse analysis (MDA) , a discourse-ethnographic approach focused on analysing action as mediated through various mediational means (Scollon 2001, 2008). In this chapter, I focus on political action—the act of engaging with a language policy—as mediated by the policy document itself, as well as the various texts which surround it and/or refer to it.

The motivation for such an approach comes from the interdisciplinary nature of language policy creation, where various types of actors become engaged in various types of situations. During the drafting process I outlined in the previous section, a number of different actors engaged with the policy: politicians (as high-level decision-makers in government), bureaucrats (responsible for everyday running of the state and as such for many policy-related decisions), linguists (those in the drafting teams as well as those in the 'public sphere'), reporters in the media (who wrote about the policy document), and various others. Each of these actors engaged with the policy text from a different perspective, in different situations, and at different times. It is with such engagements that the 'discourse about policy' unfolds, and that policy meaning is constructed (cf. Hult 2010).

In practice, this occurs in different *sites of engagement*, one-time windows which are created when social practices enable an actor, or a group of actors, to produce discourse (Scollon 2001, pp. 146–147). Such windows thus enable actors to actively participate in the discursive construction of policy meaning with their own characteristic voices mediated through the various instances of language (text and talk) that surround every policy: media reports, leaflets, briefs, speeches, debates, hearings, and others. In these sites, power plays a key role, as the voices of particular actors become dominant, or hegemonic, and others are backgrounded. Engagement with policy is enabled particularly where, through the historical co-occurrence of particular practices, a *nexus of practice* has developed (Scollon 2001, p. 50). An example of this is a parliamentary committee, a site where some practices are formally prescribed and others develop implicitly into a relatively stable nexus which is durable over time. Where the actors regularly participating in such a nexus begin to identify with and feel a sense of belonging to this common group, a *community of practice* develops around this nexus (*ibid*., see also Wenger 1999; Wertsch 2001).

In relation to Slovene language policy, one of the ways in which the spatial dimension of policy can be analysed is by examining the various topics which developed in the discourse about policy, and to track their trajectory as they are recontextualised across various nexuses of practice. By examining the development of topics and genre chains that develop as actors engage with language policy, an analysis shows how policy meanings are constructed, and particularly how hegemonic and subversive policy meanings develop, and what practices create space for either. An example of this is a discussion about the Romani language which developed during the period I discussed in the previous section, while the text was being drafted (see Fig. 3.1).

The first site of engagement with the topic was the drafting of the document itself (Extract 1 in Fig. 3.1), where several provisions for minority languages also extended to the Romani-speaking community, along with Italian and Hungarian. The last two are officially recognised linguistic minorities in Slovenia, with full collective rights to bilingualism in public administration, education, and political representation in parliament, whereas the Roma community has been granted limited rights, mostly related to language maintenance, and also has some political representation at the local level. Draft 1 did not plan for substantial improvements to these rights as its main focus was on facilitating implementation of existing legislation.

The second engagement with the topic came with a collection of reactions to Draft 1, written by various members of the Slavic Studies Society. One of the authors, Martina Križaj Ortar, a Professor at the University of Ljubljana, made a passing remark about her disagreement with the existence of a Romani language (Extract 2 in Fig. 3.1). This immediately sparked a reaction on SlovLit, an online mailing list subscribed to mostly by linguists and literary scholars,[3] where a number of individuals posted messages expressing their disagreement with the remark (Extract 3). Another engagement with this topic occurred when the entire debate was featured on Naše Poti, a weekly programme on Radio Slovenia 3 which is produced for the Slovene Roma community. In this section of the programme, various actors were interviewed, most prominently Boža Krakar Vogel, president of the Slavic Studies Society, and another professor at the same university (Extract 4).

[3] http://mailman.ijs.si/mailman/listinfo/slovlit (Accessed 1 June 2015).

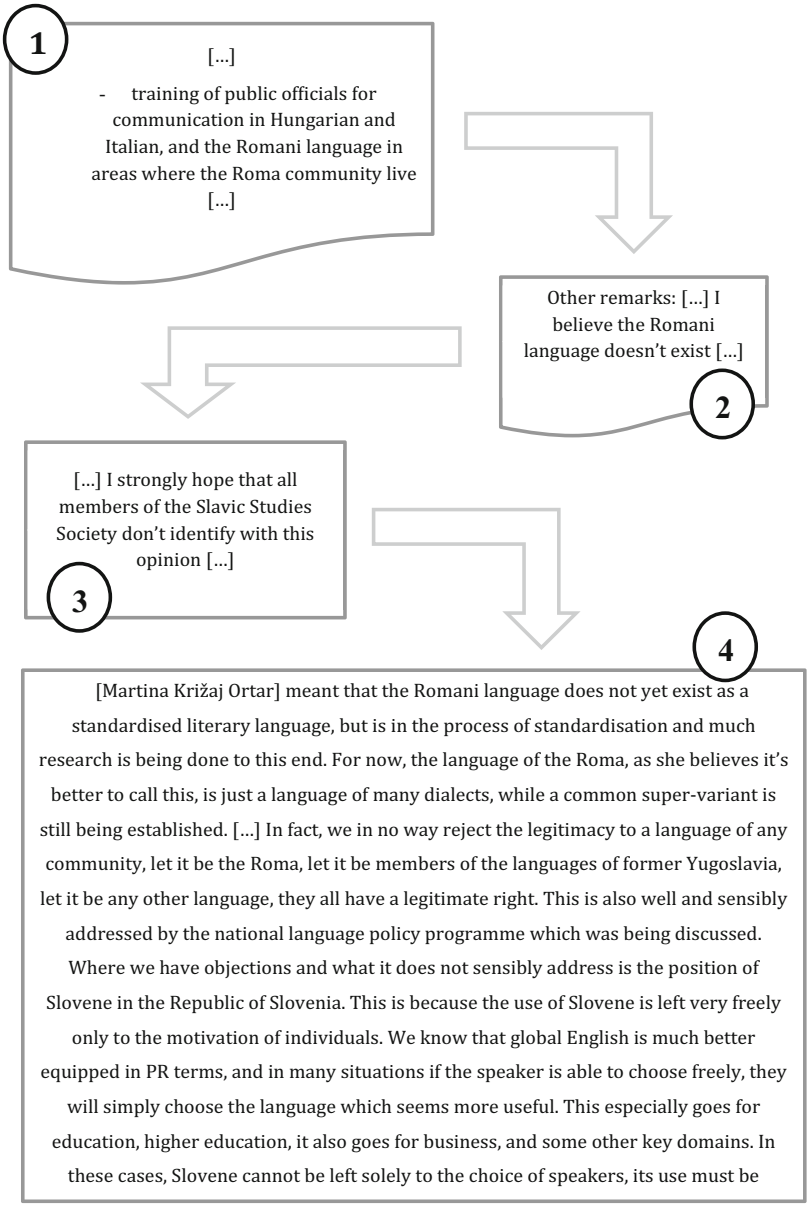

Fig. 3.1 A genre chain related to the topic 'The Romani Language'

This final engagement was the most indicative of the dominant policy meaning being constructed. While Krakar Vogel was interviewed on a programme intended specifically to serve as a media outlet for the Roma community, her contributions indicate two priorities. The initial goal was to mitigate the force of Križaj Ortar's initial statement, which was achieved through a denial of intention ('I was misunderstood', a strategy characteristic of the denial of racism, see van Dijk 1992). In the programme, this denial was not explicitly challenged, and this allowed Krakar Vogel to then foreground her own agenda by shifting the topic and focus of her discussion. Instead of the Romani language and community—the intended focus of the programme—her later remarks foreground the Slovene language. Seen more broadly, this topic shift indicates an alternative policy meaning, where protecting Slovene from an outside threat, represented here as English, is a major priority.

As a site of engagement, Naše Poti is potentially key: as a media outlet intended to give voice to the Roma community, it enables an often minority which is often maligned in Slovene media (see Petković 2003) to provide its own input in public discourse. In this case, however, it briefly became the vehicle for a hegemonic agenda: the predominant voice in media discourse about Slovene language policy is that of linguists, and the agenda most often foregrounded is linked to the protection of Slovene from outside threats (Savski, forthcoming). This shows how the programme, as a nexus of practice, is embedded in the broader social practices which govern the Slovene media where language policy is concerned—in this case, this meant that the dominant voice retained its prominence, while the voice of the Roma community continued to remain largely backgrounded.

3.4 Integrating Time and Space into the Critique of Language Policy

Various recent reviews of the field of language policy have described a 'critical turn' which has characterised a number of different theoretical and methodological approaches in recent decades (see, for instance, Johnson 2013; Ricento 2000; Unger 2013), with the particular uniting

factor being a common commitment to 'expose social inequalities [and] effect positive change in society' (Unger 2013, p. 39). As was the case with traditional policy analysis, such critique is generally directed along two complementary axes (Turnbull 2008). The first axis is a content-oriented critique of policy, in this case of language as a means of establishing power relations in society (Ricento 2000). The second, which this chapter ultimately focuses on, is the critique of process as a process, that is, of the social practices that constitute policy-making in any given polity.

An important focus for such a critique of the process of creating language policies is to study who can engage in political action or policy-making, and under what conditions (cf. Levinson et al. 2009), with a view to improving engagement with policy. Writing from the perspective of action research, Johnson (2013) gives several examples of how grass-roots actors can get involved in policy. One stage is policy creation, which ranges from influencing how the political agenda is set, what plans are made for policy, and how documents are drafted. Another way of engaging with policy is interpretation, which has the potential both to empower through opening space for creativity in implementation and to limit agency in cases where a hegemonic interpretation is imposed. A final type of engagement is policy appropriation, seen as 'the creative and agentive ways that language policy agents put a policy into action' (Johnson 2013, p. 212; see also Johnson and Johnson 2015; Levinson et al. 2009).

Another aspect of critique relevant to the policy process is transparency, where a central consideration is that not all sites of engagement with a policy are visible to the public (or the researcher), and that not all visible sites of engagement can necessarily be treated equally. For example, while decision-making in parliamentary committee debates is a crucial source of data for an analysis of a state language policy text, major parts of such debates can be seen as performed, the decisions having been made in advance and out of sight (see, for instance, Wodak 2011). The question here is how this should be theoretically and practically integrated into critical research. One the one hand, it is possible to formulate a strong normative critique, meaning that the critical goal is absolute transparency, which is seen as having a 'civilising effect' on both arguments and decisions (Naurin 2007, p. 210), as well as enhancing trust in decisions in the public (De Fine Licht et al. 2014).

On the other hand, a more localised approach to transparency and inclusion may shift our understanding of these key concepts. In a parliamentary debate, for example, decision-making behind closed doors might, for instance, serve not only to exclude but also to facilitate inclusion in a less pressured setting. It can also allow coalition partners to save face in cases where they make concessions, thus allowing the parliamentary groups supporting the government to present a common position (Savski, forthcoming). Integrating such examples into the critique of language policy-making can facilitate the formulation of a different (yet not incompatible) critique with the participation of research subjects. In addition to seeking a theoretical basis when setting critical goals, this would therefore mean that the researcher should also take care to include the voices of research participants, particularly those whose voices are found to be marginalised (see, for instance, Madison 2005).

This focus on how the text is embedded in, and subject to, the social practices which surround it exploits an already existing link between CDA and ethnographic research methods (e.g., Krzyżanowski 2011) Combining CDA with MDA adds another dimension to this, by expanding the focus to include the social practices that texts are embedded in. This is of particular value where policy meaning is seen as discursively constructed across various sites of engagement—rather than understanding texts as holding a single intrinsic meaning, MDA sees texts as containing meaning potential which is then realised when the text mediates a specific and concrete social action in real-time sites of engagement (Scollon 2008, pp. 17–18).

In this chapter, I have focused on the various theoretical fields currents which are relevant to the study of language policy at the level of the contemporary nation-state, with a particular focus on the development of a language policy document through time and space. The resulting framework focuses on how meanings are constructed as actors engage with the policy text in various nexuses or communities of practice, and at various times, with a view to describing what social practices enable participation in policy-making. It also analyses the genesis of a policy text, with a view to understanding how this creates a hybrid text which reflects the changing political landscape surrounding the text.

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4

Language Policy as Metapragmatic Discourse: A Focus on the Intersection of Language Policy and Social Identification

Katherine S. Mortimer

4.1 Introduction

'La gente decía "People used to say"'

In conversations with many adults about the policy of teaching Guarani and teaching in Guarani, an autochthonous language of Paraguay, they often recounted stories of being told not to speak Guarani when they were children. But children described the contemporary world differently: "now they tell you how great that you speak Guarani", they said. Across a generation were two different accounts of the sociolinguistic world in urban Paraguay. The children were among the first students to have been schooled entirely under a national policy for universal Spanish/Guarani bilingual education, begun in 1992. Their parents had been schooled entirely under previous national policies that prohibited the use of Guarani in education.

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Parents described a sense that their sociolinguistic world had changed and that language policy had had a role in that change.

Social change and linguistic change are, of course, complex, as is the role of language policy in both. Discursive approaches to language policy analysis have done much to advance our accounting of these processes and their complexity, drawing our attention to the roles of language ideologies and power (e.g., Jaffe 1999); to the multiple layers and scales at which language policy activity occurs (e.g., Collins 2012; Hornberger 2002, 2005; Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Hult 2010; Johnson 2009b, 2011); to distinctions among texts, discourse, and practices (e.g., Johnson 2009a, 2012; Wodak 2006); to the processes of interpretation and appropriation as policy texts are taken into new contexts (e.g., McCarty 2011; Wodak and Fairclough 2010); to the ways language policy is an instrument of power and of empowerment (e.g., Galdames and Gaete 2010; Liddicoat 2013; Valdiviezo 2010); to the indeterminacy of language policy in general. These developments have helped us to provide a fuller account of language policy—what it is, what it does, how it does it, who does it—and fundamental to all of them is attention to the social. This chapter focuses on social and linguistic change in the context of language policy, and in particular how processes of social identification are implicated therein. I draw upon recent scholarship in linguistic anthropology, sociocultural linguistics, and sociolinguistics, exploring the nature of identities as constituted in discursive interaction (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Wortham 2006) and upon scholarship in language policy exploring the nature of policy as constituted in discourse (Ball 1993; Hult 2010; Johnson 2009a; Pennycook 2002; Shohamy 2006; Wodak 2006). At the intersection of these bodies of work, I focus on the role of social identification in the appropriation of language policy: that is, the ways that social identification influences how people put policy into practice, as well as the ways that language policy influences how people socially identify each other.

I begin with a review of scholarship on discursive processes of social identification, connecting that with work on discursive processes of language policy activity. I highlight the concepts of metapragmatic discourse and speech chains as useful ways of seeing language policy and appropriation that help to foreground the place of social identification

therein. I illustrate this argument with data from an ethnography of language policy appropriation in Paraguay, showing how circulating models of identity influenced how people interpreted a national policy for universal bilingual education, and in turn, how as this policy was practiced over 15+ years, new models of identity for minoritized language speakers became more widely available. I conclude with a discussion of what a theoretical focus on social identification does for language policy studies.

4.1.1 Discursive Processes of Social Identification

Drawing on large bodies of work in social psychology, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, as well as their own scholarship, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) offer a useful framework for a sociocultural linguistic approach to identity, which takes identity as an accomplishment of shared understanding and not as an individual phenomenon. They articulate five key principles of such an approach. First, identity emerges in and through discursive interaction. Based in part on theories of performativity (Austin 1962; Butler 1999) and indexicality (Silverstein 1976), this principle is illustrated in explorations of gender (e.g., Cameron 1997), ethnicity (e.g., Rampton 1995), and other identities. Second, identities are produced through the simultaneous use of different kinds of positioning. People in interaction simultaneously link who they are to macro-level categories like race, gender, and ethnicity, as well as to more local categories and also by momentary stances and participant roles. For example, Wortham (2006) shows how students' identities emerge across interactional events of identification during an academic year as teachers and students locate particular students in relation to macro-level racialized categories but also in relation to locally emergent versions of gendered categories. Interlocutors perceive signs like an accent or a person's silence and see them as meaningful to the extent that those signs point, for them, to circulating models of identity—the macro- and more local categories—with which they are familiar. Across events of identification, an individual student comes to be seen as one of these types of people. But as Wortham's (2006) account shows, these trajectories of identification are not linear or predictable,

and efforts by educators to help students develop particular identities—like empowered citizens or college-bound students (see also Mortimer et al. 2010)—sometimes have counterproductive effects.

Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) third principle describes the mechanism by which identities are constituted in interaction: indexicality (Peirce 1992; Silverstein 1976, 2003), or the semiotic process by which linguistic forms point to aspects of context (see also Flubacher, this volume, Chap. 10), in this case socially circulating images of kinds of people, or models of identity. One of the ways in which these models of identity circulate is through metapragmatic discourse, or talk about recognizable kinds of people, language use, and social activity (Agha 2007; Wortham 2006). This kind of discourse functions to link together forms of language with a kind of person located in social space. Language ideologies are the beliefs in which language forms are linked with kinds of people and kinds of social activity. As beliefs, language ideologies are not in themselves perceivable, but they can become perceivable and circulatable through metapragmatic discourse (as well as through other semiotic activity). Models of types of people and types of language use, or metapragmatic models of identity and language (Agha 2007; Silverstein 1976; Wortham 2006), are circulated in moments of speaking and hearing (or writing and reading) and passed along in a subsequent such moment such that they circulate across people and social time and space. Agha (2007) calls these trajectories speech chains and highlights them as a conceptual resource for tracing the paths and extent of circulation of metapragmatic models of identity. He describes, for example, how Received Pronunciation (RP), rather than being an a priori type, came to be a recognizable type of English through a process in which it was first described in prescriptivist works like dictionaries and then circulated in etiquette manuals, literary works, and popular periodicals. In each, the accent became discursively more fixed—enregistered, in Agha's terms—as it was described through metapragmatic discourse and linked to specific types of people, for example, graduates of elite public schools and eventually BBC broadcasters. It became recognizable to more and more people as the speech chains reached broader and broader audiences. Once in circulation, a model of identity can be indexed through the use of labels that name it, like RP, as well as through stances, footing

(Goffman 1974, 1981), and linguistic features and other perceivable signs associated with them. Indexicality makes these resources, which are heterogeneous and develop over different timescales, relevant in interaction such that social identification is made possible (Wortham 1992; Wortham and Rhodes 2012, 2013).

The fourth principle describes how identities are produced via discursive strategies that place them in relationship with other identities. While the idea that an identity can be produced through juxtaposition with another (e.g., Jocks vs. Burnouts in Eckert 1989) is well recognized, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) call attention to additional relational axes that help to produce identities: genuineness, artifice, authority, and delegitimacy. How same and different, how genuine and fake, how legitimate and illegitimate identities become produced depends upon how indexicalities are negotiated in interaction.

Fifth and final of the principles, all productions of identity are partial and involve both agency and structure. Together, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) principles and the broad body of work they cover offer multiple conceptual tools for understanding the multiplicity, contingency, complexity, and discursive basis of identities. Some of these same and similar conceptual tools have been drawn upon in the quest in the field of language policy studies to theorize the multiplicity, contingency, complexity, and discursive basis of language policy activity. In the next section, I describe some uses of these tools and posit, in particular, that the tools of metapragmatic discourse and speech chains make an additional contribution to language policy analysis.

4.1.2 Discursive Processes of Language Policy Activity

Like identity studies, language policy scholarship has increasingly located language policy activity in discourse and social interaction, going beyond conceptualizations of language policy as simply official texts with a priori meanings. Language policy is discourse both in the sense that policy comprises talk and written text and in the sense that it comprises normative frames through which experience can be understood and constituted. Ball (1993) captures these two senses in his conceptualizations

of policy as text and policy as discourse. In policy as text, policy can be understood as stretches of language that encode some set of representations and that then must be made sense of by people who interpret it in context—much like Gee's (1999) little-d discourses. In Ball's second conceptualization, policy as discourse, policy can be understood more like Gee's big-D Discourses, or "socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting" (Gee 1999, p.17). This latter sense of discourse also comes from the work of Foucault (1978), Bourdieu (1972, 1991), and others, and highlights how power is constituted in what is said and not said and in the limits of what can be said. Bacchi (2000) notes that within work seeing policy as discourse in this latter sense, some analysts focus on how power operates in the creation of texts, while others focus on how power operates in the interpretation of texts—these two emphases corresponding roughly to differing foci on structure and agency in policy activity. Bacchi ties these two emphases to the traditions of social deconstruction—focusing on structure—and literary deconstruction—focusing on agency. She calls for more balance in attention to agency in policy analysis (see Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2), a call parallel to that made on early critical language policy work (Phillipson 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994; Tollefson 1991) to pay more attention to agency and to processes of interpretation at multiple layers (Ricento and Hornberger 1996). It was a call also made on educational and general policy studies (Levinson and Sutton 2001; Shore and Wright 1997), and as in the move toward identity as practice, these calls have been taken up in moves toward analysis of policy as practice (Levinson et al. 2009; Sutton and Levinson 2001), policy as multiply layered (Hornberger 2005; Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Johnson 2009a; McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010; Ricento and Hornberger 1996), as multiply scaled (Collins 2012; Hult 2010; Mortimer 2016), and as having meanings contingent upon the contexts into which it is taken (Johnson 2011; Liddicoat 2013; Mortimer In press; Wodak 2006; Wodak and Fairclough 2010). While not all explicitly focus on the nature of policy as discourse, these approaches all draw on the idea of policy as discursive in that it is a meaning-making activity. This is perhaps the central contribution of a discursive approach to language policy.

4.1.3 A Linguistic Anthropological Account of Meaning-Making

Here linguistic anthropology and semiotics offer a useful account of the meaning-making process—that is, the process by which meaning is made within the relationship between language and social context. First, language and context are mutually constitutive: meaning of language is generated from context and context is created from language. Neither meaning nor context exists a priori. Features of language use at any level—phonological, morphological, syntactic, or pragmatic—may become relevant as cues to context. Gumperz (1982) calls these signals contextualization cues. Agha (2007) calls them text-level indexicals, following Peirce (1992), Garfinkel (1967), and Silverstein (1976), who use the concept of indexicality to describe the work of many features of language in pointing to some aspect of context (be it linguistic or social), thereby generating meaning. Other semiotic systems that often accompany language, such as gesture, eye gaze, visual images, or nonlinguistic auditory cues, function similarly in pointing to some aspect of context.

Combinations of contextualization cues or text-level indexicals help to assemble word- or discourse-level meaning, which, because it is specific to a situation, is never fixed but emerges in interaction (Silverstein 1992, 1993) and across interactional events over time (Agha 2007; Agha and Wortham 2005; Wortham 2005). An infinite number of elements of context or contextual resources could potentially be considered part of a given context, but only some are perceived to be relevant at any given time. The work of indexicals signals which of all the possible resources are relevant, thereby constructing context. These resources are heterogeneous and come from multiple timescales (Wortham 2012). For example, Wortham and Rhodes (2012, 2013) show how resources made relevant in the identification of a group of people or an individual might be locally or broadly circulating narratives and discourses, historical geopolitical relations, or individuals' developmental processes—for example, the process of becoming a reader. Important among these resources that are often made relevant as context in meaning-making of language are language ideologies and metapragmatic models of social life.

As beliefs about the relationship between language and the social world, language ideologies (Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000;

Kroskrity 2000; Woolard 1998) are organizational schemes or storylines (see also Gee 1999) that allow the recognition and enactment of types of people, types of language, and types of social activity. The concept of language ideologies has gained considerable traction in many areas of research, including that of language policy, but the specifics of how these beliefs become perceivable, how they circulate/move/spread/change, and how they come to be employed in meaning-making have received less attention outside of linguistic anthropology. As described above, language ideologies can become perceivable through metapragmatic discourse, as do the metapragmatic models of people, language, and social activity that they organize. Metapragmatic models become available to people through social interaction, when, for example, a type of person like a 'soccer mom'[1] (Safire 1996) or a type of language, like RP, or a type of social activity, like 'teaching', is talked about or labeled or otherwise identified as a coherent thing. The group of people who recognizes as meaningful a particular model is the model's social domain (Agha 2007). Some models have very large and enduring social domains, while others are much more local and/or momentary (Wortham 2006).

In identifying someone as a particular kind of person, for example, we may perceive a sign in someone's conduct, maybe their language use, or appearance and interpret that sign as emblematic of a social type of person—a metapragmatic model—with which we are familiar because of prior experience. Metapragmatic models with wide and enduring circulation are particularly important in their ability to 'regiment' (Silverstein 1993; Wortham 2003a, 2006) signs in interaction, or organize and contextualize them such that they take on a certain shape and not others. When people come to presuppose that this or that recognizable type of person or activity is relevant, present, or going on, the frame or model that they presuppose then helps to select which of the infinite elements of the context are important for understanding the sign. Wortham (2003b) describes regimentation as a dialectic process between cultural frames (like language ideologies and models of identity) and indexical cues.

[1] A term popularized in media and popular discourse in the United States during the 1996 presidential election and used to refer to a social type of voter predicted to be influential in the election: a white, middle-class, suburban woman with children. Many other characteristics (e.g., that she drives a minivan) and social values came to be associated with this type of person.

Naturally, as these models regiment the signs of identity and call out select elements of context, many elements of context are therefore not attended to, sometimes in important ways.

Importantly, metapragmatic models can be both reproduced and changed in interaction. They come to include new signs of identity and exclude others through the process of entextualization and recontextualization (Silverstein and Urban 1996; Urban 1996) or the emergence (Wortham 2006) of meaning in interaction. Agha (2007) calls this the dialectic of norm and trope. In this process, meanings are taken from one context and applied in another, but inevitably in ways that both replicate and improvise upon the original meaning. Thus, language ideologies and models of identity may be taken from widely circulating discourse and applied in interaction to give shape and meaning to people and languages there, but in the process, these models take on new local configurations and can sometimes alter the more widespread meanings as well (see, e.g., Wortham 2006). In this way, cultural theories of how language and people intersect—language ideologies—along with models of identity and the relationships among them are part of the context through which linguistic cues come to have meaning. And reciprocally, the context takes shape through the use of linguistic cues in interaction: a spiraling mutually constitutive process of meaning-making between language and context.

4.2 Language Policy as Metapragmatic Discourse

Language policy text and talk are discourse about discourse—they describe the uses, users, forms, and contexts of language. In being so, they are bits of discourse about types—types of language, types of people, types of activity, types of situations. For example, educational language policy often articulates a description of 'the educated person' and the character traits that are desirable in a society or at least some sector of it, the nature of particular languages and their place in the social and cultural capital that is considered valuable, and the ideal shape of discursive interaction in classrooms and schools. Language policy explicitly or implicitly describes the social contour of language use (Agha 2007)—how

culturally recognizable language forms (e.g., 'standard American English') are linked to culturally recognizable types of people (e.g., 'honor roll student') and activities (e.g., 'reading instruction') in an educational context (Wortham 2006). This is to say that language policy is metapragmatic discourse, and it does the same kinds of presupposing and entailing classificatory work that other kinds of metapragmatic discourse do. Seeing language policy through a metapragmatic discursive lens is useful because it helps to focus analytical attention on the types of people, activities, and language forms involved and the meaning-making work that language policy is and does. As an effort to manage ideal types of language, people, and interaction, language policy is an effort—tacit or overt—to produce and regulate identities, with policy-making bodies attempting to govern the linkages between language, people, and political entities.

In interpreting policy text, educators must make some meaning of the particular languages, activities, and types of people concerned. This is the sense-making process of appropriation. For example, in the case of Paraguay, when the national constitution states that 'la enseñanza en los comienzos del proceso escolar se realizará en la lengua oficial materna [castellano o guaraní] del educando "instruction in the beginning of the schooling process will occur in the official language [Spanish or Guarani] that is the student's mother tongue"' (see also Paraguay 1992), people generate some understanding of the activity of 'instruction', the language forms of 'Spanish' and 'Guarani', and the identity of 'the student' using meanings of these signs that circulate socially, both locally and more widely in terms of space and immediately and more enduringly in terms of time. They use circulating models of social life to understand which of all the things teachers do in teaching constitutes 'instruction'; which of all the international, national, regional, local varieties of Spanish constitutes 'Castilian' here; which of all the Indigenous, national, regional, and local varieties of this autochthonous language of Paraguay constitutes 'Guarani'; and which of all the kinds of children who attend schools with varying and multiple language proficiencies constitutes the Guarani-speaking or the Spanish-speaking student. The meanings that people make when they interpret educational language policy at one particular level are consequential for articulations of policy at other levels, and ultimately, for practice of policy—for the decisions that administrators and teachers and

students make in schools and classrooms about who speaks what languages when, where, and how. And as metapragmatic discourse—discourse about types—educational language policy text and talk helps to organize the meanings actors make of language in schools.

4.3 Language Policy Movement Across Speech Chains

The models of social life described in metapragmatic discourse circulate across space and time through speech chains, which is a useful way of thinking about the movement of language policy across contexts. In Paraguay, as elsewhere, higher levels of language policy are fleshed out at lower levels in texts and in talk: in national education law, national curricula, teacher training programs and professional development workshops, regional supervisory offices, principals' guidance, and schools and classrooms. At each level and in each context, sense is made of policy through reference to other elements of that sociocultural context. Policy's seeming movement across contexts is not so much the movement of objects as it is the movement or circulation of consistent sign-meaning relationships—the whos, whats, and hows 'specified' in policy. Agha's (2007) concept of speech chains, described above in relation to social identification, describes how a particular meaning comes to be shared by an increasing number of people through the very act of deploying that meaning in interaction.

Speech chains pass on a meaning—for example, a type of person—to others who then continue to pass it on, much like the children's game of 'telephone'. Over time and space, continuity of meaning is created and the individuals become linked together through their membership in this 'speech chain network'. As Agha (2007) notes, 'co-membership in a speech chain network depends not on knowing one another but on having something common in one's discursive history' (p. 67). Some events of transmission involve only two individuals in face-to-face interaction, but others involve the transmission of meaning from a mass media source or widely disseminated document (like a national constitution or national educational curriculum) or a public lecture (like a teacher training seminar). Chains of communicative events can then form across diverse kinds

of events involving two people or hundreds or thousands of people and all the people to which they might convey that meaning thereafter. This can happen quickly across moments or days or slowly across years or centuries. Thus, individuals in very disparate places and times may share a similar understanding of the meaning of some sign. Just as in the game of telephone, however, sign-meaning relationships are often altered in transmission because of changes in context—location, personal histories of individuals involved, and so on. This movement of signs across contexts—and the sedimentation or transformation of their meanings—is the process of recontextualization (Silverstein 1992; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Wodak and Fairclough 2010). As signs are recontextualized along communicative event chains, meanings may retain a high degree of continuity, or emergent meanings may develop. This is to say that metapragmatic models as they occur in speech events across speech chains can produce social stability by becoming naturalized. Similarly, they can produce social change by becoming denaturalized through interlocutors' footing in these events in relation to the meanings.

4.4 Policy Appropriation in Paraguay: An Illustration

In these final sections, I briefly illustrate how the ideas of language policy as metapragmatic discourse and language policy movement along speech chains help to focus attention on changes in social identification in relation to policy in Paraguay; that is, how policy appropriation in Paraguay was shaped by social identification and how social identification has been shaped by policy appropriation.

4.4.1 Policy Appropriation Is Shaped by Social Identities in Circulation

After decades of dictatorship in Paraguay, the new national constitution in 1992 created the current democratic government and declared the country bilingual with two official languages of Spanish and Guarani.

This constitution also mandated that all children receive initial literacy instruction in their mother tongue—either Guarani or Spanish—and instruction thereafter in both languages. Paraguayan Guarani is a language of Indigenous origin, but is now and historically spoken by a majority of Paraguayans who do not identify as Indigenous. Despite this, Guarani was prohibited in schools and literacy was almost always in Spanish.

Following this constitutional mandate, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) produced policy texts that described two bilingual program designs, and all schools would implement one or the other. One design was for students identified as guaranihablantes—or Guarani speakers—and required the use of Guarani as a medium of instruction for 100 % of the time at first, decreasing to 45 % in seventh grade. The other design was for students identified as hispanohablantes—or Spanish speakers—and required the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction for 100 % of the time at first, decreasing to 55 % in seventh grade. Both designs also required equal instruction of the two languages as subjects. The program design for guaranihablantes was begun in 118 schools out of about 6000 in 1994, spread to a high of 472 schools in 1998 (Paraguay MEC 2001), and was then mostly abandoned by 2008 (Zajícová 2009). That abandonment represents, in part, a way in which policy appropriation is shaped by indexical relationships with circulating models of social identification (described in more detail in Mortimer 2013, In press).

In 1994 when the two new bilingual program designs were rolled out, MEC supervisors chose which schools would implement the design for guaranihablantes based on their perceptions of the schools and students in their regions and of which ones were predominantly guaranihablante. That selection was made, in part, on the basis of supervisors' social identification of the students and communities in their area. In many instances, teachers and parents resisted the designation of their schools as guaranihablante, and by a number of accounts, this resistance was focused in large part on avoiding being identified with the metapragmatic label of guaranihablante, ostensibly a neutral term but one that came to be linked with a pejorative term for Guarani speakers. According to two former MEC officials who had been involved in policy design and implementation when this occurred in the early 1990s, many of these

claims of resistance indexed a model of the Guarani speaker as ignorant, poor, rural, rude, and a subject of shame. This model was often referred to using the metapragmatic label *guarango/a*. Other times, the model was indexed indirectly through the combination of signs of ruralness, shame, poverty, rudeness, and/or ignorance along with the speaking of Guarani, as in Excerpt 4.1 from an interview with one of the former MEC officials.

This account refers to Guarani-speaking children who were scolded by parents and teachers for speaking Guarani and formulates a model of the social world in which authoritative adults communicate the negative symbolic value of Guarani as not appropriate for school. The account also describes a chain of events in which this symbolic value is communicated, as depicted in Fig. 4.1.

In Fig. 4.1, the events are numbered in chronological order. Although the chain represented here begins with Event 1, it is important to recognize that speech chains are always partial, always smaller pieces of larger trajectories that extend both before and after the piece being analyzed by a researcher or formulated by a speaker. In this case, the event that the former MEC official mentions that comes first in time is Event 1, when children spoke Guarani. Event 5 is the event in which the former MEC official described to me the process of appropriation

Excerpt 4.1 Guarani speakers as ashamed

1	en la memoria colectiva del	in the collective memory of the
2	pueblo paraguayo, a los niños	Paraguayan public, children
3	se les llegó a castigar hasta	were punished even in
4	en las escuelas porque	schools because they spoke
5	hablaban en guaraní…	in Guarani…
6	los padres le tenían terror a	parents made children afraid to
7	hablar en guaraní entonces	speak in Guarani and so
8	cuando el guaraní (.) [se	when Guarani (.) [was
9	incorporó en la escuela] cómo	brought into school] how
10	(es) eso? Esa lengua	could that be? That language
11	que siempre fue despreciada	that was always scorned
12	que siempre les presentaron	that they always presented to them
13	como maldita ahora le van a	as wicked now they're going to
14	enseñar a su hijo en la escuela!	teach to their son at school!

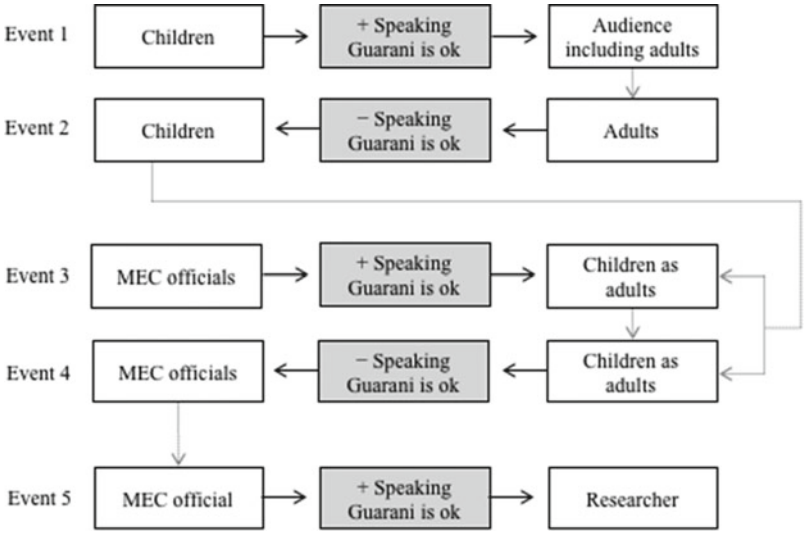

Fig. 4.1 Visual representation of speech chain described in Excerpt 4.1

of the program design for guaranihablantes. Event 5 describes three other events (Events 1, 2, and 4) and presupposes another (Event 3). In each event described within Event 5, a speaker (in white boxes) communicates a symbolic value (in gray boxes) to a hearer, who then as the same person (represented by the gray arrow) communicates that symbolic value to another hearer (in white boxes). Along with the symbolic value, a stance is also taken, indicated in Fig. 4.1 by +/– signs (in gray boxes). To clarify, the conceptualization of this process as a speech chain does not assume that a particular word or other linguistic form with a determinate value is passed from speaker to hearer; on the contrary, it assumes that in each event, some change may take place as a particular word, phrase, metapragmatic label is contextualized within that speech event. The focus is on the symbolic value, the meaning, that is passed along and is, to some degree, the same—fractionally congruent (Agha 2007)—with that value in previous events. It is in Event 3 where the new policy comes in and MEC officials communicated to the school community that the new program design for their school would include

teaching Guarani and teaching in Guarani. Among the hearers in that event were adults who, as children, had 'always' been told that Guarani at school was wrong.

According to the MEC officials' account, as parents and teachers thought about and talked about (Events 3 and 4) the policy to teach Guarani (and teach in Guarani) in school, they contextualized the language 'Guarani' and the practice 'instruction in/of Guarani' and the identity 'guaranihablante' within a history of communicative events in which all three cultural forms had negative symbolic values. As voiced by the MEC officials, they aligned themselves with these values and communicated their resistance to MEC officials, including the speaker (Event 4). As the symbolic value of Guarani-as-not-ok circulated in discourse and as speakers took up stances in alignment with these values, people made decisions about the program designs that would be implemented in their schools, and in many cases, over the next several years, the value of Guarani and the use of it in school remained similar—cultural continuity was produced—to how it had been for a long time. This was not the case in all schools, and many schools and communities requested and embraced the program for guaranihablantes and concomitant change enthusiastically. But some refused to accept the new program design, others used Guarani in instruction but refused to label children 'guaranihablante' or call their program by that label (Mortimer In press). The program design for guaranihablantes was abandoned for multiple and complex reasons, not solely because people wanted to avoid being labeled guaranihablante. But according to these accounts, decisions were made in part in relation to these symbolic values and to the social identities they indexed.

In the case of the abandonment of the program design for guaranihablantes, policy was appropriated in ways that failed to change the role of Guarani in some schools, the prospects for educational access for Guarani-speaking children, and, central to this discussion, failed to change the ways Guarani speakers were identified. These identifications helped to shape how policy was appropriated. However, policy appropriation has also shaped social identification of Guarani speakers, this time in positive ways contributing to change in both educational practice and social identification.

4.4.2 Policy Shapes Social Identities That Are Available

The guarango/a model of identity was not the only Guarani-speaking identity in long-standing circulation. Another combined Guarani speaking with the essence of Paraguayan national identity (Mortimer 2013). However, another model was more recent and constituted a contemporary, well-educated speaker of academic Guarani who also speaks Spanish (Mortimer 2016), embodied in the Guarani teacher, the Guarani scholar (guaraniólogo), and a few media personalities often seen as Guarani specialists. While there have been Guarani language experts for a long time, this is a model of identity only made possible for wide circulation and use since the 1992 mandate for universal instruction of/in Guarani, which created new demand for teachers of Guarani and teachers qualified to teach content in Guarani and put students and parents all over the country in contact with such a person in their local schools.

In a sixth-grade classroom in one urban school, all the students were fluent Spanish speakers and generally identified by their parents and teachers as speakers of little Guarani. However, one student, Manuel, was widely identified also as a Guarani speaker. Sometimes he was also identified as poor and from a rural area. By many adults' accounts of the strong indexical relationships among these signs of identity, we might expect Manuel to have been also identified as a guarango type of person, but he was not. Rather, he was identified as at once an excellent student and an excellent speaker of academic Guarani. His classmates, his mother, and his teacher admired him for his academic achievement and his command of Guarani. This identification was made possible by new circulating associations between Guarani and education that were part of language policy, and his identification also helped to constitute those associations. Here, I examine a speech chain that shows this (see Fig. 4.2).

In this case, I was a participant in all of the speech events. As in Fig. 4.1, people are represented in white boxes and symbolic values or messages represented in gray boxes. Mid-year in front of the class, Manuel's teacher cited him as one of a handful of students in the class with the highest grades (Event 1). Later, the students read a passage in which the author critically recounted an incident from his childhood in which a

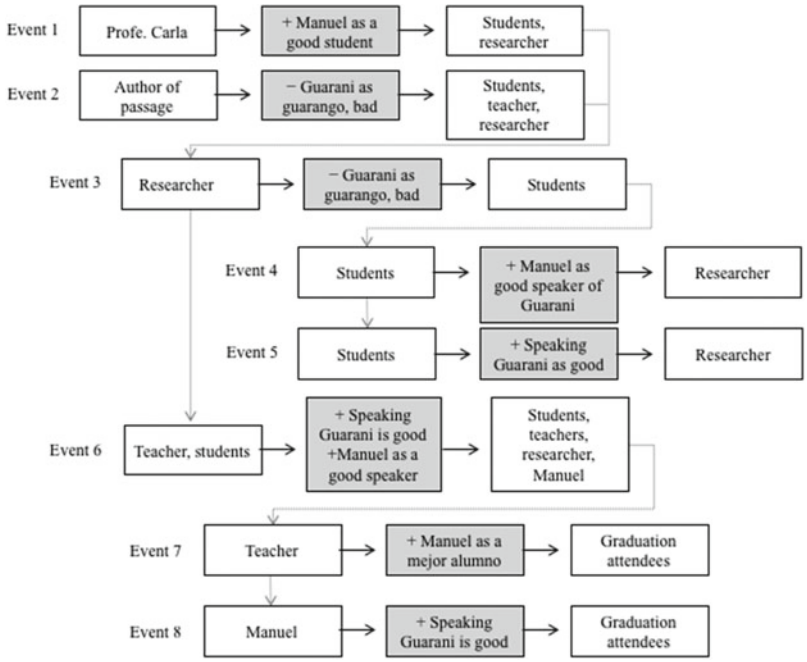

Fig. 4.2 Visual representation of speech chain along which Manuel was identified

friend was called guarango by his/her teacher for speaking Guarani at school (Event 2). That afternoon in a group interview with several of Manuel's classmates, I asked them about the idea that speaking Guarani in school is bad (Event 3). They responded that on the contrary, adults praise you for speaking Guarani well (Event 5) and cited Manuel as someone like that (Event 4). Toward the end of the year, the teacher, the school, and Manuel's classmates selected Manuel for first prize in a Guarani reading contest (Event 6), and he was selected by the teacher to perform the role of *mejor alumno* ('best student'), a category of students who bore the flags and wore special sashes at the graduation ceremony (Event 7). Manuel was one of two invited to speak at the ceremony, and he delivered his speech in Guarani (Event 8). Across this chain of events, the symbolic values of speaking Guarani in school as good, of Manuel as a good student, and of Manuel as a good speaker of Guarani are passed

along and speakers align themselves with these values (and in opposition to the model of Guarani as guarango or bad). A positively valued identity of a Guarani speaker who is a good student and speaks academic Guarani well is indexed and coheres as well as the idea of Manuel as an example.

Excerpt 4.2 offers additional details of Events 4 and 5 during the group interview in which Manuel's classmates connected the positively valued identity with both Manuel and the practice of adults speaking Guarani to their children.

The students rejected the metapragmatic label of guarango and instead affirmed the positive value of speaking Guarani (lines 2 and 4–5). They identified Manuel as an exemplar of someone who speaks Guarani well

Excerpt 4.2 Parents do speak Guarani to children and that is good

1	KM	Pero (.) ¿se usa [guarango] ahora?	But (.) is [guarango] used now?
2	SS	No.	No.
3	KM	No. Nunca escucharon eso.	No. You've never heard that.
4	S1	Ahora te dicen (que bueno que	Now they tell you (how great
5		utilizas) guaraní, te dicen	that you use) Guarani, they say
6	KM	Ah, te dicen así (.) que bien	Ah, they say that (.) how great
7	S1	Como un compañero Manuel	Like a classmate Manuel
8	S1	( )	( )
9	KM	Si verdad	Yes true
10	S2	Él domina el guaraní	He rules [has an excellent
11			command of] Guarani
12	KM	Y siempre lee lee así (.)	And does he always read
13		[como leyó esta	like that (.) [like he did this
14		mañana] en guaraní?	morning] in Guarani?
15	S3	Él habla así con su	He speaks that way with his
16		mamá y su papá. Y	mother and father. And he
17		entiende todo.	understands everything.
18	S2	( )	( )
19	S1	O sea, que como nosotros tenemos	So, like we're embarrassed
20		vergüenza de hablar en guaraní,	to speak in Guarani
21	S3	Porque nosotros no lo hablamos	Because we don't speak it
22		[en casa]	[at home]
23	S1	(él) habla en castellano en la	(he) speaks Spanish at
24		escuela y en su casa guaraní, lo	school and at home Guarani, the
25		mismo con su mamá y su papá,	same with his mother and father,
26		en su trabajo castellano y en su	at work Spanish and at
27		casa guaraní.	home Guarani.

(line 10) and they attributed this to him speaking Guarani with his parents (lines 15–17). Finally, they identify themselves as ashamed (lines 19–20) and not speaking Guarani because they do not speak it with their parents. While an important part of the policy was abandoned, in part because of how it required Guarani speakers to be identified, the policy has also contributed to the emergence of new, positively valued identities for Guarani speakers and of opportunities for positive change.

4.5 Conclusion

In the Paraguayan example, the availability of a positively valued (academic) Guarani speaker identity like the Guarani teacher made it more possible for these students to see an individual Guarani speaker as an admirable kind of person and to see his language proficiency as something desirable. These symbolic values of Guarani speaking and of models of identity for Guarani speakers were connected by speakers to language policy components and decisions (like the abandonment of the program design for guaranihablantes) and policy practices (like using Guarani in urban schools) through speech chains. The speech chains involved metapragmatic discourse—or talk about recognizable types of language (Guarani), recognizable types of people (guarango/a or Guarani teacher), and recognizable types of activity (speaking Guarani to children). As people described language use and the people involved, they essentialized and stabilized these types (Agha 2007), attached values to them, and passed them on in discursive events in which their alignment were made apparent, as well. In the case of the MEC officials' account of the abandonment of the program design for Guarani speakers, the negative value of speaking Guarani to children was passed along, affirmed, and connected discursively to a rejection of the program design itself. We see that social identification is part of how policy was practiced or not.

The relationship between language policy and social and linguistic change is of fundamental interest to those of us who study language policy, as well as certainly to language users, policy-makers, and others. Yet that relationship is anything but linear and simple. Seeing language policy texts and talk as metapragmatic discourse helps to focus attention on the

social identities circulated and made relevant in it. Tracing these symbolic values and identities through speech chains makes the circulation of these cultural forms empirically recoverable and helps to illuminate how change in cultural value and social identification happens in connection with language policy activity. These processes of change and stability of cultural forms are important, as illustrated in this chapter, because they both shape language policy and are shaped by it. If we want policy to indeed improve education for minoritized language speakers, then understanding how policy shapes and is shaped by social identification will be critical.

These frames also point to some areas of difficulty for how we use language policy to do this work. First, we must be aware of ways in which negatively valued social identities may be recruited in the appropriation of policy to perpetuate inequalities of power even when policy holds much democratizing potential. And if such democratizing potential is to be realized, then work far beyond the 'simple communication' of policy across contexts could be required: perhaps the intentional circulation of positively valued models of minoritized language speaker identity. While such an idea is intriguing, it also sounds like semiotic engineering and raises questions of who could do such work on behalf of whom and how could it possibly avoid further essentializations. Second, if social identification is so deeply implicated in language policy activity, is language policy even the right tool for democratic social and linguistic change? Perhaps its suitability as a tool for such change is predicated on the development of newer forms of language policy: for example, policies that, as Flores (2013) suggests, reject entirely the idealized views of language itself and of speakers themselves that are so much a part of language policy that it is hard to imagine it without them.

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Part II

Methodological Innovations

Introduction to Part II: Methodological Innovations in Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

Johann W. Unger

The two chapters of Part II present groundbreaking methodological frameworks for the analysis of language policies, and as such are of key importance to this volume. It should be noted that these are not the only methodologically innovative chapters in the current volume; each of the other two parts contains contributions that rely on novel frameworks. However, in this part, the main goal of our contributors is to thoroughly articulate and illustrate their methodological frameworks, versus the focus on theoretical frameworks and empirical applications, respectively, in the other parts. Like other discursive and critical frameworks (see, e.g. Wodak and Meyer 2015), discursive approaches to language policy (DALP) is both theoretically and methodologically eclectic, and both authors in this part present their methodologies within an overarching theoretical framework that draws on critical discourse studies (CDS) along with additional theoretical elements. It should also be noted that while these two chapters

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situate themselves clearly within CDS, as other chapters in this volume show, there are also other broadly 'applied linguistics' approaches that have influenced the development of DALP, for instance, critical sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. In methodological terms, the eclectic approach of CDS (see Wodak and Meyer 2015) and the broad range of possibilities within existing language policy and planning research (see, for instance, Ricento 2006; Hult and Johnson 2015) mean that each framework is not overly restrictive. Instead, the contributions seek to answer two of the questions we raise in the Introduction, namely, in the first place, how we can rearticulate the scholarly meanings and practices around the concepts of 'language policy' and 'discourse', and second, what can be gained by bringing together language policy and critical discursive approaches.

In Chap. 5, Rachele Lawton argues that complex and ideologically fraught language policy issues benefit from a methodologically eclectic and interdisciplinary perspective based on the discourse-historical approach (see e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2015). A key feature of Lawton's approach is that she regards language policy not as something static or abstract, but rather as action, which is an understanding shared by many other contributors in this volume. This can be traced back to the earliest work in CDS, for instance, Fairclough's (1989) framing of discourse as social action, and also seminal works on language policy such as Tollefson's (1991) critical reframing of the field. Lawton illustrates her framework using examples from her research into the US English-Only movement's construction of English, Spanish and other languages. Lawton contrasts analysis of 'public', elite and institutional texts (both those broadly in favour and those opposed to the English-Only movement) with 'private' texts drawn from questionnaire data (both qualitative and quantitative). In so doing, she is able to highlight not only the benefits of thinking of policy as multi-layered social action, but also the challenges involved in working with multi-layered and very different data sets that may require different linguistic, discursive or content-based analytical approaches.

Jing Huang (Chap. 6) sets out the case for bringing the concept of Bhaktinian heteroglossia more strongly to the fore within critical discursive analyses of language policy. Like Lawton, Huang considers language policy at different levels by interviewing teachers and asking them about

national language policy. She follows Johnson (2013) in treating teachers as the people who interpret and implement national and local language policies in the classroom, and thus good people to interview to establish some of the complex and often deeply entrenched ideologies around language policy. An additional methodological innovation in Huang's approach is that she conducted instant messaging-based interviews, a method which is growing in acceptance in various forms of linguistic, sociological and anthropological research, but has thus far not been widely employed in language policy research. Huang points to some of the challenges and advantages inherent in collecting and analysing digitally mediated data, particularly when issues around non-standard Chinese orthographies come into play, which will be of interest to other scholars who may have difficulties accessing their participants face to face and are dealing with diverse languages and writing systems. Huang establishes the importance of heteroglossia in language policy not only by referring to prior studies that make use of this concept (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2014; Busch 2009), but also by using it to reinterpret well-established sociolinguistic concepts such as code-switching and translanguaging, and finally, by illustrating it with her own digitally mediated interview data.

Both chapters draw on the work of two scholars whose research has been of considerable importance in CDS, namely Bhaktin and Bourdieu. Lawton follows Blackledge (2005) in integrating Bourdieu's concept of symbolic value or capital and his metaphor of a linguistic market into her analysis. As I described above, Huang also draws on Blackledge and others in her interpretation of heteroglossia, which Bhaktin saw as key in understanding how texts carry meaning and may be interpreted differently by different audiences. In terms of methodology, these theoretical foundations predispose language policy researchers towards certain kinds of analysis. In order to understand how Bourdieu's linguistic market operates, in other words to gain an in-depth understanding of how policies come into being and what effects they have on the people who are within a polity, a nuanced understanding of the contexts of policy at different levels is required. Thus, the analysis must go beyond just policy texts themselves and encompass different types of text, talk and interactions, whether they are gathered from salient genres (e.g. parliamentary debates, media articles, curricula) or are elicited by the researcher (e.g. interviews,

focus groups, questionnaires, ethnographic observations). Furthermore, for heteroglossic elements of policy texts and talk about policies to be rendered visible, close, qualitative discourse analysis is unavoidable, though as Lawton and several other contributors to the volume show, this can also be supported by quantitative analyses and other methods.

Although the contributions in other parts of this volume are introduced in their respective framing sections, I will comment briefly on how their methodological orientations sit alongside the chapters in this part, and within DALP as a whole. Apart from Lawton and Huang in Part II, a number of other contributors identify their work as drawing to a considerable extent on CDS as a theoretical approach, particularly Barakos and Savski in Chap. 2, 3, (Part I) and van Splunder in Chap. 9, (Part III). While the other contributions draw more strongly on, for example, linguistic anthropology (Mortimer), Foucauldian discourse analysis (Flubacher) or ethnography (Bolander) as overarching approaches, there is nevertheless a considerable amount of interplay between approaches, which is apparent even by just skimming through the reference lists of this volume. This interplay is not entirely new: earlier 'waves' of language policy research (see Johnson's framing section, this volume, Part I) already intersected with discourse studies in different ways. This is not surprising—as outlined in the Introduction to this volume, a number of seminal articles by scholars working on language policy have drawn on CDS (for instance Ricento 2003), while key figures in discourse studies have worked extensively on language policy (e.g. de Cillia and Busch 2006; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011). So much for the overall theoretical approaches, but there are also links to be drawn at the more 'micro' level of specific research methods. While the approaches characterised as DALP in this volume do not share a single method or data type, there are certain trends. First, the texts of policies and surrounding top-down texts are analysed via various forms of discursive text analysis in several contributions. What characterises more recent discursive approaches is that these are not seen as static, but rather as evolving texts, which requires flexible analyses (for instance, looking at various drafts of documents as Savski does in his contribution). Second, the voices of individuals and groups affected by policies are frequently represented, giving rise to semi-structured individual or group interviews in several chapters. Finally, a

certain level of ethnographic involvement is frequent, though not necessarily to the extent of full-scale ethnographic field study (with the exception of Bolander). Although these approaches form the methodological core, it is clear that researchers in this field are free to add other methods as it suits their research questions, data and research contexts, as in the example of Lawton's questionnaires or Huang's digitally mediated interviews.

The two contributors in this part show, alongside the other contributions in the volume, that interdisciplinarity is a desirable orientation for both CDS and language policy. While CDS has been conceived of as interdisciplinary from the outset (see Unger 2016 for a recent commentary), studies of language policy can also benefit from an orientation that goes beyond the traditional fields of linguistics and policy studies. This point has become all the more acute as scholars have sought to move beyond the early descriptive work that has taken on socially critical and emancipatory or transformative stances (see Johnson 2013 for a thorough overview of the concept of critique in language policy). In order to understand the objects of critique, namely society with its educational and political institutions and processes, it has been necessary to draw on work from sociology, educational research, political science, political economy and many other fields (see also Introduction, this volume). In CDS, research is generally understood as a circular process, including stages of building a theoretical framework, formulating research questions, analysing data and, finally, making interpretations, but then returning to theory and revisiting each stage (see Wodak and Meyer 2015). This involves moving from what Jessop (2004) calls an 'entry point', which could be anywhere along this cycle, for instance, an interesting piece of data a researcher happens to notice and then decides to investigate further, or a particular aspect of language policy or discourse theory, and finishing at a different 'exit point'. As emphasised above and throughout this volume, what this leads to is both theoretical and methodological eclecticism, which is adapted to the research problems at hand and which draws on a broad range of research traditions in different fields to shed light on different aspects of the problems.

At the methodological level, this also means that a certain level of methodological triangulation (see Reisigl and Wodak 2015 for an explanation

of how this term is understood within the discourse-historical approach) is not only unavoidable but also desirable. Again, Huang and Lawton, as well as other contributors throughout the volume, exemplify this in their work by using several data sources and methods of data collection and analysis. This eclecticism is thus reflected not only in the reference lists of our individual contributions, but also in the general orientations displayed among their authors, who do not see language policy as restricted to language, but rather consider its implications across different fields of social life.

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5

A Critical Integrated Approach to Language Policy as Discursive Action: Strengths, Challenges, and Opportunities

Rachele Lawton

5.1 Introduction

This methodology-focused chapter details the development and application of a critical, integrated approach to analyzing language policy. Specifically, this approach employs multiple methods to analyze the discursive construction of the English-Only movement in the USA. I primarily adopt Wodak's (2006) methodology for the analysis of language policies, which is based on the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) to critical discourse studies as the basis for an eclectic framework designed to illuminate the multi-layered and ideological nature of language policy. I begin by discussing the US language policy context. Next, I review the notion of language policy as inherently critical before proposing the development and application of an eclectic, discursive approach to its study. From there, I provide examples

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to illustrate the application of this framework. I conclude by considering the strengths, challenges, and opportunities associated with a multimethodological, eclectic approach to language policy as both social and discursive action.

5.1.1 Language Policy and Ideology in the USA: The English-Only Movement

The discourse of the English-Only movement is typically dominated by three types of issues, which can best be described as educational policy for language minority children, linguistic access to political and civil rights, and legislation that would give English official status (Schmidt 2000). Though the USA has never had an official language, there have been repeated attempts to give English official status through a constitutional amendment, and it is the official language in 31 states. In order to galvanize support for their goals, English-Only proponents claim that national unity, American identity, and the English language are threatened by immigrants and their languages and must be protected. May (2001) problematizes the English-Only movement in part because its arguments assume that English is a unifying force while multilingualism is destructive of national unity. Furthermore, Crawford (2001) claims that English-Only rhetoric may, when taken at face value, sound like linguistic nationalism, but he sees the real motivation of this movement as one of discrimination and disenfranchisement.

US English, English First, and Pro-English are three organized advocacy groups that constitute the English-Only movement at the national level. These groups lobby for Official English laws and legislation that would restrict the use of other languages in US public life. More importantly, they portray their work as a noble and patriotic cause that grateful Americans (including immigrants) should support with both their votes and dollars (Zentella 1997). Educators, advocacy groups, professional associations, and legislators have attempted to counter English-Only efforts since the movement's inception in the early 1980s.

Though English-Only proponents often construct a mythical monolingual past, it is well established that multilingualism, though often

contested, has been a reality for much of US history (see, e.g., Heath 1992; May 2001; Pavlenko 2002; Ricento 2003; Schmid 2001). Language alone has rarely been the major source of conflict in American society; instead, it has been the proxy for other conditions that have challenged the power relations of the dominant group(s) (Schmid 2001, p. 4). Moreover, because the USA is faced with a rise in non–English-speaking newcomers, bilingualism has been portrayed as a menace to national unity, and in the last two decades of the twentieth century in particular, it served as a potent symbol of the tension between natives and immigrants (*ibid.*), especially those from the Spanish-speaking world.

Accordingly, the study for which this framework was developed examines the construction of English in relation to other languages in US public life, and in doing so, it considers how the reproduction of language ideology leads to the valuation of some languages and speakers over others. Ideology figures indispensably into the DHA, which defines it as 'an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group' (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 88). However, it is worth expanding on this definition to further consider the relationship between ideology and power. McCarty (2004, p. 72) views language policies as ideological constructs that reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society. Because language is built into the structure of society so deeply, its fundamental importance seems natural, and language policies are often seen as expressions of natural, common-sense assumptions about language in society (Tollefson 1991). Ideology can also be seen as an underlying issue affecting language policy formation, which focuses on language as an instrument of control, politically, socially, and economically (Wiley and Lukes 1996, p. 512). In the USA, the dominant monolingual ideology constructs English monolingualism as normal and even desirable, thereby creating a hegemonic assumption that is widely accepted in popular perceptions of language diversity (Wiley and Lukes 1996, p. 514). When English is 'normalized', public actions that challenge this are experienced as abnormal or illegitimate, serving as cultural power that operates ideologically to legitimate itself (Schmidt 2007, p. 205).

5.1.2 Defining Language Policy as Social and Discursive Action

Because I understand language policy as inherently sociopolitical and ideological, this framework follows Tollefson's (1991, p. 16) conception of 'critical' language policy, which locates it within social theory, refers to both governmental and nongovernmental activities, and implies a dynamic relationship between social relations and language policy (*ibid.*). In Tollefson's view, traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research should be critiqued because of their emphases on apolitical analysis (2006, p. 42). Tollefson also views language policy as a mechanism of power, which institutionalizes language hierarchies that privilege dominant groups/languages and denies equal access to political power and economic resources (Johnson 2013, p. 7). Moreover, language policy as decision-making about language is inextricably connected to linguistic culture, defined by Schiffman (2006, p. 112) as the 'sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, and other "cultural baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language'.

Within a critical discursive context, Wodak (2006, p. 170) describes language policy as 'every public influence on the communication of languages, the sum of those "top-down" and "bottom-up" political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is/are supported in their public validity, their functionality and their dissemination'. Because the English-Only movement involves lobby groups, politicians, and professional organizations and impacts the lives and attitudes of 'everyday' individuals as well as those in the position to influence and enact legislation, both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' initiatives are relevant. However, top-down and bottom-up distinctions may fail to capture the multiple levels of context that influence language policy decisions; further, such dichotomizing conceptualizations can delimit the various layers through which policy develops, and obfuscate the varied and unpredictable ways that language policy agents interact with the policy process (Johnson 2013, p. 108). Therefore, policy processes must be viewed as multi-layered in nature (see also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2), and the notions of top-down and bottom-up, while useful, should be seen as relative.

Methodologically, discourse analysis offers language policy scholars a way to organize and interpret large numbers of texts, which is informed by an interest in connecting macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of language policy or, in other words, a focus on policy creation, interpretation, appropriation and recontextualization, or a connection between policy and practice (Johnson 2013, p. 153). Wodak (2006, p. 171) proposes specific discourse-analytical methods for analyzing texts that debate, propose, or criticize language policies. Those methods involve establishing connections across levels, layers, and spaces and integrating various theories and methods to interpret the data that represent those connections at each level. Thus, language policy studies with discourse-analytical approaches can be useful, given that the discursive dimension of language policy is essential, and that language policy involves multiple layers of what Johnson (2013, p. 105) describes as policy text, discourse, and practice. In this study, a critical, discursive framework allows for a close socio-historical and textual analysis of 'formal' public texts produced by English-Only proponents and opponents and 'informal' private texts produced by respondents to a language attitudes questionnaire. Accordingly, two overarching questions are investigated:

1. How is language constructed discursively in US public life by proponents and opponents of the English-Only movement?
2. What are the attitudes of ordinary people toward English Only, and how do they align with those expressed in public, often official, discourse?

5.2 Developing and Operationalizing an Eclectic, Multi-methodological Framework

To investigate a social problem, the DHA advocates the application of a context-focused, eclectic framework to language policy that involves discussion and debate. A study of a language-focused movement that captures its multiple layers—in this case, policies, initiatives taken to enact policies and attitudes toward policies—can benefit from a discourse-analytical approach because it allows for the integration of different

genres, public spaces, methods, and perspectives (Wodak 2006 p. 171; see also Savski, this volume, Chap. 3). Furthermore, because the DHA emphasizes the historical context and advocates the integration of available knowledge about the historical sources and backgrounds of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded, a variety of empirical data and background information is necessary (Wodak 2001). Table 5.1 demonstrates how the DHA's four-level concept of context can be applied in language policy research.

In addition, the DHA possesses several defining characteristics that should inform the theoretical and methodological choices made. Table 5.2 demonstrates the application of those characteristics in this particular language policy study.

Wodak (2001, p. 65) suggests that researchers determine which conceptual tools are relevant for problem-oriented contexts. The adoption of tools from a range of linguistic and social theories can be incorporated into the research process to produce innovative theory and make the link between theory and practice explicit (Blackledge 2005, p. 4). As seen in Table 5.2, the DHA advocates interdisciplinarity in theory, work, and

Table 5.1 Levels of context

Levels of context for the analysis of language policy in the USA	
The immediate language or text	Discourse topics, themes and arguments, macro-strategies, discursive strategies, linguistic realizations
The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses	Past texts and discourses (long and short history of language ideology in the USA); interdiscursive connections to other discourses (immigration); texts that represent multiple genres and time periods
The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation	Contexts in which polices are created, interpreted, and appropriated: legislative, lobbying, educational, everyday life
The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts within which discursive practices are embedded	Sociopolitical and historical contexts, including the impact of a particular language policy on speakers (immigrants), institutions involved, and the beliefs and actions of language policy agents

Table 5.2 Characteristics of the DHA: a critical language policy context.

Approach is interdisciplinary, in theory, work and practice	*Multiple theoretical frameworks*: approach draws on linguistics, sociology, and political science *Multiple discourse topics*: immigration, multilingualism, bilingual education, official English legislation are included *Different data sets*: multiple texts (public and private) that represent the English-Only movement, as well as the layers of language policy, are investigated
Issue is problem-oriented	English Only is a social problem: its aims are ideologically motivated and relate to discrimination and disenfranchisement
Framework is eclectic and integrated	No single theory or methodology is applied. Rather, the overall approach is eclectic and integrated, with multiple theoretical and methodological approaches, depending on the data set under investigation
Approach is abductive	The research requires constant shifting between the theory, the selection of the data (public texts and questionnaire data), the analysis of the data and the broader interpretation of the data, which involves the application of a range of theories
Multiple genres and public spaces are studied	Texts belonging to multiple genres and public spaces are investigated to capture the multi-layered nature of language policy. Genres include legislation, political speeches, surveys, organizational statements, position papers and questionnaire data
Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated	English-Only discourse draws on discourse in other domains, such as immigration, and arguments are recontextualized from text to text, across time and space; thus, interdiscursivity and intertextuality are of particular importance
Categories and tools for analysis are selected according to the specific problem investigated	Categories and tools are selected in accordance with the steps and procedures outlined, as well as in relation to the problem under investigation. Analytical tools from a range of disciplines are integrated into the overall approach: • Macro-strategies: (mis)representation, (de) legitimization and coercion • The DHA's discursive strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation (topoi), prespectivization, and intensification or mitigation • Critical Metaphor theory • Argumentation theory • Language attitudes

(*continued*)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Results are made available with goal of changing discursive and social practices	Critical approaches are oriented to social change, so consideration is given to how to make experts available in different fields. Results are shared with: • Educators • Politicians • Activists
Historical context is analyzed and integrated into interpretation of discourses and texts	A thorough examination of US history as it relates to language policy, ideology and immigration is necessary in order to understand how present-day language ideologies were engendered. Therefore, both the history of the contemporary English-Only movement and the broader history of language conflict in the USA are analyzed and integrated at various stages of the analysis

practice, which I will discuss further since interdisciplinarity is a defining characteristic of this particular framework. Because English-Only discourse encompasses a variety of discourse topics (as does language policy discourse more broadly), the development of an eclectic yet cohesive framework that is composed of diverse disciplines and represents a range of social theories is necessary.

Theoretically, this framework draws on perspectives from linguistics, sociology, and political science. Blackledge's (2005) interdisciplinary framework on discourse and power, whose aim is to analyze and illuminate ideological debates about language, is a useful starting point. Blackledge (2005, pp. 32–33) adopts Bourdieu's (1993) metaphor of the linguistic market, where all speakers of languages do not start out equal due to power relations. Blackledge explains that 'language ideologies contribute to the production and reproduction of social difference, constructing some languages … as of greater worth than [others]' (p. 33). His framework also integrates Bourdieu's (1998) model of the symbolic value of one language over another, pointing out that a symbolically dominated group is actually complicit in the misrecognition, or valorization, of that language. In this model, cultural and linguistic unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate and the rejection of all other languages into indignity (Bourdieu 1998). This is demonstrated in the USA, where there is, in the view of English Only, an expectation that immigrants should replace

whatever traits make them different with characteristics that make them more 'American' (Blackledge 2005), such as English.

Schmidt's (2006) work on identity politics, which is situated in political theory, also contributes to the overall framework developed for this study. Language policy 'gets onto the political agenda when political actors believe that something important is at stake regarding the status and/or use of languages in their society, and that these stakes call for intervention by the state' (Schmidt 2006, p. 97). Therefore, language policy partisans compete with the intention of shaping public perceptions about the 'we' that constitutes the political community so that they can embody their aims in that language policy (*ibid.*). Because identity politics derives from the idea that who we are is important in political life, it can help to elucidate what is at stake in language policy conflicts, and why there is so much emotional intensity in, for example, the aims of English-Only citizens' action groups (p. 99). Schmidt's approach complements a DHA-based framework, which emphasizes the positive construction of the 'self' and the negative construction of the 'other' as they are manifested in discourse (Wodak 2001, 2006; Reisigl and Wodak 2009). In an identity politics framework, partisans in the USA are placed into two camps: pluralists and assimilationists. While pluralists favor using the state to enhance the presence/status of minority languages in the USA, assimilationists seek state policies that will ensure the status of English as the country's sole public language since it holds the USA as a 'nation of immigrants' together (Schmidt 2000, p. 5). For assimilationists, a lack of proficiency in English is also interpreted as an unwillingness to adapt to the dominant values and norms, and hence a rejection of the American way of life, which is seen as an act of subversion (p. 19).

Given the significance of language ideology to language policy debates, Wiley's (2000, p. 67) theories on the ideology of English monolingualism are also integrated to help explain the assimilationist orientation discussed in Schmidt's (2006) framework. The ideology of English monolingualism has been used to rationalize prescriptions and policies for the incorporation and subordination of various groups into the USA, and linguistic assimilation has been universally held as a panacea and mandate for all groups since a central tenet of the monolingual ideology is that languages are in competition (*ibid.*). It presupposes that only one language can

prosper, so to do so, that language must conquer all others lest it be conquered itself (Wiley 1999). Consequently, in the English-Only view, Spanish, which is spoken increasingly in the USA, is seen as a threat to English and must be conquered.

Similarly, Silverstein (1996, p. 284) describes US culture as one with an underlying monoglot standardization, which affects the structure of its various and overlapping speech communities; thus, sociopolitical problems relating to societal pluralism present themselves in these terms. Silverstein explains that Standard English, in the American monoglot context, is the unifying emblem of nation-statehood, and is aggressively hegemonic. This is seen in English-Only debates, where English is described as essential to US national identity and unity. Moreover, Silverstein (1984) speaks of the 'objectualization' of language and its use in the US context, where language acquires a 'thingness'; in other words, the properties language takes on are continuous with those of other objects in the culture. In English-Only discourse, English is often portrayed metaphorically, as an object or a commodity that must be acquired by immigrants.

In addition to the diverse social theories integrated into the framework, multiple interrelated discourse topics are emphasized, contributing to the eclecticism of this approach. The data source for this project is a variety of 'public' texts that represent the public discourse of the English-Only movement as well as quantitative and qualitative questionnaire data, or 'private' texts, which represent the attitudes of ordinary people. The texts analyzed represent different fields of action, genres, and ideologically motivated arguments that both support and oppose English Only. The public texts are composed of political speeches, website content, survey content, legislation, and position papers that represent key points throughout the history of the English-Only movement and reflect the multi-layered nature of language policy. Table 5.3 provides an overview of the data sets.

Because the DHA also proposes that categories for tools be selected according to the texts analyzed, multiple tools are incorporated to analyze different data sets, including the DHA-proposed discourse topics, discursive strategies, and linguistic realizations as analytical categories (see Fig. 5.1). Argumentation was the discursive sub-strategy most frequently employed in the public texts; therefore, it became a salient feature of the analysis. Furthermore, macro-strategies based on Chilton's (2004) categories of strategic function for the analysis of political discourse are integrated to

Table 5.3 Data sets

Data sets		
Public texts: various genres and fields of action	**Pro-English-Only texts**	
	Political speeches	
	Floor Speech S.J.R. 72—Official English Constitutional Amendment (1981)	
	Legislation	
	HB 1335 Official English in Maryland (2006) Proposition 227—English in Public Schools (1998) Proposition 203—English Language Education for Children in Public Schools (2000)	
	Surveys	
	US English Public Opinion Survey (2007)	
	Mission/organizational statements	
	US English (2008) Pro-English (2008) English First (2008)	
	Anti-English-Only texts	
	Political speeches	
	Floor Speech English Plus Resolution (1995)	
	Legislation	
	H. Con. Res. 9—English Plus (2001)	
	Position Papers	
	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) position paper (2005) American Civil Liberties Union statement (2007) Linguistic Society of America statement (1987)	
Private texts: questionnaire data	**Closed questions (quantitative component)**	**Open questions (qualitative component)**
	25 Likert items: statements about issues related to the English-Only movement, expressing both pro- and anti-English-Only sentiment (200 respondents)	Additional commentary added by participants after each item in the questionnaire

add another important layer to the DHA-based analytical framework: (de) legitimization, which establishes the right to legitimacy, often through over-statements or implications with an emphasis on positive self-presentation or negative other-presentation; (mis)representation, which prevents people from receiving information and may include omissions; and coercion, which

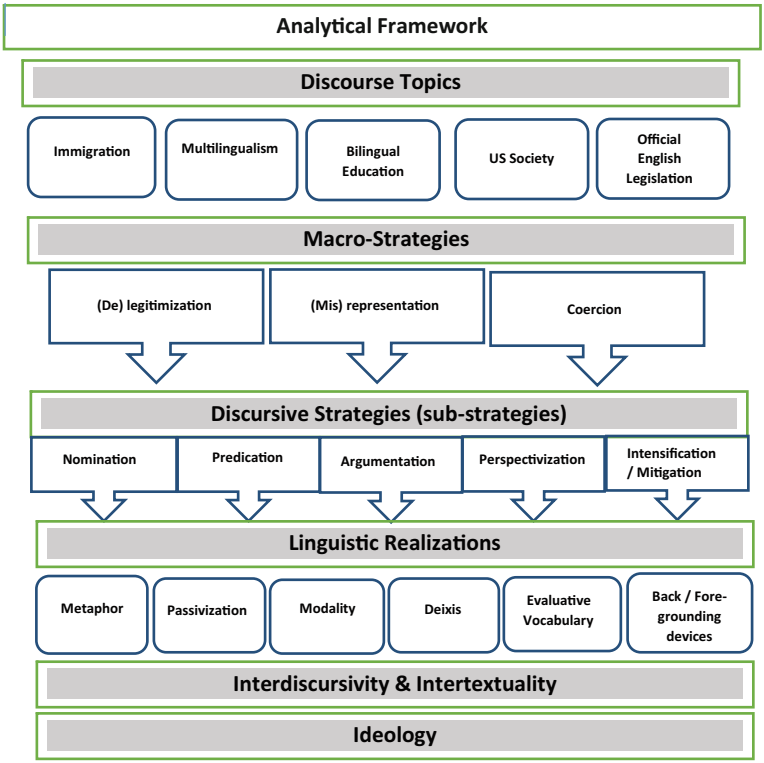

Fig. 5.1 Framework for the analysis of public texts

manipulates hearers conceptually or emotionally. Figure 5.1 (Lawton 2011) offers a visual conceptualization of the analytical framework developed.

It should be mentioned that in order to conduct a critical metaphor analysis, a more conceptual approach to metaphor is adopted in this study than is advocated by the DHA. A critical metaphor analysis draws on conceptual metaphor theory, which views metaphor as part of human conceptualization as opposed to a linguistic expression (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Because metaphor has the potential to be evaluative and ideological, it is particularly relevant within a critical discursive approach (see Lawton 2013, for examples of metaphor in English-Only discourse).

Finally, a thorough discourse-historical analysis follows a recursive, eight-stage process. Table 5.4 identifies each stage and explains how it was operationalized in this study.

Table 5.4 The DHA's eight-stage process

1. Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge	A thorough review of previous research in multiple areas is conducted, including the areas of discourse analysis, language policy, and language ideology. The need for interdisciplinarity in theory was identified; thus, theoretical perspectives from linguistics, sociology, history, and psychology were examined and later integrated for the interpretation of data
2. Systematic collection of data and context information	Decisions were made about which discourses and discursive events should be highlighted. Several questions were asked: What were the most salient events in the history of the English-Only movement? Which texts (as manifestations of discourses) best represent those events? Which social actors were involved and merit emphasis? Which genres are represented by the texts examined? What are the relationships between texts and genres?
3. Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses	Legislation, speeches, website content, survey data, and news article commentary were reviewed. How much data was manageable? What perspectives and ideologies were present and needed to be included in order to capture the multi-layered nature of language policy?
4. Specification of research question and formulation of assumptions	A literature review was conducted and data were examined; then, the data were analyzed superficially to identify specific discourse topics, arguments, and themes. Specific research questions emerged from the superficial, preliminary analysis
5. Qualitative pilot analysis	DHA categories were applied and tested; decisions were made about which categories to emphasize in relation to the data. Other categories were explored, considered and then selected as analytical 'tools'
6. Detailed case studies	A range of texts were selected for more detailed analysis, including questionnaire data in order to study the attitudes of ordinary people to capture the multi-layered nature of language policy. Questionnaire items were developed by identifying the most common discourse topics and arguments in the public texts that contained both pro- and anti-English-Only sentiment
7. Formulation of critique	A more rigorous analysis was conducted, and results were interpreted, with an emphasis on three dimensions of critique: text/discourse-immanent critique, socio-diagnostic critique; and future-related or prospective critique
8. Application of the detailed analytical results	Opportunities for the dissemination of findings were explored

5.2.1 Pro and Anti-English-Only Ideologies in Public Texts

In this section, I demonstrate how this framework can be applied with several illustrative examples from the public texts. Because of space restrictions, only a few examples are provided (see Lawton 2011, 2013, for empirical approaches to the analysis of English-Only discourse). The selected texts highlight how competing ideologies of monolingualism and multilingualism are present in arguments for and against Official English, and how immigration becomes a sub-topic in the discourse of the English-Only movement. I begin with an extract from US English Chairperson Mauro Mujica:

> Suddenly English, the greatest unifier in our nation's history, has come under attack in our government, in our schools and in our courts. The whole notion of a melting pot culture is threatened if immigrants are not encouraged to adopt the common language of this country. While using a multitude of languages in business, at home or in worship is valuable, it is burdensome, inappropriate, and divisive in government. What's more, it only serves as a disincentive to immigrants to learn English; the language 97 percent of our country speaks.[1]

Mujica employs argumentation as a discursive strategy in order to delegitimize languages other than English in the name of unity and protect English through official measures. His premise that English has historically brought us unity but is now under attack and must be protected is undergirded by the monolingual ideology, and his concern for the USA's melting pot culture conveys an assimilationist ideology. He also invokes the *topos of burden* with regard to the use of *a multitude of languages* in government and the *topos of number* to make a case for the learning of English.[2] This topos may actually weaken his argument, however: if 97 % of the country speaks English, it does not appear to be diminishing. In addition, Mujica's evaluative and metaphorical lexical choices, including

[1] http://www.us-english.org/view/5

[2] As a starting point, topoi can be defined as content-related warrants or conclusion rules that connect an argument with a conclusion (Wodak 2001, p. 74).

the adjectives *burdensome*, *inappropriate*, and *divisive* to refer to the use of multiple languages in government, serve to delegitimize both immigrants and multilingualism more generally.

The next example is produced by the Linguistic Society of America (LSA), a professional society dedicated to the advancement of the scientific study of language. This extract is from a resolution drafted in 1986 in response to the passage of Official English measures in various states and the attempt to attach an official language amendment to the US constitution:

> Be it therefore resolved that the Society make known its opposition to such 'English only' measures, on the grounds that they are based on misconceptions about the role of a common language in establishing political unity, and that they are inconsistent with basic American traditions of linguistic tolerance. History shows that a common language cannot be imposed by force of law, and that attempts to do so usually create divisiveness and disunity.[3]

In contrast with the previous extract from US English, the LSA notes that a common language alone is not enough to establish unity. Rather than support the monolingual (English) ideology, the LSA encourages pluralism. Like English-Only proponents, the LSA draws on US history, but does so to acknowledge traditions of linguistic tolerance. The LSA also uses the *topos of history* to argue that attempts to impose language have not worked historically and will not work today, thereby delegitimizing the arguments of English-Only proponents who use this topos to argue that previous generations of immigrants learned English and assimilated, while today's immigrants do not. Finally, US English refers to *encouraging* immigrants to adopt English, whereas the LSA refers to this same action as the *force of law*.

The two extracts above also illustrate the relationship between English Only and immigration as a macro-topic, or the interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between texts. Delimiting the borders of a 'discourse' and differentiating it from other 'discourses' is intricate since the boundaries of a specific discourse can be fluid (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 89). In the public texts included in this study, the discourses of English Only and

[3] http://www.linguisticsociety.org/resource/resolution-english-only

of immigration often possess fluid boundaries, and since language policy necessarily involves speakers that policies would impact, immigration is an important topic; thus, this framework demonstrates the importance of interdiscursivity as a feature of English-Only discourse. Intertextuality is also an important feature of English-Only discourse, and the selection of public texts across time and space that were produced by individuals or groups on different ends of an ideological continuum can illuminate the intertextual links between arguments. Anti-English-Only texts can often be seen as responses to arguments by English-Only groups and actual legislation. For example, arguments found in immigration discourse may be recontextualized in texts produced by English-Only proponents.

A framework whose analytical categories comprise the macro-strategies of (de)legitimization, (mis)representation and coercion and the DHA's discursive strategies was a useful approach to the analysis of public texts. While the macro-strategies were found across texts, they were employed differently to qualify and construct social actors both positively and negatively, depending on who produced the text. In addition, both English and other languages (with a frequent emphasis on Spanish) were often personified and given a special status by metaphorization in the pro-English-Only texts, which is an example of the 'objectualization' of language (Silverstein 1996). For example, in pro-English-Only discourse, English is constructed both as a commodity (an important tool in the lives of immigrants) and as a measure of identity. When other languages are discussed, however, they are often portrayed metaphorically as *burdens*, *handicaps*, and *prisons*.

5.2.2 Pro- and Anti-English-Only Ideologies in Private Texts

In this section, I discuss the approach to the analysis of the private texts, constituted by questionnaire data on language attitudes. Baker (1992) views language policy as an area that can be informed by research in attitudes since surveying attitudes toward languages may reveal the possibilities and problems of those languages in a particular country (pp. 6–8). Further, such an approach can be integrated into a broader DHA-based framework to help capture the layers of language policy that constitute

discursive action. To create the questionnaire, I identified discourse topics, arguments, and ideologies in the public texts and used them to create statements that would then elicit responses (representations of texts) in which attitudes and ideologies were expressed. Respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with statements organized in a Likert scale format, and they were given the opportunity to add additional commentary after each statement. The overall sample (N = 226) was disaggregated into two sub-groups of respondents called Group 1 (n = 111) and Group 2 (n = 115). 'Group 1' refers to American-born individuals who are primarily monolingual English-speaking respondents, and 'Group 2' refers to Latin American-born, bilingual Spanish/English or monolingual Spanish-speaking respondents.[4]

The quantitative data set allowed for an objective analysis of the attitudes of ordinary people toward multiple aspects of the English-Only movement.[5] More specifically, these data revealed that attitudes were, in part, related to respondents' experiences, mainly whether respondents had been born in the USA or in Latin America, and whether they were monolingual or bilingual. It is also important to mention that the overall direction of responses revealed anti-English-Only sentiment rather than pro-English-Only sentiment.[6] To analyze the qualitative data set, I drew loosely on the theoretical framework used to analyze the public texts in order to emphasize whether attitudes express the pro- or anti-English-Only ideologies identified in the public texts.

A small number of findings that represent the range of attitudes and ideologies found in questionnaire commentary are provided below. The first comment made by a member of Group 1 expressed pro-English-Only sentiment regarding Official English:

> English is the primary language in the United States. [I]f I were to move to Mexico I would have to learn Spanish.

[4] See Lawton (2011) for a more detailed description of the overall sample.

[5] Due to space considerations, examples from the quantitative analysis will not be included in this chapter. It should be noted, however, that this provided an important starting point for the analysis of the qualitative questionnaire data.

[6] These findings cannot be generalized to the whole of the USA since, due to the availability of resources, this case study was conducted in the state of Maryland, which typically elects representatives from the Democratic Party and has not supported proposed Official English legislation.

This respondent clearly saw English as the language of the USA, associating one particular language with a specific country, thereby accepting the monolingual ideology as natural and normal. Another Group 1 respondent, however, expressed anti-English-Only sentiment, viewing its imposition as a violation of rights:

> I strongly believe that imposing only English is violating immigrants' rights!

A respondent from Group 2 argued that the ability to use other languages was a fundamental right:

> There has to be a right to do that. We came from different countries … nobody can tell us what language to speak.

One member of Group 1 made comments about the use of multiple languages in government that echoed those made by English-Only proponents in public texts:

> I believe most US government communication should be English-only. Using primarily one language promotes national unity … translating every document into multiple languages costs both time and money.

Next, one member of Group 1 expressed the ideologies of pluralism and multilingualism:

> It is illogical to require all of those people to learn English and impractical to implement. An effort should be made to accommodate non-English speakers where feasible and practical.

Finally, a comment from Group 2 expressed a 'middle' stance, accepting the official imposition of English as long as it does not occur at the expense of other languages:

> I don't see anything wrong with saying that English is the official language of this country—but that doesn't mean banning all other languages!

5.2.3 Connections Between Data Sets as Layers of Language Policy

Though only a small number of textual examples were provided, they demonstrate how this framework allows for the identification of similar discourse topics in both the public and private texts, emphasizing language policy as discursive action. Some attitudes expressed in the questionnaire data could be described categorically as pro or anti-English Only, but others were more ambivalent. By contrast, the public texts can be described as located primarily on opposite ends of a pro- to anti-English-Only continuum. For example, official status for English, which can be seen as the foundation of the English-Only movement, was a discourse topic found across the texts. In the public texts, English-Only proponents maintained that English needs official status in order to remain a unifying force and to encourage immigrants to learn the language, whereas English-Only opponents viewed such attempts as mean-spirited and unnecessary. Though some questionnaire respondents supported both views, others did not find Official English to be problematic, yet would not want to limit the use of other languages as a result. Many comments expressed support for both linguistic diversity and linguistic assimilation on the part of immigrants. Moreover, some comments expressed an assimilationist ideology, while others contained a pluralist ideology, but neither could be said to dominate.

5.3 Toward an Integrated Approach: Strengths, Challenges, and Opportunities

This chapter has explored the feasibility of an integrated and eclectic DHA-based approach to the analysis of language policy. I will therefore conclude by reflecting on the strengths and challenges of this approach while also considering the opportunities that it presents for the study of language policy. One strength of this framework is its ability to illuminate the ideologies used to construct arguments in pro- and anti-English-Only discourse, across genres and fields of action, and demonstrate the

intertextual and interdiscursive links between different data sets. In addition, such a framework provides a linguistically rigorous, analytical approach to language policy that highlights its discursive dimension. Finally, through the integration of various theoretical perspectives used to interpret the data, this study exemplifies how language policies can have material effects for speakers of certain languages, reinforcing the notion of language policy as social action.

On the other hand, an eclectic framework that combines data sets is not without its challenges. First, researchers must be prepared to work with multiple, distinct data sets. For example, the private texts were not naturally occurring discourse and attitudes are not static; therefore, it is impossible to prove causation and determine whether questionnaire respondents were actually influenced by the arguments found in the public texts. This must be acknowledged when considering how arguments are recontextualized across texts, genres, and fields of action.

Moreover, different analytical tools were applied to each data set, but it was difficult to apply the same degree of linguistic rigor across texts; thus, it may have been more effective to develop an analytical approach to the private texts that placed more weight on the specific context in which those texts were produced and the specific genres to which those texts belonged since the macro-strategies were more appropriate for the analysis of public texts specifically designed to achieve certain goals. Though this may have produced a more nuanced reading of the data, it would have required an even more elaborate framework. In addition, though this approach advocated interdisciplinarity, it also led me to question whether eclecticism, both in theory and in practice, may at times function as a barrier due to the number of theoretical and methodological tools the researcher must maneuver. Finally, it was difficult for a single researcher to conduct a study that comprehensively addressed every stage of the DHA's eight-step program, but because the DHA is flexible, certain steps can receive more or less emphasis depending on the specific object under investigation.

In spite of these challenges, this framework may help to demonstrate how discourse analysis can provide the field of language policy with valuable opportunities. Critical discursive approaches combine the detailed study of the micro-level linguistic realizations of discourse and the

macro-level socio-historic contexts in which particular discursive events are situated (Fairclough 2003, p. 3). As such, critical discourse analysis is able to transcend the division between research that is inspired by social theory (such as language policy) but may not engage in fine-grained textual analysis (*ibid.*). In addition, because critical discursive approaches such as the DHA are not prescriptive or inflexible, they can be modified to develop a new framework to fit a particular context. Thus, this study suggests a possible framework for the analysis of language ideological debates from a critical discursive perspective, which can potentially capture the multi-layered nature of language policy as discursive and social action.

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6

Heteroglossic Practices and Language Ideologies: Combining Heteroglossia with Critical Discourse Studies to Investigate Digital Multilingual Discourses on Language Policies

Jing Huang

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to reveal how Bakhtin's heteroglossia (2008) and critical discourse studies (CDS) can be combined to investigate the relationship between language ideologies and discourses on 'practised language policies' (Bonacina 2012), through analysing an interview with primary school teachers on their implementation of a national language policy in Guangzhou, China. Taking teachers as language policy arbiters (Johnson 2013) who exercise their power by reinterpreting and appropriating language policies, I intend to look into their views on how they implement language policies in the classroom and the underlying local and national language ideologies. I argue that this integrated framework helps

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reveal competing language ideologies invested in both linguistic forms (e.g. code-switching) and semantic means (e.g. discursive strategies) in a multilingual society. And it provides a lens for examining discourses in both macro- and micro-contexts—the sociopolitical and the generic. Specifically, the instant messenger 'WeChat', my interview medium, serves as a discursive space (Heller 1999, p. 340) where interviewees employ linguistic resources from their repertoires to make heterogeneous language practices. This medium also suggests particular methodological challenges, which I discuss in the section on data collection.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) argue that the power involved in language planning and policies does not flow in a linear way from the top policy-makers to teachers, implying that at the local institutional level, teachers can negotiate and manipulate language policy processes—'they help develop, maintain, and change flow' (Johnson 2013, p. 97). This explains why language policies do not necessarily translate into corresponding classroom practices (see Bolander, this volume—Chap. 11, for the gap between de jure and de facto language policy). Teachers' policy creation and implementation through pedagogical decisions constitute grassroots actions within the multiple layers of language planning and policy (Ricento and Hornberger 1996; see Barakos Chap. 2, Lawton Chap. 5, Mortimer Chap. 4, and van Splunder, Chap. 9, for discussions of the multilayered nature of language policy processes). Crossing all these layers of acts and actions, national language policies are mediated, reinterpreted, and recontextualised, interacting with local language ideologies of particular communities. The interaction between national and local language ideologies underlies teachers' practised language policies and finds expressions in their views on language use in the classroom and their multilingual practices in presenting those views.

This chapter thus focuses upon understanding teachers' discourses produced in digital context on how they appropriate language policies in the classroom. Below, I first describe the data collection and discuss the challenges the digital medium of data collection raises. Before I elaborate the methods and particular categories for analysis, I introduce key concepts such as language ideologies and explain my reasons for combining heteroglossia and a discourse-analytical approach. An illustration of detailed analysis of heteroglossic practices follows the method discussion. Finally, I discuss some implications of applying this integrated approach to multilingual discourses on (practised) language policies.

6.2 Conducting a WeChat Interview with Primary School Teachers

The interview used for illustration was conducted in multilingual Guangzhou of China, where Cantonese has been a lingua franca for more than a millennium (Zhan 2000, p. 4). Putonghua was set as the standard spoken language for use throughout China in 1956, soon after its establishment. After having been promoted for almost five decades, Putonghua was decreed as the official language of China in 2000. However, in primary and secondary education, where Putonghua is the officially sanctioned medium of instruction, most public schools conform to the Putonghua Promotion Policy, but private schools do not always do so. The interview shows teachers' views on practised language policies which imply the language ideology of a particular school.

Two teachers I interviewed have been working in a university-affiliated primary school located in the old town of Guangzhou for over 20 years. Teacher D has been teaching Chinese up to now. Teacher H once taught Chinese, but now teaches English. They use both Cantonese and Putonghua in daily life and Cantonese is their first language. Before the interview, they were informed that the discussion focus would be on their and students' language use in the school.

I conducted the interview via WeChat, one of the most widely used instant messaging applications on smartphones in China. Participants can send instant texts and voice messages, chat in groups, share photos, audios, and videos on the activity timeline, and make video and voice calls. The interview was in the form of text messaging in a closed chat group. The medium of WeChat suggests a few factors to be taken into consideration in relation to the efficiency of data collection and the quality of data.

First, it is important to build up a good rapport with my participants in the digital context. It helps establish 'an atmosphere in which the subject feels safe enough to talk freely about his or her experiences and feelings' (Kvale 1996, p. 125). Kivits (2005, p. 40) argues that in email interviews, 'the lack of physical presence means understanding and perceptions of others have to be negotiated by texts', so in order to work towards better relationships and communication, the researcher needs to be sensitive to and adapt to participants' online styles. This also applies to the

WeChat interview. When I realised that Teacher H used emoticons now and then, I also added emoticons in my messages, which is an indicator of converging to her tone, in hope of eliciting as much information as possible. This interplay encouraged the other interviewee, Teacher D, to contribute more to the discussion. In the beginning, Teacher D tended to give short responses, mostly statements and descriptions, showing little emotion and stance, yet later, she talked a lot about her feelings towards students' language use and also used emoticons.

Second, although this is a closed chat group, there are potential eavesdroppers such as particular departments or sections of Chinese government and the developer of the application. Rutter and Smith (2005, p. 91) pointed out that lurkers 'who may be informed and knowledgeable about a particular segment of online activity but hidden from view may represent a threat to the validity of the study findings'. However, whether or not lurkers or eavesdroppers concern participants is another issue. Participants may still explicitly express their views on language policies which go against the dominant language ideologies, or otherwise remain reserved and silent on certain topics. In my study, two interviewees represent contrasting points of view on the implementation of Putonghua Promotion Policy in their school. Teacher H presents the policy implementation as a progress which gradually wipes out regional variety; Teacher D views it as a mild action with little consequence.

Third, gaps occur between interviewees' articulacy and openness in online and offline interviews, and their views, attitudes, and ideas presented in digital media may be different from what they could be in a face-to-face interview (Orgad 2005, p. 59), although views in both contexts can be valid. The researcher may produce a less prejudiced understanding of the language ideologies underlying interviewees' views if conducting both online and offline interviews, in which interviewees present different degrees of collaboration, openness, and articulacy. When the data come only from online interview context, it is helpful to take more than one perspective for interpretation 'so that biases of any one method might be canceled out by those of others' (Seale 1999, p. 473).

Fourth, the interaction mode of instant messaging suggests that the interview language may be the written form of spoken language, implying the difficulty in distinguishing Cantonese from Putonghua in the specific context of this research. In mainland China, although written Cantonese has not been standardised, different forms of orthographies have been

proposed, which differ from simplified Chinese characters, despite some overlapping. As digital media in which orthography is partially regulated allow the use of nonstandard written forms (Sebba 2007, p. 44), various Cantonese orthographies can be seen in social networking platforms. However, due to the dominance of simplified Chinese characters (the written form corresponding to the spoken language Putonghua) in input systems and most public spheres, many people get used to those characters in digital media. As Cantonese-speaking people use written Cantonese to different extents, from using it all the time to not using it at all, there are various ways to interpret the linguistic practices presented in WeChat interviews—one character may be connected to two varieties, which are then associated with different language beliefs and attitudes.

6.3 Heteroglossic Discourses and Language Ideologies

6.3.1 Language Ideologies

Ideologies work in two respects, both discursively and formally. On the one hand, ideologies are representations of aspects of the real world that help sustain the existing social relations and the relations of power, and they tend to disguise themselves as common-sense or pervasive conventions in order to be as effective as possible (Fairclough 2015). Language ideologies include 'the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels' (Blackledge 2005, p. 32). Woolard (1998, p. 7) conceptualises language ideologies as 'the ideas, discourses, and semiotic practices in the service of the struggle to acquire and maintain power', and 'distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalization' in order to defend interests and power. Hence, looking into teachers' views and beliefs about language use serves to uncover 'invisible ideologies' (Tollefson 1991) in the school context, as well as those ideologies circulating in the broader sociopolitical arenas which go against or support language ideologies in schools. Johnson (2013, p. 99) underlines the importance to recognise 'the ability of schools and teachers to internalise the hegemonic ideologies' and to 'challenge disempowering educational discourses and language

ideologies'. Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) show that teachers' accounts of their own multilingual practices reveal different beliefs and ideologies about the 'appropriacy' of language choices. Similarly, the study of Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou (2015) on Greek teachers' attitudes towards immigrant pupils' heritage languages demonstrates that some teachers covertly encourage bilingualism despite the dominant monolingual ideology which is in favour of the exclusive use of the Greek language.

On the other hand, ideologies are saturated in formal features, including code-switching and translanguaging (García 2009; Wei 2011; García and Wei 2014). There are always some language expressions that are endowed with more social values than others by prestigious sociopolitical forces in particular communities and societies (Bourdieu 1991). Some language varieties but not others are chosen as the official or national languages, very often connected to the task of nation-building. In the meantime, in most societies, certain degree of ideological diversity exists, which indicates conflicts taking place in language, while language itself becomes a stake in social struggle (Fairclough 2015). In multilingual societies, heterogeneous linguistic practices represent alternative forces challenging the existing power hierarchy. When social actors make linguistic choices, they are in fact in complicity with particular forces to operationalise and reproduce related language ideologies. For instance, Heller (1992, 1995) discusses how a lot of Francophones and Anglophones rushed to learn the other language and used code-switching in daily life during the periods when English and subsequently French were taken as the dominant languages of Quebec, and attributes the phenomenon to the association of the dominant language to better access to socioeconomic opportunities.

6.3.2 Investigating Language Ideologies from the Perspectives of Critical Discourse Studies and Heteroglossia

In order to investigate how language ideologies are (re)produced and/or resisted through discourse, I draw upon CDS to examine teachers' views on language use and language policies. Critical discourse analysts take discourse as social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Fairclough 2015; Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009a, b; 2015) which not only constitutes social

contexts but also helps sustain and (re)produce unequal power relations and contributes to transforming the social status quo (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 173; Fairclough 2015, p. 32). As social actors represent social activities through discursive practices (e.g. selection, condensation, simplification, exclusion and inclusion), they construct social activities and practices as well as produce presuppositions which entail ideas on how to understand such representations, thus 'discourses are ideological in so far as they include such representations' (Fairclough 2015, p. 32). The discourse-historical approach (DHA) provides the notion of 'discursive strategy' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 93–94; Wodak, et al. 2009, p. 32–33) to look into the more or less intentional plan of discursive practices used to achieve political or sociopsychological aims. In this sense, the notion of discursive strategies help reveal the ways in which language ideologies are sustained and (re)produced in teachers' discourses on practised language policy (see Barakos Chap. 2, Lawton Chap. 5, Mortimer Chap. 4, and Weber Chap. 8, this volume, for discussions of the relationship between language ideology and language policy).

In terms of the linguistic formal features laden with language ideologies, Bakhtin's conception of heteroglossia offers a good entry point into the relationship between hybrid linguistic choices and competing language ideologies in multilingual societies. Bakhtin (2008, p. 272) argues that language is a 'contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies', and every concrete utterance is the site where 'the processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect'. These two tendencies are driven by the 'centripetal forces' which make efforts to construct a unitary language purported to overcome the language reality of heteroglossia underpinned by the 'centrifugal forces'. The notion of 'heteroglossia' underlines the hybridity, heterogeneity, and diversity of language. It encompasses language varieties on all formal linguistic levels, as well as languages being stratified into 'languages of social groups, "professional" and "generic" languages, languages of generations and so forth' (*ibid.*, 271).

Bailey's (2007, 2012) research shows that migrants' contrastive use of stigmatised Dominican Spanish and African-American English along with the prestigious variety of Spanish Castilian and 'standard' American English carries social and historical power differentials. The former varieties are drawn upon to resist the US nativism ideologies of assimilation and construct a positive self against the disparaged stereotype of immigrants

in a particular context. Bailey reminds us to focus upon the contradictory ideological viewpoints permeating in contrastive pattern of usage of linguistic forms. He also indicates that instead of asking if the speaker is switching codes from a vernacular to a national standard or shifting registers, it is crucial to understand that in both monolingual and multilingual societies, social meanings reside not only at phonetic, morphologic, or syntactic levels but also at the level of discourse (2007, p. 269). Furthermore, 'the focus can thus shift to individuals as social actors using heteroglossic sets of linguistic resources to negotiate the social world' (Bailey 2012, p. 504). In other words, the perspective of heteroglossia provides an insight not only into the sociopolitical struggles inherent in language but also into how individuals as social actors draw upon their repertoires to make their voices heard.

In the same vein, Busch (2009, p. 57, 2010, 2014, p. 24) understands heteroglossia as stratified diversity in three dimensions: the diversity of languages, the diversity of individual voices, and the diversity of discourses. Corresponding to these, Blackledge and Creese (2014) put forward three aspects to be looked into in multilingual studies.

First, focusing upon the conflict between an orientation towards unifying languages and the forces pulling towards decentralisation in language indicates us to investigate the inherent tension of language. In this study, the conflict is manifested in hybrid language use going between and beyond linguistic structures.

Second, as ideological values are saturated in linguistic forms, it is possible to resist dominant views and produce alternative ones through employing various linguistic features; hence, multivoicedness is shaped. These competing ideologies in turn constitute the state of heteroglossia. As Androutsopoulos (2011, p. 282) puts it, '[H]eteroglossia […] is fabricated by social actors who have woven voices of society into their discourses, contrasting these voices and the social viewpoints they stand for'.

Third, Blackledge and Creese (2014) highlight the dialogic nature of language, which indicates that any utterance always responds to others that precede it and anticipates what is to come, and different worldviews, trends and theories always interact with each other through the encounters of various language practices. This would imply to investigate how interactional contexts, including space and interpersonal relationships, influence linguistic features and meaning transformation.

Combining discursive and formal perspectives, I look into how discourses and linguistic features of teachers' speech are drawn upon to show stances, reflect the underlying ideologies and reproduce or resist particular ideologies.

6.4 Operationalising the Heteroglossia Perspective in Studying Language Ideologies

At the formal linguistic level, code-switching and translanguaging are the focus of my research, though the boundary between these two categories is blurry. However, I am not aiming at distinguishing one from the other (see distinctions in García and Wei 2014; Probyn 2015), nor comparing the ways in which they index views on language use. They can fit in with the notion of 'heteroglossia', which captures the complexity of language, rather than multiplicity and plurality. Blommaert (2014) maintains that looking at languages in the latter two respects indicates the possibility of mixing separable languages into new ones. Labels such as 'multilingual', terms including 'pluri-', 'inter-', 'cross-' and 'trans-' notions, all suggest an a priori existence of separable language units, and that it seems only the contact between language units creates new hybrid forms (Blommaert 2013, p. 613); however, notions like these overlook innovation and creation which occur inside and also reshape language units, and fail to consider how individuals deploy their changing repertoires in all forms of communication.

Therefore, it is more productive to take language use or language actions as the starting point and look at individuals' views on language use and how individuals make use of linguistic repertoires to present diverse and complex language practices.

6.4.1 Code-Switching and Translanguaging

I follow Bailey's (2007) understanding of heteroglossia, instead of seeing code-switching as a marked form against monolingual practices, seeing it as speakers' language practices which carry and index social histories, circumstances, and identities. Code-switching is a medium through which

social actors bring into interaction their beliefs and views shaped in particular sociopolitical contexts. Auer (1995, 1998) argues that in interactional contexts, code-switching is employed by speakers to negotiate the language-of-interaction, the organisation of conversations, and identities, and 'the term code-switching will be reserved for cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants' (Auer 2010, p. 467). Therefore, code-switching can be seen as the field where the micro-level of interactional norms encounters the broad social, political and historical contexts. Very often, the former aspect is influenced by the latter as the dominant language ideologies imply particular interactional norms on particular occasions, while individuals' linguistic resources may affect their access to social capital and power relations. Focusing on code-switching enables us to go back and forth and identify the tensions within layers of social contexts.

Initially coined in educational contexts, translanguaging (William 2012; cited by García and Wei 2014, p. 91–92) is taken to be a pedagogic theory and practice to ensure students' 'full understanding of subject materials', and to ensure that 'students are being cognitively, socially and creatively challenged, while receiving the appropriate linguistic input and producing the adequate linguistic output in meaningful interactions and collaborative dialogue'. García and Wei (2014, p. 21) view it as 'new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and release histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states'. Creese and Blackledge (2015, pp. 27–28) comment that translanguaging is viewed as a normal mode of communication that characterises communities around the world and as speakers' use of the original and complex language practices that make up their complete language repertoires. In this sense, translanguaging consists of various linguistic features at phonetic, morphologic and syntactic levels, and also, for instance, multimodal practices (García 2010) and a range of styles and genres from oral-to-literate to literary-to-vernacular (Hornberger and Link 2012, p. 243). For the purpose of this study, I only focus on the first three aspects. I compare translanguaging practices with the interactional norm of using particular language varieties, discuss the implication of blended language structures against the broader social politics and elicit speakers' beliefs about them.

6.4.2 Multidiscursivity

At the discourse level, Busch (2014, p. 24) discusses the notion of multidiscursivity incorporated into the idea of heteroglossia. Multidiscursivity refers to 'the co-presence of specific speech types or discourses that are related to time (particular epochs, periods, days, etc.) and to social worlds or spaces (nations, professions, age groups, families, circles, etc.)'. It also refers to a large number of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems which develop their specific speech genres and topics. Following this thread, focusing upon multidiscursivity in this study would mean to discuss (a) the extended topics in speakers' discussions of language use and language policies and (b) any discourses introduced into the discussion that bear the traces of particular genres or particular styles of social roles. This lens of multidiscursivity echoes how CDS understands the multitude of meanings of different discourses. CDS argues that it is very rare for a text to be the work of any one person; therefore, it contains differing discourses (Wodak 2001, p. 11). 'Discourse topics' refer to what different discourses are talking about, and each discourse topic includes one or more viewpoints, beliefs and ideologies. Different discourses and ideologies are negotiating with each other and struggling for dominance in a text, and are (re)presented and (re)produced through discursive strategies (as discussed in Sect. 6.3.2). In the meantime, these discourses may be linguistically structured and realised in stable types which are termed as genres; various genres may exist in the same speech or text (Fairclough 2005). This indicates that a particular genre gets relocated in a new context and brings the original social underpinnings with it.

In juxtaposing analyses in terms of these categories, it is possible to see whether the implied language ideologies of what is said contradict those implicit in how it is said in particular multilingual discourses. In the next section, I will present an extract of the WeChat interview between me (stood for by the letter I) and primary school Teacher H and Teacher D, and analyse which discursive strategies and linguistic structures the two teachers employ to talk about their understanding of and attitudes towards their and students' language use in the classroom.

6.5 Juxtaposing Analyses of Discursive Strategies and Translanguaging

Extract[1]

a	H	因为两种语言除了发音. 字意. 也存在语序不一样的情况
b		讲课用普通话
c		交流还可以用各种话. 后来推普就禁止老师讲广州话
d	I	交流可以用广州话是指课后吗？
e		禁止老师讲广州话意思是在学校里任何时候都不能说？太严格了吧？
f	H	是的. 课中我们也偶尔用来解释. 最多是骂人  因为用母语骂人
g		才爽. 是的. 推普时是严格的
h		简直就是“去方言化”
i	D	我讲的地得为了帮学生记住. 会教他们用广州话
j	I	哈哈何老师你是说有时候用粤语解释一些问题更容易解释清楚吗？
k		我记得我高中的时候数学老师是老广州人. 也用粤语骂人哈哈哈
l		推普当时有具体涉及到老师的教学评估里吗？
m		邓老师. 你是说用广州话教学生的地得他们更容易记住？
n		两位老师. 学生在你们的课上可以用广州话回答问题吗？还是他们
o		也必须都要用普通话？
p	H	是的就算现在我教英语也会冒死在课堂上用广州话教训学生或者解释
q		英语当中广州人也同样发音的词. 因为广州是比较早的通商口岸.
r		英语很早就出现了. 广州人直接用英文讲的有很多例子
s		lift我们就叫电梯lift
t		他们习惯了普通话
u		没有人用广州话回答的
v	D	我***都想***有学生跟我用粤语交流. 可惜没有. 家长讲得很***溜***.
w		小孩也不会  在教学中有些音近字难区分的时候就会用粤语.
x		如即. 既粤语是完全不同发音的
y		粤语保留了更多的古汉语词汇

[1] In this extract, a dot indicates a short pause within or between utterances. Language varieties other than Putonghua are in italics and boldface. The omitted words or phrases in the original Chinese speech that have to be completed in English translation for understanding are bracketed. Several Chinese characters' pronunciations in Cantonese are indicated by the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols in order to show the differences in their Cantonese pronunciations, in contrast to their similar pronunciations in Putonghua. Numbers refer to the line number of the English translation, letters to that of the Chinese transcription.

1	H	because besides pronunciation and semantics. there are also word
2		order differences between the two languages
3		[I] taught in Putonghua
4		It was fine to communicate in Cantonese. later since the Putonghua
5		Promotion teachers have been forbidden to speak Cantonese
6	I	Did you refer to 'after class' when saying it was allowed to
7		communicate in Cantonese?
8		Did the ban on teachers speaking Cantonese apply to any time in
9		school?wasn't that too harsh?
10	H	Yes. in class we sometimes used [Cantonese] to elaborate.
11		mostly to tell students off 😁 because it feels very good to
12		tell them off in one's mother tongue
13		Yes. it has been harsh during Putonghua Promotion
14		Virtually it has been 'de-dialect-isation'
15	D	To help students memorise [characters such as]的/tek/.地/tei/.
16		得/tak/. I would use Cantonese to explain
17	I	Haha Miss H. did you mean you sometimes find it easier to make
18		things clear by speaking Cantonese?
19		I remember my high school math teacher was a Cantonese. he
20		also scolded students in Cantonese.hahaha
21		Did the Putonghua Promotion implementation at that time affect
22		assessment of teachers' performance?
23		Ms. D. did you mean teaching students these words in
24		Cantonese helped them memorise?
25		Teachers. is it possible for your students to answer questions in
26		Cantonese?or they have to use Putonghua?
27	H	Yes even now I'm teaching English I would risk my life using
28		Cantonese to teach students a lesson. or to explain some
29		English loanwords in Cantonese. because Guangzhou was an
30		important trading port at the early stage [of Chinese history].
31		English started to be used a long time ago. many English
32		words were adopted in Cantonese and never got translated For
33		example we also use the English term 'lift' in Cantonese
34		They tend to use Putonghua. no one answers me in Cantonese
35	D	I ***do wish*** there were students talking to me in Cantonese.
36		unfortunately there's none. some parents speak Cantonese
37		very ***fluently*** yet their children don't know it at all 😟
38		When teaching some characters with indistinguishably similar
39		pronunciations [in Putonghua]I use Cantonese. for instance.
40		即/ʧek/ and既/kei/ havecompletely different pronunciations
41		in Cantonese there is a wider ancient Chinese vocabulary left
42		in Cantonese [than in Putonghua]

In lines 10–12/f, Teacher H talks about two occasions when she uses Cantonese in the classroom. In the former situation, her act of switching from Putonghua to Cantonese seems reasonable as translanguaging can be seen as a pedagogical strategy to help students' understanding through shifting to their home language (Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hornberger and Link 2012; Probyn 2015). Interestingly, she uses 'we' instead of 'I' as the users of Cantonese, presupposing that other teacher(s) do the same. By invoking this presupposed group of teachers, she appears to be trying to construct a norm of using Cantonese in the classroom and evade potential reproach that she violates the rule of using only Putonghua for teaching.

Regarding the other situation, Teacher H says that using Cantonese to tell students off is due to affective reasons. She seems aware that compared with switching to Cantonese as a pedagogical strategy, this does not sound convincing; the laughing emoticon is an attempt to cover her worry. The Chinese expression of 骂人 ('to tell students off') in this context has similar denotations to the other 教训学生 ('to teach students a lesson') in line 28/p as she repeats the circumstances under which she uses Cantonese. They both refer to reprimanding students for bad or wrong behaviours. However, the former is colloquial, whereas the latter fits better in writing and formal talk in Chinese contexts. While her speech generally has more characteristics of writing style, she chooses a colloquial expression in lines 10–11/f, along with the emoticon which marks the casualness of digital social networking. It suggests that although Putonghua is the officially sanctioned language of instruction, she considers the use of 'nonstandard' Cantonese as valid, even out of pleasure. This strays away from the dominant language ideology underlying the Putonghua Promotion Policy and echoes her choice of casual style, which is distinct from the formal style in general.

In line 14/h, Teacher H comments on the school's implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy by drawing upon the strategy of nominalisation, presenting it as an action or a process of '去方言化' ('de-dialect-isation'). '方言' literally means 'regional speech', or 'dialect', as opposed to the national and official language (I use 'dialect' in English translation of 去方言化 to keep the word concise). In this context, it refers to regional varieties such as Cantonese. By describing the

implementation as an ongoing action trying to eradicate regional varieties, she implies that it has been and will continue affecting language varieties in the future. However, this strategy in the meantime helps downplay the responsibility of the actors, including policy creators, signers, and implementers. It is understandable that she may feel reluctant to admit that as a teacher, she participated in this process, but she also backgrounds policy creators and signers, who have the power to indirectly affect language ecology through creating language policies.

In the meantime, words such as 去方言化 ('de-dialect-isation'), made by adding the suffix '-isation' to a verb object phrase, an adjective, or a noun, see also 现代化 ('modernisation') and 规范化 ('normalisation'), are salient in political speeches, policy documents, press conferences and political commentaries in the official newspapers and television news programmes of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). These words describe either tendencies that need to be followed or actions that need to be taken in order to achieve certain political, cultural, and economic goals. In her comments on the rigorous implementation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy, by creating 'de-dialect-isation' which features prominent syntactic and semantic styles of words produced by the national government and the CCP, Teacher H is actually mocking the dominant language ideology and displaying her opposition against it.

Teacher H, in lines 29–33/q-s, argues that the Cantonese language has many English loanwords and emphasises the historical reason for this intimate relationship between English and Cantonese. This intimacy between the two languages is employed to not only legitimate but also assign value to her Cantonese use, which helps Cantonese-speaking students understand and memorise particular English words. She underlines the potential consequence of breaking the rule of using Putonghua in the classroom in line 27/p through the adverbial phrase 冒死, literally meaning 'risking one's life to do something'. There will not be a death sentence for teachers who use Cantonese in classes in the context of Guangzhou. This hyperbole indicates Teacher H's attitudes towards Putonghua Promotion Policy—she dislikes it and acknowledges the consequence of breaking it, yet she meant to do it. It also suggests how serious the implementation of Putonghua Promotion Policy is, and how sharply the social status of Putonghua contrasts with that of Cantonese.

In lines 35–37/v, Teacher D inserts two regional varieties into Putonghua—the language of interaction so far. She inserts a Cantonese adverb 都 to express her wish to have students talk to her in Cantonese, and an adjective 溜 from the Northern Dialects to describe how fluent the parents' Cantonese is. This can be taken both as code-switching and translanguaging. Different from her switching to Cantonese orthography later in the interview, these words are represented by standard and simplified Chinese characters, though they either have distinct syntactic structures from Putonghua or have different denotations from the same word in Putonghua. On the discourse level, Teacher D's language choices imply that the Putonghua Promotion Policy is responsible for students' inability to speak Cantonese; on the formal linguistic level, she inserts Cantonese and the Northern Dialects into the standard language Putonghua. Here, what is being said resonates with the language beliefs underlying how it is said, which reveals her hope to have regional varieties, especially Cantonese, more widely used against the background of the Putonghua Promotion Policy.

Similar to Teacher H's case, in lines 38–42/w-y, Teacher D presents her use of Cantonese in the classroom as a pedagogical strategy, particularly to help students differentiate characters with similar forms and similar pronunciations in Putonghua, and yet different pronunciations in Cantonese. She indicates that thanks to its heritage of a wider ancient Chinese vocabulary (and it is likely that she is actually referring to the heritage of ancient Chinese pronunciation), Cantonese is more helpful in some cases for distinguishing similar words. The inheritance is thus drawn upon to indirectly justify her use of Cantonese and to imply that Cantonese is more prestigious than Putonghua.

6.6 Conclusions

Illustrated by the analysis above, I argue that the integrated perspective of CDS and heteroglossia is beneficial in revealing competing language ideologies surrounding the national language policy. Teachers' comments on how they implement the Putonghua Promotion Policy are in tune with the implications of their heterogeneous linguistic choices. The study

uncovers a tension between the national language ideology aimed at promoting the official language and the regional or local language beliefs that resist it. These two language ideologies are copresent in the school context. Teachers acknowledge the authority of the Putonghua Promotion Policy over language use in the classroom and the superior status of Putonghua on the national level. Yet, they also implicitly emphasise the importance of Cantonese as the regional language variety of Guangzhou: through presenting the gap between the wish of wider usage of Cantonese and the disappointing reality, through providing affective reason and irrational argument to justify their violation of the Putonghua Promotion Policy, through negative evaluation of the policy with mockery of its creator and through code-switching and translanguaging, which bring regional varieties into the language environment where using Putonghua is the interactional norm.

The combination of CDS and heteroglossia works well in looking into the relationships between language ideologies, discourses and linguistic forms. Both of them engage in investigating latent beliefs, historically shaped power relations and contradictory verbal-ideological forces underlying discourses and genres. They both take language as social practice and actions and highlight the users of languages to understand views on language practices. Furthermore, employing two different perspectives to interpret the same piece of teachers' discourse contributes to minimising potential bias.

However, when applying this integrated framework to data analysis, what can be worked out further is to attend more to what the temporal-spatial characteristics of the situated interaction indicate. Sanders (2005, p. 76) argues that 'the multilayered and fluid nature of power and knowledge that flows between the interviewer and interviewee gain different dynamics when the relationship is contained in an online environment'. Without taking into account the power relations between the researcher and participants and how participants negotiate the organisation of conversations by turn-takings, we risk overlooking the stances and positioning participants bring into the interaction, excluding and including some discourses and not others, and ignoring that what we get is a coconstructed snapshot of reality through reported experiences, practices and perceptions.

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Part III

Empirical Applications

Introduction to Part III: Empirical Applications of Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

Elisabeth Barakos

Part III of this volume is dedicated to showcasing five empirical applications of discursive approaches to language policy (DALP). The collection of case studies in different Western and non-Western locations (Luxembourg, Finland, Flanders, Switzerland and Tajikistan) offers a breath of theories, methods and applications of cutting-edge language policy research through a discursive lens. The contributors draw on critical-discursive, sociolinguistic, ethnographic and other qualitative methodologies and share a problem-oriented, socially committed endeavour by addressing profound issues of citizenship, education, integration, identity politics and ethno-nationalism as sites of power within society. Central to these contributions are shared concerns over the discursive construction, negotiation, interpretation and appropriation of language policy (Johnson 2013) and its dialogic relation to structure and agency from a macro- and micro-perspective. Throughout the chapters in this part, we see the problematisation of mundane discourses and practices, and the researchers' efforts in deconstructing these commonplaces. In

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this part of the volume, the authors take up some of the questions we have postulated in the Introduction, including examining how discourse frames language policy action and actors and vice versa, and how social actors sustain or resist language policy processes in and through discourse. In the contributions, we also see the tensions over language policy acting as a vehicle of (oppressive) regulation and (agentive) liberation through discursive practices. The combination of these highly diverse and yet coherent empirical cases allows us to think through and problematise established and emerging approaches in the interdisciplinary fields of language policy and discourse studies.

In Chap. 7, Joanna Kremer and Kristine Horner draw our attention to language and citizenship policy in the geographical heart of Europe—Luxembourg. Their research is characterised by the so-called third phase of LP [language policy] (Ricento 2000; Introduction, this volume), which is influenced by a post-structuralist paradigm and by the critical/discursive and reflexive turn in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Specifically, the study is informed by Shohamy's (2006, 2009) call for the expansion of language policy research to encompass experiences of social actors affected by language policy mechanisms. Through semi-structured interviews with recent applicants for Luxembourgish nationality, Kremer and Horner critically explore the interface between discourses justifying and challenging the legitimacy of the Luxembourgish language and citizenship testing. The findings demonstrate how disputes concerning the introduction of the formalised language tests of Luxembourgish are intertwined with contestations over transformations of long-standing language regimes. The critical-discursive engagement with language policy has allowed the authors to trace power processes inherent in the justification and contestation of policy through reported practices and experiences. Applying an approach that moves beyond the structural elements of language policy by incorporating the views and experiences of agents, Kremer and Horner are able to show us how multiple social actors engage with policy on the ground and which inequalities are exacerbated through its existence. They also effectively manage to build a bridge between the fields of language policy and citizenship studies.

Jean-Jacques Weber (Chap. 8) also deals with Luxembourg but his empirical focus is not on citizenship but rather hinges on a language

ideological debate (Blommaert 1999) about the school system and on the tensions between ideologies of anonymity and authenticity (Woolard 2008) as relating to language-in-education policy. Through a discursive analysis of the self-positioning of the Ministry of Education in language policy documents and the construction of language in such documents, he demonstrates the double discourse of Luxembourgish as a symbol of national identity (ideology of authenticity) and one of linguistic capital that becomes commodified (ideology of anonymity). His discussion proposes a move towards a more flexible multilingual education to attain the goal of educational equity in our late-modern globalised and super-diverse society. By adopting a discursive lens to language policy debates, he is able to expose ideological conflicts as manifested in the Luxembourgish policy documents. Weber also highlights how competing ideologies about language as a means of integration and social cohesion—a theme also taken up by Mi-Cha Flubacher in Chap. 10—are converted into new, hybrid discourses about language as an icon of identity and linguistic capital.

Frank van Splunder (Chap. 9) takes a comparative approach and examines language ideologies regarding English-medium instruction in European higher education in Flanders (Belgium) and Finland. While both sites attach a seminal role to a 'national' language in constructing a common identity, the global phenomenon of English-medium instruction has penetrated the Flemish and Finnish universities. Van Splunder traces the ways in which language ideologies become naturalised in government and institutional discourses by paying attention to the national level of language policy, that is, the Finnish and Belgian Constitution, the institutional level in terms of university policy in Finland and Flanders as well as the university level specific to Jyväskylä and Antwerp. His discourse-analytic study reveals ideologies of essentialism, monolingualism, territoriality and standardisation as driving forces, which seem to clash with official state bilingualism and multilingual practices. Van Splunder's study particularly highlights the construction and manifestation of sameness and otherness as central categories in identity management discourses in higher education.

As Mi-Cha Flubacher (Chap. 10) is able to demonstrate, integration language policy in Basel, Switzerland, is shaped by a hegemonic discourse on 'integration through language'. She draws on a critical sociolinguistic and Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis (genealogy and interpretative

repertoires) to trace the emergence, materialisation and reproduction of this discourse via institutional documents and recordings pertaining to the law drafting processes and expert interviews. Flubacher's discourse-historical and empirical analysis points to 'promoting' and 'demanding' repertoires that are strategically invoked, in constant interplay and co-constitutive. Discursive entextualisation processes and ideologies of activation emerge as an inherent feature of the discourse of integration. She argues that the analysis of language as a site of social struggles (e.g. Bourdieu 1982) can be facilitated by tracing the 'emergence of the discourse of language as a central point of contestation'. In her conclusion, she highlights the need for responsible researchers to critically engage with such discourses throughout our research processes and on broader sociopolitical terms.

Finally, in the last chapter (Chap. 11) before the commentary, Brook Bolander takes us on a journey to multilingual Tajikistan, in which she investigates English language policy as ideology in the light of ethnonationalistic movements. By incorporating group discussions and interviews from her language policy ethnography and using 'scales' (Blommaert 2007, 2015) as a guiding concept, she examines in a novel way how ideologies of English are produced in speech events. She also looks at how these get intertwined with other language ideologies by asking her interlocutors, which she conceptualises as 'non-authorised policy-makers', to imagine themselves to be language policy-makers for Tajikistan. Bolander adopts a linguistic anthropology approach to discourse analysis (compare Wortham and Reyes 2015) and treats language policy as 'narrated events'. While Bolander's findings highlight the 'relational nature of ethnicity as performed through discourse', she calls for more diachronic studies to be conducted in future in order to be able to move beyond providing mere snapshots of situated language policy actors and their interactions.

As the collection of these case studies in this part demonstrates, discursive approaches to language are not bounded, homogeneous or static. Nor are they a simple combination of language policy theory with discourse analysis. Rather, for the authors in this part, DALP encapsulates an assemblage of theories and methods from diverse disciplines such as critical sociolinguistics (Blommaert 1999; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Heller 2002; Milani 2008), critical social theory (Foucault, Giddens, Bourdieu), linguistic anthropology (Woolard 2008; Wortham and Reyes

2015), critical discourse analysis (Blackledge 2005; Wodak 2006) and discursive social psychology (Potter and Wetherell 2007). The case studies in this volume also convincingly demonstrate that there is no one fixed method or specific types of data that characterise a DALP approach. Indeed, the chapters provide a repertoire of possibilities and bring together varied data sets for analysing language policy from a DALP perspective: focus groups, interviews, legal, political and other institutional document analysis, and ethnographic fieldwork.

The eclectic combination of theories, data and methods within DALP proves productive for a greater understanding of language policy as a phenomenon that is discursively shaped, co-constructed, dispersed with power and negotiated. Indeed, the eclecticism arises from the need to address, understand and interpret complex social problems brought about by current global changes in politics, the economy, culture and society, and from the need to provide responses to research questions, which vary in breadth, depth and nature. This eclecticism in DALP is also due to the differing ontological ways of making sense of social phenomena and epistemological way of going about analysing them. As will be seen in each of these chapters, the conceptualisations of 'discourse' and 'language policy' differ, depending on the lens through which the researchers address their empirical questions. Kremer and Horner, for example, follow Blommaert's understanding of discourse as 'a justifiable object of analysis, crucial to an understanding of wider aspects of power relations' (Blommaert 2005, pp. 1–3). Van Splunder draws on the discourse-historical approach in critical discourse studies that conceives of discourse as 'a complex bundle of […] interrelated linguistic acts' (Wodak 2006, p. 175). In line with historicity, Flubacher applies Foucauldian discourse analysis, that is, a historical approach to the analysis of discourses in situating them in their genealogy and their conditions of emergence and production.

In terms of language policy, some of the studies draw upon established approaches such as the ones by Shohamy (2006, 2009), which brings language policy in dialogue with the subjects' experiences, ideologies and practices. Others view language policy as ideology (Bolander, drawing on Pennycook 2014 and Barakos 2012). What unites these chapters nonetheless is their concern with reducing linguistic and social inequalities that are linked to language policy processes and their inherent structures and agents

in multilingual environments. Taking all chapters together, we can identify and demonstrate the clear role of DALP as a lens to describe, explain, interpret and critique the orders and disorders of discourse in language policy.

As Ricento (2015, pp. xiii–xiv) accurately surmises, it is

> our empirical research findings [that] will certainly lead to better theorizing and conceptualizing and that will require not only the appropriate use of a variety of social science research methods […] but of equal importance, greater awareness and infusion of appropriate theories and conceptual frames from diverse disciplines.

Through a DALP lens, the empirical studies in the following part aspire to these demands. And while the cases illustrated are by no means exhaustive, they provide insights into people's experiences with language, the way language is talked about and how this affects language practices. The case studies lead to a better understanding about which ways and which environments and with which resources and implications language policy is materialised in practice. To use Ball's (2015, p. 306) words: the case studies illustrate 'in which ways policies both change what we do (with implications for equity and social justice) and what we are (with implications for subjectivity)'.

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7

Eng flott Diskriminatioun?: Language and Citizenship Policy in Luxembourg as Experience

Joanna Kremer and Kristine Horner

7.1 Introduction

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, shifting migration patterns and increased social and linguistic diversity in Europe have fuelled debates on the interface between language and citizenship. In this context, multiple European Union (EU) countries have introduced new forms of citizenship legislation that, in many cases, include language and/or civics tests. Recent scholarship has critically analysed the ideological motivations and discursive justifications of these language requirements and/or testing procedures in various EU member-states (Horner, 2015a, for an overview). Informed by Kroskrity's (2000) framework on regimes of language, this body of research has focused largely on the analysis of policy documents and mainstream media discourse (e.g. Extra et al. 2009; Hogan-Brun et al. 2009). These studies have shown how the introduction of language

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requirements and/or formalised tests is underpinned by intersecting language ideological clusters that refract beliefs about how language and society 'should' be organised. They have also revealed that policies on language and citizenship in EU member-states continue to be informed by nationalist ideologies that are bound up with the ideal of nation-state congruence. Related discourses are often underpinned by the dogma of social and linguistic homogeneism and therewith position individuals who are perceived to deviate from dominant cultural and linguistic practices as 'out of place' (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

In Luxembourg, a new law on *la nationalité luxembourgeoise* ('Luxembourgish nationality') was ratified in 2008 and went into effect in 2009, which stipulates that applicants must complete civics courses and pass a formal test in the Luxembourgish language.[1] The implementation of the formal testing of Luxembourgish—underpinned by the positioning of it as the 'language of integration' in dominant discourse—has particular implications in Luxembourg, where there are three officially recognised languages of the state: Luxembourgish, French and German. Based on the analysis of semi-structured interviews with applicants for Luxembourgish nationality, this chapter will explore the ways that these individuals discursively justify and challenge the legitimacy of language and citizenship policy in Luxembourg. On a broader scale, the chapter stresses the importance of broadening the scope of language policy (LP) to encompass research on the experiences of social actors who are directly affected by formal LP mechanisms (Shohamy 2006, 2009). Before turning to the analysis, the second section provides an overview of critical and discursive approaches to LP and the third section then sketches relevant information concerning the Luxembourg context.

7.2 Critical and Discursive Approaches to Language Policy

Contemporary research in the field of LP has been influenced by critical and reflexive impulses, with regard to both specific policies themselves and the ways in which LP research is conducted. Current work

[1] In Luxembourg, the term 'nationality' is used in official legislation rather than 'citizenship'. 'Nationality' will therefore be used to refer specifically to the Luxembourgish law and status, whereas 'citizenship' is used for describing broader scholarship and trends.

in the field has moved away from taking the state as the default unit of analysis to now engaging with the shifting role of the state and the related questioning of the nation-state model in the era of accelerated globalisation. Nevertheless, it has been observed that the nation-state model remains a salient point of orientation in contemporary discourses and continues to inform language policies and practices to varying degrees (Heller and Duchêne 2007, pp. 10–11; see also Savski, this volume, Chap. 3). In relation to transformations in the globalising sociopolitical and economic field, unpacking the ways in which language is bound up with categorisation and stratification is viewed with increasing urgency. Based on over 30 years of fieldwork, Heller (2011, p. 49) illustrates how language continues to frequently serve to 'legitimise the ways in which the construction of social difference is embedded in, or rather mobilised for, the construction of relations of inequality'. Drawing on Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, Heller (2011, p. 193) concludes by encouraging us to take up the challenge to 'break down the false dichotomy of structure and agency to reveal agents involved in the construction of social order, using the resources they find at hand'.

In a related vein, a key development in LP is the call for multilayered approaches that encompass the analysis of top-down and bottom-up perspectives (Baldauf 2006; Wodak 2006; Lawton, this volume, Chap. 5). In his study on the construction of the Scots language in the context of UK devolution, Unger (2013) analyses official texts (top-down) and transcripts from focus group sessions (bottom-up), in addition to examining political and policy developments. Unger (2013, p. 152ff) explains how the discursive 'double-voiced' strategies that are deployed by focus group participants closely resemble those of official discourse, thus presenting myriad challenges for altering LP. These discourses simultaneously value and devalue Scots, constructing it as part of cultural identity but not necessary for national identity. On a broader level, Unger (2013, p. 155) asserts that the mutually constitutive relationship between discourse and social practices is 'nowhere more apparent than in the area of language policy'.

According to Ricento (2000, p. 208), it is agency or 'the role(s) of individuals and collectivities in the processes of language use, attitudes and ultimately policies' that distinguishes many recent studies in LP from

previous work in the field. Ricento's (2000) overview of LP scholarship divides it into three phases—the first one starting during the 1960s, the second one during the 1970s to mid-1980s and the last one starting around the mid-1980s to the present day. These three are viewed as paradigmatic shifts, with research during the first phase dominated by structuralist paradigms based on assumed foundational structures that presupposedly organise social life. Studies during the second phase of LP moved towards incorporating critical approaches that foreground social processes. Scholarship in the current period (third phase of LP, or even the fourth phase as Johnson postulates in his framing section, this volume, Part I) is largely marked by influences from poststructural approaches that engage with the dynamics between structure and agency as well as critical and discourse-based approaches to the construction of categories.

Resonating with Ricento's (2000) discussion on the significance of the concepts of agency, ideology and ecology in the third phase of LP, Shohamy (2006) encourages us to explore the interface between policies and practices as well as the multiple devices used to implement LP. She broadens the scope of inquiry to encompass more than the analysis of legal policy documents by introducing the concept of LP 'mechanisms', which among others, include language testing. She furthermore argues that language tests, which can be employed as ways of creating and maintaining social order, can be described as policies preventing 'people from participation, in terms of rights and obligations' (Shohamy 2006, p. 146). LP research has productively begun to study the mechanisms of language testing in addition to ideologies and debates linked to the ratification of language requirements, which constitute a key aspect of many new forms of citizenship legislation. Multiple researchers maintain that the introduction of language requirements and/or formalised tests constitutes—in Blommaert's (1999) terms—part and parcel of a broader language ideological debate (see Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Stevenson 2006; Milani 2008). By positioning the debate as the focus of analysis, we gain valuable insights on the ways in which this policy is discursively justified, negotiated and contested in multiple sites and also on how the dynamics of LP are bound up with broader forms of social change. Discourse is hereby understood as 'a justifiable object of analysis, crucial to an understanding of wider aspects of power relations' (Blommaert 2005, pp. 1–3).

The majority of critical and discourse-oriented research on language testing and citizenship policy has focused on the analysis of policy documents and mainstream media discourse. This chapter follows Shohamy's (2009) call for research on LP as experience in that we analyse the discourses of social actors who are directly affected by the policy (see also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2). In this way, our analysis of language and citizenship policy also meshes with some recent developments in citizenship studies (see Horner 2015b, for an overview), which view citizenship both as a legal institution and as a 'lived experience' (Isin and Turner 2007) and study how people 'enact' citizenship by challenging dominant or conventional understandings of citizenship (Isin and Saward 2013). In this way, we create a bridge between research in LP and citizenship studies that seeks to understand how policies are experienced by social actors. Before turning to the interview extracts, we first discuss key aspects of language and citizenship policy in Luxembourg to situate the analysis focused on discourses of compliance and resistance to LP.

7.3 Language and Citizenship Policy in Luxembourg

One of the six founding member-states of the EU, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, is situated between Belgium, France and Germany and has a geographical size of 2586 square kilometres. The 1984 language law designates French and/or German as legal, judicial and administrative languages, precisely the state of affairs prior to the ratification of the law. The 1984 law also officially recognises Luxembourgish as the national language and, in theory, as an administrative language. With Luxembourgish declared as the *langue nationale* ('national language') in Article 1 of the law and no clearly designated *langue officielle* ('official language')—in spite of the fact that German and/or French are recognised in legislative, judicial and administrative capacities in the same law—the wording provides a flexible springboard for language ideological debates. These debates frequently revolve around the status and function of Luxembourgish, including whether it should be propagated more widely as a standardised written medium, in addition to its long-standing and widespread use as a means of oral communication.

Tensions concerning the status and function of Luxembourgish have become particularly salient in relation to broader debates on education and citizenship (Horner and Weber 2010). Given the fact that 45.3 % of the total 549,700 inhabitants in Luxembourg are resident foreigners (Statec 2014), it is not surprising that there exists a great deal of linguistic diversity (Fehlen 2009). Luxembourgish, a West-Germanic language, is mainly used as an oral language and written functions continue to be carried out in large part in French, German and, increasingly, English. Moreover, French is used as a lingua franca in certain spheres of everyday life and spoken English is common in the international banking sector. Portuguese is also spoken by a significant part of the population, but is not taught widely in state schools. In addition to the use of languages such as Portuguese and English, French is used as a (supplemental) home language—as opposed to a (written) school language—by a larger segment of the resident population than ever before (Weber 2009).

In relation to the fact that Luxembourgish is not used for a wide range of written functions by a large segment of its speakers, it is not fully bound up with the sociolinguistic processes of standardisation. In the past decade, the use of written Luxembourgish has become more widespread in informal texts and in new media in particular. Moreover, training programmes for teachers of Luxembourgish as a foreign language have been recently organised, together with a qualitative and quantitative increase in the production of pedagogical materials and dictionaries, as well as ongoing debates about what constitutes 'good' and 'bad' Luxembourgish (Horner 2005). These points are linked to present-day controversies over whether Luxembourgish should or should not be widely propagated as a written medium. In mainstream media discourse and official policy documents, tensions concerning the standardisation of Luxembourgish are regularly kept separate from issues of language-in-education policy as well as language and citizenship. With regard to citizenship, a great deal of discursive work has taken place during the first decade of the twenty-first century to construct the authority of Luxembourgish in relation to what Woolard (2008, pp. 3–4) refers to as anonymity, or 'everybody's language' that belongs to 'nobody in particular', in order to portray the national language as an acultural instrument and 'key to integration' (Horner 2009; Horner and Kremer, 2016; see also Weber, this volume, Chap. 8).

The first explicit language requirements in legislation on *la nationalité luxembourgeoise* ('Luxembourgish nationality')—notably with Luxembourgish as the obligatory language—were ratified in 2001 as part of a set of modifications to Article 7 of the 1968 law and the word 'assimilation' simultaneously was replaced with the word 'integration'. Interestingly and as is the case in many other EU countries, the discursive conflation of nationality and citizenship in Luxembourg law 'refracts the ways in which perceptions of national group membership based on shared ethnicity are intertwined with legal ties to the state' (May 2001, p. 75). The introduction of Luxembourgish language requirements at the turn of the twenty-first century needs to be viewed in relationship to multiple levels of policy. On the global scale, states situated in the economic centre have implemented similar policies (Shohamy 2006; Goodman 2010). In the specific context of the EU, multiple member-states have introduced new forms of citizenship legislation that, in many cases, include language and/or civics tests since the turn of the century. In Luxembourg, there were two key, additional issues: (1) a widespread discourse of endangerment (cf. Heller and Duchêne 2007) concerning the implications of a demographic shift for the future of the Luxembourgish language and the continuity of the nation, and (2) the so-called democratic deficit as the segment of the resident population without the right to vote in national/legislative elections was approaching the 50 % mark.

An entirely new law on Luxembourgish nationality was ratified in 2008 and went into effect in 2009, which allows for a much broader interpretation of dual nationality than was previously the case but also stipulates that applicants are required to complete civics courses and pass a formal test in the Luxembourgish language:

> La naturalisation sera refusée à l'étranger lorsqu'il ne justifie pas d'une intégration suffisante, à savoir: […] lorsqu'il ne justifie pas d'une connaissance active et passive suffisante d'au moins une des langues prévues par la loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues et lorsqu'il n'a pas réussi une épreuve d'évaluation de la langue luxembourgeoise parlée. Le niveau de compétence à atteindre en langue luxembourgeoise est celui du niveau B1 du Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues pour la compréhension de l'oral et du niveau A2 du même cadre pour l'expression orale. (Mémorial 2008)

> [Naturalisation will be refused to the foreigner if he [sic] does not demonstrate sufficient integration, namely […] if he [sic] does not demonstrate sufficient active and passive knowledge of at least one of the languages stipulated by the language law of February 24th 1984 and if he [sic] does not pass an evaluative test in spoken Luxembourgish. The level of competence to be achieved in the Luxembourgish language is that of level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages for oral comprehension and level A2 of the same framework for oral production.]

On the one hand, discussions linked to this shift in policy in Luxembourg bore similarities to those in other EU member-states, for example, with regard to disagreements concerning the required level of achievement as per the Common European Framework Reference of Languages (CEFR) rather than the legitimacy of referring to the framework itself. On the other hand, debates on language testing and citizenship in Luxembourg were dissimilar to those in other EU member-states due to a degree of uncertainty concerning how to test a language that has been and continues to be used predominantly as a means of oral rather than written communication. Moreover, the implementation of the formal testing of Luxembourgish has implications for the positioning of Luxembourg as a country that officially recognises three languages: Luxembourgish, French and German.

Although Luxembourgish is one of the officially recognised languages of the state, attempts to position it as the language of integration and subsequent moves to legitimate Luxembourgish language testing are not without tensions. Horner (2015b) provides an analysis of print media discourses that justify as well as challenge the legitimacy of Luxembourgish language testing in connection with the 2008 law on Luxembourgish nationality. One of the key points of contestation that arises is not the implementation of the testing procedure itself but rather the language in which the test is being conducted. In this way, even discourses of resistance that are given space in the mainstream media are generally not challenging the testing procedure. In this way, the onus on the applicant to perform the duty of the test is not being subject to challenge in this mainstream media discourse. In the following section, we explore how applicants express diversified perspectives on language-in-citizenship policy that converge with and diverge from mainstream media discourse and official policy documents.

7.4 Experiencing Language-in-Citizenship Policy

Shohamy (2009) has called for the expansion of LP research to encompass personal experiences as a means of exploring the complex interface between language policies and practices. Following this approach to LP, we focus on reported practices and experiences—such as test taking—as described by participants. We analyse extracts taken from semi-structured interviews with 27 recent applicants for Luxembourgish nationality (see Kremer, forthcoming). The interviews were conducted from January to August 2013 in the language of the participant's choice: French, German, Luxembourgish or English. Participants generally chose the language(s) they had in common with the interviewer, or the one(s) they felt most comfortable speaking. It could be argued that the participants who chose Luxembourgish, French or German usually saw the interviewer as a 'Luxembourgish' researcher. This was especially the case with interviews conducted in Luxembourgish as they often positioned themselves with the interviewer as belonging to the Luxembourgish 'ethnic core'. The interviews held in English tended to be different, with participants positioning themselves and the interviewer as 'foreigners' in Luxembourg. Kremer (2014) provides an initial analysis of these perspectives on language testing in the context of nationality legislation. Recurring themes include normality, objectivity/subjectivity, fairness/unfairness, social selection and belonging/exclusion. In the analysis of the following interview extracts, we start by discussing how certain participants justify this policy by drawing on a discourse of objectivity. Then we move on to discuss perspectives that challenge the objectivity of language testing and therewith the presupposed legitimacy of the related policy.

7.4.1 Constructing Language Testing as Objective

The legitimacy of language testing is built on a myriad of different measures taken by governments to assert their authority. In Luxembourg, this authority is reinforced through a variety of mechanisms, which

include, but are not limited to, the fact that the test is anchored in the official, legal policy text. In addition to this, the testing procedure takes place at the *Institut National des Langues* ('National Institute of Languages'), which is an establishment offering a variety of language courses, including Luxembourgish. Before the first formal testing in the context of the law on Luxembourgish nationality took place, this institute was put in charge of developing its content and examining process. Currently, the test has two parts: first, the applicant listens to a conversation and completes a multiple-choice exercise on a sheet of paper; they then have a conversation with an examiner. The first part is conducted in an exam-type setting where candidates sit at separate tables. The subsequent part involves a spoken test with an examiner in a smaller room. During this process, the ritual function of the test is highlighted, with those who can prove their knowledge of a language transformed into 'deserving citizens', while those who cannot are excluded (Milani 2008, p. 45).

As suggested by McNamara and Shohamy (2008, p. 89), tests have been 'associated with standards, objectivity and merit, and, in the context of immigration, are associated with productivity in the workplace and in society as a whole'. We start our analysis by showing how the 2008 legislation is constructed as a means of establishing a 'proper structure' and 'framework'. In Extract 1, the participant is asked her opinion on the changes which were introduced with the implementation of the 2008 law. In response to this question, the participant replies that she perceives the 2008 law as more 'objective' than the previous law:

Extract 1

I think since the law has changed, it's more objective. So people know. You know that if you want it, you know what you have to go through, and everyone does the same thing […]. It sets a standard, and it's important to have a standard and a framework.

Here, the participant first uses the general 'people know' before focusing on the individual 'you know'. The individual is seen as responsible for understanding how the procedure works and for conforming to a standard, ensuring uniformity and objectivity. The words 'objective', 'people know', 'a standard' and 'a framework' are comparable to the language used in policy documents and mainstream media discourse, in which the responsibility of conforming is often put onto newcomers to ensure the cohesion of an idealised culturally and linguistically homogenous society.

In Extract 2, which is taken from the same in-depth interview, the 2008 legislation is compared with the 2001 amendments, which are understood to have been 'very subjective' towards applicants. Before the 2008 law was passed, each municipality (i.e. 'commune') was in charge of 'interviewing' applicants. This meant that someone at the municipality office checked the applicant's proficiency in any of the three officially recognised languages and their basic knowledge in Luxembourgish. This was not a formal test following clearly delineated procedures, but rather a conversation between two people, as described by the participant in the following extract:

Extract 2

It's good that the law [changed] so it has a proper structure. You know, I think [before] you had to go to your commune and you organised an interview and you would have an interview with somebody. It depends. It was very subjective, I suppose.

Here, the participant's statement about the perceived arbitrariness of the procedure linked to the 2001 amendments is contrasted with the description of the objectivity of the 2008 law in Extract 1.

In Extract 3, another participant expands on the aspect of duty. She implies this by using the personal pronoun 'you' ('du') in relation to the words 'at least' ('mindestens') and 'a minimum' ('e Minimum').

In the following extract, the participant responds to the interviewer's question about her opinion on the language testing procedure, which is part of current citizenship legislation:

Extract 3

Ech fannen et bësse normal. Dass du mindestens awer e bësse Lëtzebuergesch kenns, wanns du déi Nationalitéit. Et ass e Minimum, he? Ech wees och net wéi schwéier deen [den Test] ass, mä ech mengen et ass wirklech e Minimum, he?

[I find it quite normal. That you at least know a bit of Luxembourgish, if you want that nationality. A minimum, yeah? I also don't know how hard it [the test] is, but I think that it's really a minimum, yeah?]

This participant understands the effort that has to be put in by individual applicants as part of a 'normal' way of proceeding. By using the following vocabulary: 'at least'/ 'a bit of Luxembourgish'/ 'a minimum', she allows for an arbitrary interpretation of what this 'effort' consists of. In addition to this, she constructs knowing Luxembourgish as a prerequisite to gaining access to 'that nationality'. German and French, which are also officially recognised languages through the 1984 language law, are not mentioned. Her statement resonates with the ideology that equates one nation with one language, upon which many nation-building strategies rely. By linking Luxembourgish to nationhood, Extract 3 is a reproduction of the discourse employed in the 2008 law, which positions Luxembourgish as the only possible language to test.

In a related vein, we find that some of the other participants support the state's policy of testing Luxembourgish by arguing that applicants have many opportunities for learning the language and 'should' take advantage of this, as exemplified in Extract 4, which is taken from a different interview. In this extract, the participant is asked by the

interviewer how she sees the language testing procedure, to which she replies:

Extract 4

Jo, also ech fannen dat ass eng gutt Saach [den Test], dat ass elo e grousst Wuert mee eng flott Diskriminatioun soe mir mol sou, well wann een hei zu Lëtzebuerg ass an ech mengen do huet een d'Kriterien fir kënnen d'lëtzebuergesch Nationalitéit ze hunn, wann een. Do muss een jo minimum fennëf Joer mengen ech hei zu Lëtzebuerg sinn. An an deene fennëf Joer huet een d'Méiglechkeet, an et huet ee vill Méiglechkeeten fir kënnen op mannst Lëtzebuergesch, jo op mannst ze probéieren.

[Yes, so I think it's a good thing [the test], it's a big word but I would say it's a convenient way of discriminating against someone because when one is here in Luxembourg and one has the criteria for Luxembourgish nationality [...]. One has to have spent a minimum of five years here in Luxembourg I think [...]. And in those five years, one has the opportunity and one has many opportunities to at least try Luxembourgish, yes at least try.]

The participant's use of 'here, in Luxembourg' indicates in what ways she imagines (Anderson [1983] 1991) Luxembourg and includes ideas about what languages are to be spoken, and what sort of behaviour is to be followed by those wishing to apply. Even though Extracts 3 and 4 have certain commonalities in terms of vocabulary ('minimum'/'at least'), in Extract 4, an additional layer is added with the reference to a time frame. Her mention of a 'minimum of five years' is understood as the period that applicants have before they can apply. It is argued that this gives them enough time to 'at least try Luxembourgish'. This participant's understanding of the five years is actually in reference to the conditions of the pre-2008 law. In reality, the 2008 law stipulates that people have to show uninterrupted residency for seven years before their application. The five-year and seven-year time frames are important

because they represent much more than just a time frame. Similarly to official policy legislation, this participant constructs the time frame as a way of deterring those applicants in search of an 'easy' or 'quick' application. This brings in the aspect of legitimacy: it separates the 'serious' applicants from the 'fraudulent' ones (i.e. those perceived as taking advantage of the generosity of the country and with less of a genuine interest in the nation). In Extract 4, the time frame and the language test are seen as a way of protecting and also contributing to the survival of Luxembourgish nationhood. The years also represent the 'generous' amount of time that is provided by the host country to the applicant. The use of the indefinite, gender-neutral pronoun 'one' and the verb 'to have' places the ownership of this opportunity, which (in theory) is available to anyone, onto the applicant and away from the host country (see Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

7.4.2 Challenging the Objectivity of Language Testing

In the previous section, we have explored how current legislation is constructed as an objective framework, with participants supporting the legitimacy of this policy. The vocabulary used in Extracts 1, 2, 3 and 4 is similar to the discourse often found in official policy documents and other key sites of language ideological reproduction. In addition to this, it has been argued that tests have unchallenged authority because they receive little opposition from individuals through lack of awareness (Shohamy 2006, p. 55). The extracts we have discussed so far support this argument. However, our findings show that some participants also challenge the authority of language testing. We continue our analysis with Extract 5, in which the level of testing is questioned. Here, it is unclear if the participant is aware of the official testing guidelines, which are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (in Luxembourg, B1 is used for oral comprehension and A2 for oral expression). In this extract, the participant, who has yet to take the test, is asked about how he feels about the procedure. He responds by voicing his concern about the level of testing and the consequences this might have for people:

Extract 5

I am a little bit wondering about the level of the test and I don't think you should exclude people from being Luxembourgish if their level is not high enough, you know? If there is a will there, if there is some effort and, or what are they going to say? 'Come back next year to be a Luxembourger if your Luxembourgish is good enough'. I would find that just a strange thing to say, but since I haven't seen the test, I can't say. Maybe I am just misjudging them.

This participant's statement about applicants showing 'a will' and 'some effort' in relation to learning Luxembourgish echoes certain aspects of dominant discourse as we discussed in Extracts 3 and 4. However, this statement is accompanied with the expression: 'Come back next year to be a Luxembourger if your Luxembourgish is good enough', which is a criticism of the testing process. By taking on the voice of those in charge of the procedure, he emphasises his disagreement with this policy and his concern for those who could be discriminated by it.

In a similar vein, we find that other participants also address the issues of unfairness and discrimination. Although she passed the test on her first attempt, the next participant explains that her experience of the procedure leads her to think that some aspects could be challenging for certain individuals. In the following extract, she describes the testing procedure as 'unfair' for some applicants:

Extract 6

Et ass trotzdeem onfair. Also ech hunn dat net ganz fair font. Dat verlaangt engem Mensch deen net vill schoulesch Erfahrungen gemeet huet ganz vill of […]. Dat ass sou eng Staatsmuecht do demonstréiert ginn eben, vu wegen: 'Hei kritt net jidfreen déi Nationalitéit irgendwéi'.

[It's still unfair. I didn't think it was very fair to do it that way. It demands quite a lot from someone who has little schooling […]. There was this demonstration of the state's power saying: 'Here not everyone is going to get this nationality any way at all'.]

This participant's reference to 'someone who has little schooling' points to a person's social status and to their possible inexperience with testing procedures. How much a person knows about what is expected of them in a testing environment therefore depends on the experience of and familiarity with similar situations. These experiences can, for example, be accumulated by sitting through exams in school or at university. Her use of quoted speech is comparable to Extract 5, in which a similar method was employed to express disagreement with the procedure. In Extract 6, specific criticism is directed at the state's power as it is seen as a way of granting certain people access to Luxembourgish nationality over others.

In Extract 7, which is taken from a different interview, the test is initially not perceived negatively. When questioned about how she sees the testing procedure, the participant voices concern about the level of testing along with the implications for people who are illiterate:

Extract 7

Wéi soll ech soen? Ech si prinzipiell net géint ee Sproochentest, mä ech fannen dass en och muss adaptéiert sinn fir zum Beispill Leit déi Analphabet sinn. Wéi wells du déi kontrolléieren? Dat kënnt bessi riwwer sou: 'Mir huelen just déi, déi eppes kënnen'. Dat fannen ech och net ganz richteg. A bon, et gëtt jo gesot dass de Niveau anscheinend zimlech héich ass.

[How shall I put this? I am principally not against a language test, but I think it needs adapting for those people who are illiterate, for example. How do you want to test them? This somehow comes across like: 'We only take those who are capable of something'. I don't think that's right. And well, it has been said that the level apparently is quite high.]

Proving the ability to conform and/or behave in a certain way is part of the whole ritual of testing. The Luxembourgish language test is currently oral/aural; however, this does not mean that certain aspects of the procedure do not require applicants to read or write. There is, for example,

the initial stage of the application, which is done by filling out a form. Another example would be the first part of the test, which consists of a listening/comprehension exercise with multiple-choice answers on a sheet of paper. This participant's use of quoted speech ('We only take those who are capable') is comparable to the technique employed by the participants in Extracts 5 and 6. We thus see all of these participants express their critique of current practices in a similar way, namely by taking on the voices of policy-makers. By means of stylisation, they point to the powerful position that those in charge of implementing policy are in, compared to the people experiencing the effects of policy. As acts of resistance towards current policy, their statements are positions which are rarely heard in dominant discourse on Luxembourgish nationality and migration.

In Extract 8, which is taken from another interview, the participant is questioned about the fact that the language test is part of the procedure of applying for Luxembourgish nationality. He states that he perceives language as a tool of discrimination of certain people:

Extract 8

Wat heescht dat [eng Sprooch]? Do grenzt du jo a priori eng ganz Rei vu Leit aus. Ech mengen du kanns net verlaangen dass een deen en Unisofschloss huet deen heihinner kënnt an dee Lëtzebuergesch léiert. Dat ass jo kloer, am Prinzip, dass deen et bëssi méi einfach huet eng Sprooch beizeléieren, eng nei Sprooch beizeléieren, wéi een deen just e Primärschoulofschloss huet an engem Land deen och sproochlech immens wäit ewesch läit. Du kanns och net verlaangen dass een deen um Büro schafft, aacht Stonnen huet villäicht suguer och säi Patron nach d'Coursen innerhalb vun de Bürosstonnen organiséiert. Dat ass net déi selvecht Situatioun wéi een deen um Bau oder deen dann Botzfra ass privat doheem de ganzen Dag alleng op sech verlooss ass. Dass déi op eemol Lëtzebuergesch léiert. Dofir fannen ech déi ganz, also dat ass nämlech e Problem. Also gesinn ech e bëssen als Problem an der Integratiounspolitik, gëtt versicht sou een one size fits all, an dat fonktionéiert meeschtens ni.

[What does it mean [a language]? You are marginalising a certain number of people. I mean you can't expect someone with a university degree to come here and someone who only has a primary school degree from a country, which linguistically is also very far away, to learn Luxembourgish in the same way. You can't expect someone who works at an office for eight hours and whose boss might even organise Luxembourgish language lessons during working hours. That's not the same situation as someone working as a builder or a cleaning lady, who works by herself all day long. That she suddenly learns Luxembourgish. That's why I find that really, well that is the problem. So I see this a bit as a problem in this integration politics, because the one size fits all policy rarely ever works.]

Here, the participant is fully aware of the shared understanding between himself (as the interviewee) and the interviewer, about who works in the described sectors and what their language repertoire is. His description of someone from 'a country, which linguistically is also very far away' is a reference to a Portuguese person, perceived as having a lusophone background as opposed to Luxembourgish, a Germanic language. The jobs he refers to (a cleaning lady and a builder) were traditionally taken up by many of the Portuguese people who came to Luxembourg in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He furthermore constructs many of these people as coming to Luxembourg 'with a primary school degree'. The extract contains a homogenised description of the migration that took place between both countries; in reality, people's experiences of migration, their educational levels and linguistic repertoires are much more complex. This description nevertheless serves an instrumental purpose, namely to emphasise the diversity of individual experiences of language learning and to stress potential inequalities such as the amount of time and resources a person has to invest. His argument that someone working as a cleaning lady has limited opportunities for speaking and hearing Luxembourgish resonates with the reality of many people's lives as French continues to be used as the lingua franca for everyday purposes.

Through contesting the idea that access to Luxembourgish is widely available to everyone, this extract is a reversal of dominant discourse in

which Luxembourgish tends to be positioned as the 'language of integration', available to everyone (see also Flubacher, this volume, Chap. 10). This latter statement is often used to justify the implementation of testing procedures as it is argued that newcomers 'should' take advantage of the opportunities available to them to learn Luxembourgish if they want to apply for nationality. In Extract 8, similar to Extracts 5, 6 and 7, we therefore see the legitimacy of the testing procedure and the authority of the state being challenged. Thus, a key feature of Extracts 5, 6, 7 and 8 is that they go against dominant discourse and question the state's policy. Their arguments show that people perceive the policy implemented by the government not as a straightforward process, but as a complex phenomenon influencing people's lives in a variety of ways.

7.5 Conclusions

Our analysis of semi-structured interviews with recent applicants for Luxembourgish nationality has shown how participants justify as well as contest policy. We have explored how policy is not perceived in a straightforward way, but as a complex process. The following conclusions can be drawn from our analysis. First, we have found that discourses of compliance place the onus on the legitimacy of the applicant without challenging the policy. Section 7.4.1. highlights how some participants construct language testing as an objective measure, while placing the responsibility of learning Luxembourgish onto the individual applicant. In this context, Luxembourgish is perceived as 'everybody's language', available (in theory) to anyone.

Discourses of resistance, on the other hand, specifically challenge the legitimacy of the policy and emphasise the fact that not every applicant is on equal grounding due to the amount of time and resources they have to invest in learning Luxembourgish. In Sect. 7.4.2., it is shown how some participants question the level of testing and take on the voices of policymakers to point to the authoritative position that those in charge of policy are in, compared to the people who are experiencing the effects of policy. Importantly, these participants also argue that as Luxembourgish is part of the formal examination for nationality, it is a tool of exclusion.

This argument is supported by the statement that this language does not function as an 'everybody's language' and is not the default language in everyday situations. In fact, French continues to be widely used in many domains as a lingua franca and there are limited opportunities for learning and practising Luxembourgish.

Our work thus resonates with Shohamy's (2006, 2009) call for the expansion of LP research to encompass personal experiences of social actors affected by LP mechanisms. In addition to this, our discursive engagement with policy has allowed us to uncover some of the power processes that are inherent in the establishment and legitimisation of policy. The discourse analytical approach reveals how social actors engage with policy and allows us to learn about inequality as it is experienced by these people. By analysing individual perspectives, we have been able to stress the complexities of how policy is perceived and to contribute to a deeper understanding of how people are affected by policy in a variety of ways.

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8

Luxembourgish Language-in-Education Policy in Limbo: The Tension Between Ideologies of Authenticity and Anonymity

Jean-Jacques Weber

8.1 Introduction

The chapter uses the Luxembourgish school system as a case study to investigate the discursive construction of language policy, its underlying ideologies and social effects. I analyse the role that the language-in-education policy and the Luxembourgish language in particular play in the process of reproduction of social stratification and inequality. The analysis relies on a distinction drawn by Woolard (2008), namely that the authority of a language is constructed through authenticity or anonymity. While Woolard focuses on Catalonia and examines the ongoing shift in the source of authority for the Catalan language from authenticity to anonymity, this chapter explores a similar shift taking place in Luxembourg in relation to the Luxembourgish language.

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In line with the discursive approach to the study of language policy espoused in this book, the chapter explores a language ideological debate about the role of Luxembourgish in the society and education system of Luxembourg, thus contributing to Blommaert's (1999, p. 1) project of a 'historiography of language ideologies'. Due to space limitations, I focus here on the government's official position (and its contradictions) in the area of education, just briefly pointing out how this ideology fitted into a wider societal debate in 2010, when a possible shift in the positioning of Luxembourgish from language of authenticity to language of anonymity was foregrounded. People's experience of a loss of normality (Link 2013), in this case a loss of 'normal' demographic patterns as a result of the accelerated migration of the 1990s and early twenty-first century, was perceived as a cause for concern, with a widespread fear that not only the Luxembourgish language but the Luxembourgish nation as a whole were endangered. The consequence was the construction of more fixed boundaries and an increasing stigmatization of the 'others', who were often looked upon as representing a danger for society, as well as a greater readiness to accept special measures to restore a sense of normality (Link 2013, p. 41 and 103).

Ideological positions became increasingly polarized, between one side advocating a return to a golden, pre-migration past—an imagined ideal that never actually existed—with Luxembourgish as the language of authenticity, and the other side aiming to create a new sense of normality in society by including migrants with Luxembourgish as a language of anonymity. In this chapter, I analyse the Ministry of Education's delicate self-positioning in this debate, as it endeavoured to occupy the middle ground, arguing for a compromise view of migration as acceptable (and even necessary) on the condition that migrants 'integrate' themselves through learning Luxembourgish. In this way, the Ministry contributed to the construction of Luxembourgish as the language of integration in society and education, but due to the vagueness of the concept of integration (Horner 2009; Horner and Weber 2011), the Ministry's discourse ended up getting mired in ideological contradictions. By using a discursive approach, it will be possible to identify the competing ideologies and to examine how they converged in a new hybrid discourse that papered over the ideological cracks at least temporarily.

I analyse two recent official language policy documents that focus on the role of Luxembourgish in the education system: an *instruction ministérielle* (ministerial directive) for teachers about when they may or may not use Luxembourgish as a medium of instruction (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a) and a booklet introducing teachers to a language awareness approach, entitled *Ouverture aux langues à l'école* (Openness to Languages at School; Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010b). I show how in these official texts, an attempt is made to reconcile the traditional role of Luxembourgish as the symbol of national identity with its more recent role as a language of integration and a means of social cohesion. The analysis reveals how both documents rely upon a hybrid or double discourse in an endeavour to gloss over the contradictions between the two ideologies of authenticity and anonymity associated with Luxembourgish. Before moving on to the analysis, I need to provide more details about the authenticity–anonymity distinction as well as about the sociolinguistic context of Luxembourg and its education system.

8.2 The Ideologies of Authenticity and Anonymity

Woolard (2008) distinguishes between two contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority: the ideology of authenticity and the ideology of anonymity . The former 'locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community' (Woolard 2008, p. 304), whereas the latter constructs the language 'as an anonymous public vehicle of aperspectival objectivity' (Woolard 2008, p. 309). In this latter case, the language is perceived as a language 'from nowhere' or, as Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013, p. 140) put it, 'a common public language that belongs to both everyone and nobody'. While the ideology of authenticity typically applies to minoritized languages, the ideology of anonymity tends to be associated with hegemonic languages. Woolard and Frekko (2013, p. 135) summarize the distinction as follows:

> The ideology of authenticity credits a language variety with value insofar as it expresses the essential, distinctive nature of a community or a speaker, a view associated with Romantic particularism. The ideology of anonymity holds that a language is valuable as a neutral, objective vehicle of expression equally available to all users, a view associated with enlightenment universalism.

Woolard (2008, p. 319) argues that in Catalonia, we are witnessing a shift 'in the ideological base of linguistic authority for Catalan' from authenticity to anonymity. Whereas Catalan used to be a marker of a well-defined ethnic group and an icon of 'Catalanness', it is nowadays becoming indexical of a new global—or rather glocal—community, mixed as it often is with elements from Castilian Spanish and the other languages that are present in its speakers' hybrid and often transnational repertoires. It is for this reason that Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013, p. 140) talk about the 'de-ethnicization' of Catalan, in the sense that it is in the process of losing its earlier function of ethnolinguistic boundary maintenance (i.e. the boundary between Catalan and Castilian). Instead, people in Catalonia increasingly translanguage—or move seamlessly—between Catalan and Castilian (as well as other languages), with Catalan, as a result, becoming 'ethnically unmarked' (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013, p. 140; on translanguaging, see García and Li Wei 2014).

The authenticity–anonymity distinction has also been applied to other sociolinguistic contexts such as Estonia (Soler 2013) and Luxembourg (Horner 2015; Kremer and Horner forthcoming). Luxembourgish, in particular, seems to be undergoing a change in the ideological base of its linguistic authority similar to Catalan. Whereas Luxembourgish used to be—and still is—a symbolic marker of Luxembourgish identity, it is now spoken by an ever wider range of non-Luxembourgish residents as one of the languages in their transnational repertoires. As Horner (2015) points out, this shift from authenticity to anonymity correlates with the repositioning of the value of languages and their speakers in the wake of globalization and the late-capitalist knowledge economy. It includes the development of Luxembourgish as (also) a written language, the ongoing process of standardization and the increasing use of written Luxembourgish on the Internet, though often in non-standard forms. Moreover, it correlates with the systematic construction of Luxembourgish—both in official

and media discourses—as the 'language of integration', which allegedly will help to solve the perceived problem of societal heterogeneity and ensure social cohesion (Horner 2009, 2015; see also Flubacher 2014, and this volume for a similar debate in Switzerland). At the same time, we need to note that Luxembourgish still seems to be at a much earlier stage of the shift from authenticity to anonymity than Catalan in that, unlike Catalan, it has not—or not yet—become the language of basic literacy and the primary medium of instruction in the education system.

8.3 Luxembourgish as the Language of Integration

Luxembourg has always prided itself on its bilingualism (German and French) and, since Luxembourgish has been perceived as a language in its own right, its trilingualism (Luxembourgish, German and French). Most spoken communication among the native-born takes place in Luxembourgish (a West-Germanic language), while written functions are carried out primarily in standard French or German (see Kremer and Horner, Chap. 7 this volume). French plays an important role in Luxembourg in that it used to be—and to some extent still is—the language of high culture used by the educated elite. But the economic growth of the last four decades has led to a high proportion of resident foreigners, many of them from Romance languages-speaking countries such as Portugal, who may find it easier to use French—rather than Luxembourgish or German—as an everyday lingua franca, and an equally high proportion of *frontaliers* (cross-border commuters), who work in Luxembourg but live across the border in a neighbouring country (Wille et al. 2012). The presence of these cross-border commuters in the labour market is linked to the small geographical size of Luxembourg as well as to European Union (EU) regulations facilitating free movement of the EU workforce; nearly 80 % of them come from France and Belgium and are (primarily) French-speaking and over 20 % come from Germany and are (primarily) German-speaking (Weber and Horner 2012b, p. 4). Due to these far-reaching developments, French has become more of an oral means of communication in Luxembourg, at the same time as Luxembourgish is

beginning to be used more in written domains (such as emails, SMS messages, etc.), thus inverting, to some extent, the traditional roles associated with these two languages.

As a result of the changing demographic patterns, an ideological debate about the positioning of Luxembourgish as language of authenticity or anonymity erupted in 2010. The authenticity position was defended by associations such as *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch* (Action Luxembourgish), whose aim is to defend Luxembourgish and whose current demand is to insert a clause about Luxembourgish being the 'national language' in the constitution. The anonymity position, on the other hand, was taken up by associations such as *Association de soutien aux travailleurs immigrés* (Association for the Support of Migrant Workers), whose current demand is to extend the right to vote in legislative elections to all people resident in the country. The official government position, which was also promulgated in the mainstream media, was an in-between position based on the concept of integration and, more particularly, constructing Luxembourgish as the language of integration. A recent example is the media interpretation of the results of the 2011 census, which for the first time in the history of the Luxembourgish census included two questions about language use. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 reproduce the results for the two questions.

While both questions construct languages as bounded entities, Question 1 furthermore enforced monolingualism in that only one answer was allowed for. Hence, the results give no insight into lingua franca use in Luxembourg, since a lingua franca is typically a second or third language (or a mixed language). Moreover, the question was ambiguous as it conflated two related though not necessarily identical

Table 8.1 Which language do you think in and do you know best? (Question 1)

Langue principale	No. of persons	Percentage (%)
Luxembourgish	265,731	55.8
Portuguese	74,636	15.7
French	57,633	12.1
German	14,658	3.1
Italian	13,896	2.9
English	10,018	2.1
Other languages	40,042	8.4

Table 8.2 Which language(s) do you usually speak at home, with close ones? At school, at work? (Question 2)

	No. of persons	Percentage (%)
Luxembourgish	323,557	70.5
French	255,669	55.7
German	140,590	30.6
English	96,427	21.0
Portuguese	91,872	20.0
Italian	28,561	6.2
Other languages	55,298	12.1

aspects, namely 'the language that you think in' and 'the language that you know best'. Unlike Question 1, Question 2 allowed for multiple answers. It is important to note that it is a question about spoken language use; as Luxembourgish is primarily used as a means of oral communication, the results would have been very different if the question had been about written language use. Furthermore, it is important to remember that cross-border commuters, who make up 43 % of the workforce, are not included in the census. A final point is that Table 8.2 makes no separation between the results of the various subquestions (namely, languages used at home, with family and friends, at school, at work).

Despite these reservations, the results, as given in Tables 8.1 and 8.2, were unanimously construed in the mainstream media as providing evidence that Luxembourgish plays the role of language of integration in the society. Here is a typical example from the *Luxemburger Wort*, the newspaper with the highest circulation rate in Luxembourg:

> In diesen Resultaten wird deutlich, dass die Luxemburger Sprache einen hohen Stellenwert in der Gesellschaft hat und zugleich einen wichtigen Integrationsfaktor darstellt. (*Luxemburger Wort*, 21-06-2013)
>
> [These results demonstrate that the Luxembourgish language has a high value in society and at the same time that it functions as an important factor of integration.] (My translation, here and passim)]

It is the way the census questions were phrased and the way the results were displayed that encouraged and enabled the representation of Luxembourgish as language of integration in media discourses. In turn, these discourses also ratified and reinforced the dominant position

of the government, oscillating as it did between the symbolic value of Luxembourgish and the instrumentality of the language as a means of integration.

8.4 The Luxembourgish Education System

In fact, fluency in Luxembourgish does not mean that one is 'fully integrated' in Luxembourgish society (see also Kremer and Horner, this volume, Chap. 7): social integration also takes place through French, which is a major lingua franca and the main written language in Luxembourg; economic integration takes place primarily through French and English, which are the most important languages for access to the labour market; and educational integration takes place through German, which is the language of basic literacy and the medium of instruction throughout primary school.

The motivation for this use of German within the education system is historical: in the nineteenth century, when the school system was set up, Luxembourgers tended to refer to their varieties as 'our German' or 'Luxembourgish German', so it seemed normal to use Standard German as language of literacy and medium of instruction. Nowadays, however, they tend to perceive Luxembourgish as a wholly separate language from German. In the 1984 Language Law, Luxembourgish is officially recognized as the 'national language', though German and French are also recognized as administrative, legislative and/or judiciary languages (Weber and Horner 2012a, pp. 111–112; Kremer and Horner, this volume, Chap. 7). With Luxembourgish perceived as the national language and the mother tongue, German and French have gradually come to be looked upon more and more as 'foreign' languages.

Despite the shift of Luxembourgish from 'dialect' to 'language', nothing has been changed about the language regime of the education system yet, except that Luxembourgish—as a primarily oral means of communication—has taken over preschool education and has been used to push out the other languages (in particular French, which had been increasingly used as a lingua franca between teachers and transnational students and among the students themselves) (see Weber 2014, pp. 147–149).

German continues to be the language of literacy and main medium of instruction at primary level. French is only taught as a subject from the second half of the second year of primary school onwards, and it is not until half way through secondary education that most non-language subjects switch from German to French as medium of instruction, especially in the classical lycees (grammar schools) (for an overview, see Horner and Weber 2008, p. 89). At the same time, however, there have been huge demographic shifts, with Romance languages-speaking students nowadays making up almost half of the school population. Many of them are members of the Portuguese community, which is by far the largest migrant community in contemporary Luxembourg (e.g. Horner and Weber 2008). These children have to learn two closely related Germanic languages (Luxembourgish and German) almost simultaneously, which inevitably leads to interferences between the languages. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998, p. 287) put it,

> When two systems are highly similar … it is sometimes difficult to keep the systems apart. … In some ways, it may be easier to work with language systems that are drastically different, since the temptation to merge overlapping structures and ignore relatively minor differences is not as great.

That the system fails many of the Romance languages-speaking students can be seen from figures of enrolment patterns at secondary level. In Luxembourg, there are two separate tracks at this level: the elite *lycées classiques*, preparing students for university study, and the more technical and vocational *lycées techniques*. According to official statistics (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2013), 35 % of students in Luxembourgish schools are of non-Luxembourgish citizenship. In the technical lycees, 43 % are non-Luxembourgish, whereas in the classical lycees, only 19 % are. Non-Luxembourgish students are thus clearly under-represented in the classical lycees and over-represented in the technical lycees. Moreover, the highest proportion of non-Luxembourgish students can be found in the lower streams (*filières*) of the technical lycees.

The Romance languages-speaking students are caught within two contradictions, similar to those faced by many migrant students in Catalonia.

First, they learn Luxembourgish and German at school, while they mostly use French and Portuguese (and sometimes also Luxembourgish) in their out-of-school lives. There is thus a fracture between educational policy and actual language practices in that Luxembourgish is constructed as the sole language of integration in schools, while many of these students live in areas where French is a widely used lingua franca. Similarly, in Catalonia, migrant students are taught in Catalan, constructed by schools as the language of integration, while many of them live in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas (Corona et al. 2008, p. 137; Pujolar 2010, p. 235). Second, these students are often given intensive instruction in German, sometimes at the cost of English. Indeed, because of low grades in German, they frequently end up in the lower streams of the technical lycees, where English is only taught at a fairly rudimentary level (or even not taught at all). Similarly, in Catalonia, migrant students are sometimes given extra instruction in Catalan and/or Spanish during the time that local students learn a foreign language such as English (Escobar Urmeneta and Unamuno 2008, p. 246).

As a result of this lack of access to a high proficiency in English, these students are deprived of an important job qualification on both the Luxembourgish and the European employment market. There is thus an increasing disjuncture between the labour market (where French and English are the most important languages) and the language-in-education policy (where German is the language of literacy and medium of instruction). It is true that multilingual pedagogies and translanguaging strategies are widely used by teachers within the Luxembourgish school system, but there is still a gap: whereas most translanguaging in teacher–student interactions is between Luxembourgish and German, translanguaging in workplaces is mostly between Luxembourgish and French or English (see Weber 2014, p. 155f.; see also Huang, Chap. 6 this volume, for a discussion of translanguaging by teachers in a different context). Yet in official discourses, the contradictions of this situation are largely glossed over, as we will see in the following section. In particular, the analysis explores how and why Luxembourgish is constructed as both language of authenticity and language of anonymity, as if this in itself could solve all the contradictions.

8.5 The Double Discourse of Official Language-in-Education Policy Documents

8.5.1 Luxembourgish as a Language That Is Learnt 'Naturally'

As we have seen, from the beginnings of the bilingual German–French school system in the early nineteenth century up to the present, Luxembourgish has played only a minor role, except in preschool education, where it is primarily used as an oral means of communication. It is taught explicitly for only one hour a week throughout primary school and in the first year of secondary school. However, it is widely used by many teachers as an oral and largely unofficial medium of instruction in both primary and secondary education. Fehlen (2007, p. 36) describes this situation in terms of a hidden curriculum which he sees as being responsible for the educational failure of many migrant students:

> Es ist das *hidden curriculum*, das eine diffuse Dreisprachigkeit zur Norm und zur Voraussetzung aber nicht zum Gegenstand des Unterrichts macht, an dem die Immigrantenkinder scheitern.
>
> [It is the *hidden curriculum* which leads to migrant children's educational failure, in that it constitutes a diffused trilingualism as the norm and the presupposition but not the object of learning.]

What Fehlen probably means here is that, while German and French are taught explicitly, Luxembourgish is not; on the contrary, Luxembourgish—in its spoken form—is simply assumed to be a core part of the children's linguistic repertoires. In Woolard's terminology, this makes Luxembourgish a prototypical case of a language of authenticity, which is iconic of the identity of a particular group.

The role of Luxembourgish as a language of authenticity that is primarily used as an oral means of communication explains the nature and development of the school system, as articulated in the following official

document, a ministerial directive for teachers published by the Ministry of Education in September 2010[1]:

> Pour de multiples raisons, *tant historiques que culturelles*, le Luxembourg a décidé en 1912 d'alphabétiser les enfants en langue allemande, de garder l'allemand comme langue d'enseignement tout au long des années d'études au primaire et au cours du cycle inférieur de l'enseignement secondaire, sauf en mathématiques, et de passer ensuite à l'enseignement en français de toutes les matières au cycle supérieur de l'enseignement secondaire. (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a, p. 1; italics added here and below)
>
> [For multiple reasons, *both historical and cultural*, Luxembourg decided in 1912 to use German-language literacy, to keep German as medium of instruction throughout primary school and in the lower half of secondary education (except in mathematics), and then to change over to French as medium of instruction for all subjects in the upper half of secondary education.]

These 'historical and cultural' reasons include the perception at the time (i.e. nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) of Luxembourgish as a 'dialect' of German, the political need both to keep good relations with and to assert independence from two powerful neighbours (Germany and France), and the educational need to establish a school system building upon the home linguistic resources of the schoolchildren, the majority of whom were germanophone (again, at that time) (see Spizzo 1995).

Despite the huge social and demographic changes in the second half of the twentieth century, the educational discourses have not changed accordingly. In today's official policy documents, there is still the assumption that Luxembourgish is a part of the children's repertoires that is picked up naturally, that does not need to be taught explicitly. Here are two further extracts from the same ministerial directive where the term 'naturally' is used in connection with the learning of

[1] *Instructions ministérielles* (ministerial directives) are official documents published in French by the Ministry of Education with binding information for teachers in matters of teaching. (The English translation of the extracts is my own.)

Luxembourgish (while it is never used in connection with the learning of other languages):

> On observe couramment que les enfants qui parlent une ou deux autres langues avec leurs proches passent *naturellement* au luxembourgeois, dès qu'ils retrouvent leurs copains de classe. (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a, p. 2)
>
> [It can frequently be observed that the children who speak one or two other languages with their family members pass over *naturally* to Luxembourgish when they join their school friends.]

> Le recours au luxembourgeois dans des situations de communication intense et spontanée est sans aucun doute *naturel* et peut être bénéfique. (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a, p. 3)
>
> [The use of Luxembourgish in situations of intense and spontaneous communication is doubtlessly *natural* and can be beneficial.]

In this way, Luxembourgish is constructed as a 'natural' language of authenticity both for teachers and for all the children, even those whose home linguistic resources include other languages such as Portuguese, Italian, French and so on. It is as if Luxembourgish were a language that needs to be known or learnt but does not need to be taught explicitly, as it is acquired 'naturally'. Whether this is the case depends on the area where the students live: as we have seen, many of them live in predominantly French-speaking areas. It may be the case that an incipient awareness of this complex sociolinguistic situation on the part of the Ministry of Education is reflected in the use of the epistemic adverb *doubtlessly* and the modal hedge *can* in the second extract quoted above.

On the whole, however, the only new aspect in the twenty-first-century official policy documents is that the more nationalist discourse presenting Luxembourgish as the 'natural' language of authenticity has been overlaid with a globalizing discourse that commodifies languages and perceives them as cultural capital (including small languages such as Luxembourgish) (see Bourdieu 1991; Duchêne and Heller 2012). Thus, in the same Ministry text, Luxembourgish is also constructed as a language of anonymity that opens the door to social and professional integration:

> Le luxembourgeois, en tant que langue nationale, permet de rapprocher tous ceux qui vivent à Luxembourg et parlent une autre langue maternelle, et de créer ainsi une base de communication et de convivialité … [les luxembourgeois] les aident à acquérir les compétences et l'aisance qui leur permettront de devenir un membre à part entière de la société luxembourgeoise. (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a, p. 2)
>
> [Luxembourgish as the national language brings together all those who live in Luxembourg and who speak another mother tongue, and thus constitutes a basis of communication and conviviality … [the Luxembourgers] will help them to acquire the competences and fluency which will enable them to become full members of Luxembourgish society.]

In this way, the Ministry text is marked by a double or hybrid discourse that legitimizes and entrenches the ideology of authenticity in relation to Luxembourgish and at the same time constructs it as a language of anonymity, facilitating social integration as well as educational and professional success.

8.5.2 Conflicting Discourses of Authenticity and Anonymity

The same double discourse can also be found in the booklet *Ouverture aux langues à l'école*, the second Ministry document that is analysed in this chapter (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010b). In fact, this is a strangely hybrid text in which the tension between the two ideologies of authenticity and anonymity becomes explicit. The text is written mostly in French for primary teachers, introducing them to the language awareness approach. Due to the nature of its targeted readership, it includes descriptions of numerous language awareness classroom activities and insists on the importance of teachers developing in their students a plurilingual competence that breaks through the boundaries between socially constructed languages (i.e. named languages).

However, the last five pages of the text are completely different. This last chapter consists of a separate part on Luxembourgish only, bilingually

entitled 'Lëtzebuergesch dynamesch. Le luxembourgeois, une langue en mouvement' (Dynamic Luxembourgish. Luxembourgish, a changing language). Unlike all the other chapters presenting activities that involve a comparison of different languages, this part deals with such topics as: the development of Luxembourgish from dialect to language, the development of its writing system, dialects and regional varieties of Luxembourgish, words that are 'typically Luxembourgish', old Luxembourgish words that are in the process of disappearing and new words that have been coined (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010b, pp. 66–70). In this way, the previous focus of the booklet on a translanguaging and 'transdisciplinary' approach (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010b, p. 14) has largely disappeared and been replaced by a new focus aiming to show that Luxembourgish is a language in its own right, separate from (in particular) German. Significantly, there is also a code switch in this chapter: whereas the whole of the booklet so far was in French—the unmarked choice for such official documents—this final chapter is written in Luxembourgish, which is a highly marked choice.

Thus, this text separates out and juxtaposes the double discourse that was identified in the analysis of the first document (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010a). The focus on developing all the children's linguistic resources without setting up strict boundaries between the different languages or varieties is contradicted in the final chapter by an emphasis on the discrete and bounded nature of Luxembourgish, which, with its own dialects and regional varieties and its 'pure' Luxembourgish lexis, is represented as a separate language. The plurilingual language awareness approach is replaced by a framework of parallel or plural monolingualism (Heller 1999, p. 271; Otsuji and Pennycook 2011, p. 45), in which Luxembourgish can hold its own against such competitors as German and French. In this way, Luxembourgish is represented as a language of authenticity fulfilling the function of ethnolinguistic boundary maintenance.

Within the chapter on the Luxembourgish language, however, the discourse of anonymity re-emerges in a couple of subsections. There are brief mentions of the fact that Luxembourgish is not only used or recognized in Luxembourg but also in other parts of the world.

First, it is claimed that a language resembling Luxembourgish is still spoken nowadays in Transylvania by descendants of the people who emigrated from the area around Luxembourg to this part of Romania 850 years ago. Second, Luxembourgish is cherished as a heritage language by a number of Americans, especially in Wisconsin, whose ancestors emigrated from Luxembourg to the USA in the nineteenth century. Finally, the Luxembourgish language is taught and researched at the universities of Trier (Germany), Namur (Belgium) and Sheffield (UK), as well as in a number of research centres in Russia. These points position Luxembourgish as not only a local or national language but more of a global, internationally recognized language. More importantly, in another subsection entitled 'Wie schwätzt lëtzebuergesch?' (Who speaks Luxembourgish?; Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2010b, p. 68), a strong increase—from 29 % in 1997 to 50 % in 2004—in the number of Portuguese-origin residents using Luxembourgish is reported. The authors of the document state that they mention this primarily in order to counteract the discourse of endangerment (of Luxembourgish), which is widespread in society (cf. Duchêne and Heller 2007). In other words, Luxembourgish is here constructed as a language of anonymity widely picked up by foreign residents, which, incidentally, also helps the small language to survive. In a way, the contradiction between the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity comes full circle here: it is only through constructing Luxembourgish as a language of anonymity that Luxembourgish as the language of authenticity can survive.

The clash of discourses can be better understood with reference to the context of production. The document was co-authored by a couple of Ministry of Education officials together with an international expert, Prof. Christiane Perregaux of the University of Geneva, as well as probably being checked by other officials to ensure its being in line with the dominant ideology of the government of the time. The main part written in French, with its long list of language awareness activities for use by teachers, bears the imprint of Prof. Perregaux, emphasizing as it does the development of children's plurilingualism, the inclusion of both the officially recognized languages and immigrant minority languages, the systematic building upon students' home linguistic resources and the encouragement

of transfer of metalinguistic knowledge across languages. However, the last chapter written in Luxembourgish was obviously not checked by Perregaux, as a result of which it turns out to be based on a very different ideological approach, namely a language separateness model.

A brief comment about the context of reception may also be relevant here. As Meier (2014, pp. 141–142) points out, 'personal communication with a teacher educator in Luxembourg indicated that *Ouverture aux langues* is not (yet) used widely or consistently'. In other words, it has been left to individual teachers to use it as a kind of resource book and try out some of the activities in class. This encourages a tokenistic approach limited to a mere celebration of diversity, by means of such activities as saying hello or singing happy birthday in several languages. However, these activities continue to be carried out within the current discriminatory language-in-education policy framework, with German remaining the main medium of instruction throughout primary school and at the beginning of secondary school, instead of the Romance languages-speaking students being provided with greater access to French and English, the most important languages on the Luxembourgish labour market.

That this constituted the dominant ideology of the Ministry of Education at that time can be confirmed with reference to the Education Act of 2009, which also offers no opening in matters of language, but only an opening in the area of teaching methodology. It introduces competence-based learning, along with standardized tests in the third year of primary school (average age 8, with the same test in the same language to be taken by all pupils). At the same time, preschool and primary education merge into *l'école fondamentale* (fundamental or basic school), organized into cycles instead of school-years, without, however, changing the specific regime of language teaching and learning in the system. One of the keywords of the new system is differentiation, in the sense that it allows for the possibility of grouping pupils of different ages according to their levels within each cycle. The 'one size fits all' system is unlikely to work for a heterogeneous school population of on average 42 % 'foreign' children in the Luxembourgish primary schools, with some schools actually having more than 50 % Romance languages-speaking students in their classrooms. Yet the questions of the language of basic literacy and the medium of instruction were not key issues of debate during the

discussions leading up to the ratification of the new Education Act. Nor was the danger of internal segregation or ghettoization (under the name of 'differentiation'), with many children of migrant background potentially ending up in the lower streams, seriously considered (see Weber 2014, pp. 157–158).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the interface between discourse, ideology and language policy. The discursive approach has allowed me to trace the ideological conflicts and competing discourses of authenticity and anonymity. In particular, the analysis of the double discourse in two recent Ministry of Education documents—a ministerial directive and a booklet on language awareness for teachers—has revealed the tension between these ideologies in relation to Luxembourgish as it is played out in the area of education. The Luxembourgish language is a small language that is frequently perceived as being endangered—even though it is still widely used in family transmission; as a result, one way of defending it has been to construct it as the language of integration, especially in preschool education. The double discourse of the official texts shows to what extent their authors are mired in this ideological tension: it would seem that 'the price to pay' to keep Luxembourgish alive as 'our' language of authenticity is paradoxically by transforming it into everybody's language of anonymity. The contradiction becomes explicit in the booklet on language awareness and plurilingual competence, with its separate chapter on and in Luxembourgish. The result is a dual and even contradictory text that enforces a sudden shift from what could be referred to as a plurilingual mode back to a monolingual mode.

The highly sensitive language ideological debate about the role of Luxembourgish in society and education is ongoing. The point is that, when the discussion is about the Luxembourgish language, the need is frequently felt to emphasize its status as a language—as a bounded entity separate from (in particular) German. Here, Luxembourgish becomes again the marker of a local, well-defined ethnic or national group (i.e. a language of authenticity) and, as such, it cannot be allowed to

merge and mix with other languages or varieties in a plurilingual competence. This is a common feature of endangerment discourses, where ideologies of language separation and purism emerge as part of the strategies to preserve the endangered language (see e.g. Barakos 2012 and forthcoming on the case of Welsh in Wales). From such a perspective, it is ideologically difficult to embrace Luxembourgish as a language of anonymity with its full consequences: namely, the development of new varieties of Luxembourgish, often mixed with French, Portuguese or other languages, which are used by young people with hybrid and transnational repertoires and are indexical of a new global, or rather glocal, community. The in-between policies of the Ministry of Education may have bolstered the position of Luxembourgish (as reflected in the recent census results), but they have failed to open up plurilingual educational spaces for the transnational students, who continue to be badly served by the school system. Only a much more flexible multilingual education system (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Weber 2014) building upon all the students' home linguistic resources and providing them with greater access to the important global languages (in particular French and English) would potentially offer them better educational and professional opportunities.

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9

Language Ideologies Regarding English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: Insights from Flanders and Finland

Frank van Splunder

9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with language ideologies concerning English-medium instruction (EMI) in Europe's higher education institutions. EMI is one of the most noticeable but unplanned consequences of higher education reform in Europe. The Bologna Declaration (1999) aimed to internationalize higher education, resulting in the construction of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA 2010–20). Although the intention was to respect the diversity of languages and cultures, English emerged as the preferred language, including its use as a medium of instruction. Moreover, the increasing use of English is informed by neoliberal discourses on globalization (Fairclough 2006; Block et al. 2012). To put it rather bluntly, globalization favours English (Fishman 2006, p. 323).

Even though English is often perceived as an opportunity or a necessity, it is also seen as a threat to other languages and cultures

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(e.g. Leppanen and Pahti 2012). In general, however, the use of English in higher education remains largely unproblematized (Saarinen 2014), including the variety of English which is to be used. Yet, there is a strong bias—particularly in education—towards native speaker and standard language (often conceptualized as UK or US English), even though these terms are highly problematic and rarely questioned (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 5). This bias may be observed both in learners and in teachers of English, who often regard UK or US English as the only 'correct' English (van Splunder, 2016).

My case study is based on a comparison between the use of EMI in Flanders and Finland, two regions characterized by a similar linguistic profile but different language ideologies and practices. In both areas, language is a sensitive issue, and the *official* language (Dutch in Flanders) and the dominant *national* language (Finnish in Finland) have been constructed as the essence of national identity (see Sects. 9.4 and 9.5). Moreover, these languages have been set off against another language: French in Belgium, and Swedish in Finland. On the other hand, the language issue tends to be less problematic in countries such as Sweden or the Netherlands, which have been discursively constructed as monolingual countries (see Ihalainen and Saarinen 2014 for Finland and Sweden, and van Splunder, 2015 for Flanders and the Netherlands). The complex negotiations between national and/or official languages occupying the same discursive space can also be observed in other multilingual countries such as Luxembourg or Switzerland (see Kremer and Horner, Chap. 7, Weber, Chap. 8, and Flubacher, Chap. 10, this volume).

The analysis in this chapter is based on governmental and institutional language policies regarding English/EMI and other languages (including the national/official and regional languages). Even though language policy is increasingly being studied as a 'process phenomenon' (see Barakos, Chap. 2), the focus in this chapter is on texts (i.e. the 'surface' level) rather than on actual language practices (the way people use language in a particular context or situation). The rationale for focusing on the surface level is the seminal importance of texts as 'sites of struggle' (Wodak 2009, p. 35; see also Bourdieu 1991) in which different discourses and ideologies are contesting for dominance (for instance, in language legislation). As observed by Blackledge (2005, p. vii), arguments travel along 'chains

of discourse' until they gain legitimacy (i.e. they become law). Discourse can be understood as 'a complex bundle of […] interrelated linguistic acts' (Wodak 2006, p. 175). Thus, seemingly evident notions such as national, official or minority language are conceptually constructed in texts (for instance, in legislation), where they reveal dominant language ideologies (see Ihalainen and Saarinen 2014). In my analysis, I take a social constructivist view which regards language policy as essentially a discursive process.

The aim of this research is to analyse language ideologies and discourses regarding EMI in the context of the internationalization of higher education in Europe. The analysis draws on a plurality of critical methods, including language policy research (Ricento 2006) and discourse analysis (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). The research questions addressed in this chapter are 'What are the underlying beliefs (ideologies) regarding the national or official language(s), English and other languages in Flanders and in Finland?' and 'How are these beliefs *naturalized* (i.e. granted legitimacy) in governmental and institutional policies?' The chapter is outlined as follows: after a brief discussion of language ideologies and EMI in Europe, I will compare Finland and Flanders regarding their linguistic profile and socio-historical context, the use of English as a medium of instruction and the respective language policy at three distinct levels (national, institutional and a comparison of a Finnish and a Flemish university).

9.2 Language Ideologies

In this section, I will conceptualize what I mean by language ideologies, after which I will focus on ideologies regarding EMI. By ideologies, I mean implicit or unconscious beliefs or assumptions which shape values, norms and policies. As pointed out by Tollefson (2006, p. 47), these beliefs and assumptions are naturalized and thus contribute to hegemonic practices in institutions (for instance, universities). My focus is on language ideologies which have been particularly important in nation-building (see Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990; see also Schieffelin et al. 1998). Whereas language ideologies deal with how an issue (for instance, EMI) is talked about in discourse, language practices

are concerned with how it unfolds in a particular situation (like in an institutional context).

The discourse on EMI reveals several ideologies. In their research on English in Nordic universities, Hultgren et al. (2014, p. 12) distinguish 'internationalist' and 'culturalist' discourses. Whereas the former aims to make one's nation internationally competitive (for instance, in university rankings), the latter is committed to safeguarding the national culture. In a similar vein, I distinguished four major 'bundles' of ideologies (van Splunder 2014), which can be presented in a more or less dichotomous way:

- essentialism versus instrumentalism
- monolingualism versus bilingualism; multilingualism
- correct versus communicative language; standardization
- territoriality versus personality

These dichotomies should be understood as continua rather than rigid categories, reflecting the complexities, fluidities and mobilities of social life. The ideology of essentialism holds that there are insoluble links between language and identity (May 2005, 2006), while instrumentalism regards language as a mere tool (i.e. an instrument to communicate). A 'monoglot ideology' (Silverstein 1996) rests on the belief that a society is (or should be) monolingual. Likewise, bilingualism and multilingualism can be regarded as ideological conceptualizations (such as the belief that a country is bilingual, even though it is characterized by monolingual or multilingual practices). According to the ideology of standardization (Ricento 2006, p. 20), there exists a 'correct' language which should be used as a standard. This ideology conflicts with the ideology which regards language merely as a tool for communication. The ideologies of territoriality versus personality deal with the links between language, people and territory. The ideology of territoriality holds that individuals should adapt to the language of a given territory, while the ideology of personality states that individuals have the right to use their own language (Cartwright 2006, p. 203). As I will discuss in this chapter, the ideologies of essentialism, monolingualism/multilingualism, standardization and territoriality are prevalent in Flanders, while Finland is

characterized by instrumentalism, bilingualism/multilingualism and the personality principle. It should be noted that these ideologies hardly ever occur in a 'pure' form and are mitigated depending on various factors, including one's age or background (e.g. older Flemish lecturers tend to have more essentialist attitudes than their younger colleagues—see van Splunder 2014).

The discourse on EMI reveals that teaching in English has consequences for one's 'own' and other languages as well. In summary, current language policies in Finland and Flanders deal with:

- 'promoting' (protecting, defending) the *national* language(s);
- introducing an *international* language, which in practice means English;
- an increasingly *multilingual* and *multicultural* environment.

EMI can be seen as an opportunity (to open up to the world) or a necessity (as the 'national' language is not a world language), but also as a threat. Metaphors of war (as in the concept of 'language struggle') and the *topos* of threat (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p. 75) are prevalent in the discourse on EMI (van Splunder 2014; Leppänen and Pahta 2012). Phillipson (1992) regarded English as a 'killer language', replacing and displacing other languages, for instance, in higher education. Today, most universities have embraced English as their language of wider communication, but action has been taken to safeguard the national or official languages. The latter is particularly salient in language-sensitive contexts such as Flanders or Finland, as will be discussed in the next section.

9.3 English-Medium Instruction in Europe

EMI is on the rise all over Europe, although it is more prominent in the north than in the south of the continent (Wächter and Maiworm 2008; Wächter 2014). Universities in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland) are in the forefront in the process of *Englishization* (Hultgren et al. 2014, p. 1), together with universities in the Netherlands, which have switched to English for most of their

postgraduate teaching (Brenn-White and Van Rest 2012, p. 6). The situation in Europe varies from country to country, and the overall picture is rather complex as language can be managed at several levels (i.e. language in general, not just English). The following *language management levels* can be distinguished:

- Supra-national
- National
- Regional
- Institutional
- Sub-institutional
- Individual

Supra-national language management is not very common and is not always operationalized. An example is the European Union with its 'one-plus-two policy' (i.e. the promotion of learning two additional languages apart from the national or official language). The policy does not appear to be very successful, as in most European countries, English is the only foreign language which is widely taught and learned (European Commission 2012, p. 12). Another example of supra-national language management is the Dutch Language Union between the Netherlands and Flanders regarding the use of Dutch and English in higher education. In spite of a common language policy, language practices in the Netherlands and in Flanders appear to be very different, as Flanders is far more reluctant than the Netherlands to introduce EMI (see van Splunder 2015).

The Nordic countries have adopted a policy of *parallellingualism* (Danish: *parallelsproglighed*): the parallel use of several languages. The term *parallellingualism* was coined around the turn of the century ('probably in 2002', as pointed out by Hultgren et al. 2014, p. 10). Parallellingualism is often applied in higher education, where the national language can be used in parallel with another language, usually English. This policy has been recommended in policy documents at national as well as supra-national level (see Hultgren et al. 2014, p. 10). As stated by the Nordic Council of Ministers, '[n]one of the languages abolishes or replaces the other, they are used in parallel' (Declaration on Nordic Language Policy 2007, p. 93). According to Kuteeva, however, parallel language

use 'largely remains an unoperationalised political slogan' (Kuteeva 2014, p. 333; see also Björkman 2014).

Whereas most countries manage language on the national level, other countries have devolved the issue to the regional level. The latter appears to be the case in federalized countries such as Belgium or Spain. From a linguistic point of view, Belgium may be regarded as 'two states in one' (Edwards 1985, p. 84), with Flanders increasingly asserting itself as a quasi-autonomous region, carrying out its own language and other policies. At the same time, close ties have been set up between Flanders and the Netherlands, resulting in a joint language policy.

Institutions may have their own language policies as well. This is the case in, for instance, the Nordic countries and in the Netherlands. Likewise, sub-institutional bodies (such as faculties or departments) may have their own language policies, and even every single person has their own language policy as one constantly has to manage one's language use in a particular context. As a result, every single person can be regarded as a *language manager* (Spolsky 2004, p. 8; 2009, pp. 4–5). The language practices resulting from one's personal language management reflect underlying language ideologies (Tollefson 2006). As may be inferred from the examples, perhaps the most common type of language policy is a combination of various management levels.

The next section focuses on the linguistic profile of Finland and Flanders, as well as the growing importance of EMI in Finnish and Flemish universities.

9.4 Finland and Flanders (Belgium) Compared

9.4.1 Linguistic Profile and Socio-historical Context

Finland and Belgium are both bilingual countries in that the use of two major languages, as a result of historical developments, lies at the core of the present states. Yet, bilingualism—which may be considered as an ideological conceptualization—has been operationalized in entirely different ways. Due to the internationalization and growing marketization of

higher education in Europe, English is emerging as an additional medium of instruction (see Smit and Dafouz 2012; Hultgren 2014), but the language is increasingly present in other domains too. As can be observed in other countries, Finland and Belgium are becoming linguistically and culturally more diverse, as a result of which multilingualism is on the rise.

With a population of 5.4 million, Finland recognizes Finnish (90 %) and Swedish (5.4 %) as *national* languages. Swedish is spoken mainly in the coastal areas in the south and south-west, and in Åland, between Finland and Sweden. Even though Belgium (population 11.1 million) has three *official* languages, the two main languages are Dutch (56 %) and French (38 %), which are spoken in clearly defined areas in the north (Flanders, bordering the Netherlands) and in the south (Wallonia, bordering France). Both languages are official in the central Brussels area, even though French is clearly dominant. German is spoken by a small minority (0.70 %) in the east of the country, bordering Germany. The use of the word Dutch instead of Flemish as the official name of the language spoken in Flanders is a conscious political decision as it stresses the linguistic unity with the Netherlands. As pointed out by Dalby (2002, p. 117), the language was labelled Flemish in the 1830s as using the name Dutch 'might give a foothold for a possible separatist movement' in Belgium, which had gained its independence from the Netherlands in 1830.

The nineteenth-century 'language struggle' in both countries can be characterized as a dispute between two languages in which the *majority* language (Finnish in Finland, Dutch in Belgium) was actually suppressed by the *minority* language (Swedish in Finland, French in Belgium). While the majority's language lacked prestige (it was commonly described as a 'peasant language'), the minority's language was associated with high culture and education. Thus, it was the language of *upward social mobility*. That is, the minority language spoken by the ruling classes was a prerequisite for social and educational advancement. As a result, higher education was in the minority language. Finland has only narrowly escaped *Swedishization* (Coleman 2010, p. 53). The same holds for Flanders, which escaped *Frenchification* (Witte and Van Velthoven 1999, p. 55). The language struggle, embedded in the Romantic nationalist movement, eventually led to the gradual recognition of the majority

language in domains which, for a very long time, had been reserved for the minority language (such as higher education). It should be noted that the language strife became part of a larger-scale power struggle, which was exploited by 'outsiders' (see below) to support their own cause.

The notion that language is the essence of the nation remains very much alive today both in Finland (Kirby 2006) and in Flanders (Deprez and Vos 1998). Yet, the linguistic landscape has become far more complex as the traditional dichotomy between two languages has been challenged by other languages, in particular minority languages ('internal' as well as 'external' minorities, due to new waves of migration) as well as English, which is gaining importance in all domains (for instance, as a medium of instruction in higher education). The present linguistic situation cannot be understood without considering the historical sociocultural context, to which I will briefly attend below.

Finland was a part of Sweden from the twelfth until the early nineteenth century, a legacy reflected in the prevalence of Swedish as an official language in Finland (Kirby 2006). Swedish became the dominant language of the nobility, administration and education in the seventeenth century, while Finnish was the language of the peasantry, clergy and local courts. As a result, the educated class was almost entirely Swedish-speaking. Sweden ceded Finland to Russia after they lost the Finnish War, and Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire (1809–1917). The Russian Revolution prompted the Finnish Declaration of Independence (6 December 1917). Before independence, the 1870s saw the emergence of a strong nationalist movement in which the Finnish language played an important role as a nation-building tool. Finnish achieved equal status with Swedish in 1892, which was later confirmed in the 1919 Finnish Constitution. In today's Finland, Finnish has attained a dominant status, and the language issue has lost its inflammability (Saarinen 2012, p. 168). The Universities Act (see below) deals with the language issue in teaching.

Throughout history, the area called Belgium today has been overrun by all major powers (including Spain, Austria, France and Germany) due to its central position in Europe. Belgian independence from the Netherlands in 1830 created linguistic tensions between Dutch (at that time often called Flemish to make it look different from the language

spoken in the Netherlands) and French. Like Swedish in Finland, French was the minority language in Belgium, but it was also the language of high prestige. As French was the language of the elite, it served as the language of higher education. The oppression of the majority language led to the rise of Flemish nationalism, which has established strong links between language and identity in Flanders. Dutch achieved equal status with French in 1898 (see, e.g. Deprez and Vos 1998).

One of the main demands of the Flemish Movement was the *Dutchification* of higher education in Flanders in order to create a Dutch-speaking elite. Although attempts had been undertaken before the First World War, Dutchification was realized as late as 1930. The Flemish demand had been met during the war by the German occupiers as part of their *Flamenpolitik* (the exploitation of the linguistic problems in Belgium, and the positive discrimination towards the Flemings and their language). The Council of Flanders (wartime activists under German protection) declared Flemish Independence in 1917, the same year as Finnish independence was declared. However, the Council collapsed in 1918, when the Germans surrendered (Deprez and Vos 1998, p. 17). In Finland, too, the internal language issue was used by outsiders to further their own cause. When Finland became part of the Russian Empire, the Tsar made Finnish equal to Swedish, thus weakening the influence of the Swedish elite. Later on, the policy of *Russification* (1899–1905, 1908–1917) aimed to increase the use of Russian in Finland. Finnish as well as many Swedish-speaking Finns (who were cut off from Sweden) were in favour of the national Finnish cause as they feared Russian domination (Coleman 2010, p. 49).

Unlike Finland, Belgium is based on the ideology of monolingualism. Bilingualism was rejected by the French-speaking elite, which did not want the majority language to be inflicted upon the whole country, as a result of which monolingual areas were created in 1932 (Cartwright 2006, pp. 200–3). Belgium has had fixed language boundaries since 1963, reflecting the principle of territoriality (Nelde et al. 1992). This was possible as Belgium consists of more or less clearly defined monolingual areas, which is less the case in Finland. Moreover, the two dominant autochthonous linguistic groups are more evenly matched in Belgium

than in Finland. The ideology of monolingualism does not account for bilingual and multilingual practices.

Belgium became a federal state in 1993, based on the notions of Communities (linguistic entities) and Regions (economic entities; see below). As a result, Flanders pursues its own language policy in educational and other matters. The value of comparing Flanders and Finland from a language policy perspective lies in the fact that, in both regions, the official or national language has been constructed as the essence of one's identity. This language is set off against the 'other' language (i.e. the former dominant language) as well as against English, today's dominant language in various domains, including higher education. The remainder of this chapter will focus on language policies in Flanders and Finland regarding EMI.

9.4.2 English-Medium Instruction in Finland and Flanders

One may observe similar discourses regarding EMI in Finland and in Flanders. On the one hand, English has been conceptualized as a necessity in today's higher education. That is, English is the way to gain access to an increasingly international and market-oriented academic context. In this market, both Finnish and Dutch may be regarded as deficient. On the other hand, English may be perceived as a threat for one's own language, which needs protection. Overall, significant differences may be observed between political and academic discourses. Political discourses take place in a political context (e.g. parliamentary debates, legislation), whereas academic discourses are confined to an academic context (e.g. faculty meetings and Codes of Conduct set by the university authorities). In populist political discourse (True Finns, Flemish Interest), the prevalence of one's own language and identity is emphasized, whereas academic discourse tends to be more pragmatic regarding other languages. Moreover, English is increasingly used for learning and teaching purposes. For instance, the number of textbooks and courses in English has increased significantly in the last decades (Wächter 2014). Interestingly,

the language debate in Finland and Flanders is not only concerned with English as the 'other' language, but also with the 'other' language in Flanders and Finland (French and Swedish, respectively).

After the Second World War, the international orientation of Finnish academics shifted from Germany (and German) to the English-speaking world (Saarinen 2014). Today, Finland is in the vanguard of teaching through English. It hosts the second largest (after the Netherlands) number of programmes in English (Wächter and Maiworm 2008; Wächter 2014), often euphemistically referred to as 'foreign language' programmes. Approximately two out of three Master's programmes are currently in English (Saarinen 2014, p. 13). EMI is a means to attract foreign students and scholars to Finland, which is more or less 'isolated' (geographically as well as linguistically) from the rest of Europe. Finnish is 'promoted' as a language of science while at the same time acknowledging the importance of English. Yet, EMI is not entirely unproblematic. The perception that Finland *goes English* is attributed to the 'supremacy of the Anglo-American world' (Leppänen and Pahta 2012, p. 12) and the view that Finns abandon their own language and culture. Concerns have also been raised over 'bad English' (e.g. a thick accent) spoken in Finland (Leppänen and Pahta 2012, p. 12). Yet, EMI has received surprisingly little public attention in Finland, in spite of the large amount of English-medium teaching in Finnish higher education. Instead, the language debate focuses on the position of Swedish as a mandatory language in education. Thus, Swedish (and not English) occupies the discursive language policy space in Finland (Ihalainen and Saarinen 2014).

In today's Flanders, French hardly occupies the discursive language policy space it used to occupy before Belgium became a federal state. Moreover, English has replaced French as the *de facto* second language. Most Flemish academics regard English as their first academic language (van Splunder 2014). In contrast to Finland, where public attention for EMI is rather low (Saarinen 2014), the issue has led to lively debates in the Flemish media and in politics. Although attitudes towards EMI appear to be as positive as in Finland, serious objections have been raised (mainly by right-wing Flemish nationalists). Overall, politicians and academics conceptualize EMI in entirely different ways. While political discourses have

to be understood in a Flemish or Belgian context in which Dutch is confronted with French, academic discourses operate in a European and international context in which Dutch is confronted with English. Due to the sensitivity of the language issue, Flanders has imposed restrictions on the use of English (and other foreign languages) as a medium of instruction (see Sect. 9.5.2). Moreover, measures have been introduced to monitor the medium of instruction (including obligatory language tests for anyone teaching in a language other than his/her mother tongue). These measures reflect an ideology of standardization, that is, the prevalence of a normative tradition and a belief in 'correct' language. Indeed, the Flemish monoglot ideology (Blommaert 2006, p. 243) clashes with today's demand for more English and increasing multilingualism and multiculturalism.

9.5 Language Policy in Finland and Flanders (Belgium)

This section discusses selected governmental and institutional policies. The comparison will concentrate on the following levels of language policy:

- National level: Finnish versus Belgian Constitution
- Institutional level: University policy in Finland versus Flanders
- University level: Jyväskylä versus Antwerp

The discussion is based on the view that the discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' (in other words: *sameness* vs. *otherness*) lies at the core of discourses of identity and difference (Wodak 2009). I discuss the way certain languages are referred to in the discourse on EMI to construct sameness or otherness, and how this reflects the ideologies discussed earlier (Sect. 9.2). The following questions are addressed: Which languages reflect sameness, which reflect otherness? Which referential strategies are used to construct sameness/otherness? What are the names or labels given to these languages? Which characteristics are attributed to these languages?

9.5.1 National Level

The Constitution reflects the dominant language ideologies regarding the languages spoken in both countries. The Finnish Constitution is based on the concept of *national* languages (Finnish and Swedish) and the right to use one's own language (either Finnish or Swedish, reflecting the personality principle). The Constitution has provisions for minority languages and Sign Language as well. Section 17, which discusses the right to one's language and culture (Constitution of Finland 1999), states:

- The national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish.
- Everyone has the right to use his or her own language, either Finnish or Swedish, before courts of law and other authorities, and to receive official documents in that language, which shall be guaranteed by an Act. The public authorities shall provide for the cultural and societal needs of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking populations of the country on an equal basis.
- The Sami, as an indigenous people, as well as the Roma and other groups, have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. Provisions on the right of the Sami to use the Sami language before the authorities are laid down by an Act.
- The rights of persons using sign language and of persons in need of interpretation or translation aid owing to disability shall be guaranteed by an Act.

The Finnish Constitution and the ensuing Language Act (1922, 2004) are based on the principle of *state bilingualism* (Finnish + Swedish). In spite of the country's bilingual status, Finland is overwhelmingly Finnish-speaking (Saarinen 2012, p. 158). Legally, Finnish and Swedish have an equal status, yet there is a tendency to downgrade Swedish to a minority language status (for instance, in parliamentary debates). Discursively, Finnish and Swedish are framed as the only mother tongues (Saarinen 2014, p. 134). Although the Sami, the Roma and 'other groups' are given particular rights, they are not explicitly named as minority groups/languages (Ihalainen and Saarinen 2014). The same holds for speakers of Sign Language (spelled sign language in the Constitution, which somehow sets

it off from other languages, whose names are capitalized). Moreover, the latter group is associated with disability ('persons in need of') rather than with minority. Thus, language and language rights should be understood in the formal context of Finnish state bilingualism rather than individual linguistic identities (Ihalainen and Saarinen 2014).

In Belgium, the ideology of *monolingualism* has been institutionalized. The Belgian Constitution is based on the concept of 'regional' languages (implying there are no national languages as in Finland) and on the territoriality principle (the language depends on the area in which one resides). Since 1994, Belgium has been reconceptualised as a federal state, as a result of which two entirely different views had to be reconciled: the Flemish demand for language-based Communities (reflecting Flemish language sensitivity) and the Walloon demand for area-based Regions. Thus, the Constitution reveals conflicting discourses on language, resulting in a highly complex compromise, as illustrated in the following extract (Constitution of Belgium 1994):

- Art 1—Belgium is a federal state, composed of Communities and Regions;
- Art 2—Belgium consists of three Communities: the Flemish Community, the French Community and the German-speaking Community;
- Art 3—Belgium consists of three Regions: the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels Region;
- Art 4—Belgium consists of four linguistic areas: the Dutch-speaking language area, the French-speaking language area, the bilingual Brussels-Capital area and the German-speaking language area.

Whereas the Flemish Community and the Flemish Region overlap and constitute the Dutch-speaking language area (Flanders), this is not the case across the linguistic border, where the French Community and the Walloon Region (including both the French- and the German-speaking language area) are different entities. The way these communities and regions establish their identities is beyond the scope of this chapter. Languages other than the official languages are not even mentioned in the Constitution, and thus made invisible. Unlike Finland (Saarinen 2014, p. 134), Belgium has

not ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages as this might disrupt the sensitive equilibrium between the official languages. As a result of the process of devolution, Sign Language is a regional matter in Belgium. In Flanders, Flemish Sign Language (which, unlike the spoken and written language, is different from Dutch Sign Language) was officially recognized by the Flemish Parliament in 2006.

9.5.2 Institutional Level

As pointed out by Saarinen (2014, p. 127), universities are fundamentally international but, at the same time, national institutions in that they play a crucial role in nation-building. This section discusses the policy on the national and regional languages as well as on other languages in higher education. The latter is related to the internationalization of higher education and the increasing use of English as a medium of instruction.

In Finland, the Universities Act (558/2009) (2014) states that the language of instruction depends on the university. As a result, most universities have Finnish as a medium of instruction, while three use Swedish and four use both languages. At the same time, provisions can be made for languages other than Finnish or Swedish (mainly English). According to Section 11 on the languages of instruction and examination (Universities Act 2009),

1. The languages of instruction and examination in the University of Helsinki, the Academy of Fine Arts, Sibelius Academy and the Theatre Academy shall be Finnish and Swedish. The language of instruction and examination in Aalto University shall be governed by the provisions on the language of instruction and examination of its constituent Schools in Section 9 of the Universities Act of 1997 (645/1997). The language of instruction and examination of Åbo Akademi University, Hanken School of Economics and the Swedish School of Social Science of the University of Helsinki shall be Swedish. The language of instruction in other universities shall be Finnish.
2. In addition, the university may decide to use a language other than that referred to in subsection 1 as a language of instruction and examination.

The Belgian/Flemish law is stricter than the law in Finland, reflecting the fact that Belgium/Flanders has a long tradition of top-down language regulation. Unlike Finland, the language of instruction does not depend on the university but on the region in which the university is based. Article 4 (Law Concerning Language Regulation in Education 1963) states:

> The language of education is Dutch in the Dutch-speaking language area, French in the French-speaking language area, and German in the German-speaking language area.

The law clearly reflects the territoriality principle, the purpose of which was to settle the deteriorating language dispute. After severe clashes in the 1960s, the university of Leuven/Louvain (situated in Flanders) was split into two universities: one Dutch-speaking (Leuven), the other French-speaking (Louvain-la-Neuve, relocated in Wallonia). Thus, Belgium was discursively and effectively reconstructed as consisting of clearly defined monolingual areas.

Due to the process of federalization, Flanders has set up its own educational policy. The 2003 Decree (Flemish law) explicitly states that 'Dutch is the language of instruction at all Flemish universities and university colleges' (Flemish Decree Concerning Language Regulation in Higher Education 2012, Article 91.1). Yet, the Flemish Government allows for the use of languages other than Dutch as a medium of instruction 'to increase internationalization and student mobility' (Government Memorandum 16 July 2010). In practice, however, 'languages other than Dutch' means English. Very few courses—if any—are taught in French or other languages. The 2012 Decree concerning Higher Education in Flanders imposes several restrictions regarding courses taught in languages other than Dutch. For instance, maximum 18.33 % of all Bachelor's programmes and maximum 50 % of all Master's programmes in Flanders may be taught in English (or in any other foreign language), except programmes set up for students from abroad, which may be taught entirely in English. There are many more restrictions and exceptions, reflecting conflicting discourses concerning language (see van Splunder 2014, for a more detailed account).

In Finland as well as in Flanders, legislation concerning EMI refers to programmes in 'other' languages rather than to English-language

programmes (e.g. 'a language other than that referred to in subsection 1' [Finnish or Swedish] or 'languages other than Dutch'). Thus, English is made invisible, even though it is clearly dominant, and the terms 'other' and 'foreign' are conflated with English. Moreover, the term English is implicitly reduced to British or American English, thus excluding all other varieties of English. In other words, English is assumed to be Inner Circle English (Kachru 1985), including the use of Anglo-American paradigms, testing systems (such as Test of English as a Foreign Language [TOEFL] or International English Language Testing System [IELTS]) and teaching materials (van Splunder, 2016). This focus on Western hegemonic varieties of English is taken for granted and has received surprisingly little public attention.

9.5.3 University Level

University language policy reflects language policy 'from above' (Finnish Universities Act, Flemish Higher Education Decree), but at the same time, universities negotiate their own policies. Language legislation is stricter in Flanders than in Finland, and the role of universities as language policy-makers is more limited. Moreover, Flemish universities have stricter language policies than Finnish universities as they have to comply with strict government regulations. In this section, I will discuss some elements of language policy developed by a Finnish and a Flemish university. The University of Jyväskylä (15,000 students) in Central Finland has its origins in the first Finnish-speaking teacher training college in Finland. The University of Antwerp (20,000 students) is situated in the northern and Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. The key concepts regarding language policy at both universities are internationalization, the promotion of one's own language and other languages (which, in practice, means English), and societal multilingualism and multiculturalism.

As stated by the University of Jyväskylä, the university's language policy aims to 'promote the University's internationalization' (University of Jyväskylä Language Policy 2012; see also Language Policy Action Plan 2012–2013). Although the university's language of instruction, examination and administration is Finnish in compliance with the Universities

Act, the university can also decide to use other languages in research and instruction. Echoing the personality principle, individuals have the 'legal right' to use Finnish or Swedish in administrative matters which concern them. The university's *working languages* are Finnish and English, which has been provided for by Subsection 2 of the Universities Act: the university may use languages other than Finnish. Moreover, faculties and departments can use those languages that are 'strategically significant' for them, which, in most cases, will be English. On the other hand, the university stresses the importance of Finnish in an international and multilingual/multicultural academic environment. Finnish is regarded as 'the cornerstone of our international university'. Therefore, it is important to develop Finnish as a language of science, including the promotion of publishing in Finnish in order to avoid domain loss. The university's language policy echoes Nordic *parallellingualism* (parallel language use, see Sect. 9.3), which may be called a pragmatic approach based on the university's needs.

The University of Antwerp's *Code of Conduct Regarding the Language of Instruction* (version 2013–2014) has been set up in compliance with the requirements of the Flemish government. The 'internationalization strategy' is mentioned in the very first sentence of the text. The Basic Principles state that the university has to consider 'the most appropriate language of instruction', although it can only do this within the 'legally determined boundaries' set by the Flemish government. Echoing the 2012 Decree, the main part of the text states that 'Dutch is the language of instruction' (Article 2). It also stresses the importance of Dutch as 'a language for scientific research and academic education'. Apart from Dutch, 'an international language' can be used. In practice, however, English is the only international language used as a medium of instruction at the university. The text also refers to the importance of other languages and cultures, which are increasingly present in today's university population, but the text does not provide any further details.

In summary, whereas the Jyväskylä language policy can be considered bottom-up policy (the university decides), the Antwerp language policy is clearly top-down (the government decides). In the latter case, the university can only act within the strict boundaries set by the Flemish government. In both universities, teaching in foreign languages is mainly

confined to English, which is usually referred to as the 'other language' (i.e. other than Dutch in Flanders or Finnish in Finland). Even though the word English remains largely absent in the texts discussed, the language features prominently in the universities' curricula. Yet, as a result of government and university policies which either promote or restrict the use of English, it can be argued that EMI is more prominent in Jyväskylä than in Antwerp.

9.6 Conclusion

In Flanders as well as in Finland, language has played a seminal role in the construction of a national identity. In both cases, the majority language (Dutch in Belgium and Finnish in Finland) was oppressed by the minority language (French in Belgium, Swedish in Finland), which served as the language of prestige and higher education. Today, the language dispute has largely been settled, and the majority language has become a language of prestige and learning as well. The former dominant language is still discursively present as the 'other' language in a national context, whereas in an international context, English has become the 'other' language. Yet, Flanders is far more reluctant than Finland to introduce English as a medium of instruction in higher education. This may be due to the fact that Finland was established as an independent nation-state in 1917, while Flanders can be regarded as an emerging nation-state.

Discourse analysis reveals how language policy concerning EMI in higher education in two particular regions (Flanders and Finland) is constructed through underlying language ideologies and can be understood in terms of identity management (i.e. the manifestation of sameness and otherness in legislation and university regulations). The focus on referential strategies, and the naming or labelling of languages in particular, shows how relations between languages are constructed in discourse. Languages can be made 'invisible' in that they are not named explicitly or in that they are defined in terms of otherness.

The discursive approach to language policy applied in this chapter focused on the notions of sameness and otherness with regard to languages used in higher education. The discussion aimed to reveal how 'us' and 'them'

are being constructed in government and university legislation regarding the medium of instruction, and which underlying language ideologies may be detected. In Flanders, sameness is expressed by the only *official* language (Dutch), which has been constructed as the essence of Flemish identity. The name Dutch rather than Flemish is used to express sameness with the language spoken in the Netherlands. The study shows that the underlying ideologies are monolingualism and territoriality (i.e. the belief in clearly defined monolingual areas). These ideologies are mainly prevalent in political discourse and less in language practices, which are often multilingual. In Finland, too, the dominant *national* language (Finnish) has been constructed as an essential part of Finnish identity, and Finns are 'immensely proud of their language' (Coleman 2010, p. 55). Official state bilingualism clashes with monolingual reality, and the personality principle is not always taken for granted in a country which is overwhelmingly Finnish-speaking. Overall, Finland is characterized by a pragmatic approach towards language, as can be observed in its parallel language use (the use of whichever language is most needed) in higher education.

Otherness can be expressed from a national and from an international perspective. From a national and historical perspective, French is constructed as the 'other' language in Flanders, even though it does not have an official status anymore and it is on the verge of becoming a *foreign* language. Languages other than Dutch (including minority languages) are not named and thus made invisible. The latter does not hold for Sign Language, which is officially recognized in Flanders. In Finland, Swedish is the other national language, but its current position reflects that of a minority language. Within the minority languages (a term which is avoided), a hierarchy may be observed. In terms of otherness, the Sami are defined as an indigenous people and their right to use the Sami language is mentioned explicitly. This is not the case for the Roma and 'other people' (a term which explicitly refers to their otherness). At the bottom of the hierarchy are the people defined in terms of disability (implicitly including people using Sign Language).

From an international perspective, English is constructed and perceived as the dominant other language both in Flanders and in Finland. English is often made invisible in that it is explicitly referred to as a 'language other than' the official or national language. Although in populist

discourse English is sometimes referred to as a threat, in academic discourse it is welcomed as a tool for the internationalization of education.

While English plays a powerful role in higher education in Europe, the concomitant marketing of English and the commodification of education are hardly ever questioned in the neoliberal discourse on internationalization. EMI is a political issue in European universities as it opens up new avenues but at the same time challenges the position of the national, regional and minority languages. The issue is particularly salient in language-sensitive regions such as Flanders or Finland, and deserves special attention in future research.

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10

On 'Promoting and Demanding' Integration: A Discursive Case Study of Immigrant Language Policy in Basel

Mi-Cha Flubacher

10.1 Introduction

Western Europe has experienced a paradigm shift over the last decades in its migration and integration policies. With the changing faces of its migrant population and an increasing trend towards right-wing politics, a variety of Western European states have tightened their immigration policies and introduced punitive integration measures. While the degree of coercion and the practical implementation of the policies differ from state to state, they share a focus on the regimented acquisition of the local language by the migrant population, giving rise to specific language policies related to the integration of migrants (Extra et al. 2009; Freeman 2004; Hogan-Brun et al. 2009; Pochon-Berger and Lenz 2014). Social scientists and sociolinguists alike have criticized this trend on the basis of interpreting the function of such measures as primarily one of migration

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control. As part and parcel of these migrant language policies, language testing has emerged as particularly effective and has been implemented at various moments and sites of the immigration process, starting at the pre-entry stage for family reunification (e.g. in Austria or the Netherlands), continuing on with obligatory participation in language or integration courses for the renewal of temporary or permanent permits (e.g. in Germany or Switzerland) and, finally, for naturalization and citizenship (e.g. in the UK or Luxembourg, as analysed by Kremer and Horner, this volume, Chap. 7). While integration programmes focusing on the transmission of language competences are usually presented as supportive of the integration of the immigrant population, they have rather turned out to serve 'a no-immigration policy' (Joppke 2007, p. 250), deterring potential immigrants from entering the state in question, settling down and applying for its citizenship through the introduction of various language testing regimes.

In view of these recent but fundamental changes, it is the aim of this chapter to empirically unpack and dissect the hegemonic discourse that is based on the common-sensical (as referring to Gramsci 1971) notion of language as the key to integration (Mateos 2009; Plutzar 2010; Plutzar 2013; see also Weber, this volume, Chap. 8) and, in turn, forms the premise on which the language policies reside. In this discursive order, it is stipulated that competences in the local language are conducive to the integration of migrants (see also Weber, this volume, Chap. 8), which is why the participation in language courses needs to be promoted and can/should equally be demanded. Drawing on a larger study (Flubacher 2013; Flubacher 2014), I will present a critical discursive analysis of these migrant language policies in order to address following empirical questions: (1) Under which conditions and in which materialization has the discourse 'integration through language' emerged in Switzerland and in the Canton of Basel-Stadt (henceforth: Basel)?; (2) In which form did this discourse develop?; and (3) How do actors position themselves within this order of discourse?

In order to answer these questions, particular attention will be paid to the Federal Law on the Foreign Population and to the cantonal Law on Integration of Basel in the time span of 1998–2008. Furthermore, it will be of particular interest how actors in the field of integration and immigration policies in Basel make sense of this discourse and the policies,

how they position themselves and, finally, if they perceive any room for manoeuvre regarding their own practices. This analysis will bring to the fore the positions that are possible in the discursive order of 'integration through language', thus highlighting how it shapes and structures the sociopolitical practices in the field of integration. Finally, I argue that it is the role of researchers to propose critical and empirical analyses of seemingly neutral language policies in embedding them in their genealogy, pointing out erasures as well as consequences in order to launch a broader debate.

10.2 A Critical Discourse Analysis in a Foucauldian Framework

In order to critically analyse the emergence, development and dominance of a discourse and its materialization in language policies, I propose a framework that is informed by a Foucauldian conceptualization of discourse. In his seminal publications 'L'archéologie du savoir' (Foucault 1969) and 'L'ordre du discours' (Foucault 1971), Foucault describes the workings of the order of discourse in determining what is deemed rational, that is, what is actually say-able or thinkable. While the order of discourse is considered the hegemonic regulative, the discourse itself is the manifestation of that very regulative (see Mills 2004 or Sarasin 2006, for in-depth explanations). What is said and *not* said is thus never random or coincidental. Rather, it is emblematic of what is perceived and constructed as legitimately pertaining to certain social practices within a specific order or discourse (see Duchêne 2008; Piñeiro et al. 2009).

Applying Foucault's discourse concept to the analysis of language policies implies the empirical identification of discursive events, in which ruptures, shifts, and/or densifications of the discourse become visible on the surface, for instance, in the form of textual materializations. In these moments, the borders of a discourse are renegotiated—and with it, the allowed positions and contributions. In this perspective, textual materializations are understood as specific, unique, historically and socially embedded realizations of a discourse (Wodak 2008, p. 6). Following from this, a discourse is not a stable construct, but constantly evolving, shifting

and transforming depending on broader political economic transformations (Gal 1989) and the interests of the parties involved. This is why Foucault argues for a historical approach to the analysis of discourses in situating them in their historicity, their conditions of emergence and production, and calling for a genealogy in its own right. Such a genealogy will also pay attention to entextualization processes (Silverstein and Urban 1996; Urban 1996), that is, the adoption and adaption of discourse elements, which can be understood as a reflection of what remains 'true' within a discourse and thus gains even more authority.

As a consequence, then, the claim of legitimacy of certain contributions is always related to a given point in time and can change, depending on the shifting of the borders of the discursive order. The definition of which contributions are allowed is further connected with the production of knowledge, hence of what is considered to be 'true' and/ or 'common sense' and, as such, closely interrelated with ideologies (Gal and Irvine 1995). In turn, counterpositions are not perceived as productive for legitimate versions of 'truth' or 'knowledge' and find themselves relegated to the outside of the discourse, rendered illegitimate, possibly even irrational (Foucault 1969, 1971). Even if positions 'outside' the discourse are generally ignored, it remains important to imagine the existence of this 'outside' in order to understand the charting of the discourse, the contingent flexibility of its borders and the power struggles of the actors within the discursive field with regard to their positions in the field (Wrana and Langer 2007). This is one of the reasons why Foucault conceptualizes discourses and their materialization as invested with power and specific interests (Duchêne 2008; Heller 2001).

In a Foucauldian sense then, 'critical' indexes the localisation of a discourse in time and space, thereby automatically calling into question the proclaimed quality of universal truth that is inherent to any discursive order. Linking back a discursive order to its historicity not only unveils the situated and constructive nature of the discourse, but also points to possible (political economic) functions of the discourse and the interests invested in it (see also Heller 2001). On the basis of such a critical discursive approach, I argue that the tracing of the emergence of the discourse of language as a central point of contestation in the political field of integration gives insight into how language becomes a site for social struggle and

for the reproduction of social differentiation and inequalities (Bourdieu 1977, 1982; Del Percio et al. 2017; Philips 2004). This research paradigm is in alignment with critical sociolinguistics, which is committed to a historical understanding of social and linguistic occurrences and concerned with a theoretical and empirical analysis of the reproduction of social inequality through language (e.g. Codó 2008; Duchêne 2008, 2009; Heller 2002). In summary, a genealogical perspective will serve to trace the conditions of possibility under which the discourse 'integration through language' has emerged, how it has developed and how it has come to be reproduced as common sense (see also Savski, this volume, Chap. 3, on the role of time for critical discourse analysis, and Lawton, this volume, Chap. 5, on the discourse-historical approach).

10.3 The Materialization of the Discourse 'Integration Through Language'

For the empirical tracing of the discourse, the drafting processes of both the chapter on integration in the Federal Law on the Foreign Population (LFP; Ch. 8, Articles 54–57; SR 142.20) and Basel's cantonal Law on Integration (LOI) form the basis of the genealogical analysis and can be located in the time span of 1998–2008. These processes begin on the national level with parliamentary motions leading to migrant language policies and, on the cantonal, with an official 'Integration Mission Statement' (1999). The endpoint of the traced discursive development is the implementation of the two laws. In order to grasp the discursive development, I selected the two most relevant discursive events (see Table 10.1) and studied the materials (parliamentary motions, dispatches from the government, commission reports, etc.) surrounding these events as well as the audio recordings or minutes of the cantonal parliamentary debates.

Table 10.1 Discursive events in the law drafting process

National level	Cantonal level
Parliamentary motions	Integration Mission Statement
Drafting of Article 54 LFP	Drafting of Article 5 LOI

The reconstruction of the emergence and development of the discourse on the basis of the law drafting process cannot be recounted in full in the framework of this chapter (see Flubacher 2014) but will presented in a synthesized manner.

10.3.1 Switzerland's Emerging Integration Policy

For the longest time, Switzerland did not consider itself a country of immigration and took only marginal political action with regard to the rights and residence status of foreign residents. Foreign workers were officially regarded and treated as 'Gastarbeiter'—in other words as temporary 'guest workers'—expected to return to their country of origin after a season or a few years of working in Switzerland. The political understanding of the 'Gastarbeiter' materialized in the policy of rotation in the economic boom years of the 1950s, which foresaw a constant rotation of workers between the affluent states (Piguet 2013). Yet, if 'Gastarbeiter' were to take up residency in Switzerland, social, cultural and linguistic assimilation was expected. The politics of rotation and assimilation dominated the political agenda for most of the twentieth century (Piguet 2013). Even when the government, in the 1990s, officially acknowledged the fact that a significant number of foreigners had settled down indefinitely (Wicker et al. 2003), the migrants hardly received any official structural assistance related to their integration and were confronted with a rather xenophobic political climate. On the one hand, this led to grassroots movements focusing on social integration and, on the other, to the conviction that political action was needed to address problems linked to what was perceived as a lack of integration of the migrant population (Kreis and Kury 1996, p. 47).

In this context and in the revision process of the Law on the Residence and Settlement of Foreigners, in force since 1931, the concept of 'integration' was taken up politically in the form of an 'integration article' (Article 25a). This was the result of two parliamentary motions put forward in both executive councils: in the National Council and in the Council of the States. The authors of these motions unanimously demanded the promotion of language acquisition to be legally defined

and financially supported by the federal government, while metaphorically circumscribing language as the 'key to integration'. These motions can thus be understood as the first materialization of what came to be constitutive of the discourse: competences in the local language are considered necessary for the integration of migrants (while the national Swiss languages are German, French, Italian and Rumansh, most cantons and municipalities have one to two official languages).

In spite of this revision process, the law was deemed insufficient to address recent sociopolitical economic developments so that the drafting of a new law was successfully proposed by parliamentary motions: the Law on the Foreign Population.[1] In the course of the drafting process, lasting for several years, the semantic meaning of the discourse 'integration through language' was expanded by actors and policy-makers, as is typical of policy discourse, in that they respond to political economic transformations and entextualization processes. In the end, language competences did not just denote a precondition for integration anymore, but had come to be seen as an explicit indicator on the part of the migrants of their willingness for integration or of their integration itself. This discursive expansion materialized in the formulation of Article 34, according to which a permanent residence permit can be granted on the condition of good competences in a national language. It is the very same discursive logic that was later on implemented in the cantonal Law on Integration in Basel.

10.3.2 'Promoting and Demanding': Basel's Integration Policy

While the national law provides the legal framework on questions of migration, residence and integration of foreigners, the 26 cantons are in charge of their own integration policy, which is due to the federalist political structure of Switzerland and results in substantial differences in terms of cantonal integration legislation, programmes and structures. The first canton to put in force a Law on Integration in accordance with the Law on the Foreign Population was Basel, which is why this canton is

[1] This law addresses neither asylum seekers (Law on Asylum; SR. 142.31) nor citizens of the EU/EFTA (bilateral agreements).

a particularly valid site for the analysis of the discursive order of 'integration through language'.

The Canton of Basel is located in the German-speaking northeast of Switzerland, bordering both France and Germany. Due to its successful economic history and border-town position, Basel has always had one of the highest percentages of foreign residents in Switzerland, nowadays almost amounting to a third of the population, while the Swiss average has levelled at around 20 % (the two other economic centres of Switzerland, Geneva and Zurich, have similarly high percentages of foreign residents). Consequently, Basel has been concerned with questions of the integration of its diverse immigrant population for a while longer than other Swiss cities less marked by immigration (Kessler 2005). Already in 1999, Basel launched its 'Integration Mission Statement' (original title in German: 'Leitbild und Handlungskonzept zur Integrationspolitik des Kantons Basel-Stadt').[2] The mission statement pushed integration forward as a political and societal concern of the canton and society as a whole, discursively focusing on the potential of the migrant population. In 2001, prompted by a motion of a social-democratic member of parliament, the decision was taken to draft a proper Law on Integration. In the drafting process between 2004 and 2007, the principle of 'promoting and demanding' was introduced and came to stand for the main drift of the cantonal integration policy.

In Article 5 of the Law on Integration, the cantonal parliament made use of the possibility offered in the Law on the Foreign Population (Article 54): The granting and/or renewal of a residence permit on the condition of participating in language or integration courses with earnest commitment (Article 5, Par. 2) and of a permanent residence permit based on good competences in the official local language (Article 5, Par. 3). In the first parliamentary reading of the law, controversy erupted around Article 5, which the cantonal parliament thereafter dubbed 'language article'. Initially, the proposed formulation of the article included a stipulation

[2] Basel's Integration Mission Statement (in German) 'Leitbild und Handlungskonzept zur Integrationspolitik Basel-Stadt', (p. 11) <http://www.bs.ch/publikationen/entwicklung/integrationsleitbild.html> [accessed 27 March 2015]. Information on the drafting of the integration law ('Ratschlag betreffend Gesetz über die Migrationsbevölkerung (Integrationsgesetz)'): <http://www.grosserrat.bs.ch/dokumente/100236/000000236080.pdf> [accessed 27 March 2015].

for 'successful course participation'. Yet, this formulation was met with resistance from several members of parliament, who understood it as exerting too much pressure on migrant language learners. Further, concerns were articulated that course teachers would have to assume policing roles. As a compromise, the formulation 'with earnest commitment' ('mit ernsthaftem Engagement') was proposed by a member of parliament and agreed upon by the majority. In its final form, then, the 'language article' (Article 5 Law on Integration) can be read as the materialization of the discursive shift that expanded the semantic meaning of the discourse 'integration through language': language not only as prerequisite but as indicator of integration.[3] This shift happened parallel to the development on the national level (Article 54 Law on the Foreign Population), which is indexical of discursive entextualization processes between the different political levels and their laws.

In the course of the drafting process of the law and the 'language article', specific formulations, such as the one just mentioned, provided fuel for extensive debates—rather than the basic premise of the article in itself. Politicians from left to right equally stressed the importance of language competences for the integration process, differing only with regard to whether the participation in a language course should be promoted or legally (and thus bindingly) demanded, in the end resulting in the two positions of 'promoting' and 'demanding'. These two divergent positions needed to be equally considered in order for the 'language article' to pass by parliamentary majority. Thus, in order not to jeopardize the whole law because of one contentious article, even politicians critical of the potentially punitive character of the article voted in favour of both article and law (Minutes 2007, pp. 73–100). Taking the political debates and processes into account, the article can be understood as a concession of the left to the right parties, which were constantly pushing for more stringent 'demanding'.

The existence of these two divergent positions was most manifest in the debates surrounding the 'language article', but reared its head again and again throughout the drafting process regarding other integration

[3] For a discussion on the diglossic situation in German-speaking Basel and its erasure in the integration debates, see Flubacher (2013).

efforts. Finally, it was accepted that the combination of these two positions as one political principle would define the integration policy of Basel. 'Promoting and demanding' was thus celebrated as a new strategic and programmatic direction in integration policy in that it embodied not only the unification of two potentially divergent positions, but furthermore indexed a give-and-take principle. In this sense, it signals the relevance of the interplay of duties and rights between the state and its residents, as it is common in the workfare state (Peck 2001) of late modernity. In this case, it clearly mediates the expectation of the state that the migrants are obliged to show initiative and display effort in order to receive support measures.

Considering the heated nature of the debates surrounding the 'language article', the question finally arises as to its effects and consequences. After all, the scope of the Law on Integration as such is limited already since asylum seekers, citizens of the European Union, and highly qualified citizens from third countries are exempted from language requirements, in correspondence with the provisions of the national law. Further, as reported by the head of the cantonal migration department in the summer of 2012 (communication via e-mail), a lack in language competences or the nonparticipation in a language course had not been sufficient reason for the refusal of a permit, even if integration agreements had been drafted with a focus on language courses. Not surprisingly then, as argued by the author of the motion in a research interview (in May 2010), the 'language article' mainly presented a proxy for the sake of a compromise between left and right—conversely, this compromise was possible only on the commonly accepted premise of the discourse that language was the key to integration. These statements are indexical of the probability that the article primarily functions as a political compromise and is not considered to be a 'real' political act, but rather an element of symbolic politics.

In the end, this all goes to show that the discourse manifests itself and is reproduced in the integration policy of Basel. In order to find out whether and how the discourse is taken up on the ground, that is, by persons active in the field of integration and migration in Basel (e.g. politicians, policy-makers, nongovernmental organization [NGO] workers, language teachers), and how these policies and the related language regulations are made sense of, we shall now turn to the interviews.

10.4 The Interpretative Repertoires of 'Promoting' and 'Demanding'

A total of 15 interviews were carried out in the framework of the project, the majority of which in the years 2007–2008, hence just prior and after the enactment of both laws. The interviews were roughly one hour long, semi-structured and thematically focused on the role of language in the integration processes and, more specifically, on the new integration policies with their language provisions. Adhering to a perspective of critical sociolinguistics, they are understood as coconstructed (con)texts (Briggs 1986) and thus always subjective, selective and construed (Bauman and Briggs 1990).

For the analysis of the interviews, I am drawing on the analytical instrument of 'interpretative repertoires', as proposed by Potter and Wetherell (2007) in discursive social psychology (see also Potter and Mulkay 1985; Wetherell 1998). As deriving from a Foucauldian conceptualization of discourse, interpretative repertoires serve to empirically trace the internal logics and organization of a discourse through the detection of linguistic units that are consistent in their recurrence. Instances of variability as well as consistency in language use are read as indexical of the regulative of the discourse. According to this understanding, there is thus a limited number of repertoires possible within any discourse. The negotiations involved in the charting of a discursive order define the legitimacy of contributions and, hence, of positions accomplished through the use of the repertoires, which in turn comprise particular contributions. Therefore, even if the repertoires at first appear contrary from each other, they are instilled with complementary function in the discursive order.

The two interpretative repertoires that emerged in the interviews with the experts and actors in the field of integration—and the thereby ensuing positionings—can be read in correspondence with the positions that emerged in the drafting process of the Law on Integration and the Law on the Foreign Population: Consequently, I termed the repertoires 'promoting' and 'demanding'. The repertoires can each be summarized along a 'basic principle' (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984) that stands for their ideological premise, as illustrated in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Basic principles of the two interpretative repertoires 'promoting' and 'demanding'

Discourse: integration through language		
	'Promoting' repertoire: The state provides infrastructure and financial means in order to promote the (linguistic) integration of migrants.	**'Demanding' repertoire:** The main duty to (linguistically) integrate lies with the migrants and not with the state.
Basic principle		
Argumentative axes	• Promotional measures for language learning should be offered and (partly) funded. • Migrants *want* to learn the local language. • Pressure is counterproductive to the learning process.	• It may be expected from migrants that they learn the local language. Thus, neither promotional measure nor financial support is needed. • Migrants *have* to learn the local language. • Pressure is legitimate.

While the 'promoting' repertoire is based on the principle that it is mainly the duty of the state to provide (financial) support for the integration of the migrant population, the 'demanding' repertoire embraces the opposite principle that relegates the main duty to the individual migrants to realize their integration; what is more, their commitment can be enforced by the state. These contrasting basic principles circle around different axes, that is, have different consequences on conceptions of (1) who is to pay for the language courses and/or other integration measures, (2) whether the migrant population is conceived as willing to learn the local language or as having to be forced and (3) whether official pressure has positive or negative effects on processes of language learning. Those are in fact the three main argumentative axes, pertaining to the two interpretative repertoires of 'demanding' and 'promoting', around which the interviewed actors structured their arguments and positioned themselves.

As established before, it was the two interpretative repertoires of 'demanding' and 'promoting' that emerged in the interviews as the two legitimate positions in the discursive order which framed the politics of integration in Basel. This does not mean, however, that the actors positioned themselves strictly to either one of the two. On the contrary, most often they strategically invoked a moderate centre position in the interviews—thus, basically embracing and reproducing the concept of 'promoting *and* demanding'. This becomes visible, for example, in the following extract with

Interviewee I04. When she started her new position as a scientific collaborator at the documentation centre on integration in Basel, she had to come to terms with processes of self- and other-positioning:[4]

It is striking how this interviewee (I04) refuses to be categorized as a

Extract 1

Int:	mhm so when you say other things which are
I04:	=which are not as desired with that erm (h.) mission statement ((xxx)) which is in the integration law \ and i read that then i think sometimes then i think always yeah but that's not even true [yeah] (..) and erm (.) yes / [mhm] that is so (laughs) [mhm \] that disturbed me and am i totally naïve and somehow a do-gooder or so (laughs)
Int:	mh \ mhm you are probably in the eyes of some (.) yeah \
I04:	=bad actually [yeah] well but actually i hope i'm not (.) and (..) i well i for sure don't like all migrants and so on [mhm] (.h) erm (h.) yeah

'naïve do-gooder' who 'likes all migrants'. Apparently, she feels compelled to explain herself, which is possibly echoing negotiations with her colleagues. She argues that if she kept on presenting herself as 'naïve' (as inherent to the 'promoting' position), she would not be taken seriously, which in turn would render her contributions illegitimate. As a consequence, she refrains from explicitly adhering to the 'promoting' position, even if she was critical of the 'demanding' position.

In line with this, Interviewee I06, a consultant on integration working for a local NGO, calls a too 'supportive' approach even counterproductive in that it would victimize and infantilize the migrant population. Conversely, she applauds the recent shift towards 'empowerment' and explicitly invokes 'promoting and demanding' as a leitmotif.

[4] The following interview excerpts are translated by the author into English from Swiss German or German. The transcription guidelines are the following:

=	simultaneous speech
(.); (..)	short pause; longer pause
((xxx))	incomprehensible utterance
(.h); (h.)	intake of breath; outtake of breath
/ ; \	rising intonation; falling intonation
[ ]	interjection

Extract 2

I06: yeah cause in fact it is also a discrimination if you say you are such a poor such a poor turk you won't be able to do that anyway you can't read and write either / you keep them down [mhm] / i say that is also discrimination

[…]

i think there really has been a change / on the one side just like i said that there was a change in erm the social context / now more in the direction of empowerment away from accompanied support [mhm] erm (.) well more again promoting and demanding really

Achieving a balance between the two contrary positions ('promoting' and 'demanding') is thus considered the most productive approach—and in that 'balance', migrants find themselves 'empowered' as self-sufficient and self-responsible agents who should be supported in their personal initiative to learn the local language. This line of argument indexes not only a broader discursive shift to the responsibilization of individuals in true neoliberal fashion (Cruikshank 1999) via the topos of empowerment, as will be described further below, but also the discursive order that language learning is *the* condition for integration. Consequently, as in the (national and cantonal) law drafting process, the main question to emerge in the interviews is the gauging of the advantages and disadvantages of enforced language learning. Bringing fairness into this equation, a teacher of a language/integration course (I12) finds fault with enforcement on grounds of the following considerations:

Extract 3

I12: well yeah this erm \ (.) that so basically that one thinks / if you want to integration you have to learn the language [mhm] but then erm did they erm did they fight about if it has to be a must or if that erm is an demand and how to manage that \ (.h) it will be just difficult for the ones who for example can't cause they have to work in order to feed their famILY \ or who who can't pay for it or else somehow / that it is difficult then \ well that in that case it can appear discriminatory if you say you have to do it (.h) basically however it is agreed that it erm german erm to learn german in switzerland erm is totally important \

In pointing to the potential lack in resources of certain migrants (time: 'they have to work' or money: 'can't pay'), the language teacher (I12) highlights a possible discriminatory mechanism. Thereby, she implicitly criticizes the 'demanding' repertoire—while clearly adhering to the premise of the discursive order that 'to learn German in Switzerland is totally important' (see Huang, this volume, Chap. 6, for a discussion of teachers' internalizations of hegemonic ideologies).

While there seemed to exist a broad consensus among all interviewees on the necessity of language learning, opinions differed regarding its legal enforcement. Thus, the necessity of the 'language article' was questioned along with the political reasoning leading to the implementation of the article. Some interviewees explained the article on political rather than on integrative or linguistic grounds. For example, the interviewee working at the documentation centre (I04; see Extract 1) suspects 'helplessness' on the part of politicians with regard to how to deal with the increasingly palpable public suspicion towards the migrant population, which is further fed and instrumentalized by right-wing parties. Finally, it is the pressure from this side that she holds responsible for the drafting and implementing of the article:

Extract 4

I04: mhm (.h) erm i think it showed a bit a helplessness [mhm] in that domain \ it didn't either any ((xxx)) to judge [mhm] but erm (.) i think that it came about by a right (.) erm pressure on [mhm] on the integration—on the integration office of [XY] [mh] erm to do something or to show that also in this direction (..) a bar is set (.h)

A similar interpretation is put forward by a political activist and former director of a language school, I01 (the interview took place before the final parliamentary debate). While sceptical of the political solution proposed in the article, she is aware that the chances of parliament passing the law increase with the inclusion of the 'language article'—exactly because it is the one article in which the immigrant population is explicitly stipulated to legally comply. On the other hand, it also

becomes evident that she adheres to the idea that it is 'legitimate to ask for commitment', thus invoking the 'demanding' repertoire and, one might argue, even a paternalistic stance (Dorostkar 2012), according to which people can be forced for their own good:

Extract 5

Int: and then there would be the chance if it was adopted / especially because of such an article \ more chances that it will get adopted

I01: definitely \ because i think a big part has / and i think it is also legitimate to ask for commitment \ the question is more does it have to be this way [yeah] but i think / as a whole one should support the law on integration

Summarizing, the analysis of interpretative repertoires aimed to empirically show how the 'promoting' and 'demanding' repertoires are in constant interplay and are invoked by actors for reasons of positioning. In that sense, they become constitutive of each other: While one repertoire is invoked, the other one serves as a counterposition against which one's own position is rationalized. It can thus be argued that the two repertoires jointly chart the discursive order and legitimize each other through cross-referencing. For example, 'demanding' linguistic integration becomes explained on the grounds of 'promoting' it, as could be observed in the interviews as well as in the parliamentary debate, evoking paternalistic arguments. Positionings of the self and of others were negotiated through the codependent invocation of the two repertoires without opening up room for counterdiscourses that would or could question the very premise that the local language *has* to be learned. On the contrary, such counterdiscourses position the speaker as irrational and/or extreme—and it was already visible in the use of the interpretative repertoires that the interviewees preferred to position themselves as reasonable and open to compromise. The discourse is thus constantly reproduced through these positionings and the corresponding use of the interpretative repertoires.

10.5 A Concluding Discussion of the Discourse 'Integration Through Language'

It was the aim of this chapter to propose a critical sociolinguistic analysis in order to show how the discourse 'integration through language' emerged in Swiss immigrant integration policy, materialized in legal stipulations regarding linguistic integration of migrants in Switzerland and Basel, and, finally, is reproduced by experts, as visible in the two interpretative repertoires. Drawing on a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis of integration language policy (genealogy and interpretative repertoires) and thus employing a critical stance, I argued that the discourse 'integration through language' has gained such hegemonic dominance that it can be regarded as its own order of discourse: Neither is the discourse at any point in time questioned, nor does it allow for counterdiscourses, highlighting the ideological nature of the discourse. As with any ideology, processes of erasure (Gal and Irvine 1995) are at work here, which is why this discourse needs to be unpacked in order to present a critical reading of the language policies aiming at the integration of migrants.

The main implication that can be drawn from a close and critical reading of the emergence, materialization and reproduction of the discourse points towards the activation policy inherent in the 'language articles' implemented in 2008 (Law on the Foreign Population and Law on Integration). Activation policies have emerged in different social and political spheres in Western Europe and Northern America since the 1990s, closely intertwined with the neoliberal ideology of individual responsibility (Harvey 2005; Rose 1999; see Barakos 2016 for a discussion on neoliberal entrepreneurial empowerment and the control mechanisms it exerts over workers). In reading the migrant population as responsible and responsibilized individuals, the interviewees are ultimately inscribing themselves in this ideology of activation. The activated and responsibilized migrants are 'empowered' to understand language and integration courses not only as part and parcel of their duties to fulfil an (yet) unwritten and implicit integration contract with the host society, but rather as a personal

opportunity to better their lives.[5] Thus, they will 'understand' that both the integration process and the prospect of social mobility are contingent on their own initiative and (earnest) commitment.

This understanding is inherent in integration language policies and activation politics, glossing over and erasing systemic and structural barriers to integration and social mobility. In this sense, this particular erasure is indicative of the ideologicalization of the causal effects of language competences on the integration of the migrant population (see Bolander, this volume, Chap. 11, for a discussion of the effects of language ideology on language policies). Yet, undoubtedly, a certain degree of structural discrimination against migrants is present, most consequentially so in the labour market (see for corresponding Swiss studies, Fibbi et al. 2003; Prikhodkine et al. 2008). In this reading then, I argue, that the order of discourse (and its two repertoires) serves as a legitimization for the increasing tightening of the policies: Since 'demanding' is read through the paternalistic lens of 'promoting' (i.e. promoting actually becomes a euphemism for demanding), the introduction of language policies is legitimized as empowering the migrant population while it frees the state from taking on responsibilities related to equity and social mobility.

Finally, in light of the discussion of these empirical findings, the discourse 'integration through language', as materializing in this specific language policy, is intertwined with a variety of societal and individual interests and has to be considered in broader sociopolitical terms, touching upon research and academia as well. In short, I aim for a critical as well as a reflexive approach to research (see also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2). This is why I would like to argue that with a critical agenda, researchers have the responsibility not only to empirically unpack such discourses, but also to heed their own academic contributions with caution since they will have to find a balance themselves between adapting to the order of discourse in order to be heard and deconstructing it in order to allow for critical counterdiscourse positions. This caution also applies to the research processes, that is, interviewing, selection of data and its presentation in publications. We have to ask ourselves how and

[5] In some cantons, integration agreements (i.e. signed 'contracts') have been implemented; in others, already abolished again.

what we communicate to our research participants and how and whether we might impact on the reproduction of a discourse through the very research on it. Yet, carefully charting the territory of a discursive order might prove a first step in understanding the conditions of our participants and their practices.

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11

English Language Policy as Ideology in Multilingual Khorog, Tajikistan

Brook Bolander

11.1 Introduction

A 2008 cable from the American Embassy, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, published on WikiLeaks and entitled 'Tajikistan—Why American Corners Matter', describes Khorog, the capital of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO) in Eastern Tajikistan, as an 'ideal location' for a new American Corner. The reasons provided are its 'strong traditions of education and self-reliance' and the fact that 'the study of English is widespread, due to the excellent education offered by the University of Central Asia (UCA) and the Aga Khan Lycée, where English is a primary language of instruction' (WikiLeaks cable 2008). Published only a good decade after the end of civil war in Tajikistan (1992–1997), the cable indirectly draws attention to the fact that much has been done to promote English in a very short time. It also highlights the role of the Aga

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Khan, spiritual leader of the transnational Ismaili Muslim community and his global development network—the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)—a set of 'private international, non-denominational development organisations' (AKDN About), which is active in over 30 countries and has mandates in numerous fields, including education.

Ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Khorog in 2013 shows that ideologies of English closely interact with ideologies of Tajik (the sole official language of Tajikistan), Russian (the former language of interethnic communication in Tajikistan), and Shughni (an unwritten Southeastern Iranian language and the first language of the majority of Pamiris in Khorog). In this chapter, I will analyse the discursive construction and coconstruction of ideologies of English, Tajik, Russian, and Shughni. I will thereby adopt the view that there is an intricate relationship between language policy and language ideologies, and in doing so, will build on Pennycook's (2014, p. 2) argument that 'it is not so much language as language ideology that is the object of language policy' (for the relationship between policy and ideology, cf. also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2; Lawton, this volume, Chap. 5; Weber, this volume, Chap. 8). To explore English language policy as ideology in multilingual Khorog, I will focus on individual interviews and particularly a group discussion in which I asked my interlocutors to take on the role of language policy-makers for Tajikistan. After addressing issues of language and ethnicity (Sect. 11.2), I will discuss the role of different languages (Sect. 11.3) and English (Sect. 11.4) in Khorog, before turning to outline the approach adopted (Sect. 11.5). Subsequently, I will analyse the discursive construction of ideologies of English, Tajik, Russian, and Shughni (Sect. 11.6), before concluding and providing a brief outlook (Sect. 11.7).

11.2 Language and Ethnicity in Khorog

Khorog is the capital of Shughnan district and the administrative centre of GBAO. The oblast was founded in 1924, the same year Tajikistan became 'an autonomous republic within the Uzbek SSR' (Bergne 2007, p. 2), and its foundation was firmly linked with the Soviet government's process of National Territorial Delimitation, a 'new delimitation of Central Asia on ethnic lines' (Bergne 2007, p. 41). As stated by

Bergne (2007, p. 90), 'National Territorial Delimitation in 1924 brought the unification of the territories deemed at the time to be both inhabited by Tajiks and capable of being administered from the new republic's capital Dushanbe', and it paved the way to Tajikistan becoming a Soviet Socialist Republic five years later in 1929.

Matters of ethnicity and language became key to these processes, with definitions of the former increasingly relying on the latter, a link which has been upheld and promoted by President Emomali Rahmon since Tajik gained formal independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Indeed, whereas ethnicity was 'either very vaguely formulated or did not exist at all' (Bergne 2007, p. 7), '[o]nce Moscow had given tangible and territorial recognition to a Tajik political and cultural entity, however small, people who until then had not bothered to identify as Tajik were invited to consider whether or not they might be part of this newly identified "ethnie"' (Bergne 2007, p. 130). The process of creating this entity was thus intricately bound with defining who was 'Tajik', a definition which was extended to individuals living in the western Pamirs (i.e. in Ravshan, Oroshov, Shughnan, Ishkeshim, and Wakhan [Bergne 2007, p. 48]), despite perceived differences 'in language, way of life, religion and physical type' (Bergne 2007, p. 45) between them and 'Tajiks' living in other parts of Tajikistan.

Yet such differences remain important. As Mostowlansky (2017) demonstrates in his ethnographic study of the eastern Pamirs (i.e. Murghab), 'the use of ethnicity in actual everyday interaction is relational'; it depends on who is speaking to whom, in what context and region, and on which 'scale' (Blommaert 2007, 2015). This means that the same people use different terms to refer to themselves in different contexts, and different terms are used by others to refer to them. Thus, whereas 'Tajik' denotes 'be[ing] ethnically defined as Tajik within the framework of the nation-state' (Mostowlansky 2011, p. 181) and is employed by people from the western Pamirs to refer to themselves when they are outside Tajikistan, the label 'Pamiri' is more likely to be used inside Tajikistan to mark difference, notably with respect to religion and language (Davlatshoev 2006), between people from the western Pamirs and Tajiks living in other parts of Tajikistan. Moreover, 'Tajiks from [the Pamirs] […] are rarely recognised as Tajiks in Dushanbe. They speak various south-eastern Iranian languages (but not Tajik), are Shia-Ismailis and are often roughly

identified as Pamiris in western Tajikistan' (Mostowlansky, 2017; cf. also Bliss 2006; Davlatshoev 2006).

For the people who use these different categories, they are 'not contradictory but are a matter of positioning in a specific environment' (Mostowlansky 2011, p. 181). Yet to avoid confusion, I will use the term 'Pamiri' to refer to individuals who are ethnically defined as Tajik by the nation-state of Tajikistan but who speak 'various south-eastern Iranian languages' and are Shia-Ismaili, and the term 'Tajik' to refer to individuals who are ethnically defined as Tajik by the state of Tajikistan but who speak Tajik as their first language and are Sunni Muslims. Since almost all of my interlocutors have Shughni as their first language, in practice, my use of the term Pamiri predominantly denotes Shughni speakers.

11.3 Multilingual Khorog…

While there are numerous Pamir languages, the most prominent of these is Shughni, the 'lingua franca of this micro region' (Bliss 2006, p. 98; cf. also Bahri 2005) and the first language of the majority of Pamiris living in Khorog. Article 3 of the 1989 Law on Language proclaimed that 'the languages of Gorno-Badakhshan received guarantees of free use in all spheres of society, including official institutions' (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele 2001, p. 122). Yet 'Pamiri languages are still rarely used in primary education' (Bahri 2005, p. 56).[1] As stated by Kreutzmann (1996, p. 181), Shughni and other Pamir languages tend to be taught for only two hours a week in grades two to four because of a lack of an authoritative system of transcription and teaching materials. Education in Tajik schools in GBAO is thus predominantly in Tajik[2] (cf. also Dodykhudoeva 2004; Dodikhudoeva 2004), which was made the language of instruction in the 1993 Law on Education (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele 2001, p. 187).[3] In practice, this means students from

[1] An unsuccessful effort to the contrary was made by Soviet authorities in 1931 (The Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960).

[2] This claim does not hold for schools taught in recognised minority languages.

[3] The law allows for 'instruction in other languages as well in compact settlement of minority groups' (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele 2001, pp. 122–123).

GBAO learn their subjects in Tajik yet generally receive no language instruction in Tajik (cf. also Niyozov 2001, quoted in Bahri 2005). This causes problems since many enter school with only limited knowledge of Tajik, which retains the status of a foreign language. These difficulties are further augmented by the coexistence of different varieties of Tajik in the region (Bahri 2005), and more general problems pertaining to a lack of quality textbooks, low teacher salaries, and the devastating effects of the Tajik civil war on the national educational system (Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012, p. 187).

While firm ties between ethnicity and language in Tajikistan were forged during the Soviet Union, post-Soviet nation-building efforts entailed a 'turn from official bilingualism [Russian and Tajik] to monolingualism [Tajik]' (Pavlenko 2013, p. 266). As Pavlenko (2013, p. 266) states, this 'monolingual turn was reflected in the language planning objectives' throughout Central Asia. In Tajikistan, this, too, comprised efforts to expand the domains in which Tajik was used, attempts to increase knowledge of Tajik, attempts to remove Russian from official documents and domains, and endeavours to increase English competence as an alternative to Russian (cf. Pavlenko 2013, p. 266, who includes these examples in her discussion of 'Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Successor States'). These efforts culminated in President Emomali Rahmon's 2009 Law on Language which made Tajik the sole language 'in all state documents and official correspondence' (Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012, p. 178), where before, Tajik and Russian had been used. The policy was interpreted as demoting Russian from its position as the language of 'interethnic communication' (Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012, p. 178) and, more generally, as an attempt to 'bolster Tajik national identity' (Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012, p. 178).

Yet despite continued emphasis on 'Tajikisation' (Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012) and 'de-Russification' (Pavlenko 2013), Russian still functions as a *de facto* language of interethnic communication in Tajikistan and in GBAO (Mostowlansky, 2017) and remains widely popular and in high demand throughout Tajikistan (Nagzibekova 2008; Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012), a status it enjoys at least partially because of the opportunities it provides for labour

migration to Russia (Nagzibekova 2008) and other post-Soviet countries (Pavlenko 2008, p. 299). Furthermore, since 2004, it has been taught from grades 2 to 11 in Tajik and Uzbek schools throughout the country (Nagzibekova 2008, p. 504). Thus, while 'the sphere of Russian use in most successor states has narrowed […] the language did not go away nor was it replaced by English. Rather, Russian assumed a place alongside English as the lingua franca of the geopolitical region' (Pavlenko 2013, p. 268).

11.4 …and the Role of English

To date, there is no empirical fieldwork-based research on the role of English in Tajikistan, although more recent research on post-Soviet language reforms has entered what Pavlenko (2013, p. 263) has called a 'third stage' characterised by a 'renewed interest in cross-country comparisons […], increased attention to language contact phenomena […] and linguistic landscapes […], and emerging research on countries like Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, which until recently have been "blind spots"'. Such research on language policy and education in Tajikistan has drawn attention to an increase in the importance of English within the country (cf. e.g. Dodykhudoeva 2004, Dodikhudoeva 2004; Nagzibekova 2008; Landau and Kellner-Heikele 2001; Kellner-Heinkele and Landau 2012; and Sect. 11.3).

In Khorog, the heightened emphasis on English is predominantly linked to language policy efforts enacted not by the Tajik state—although English is taught as a foreign language in Tajik schools[4]—but by the Aga Khan IV, spiritual leader of the Ismaili Muslims, a transnational community consisting of between 2.5 and 10 million individuals living in over 25 countries around the world. Through a process going back to the British Raj in India (cf., e.g. Devji 2009; Bolander 2016) English has become the official language of the transnational Ismaili community and is promoted today as part of a transnational language policy. As

[4] As Pavlenko (2003, p. 323) highlights, the importance of English in the Soviet Union grew post World War II, and English replaced German 'as the most widely taught foreign language' of the Soviet Union in 1961.

stated in a 2009 interview, the Aga Khan gave in French[5] to the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation, '[t]he vast majority of the community is not in the West, and its first language is not a Western language. We have made English our second language. That yes! Because, in the sixties, in the seventies, we needed to have a language policy. If a community was without a language policy, it would dissociate itself from its development potential. And English is the language that we chose. So today, the Ismaili community speaks Farsi, Arabic, Swahili, English, French, Portuguese, etc. And then, there is a language that is more and more common, it's their second language, for a large majority it is English' (Aga Khan interview with Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation in 2011, published on Nano Wisdoms Blog).

This language policy is translated into local practice in various ways (cf. also Bolander 2016, 2017), including via an education system. English is the or a medium of instruction at Aga Khan schools and academies, of which there are said to be 'over 200 in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Kenya, the Kyrgyz Republic, Uganda, Tanzania, and Tajikistan' (Aga Khan Education Services). English will also be the language of the AKDN-run University of Central Asia (UCA), which has campuses planned for Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.

In Khorog, English has become important to the AKDN's educational policy since the late 1990s and early 2000s. It was adopted as one of three languages of instruction, along with Tajik and Russian, in the Aga Khan Lycée in 2001. Here, students compete for entry into a particular language stream (there are 25 students in each stream in each grade) and study the other two languages (Tajik and Russian for those in the English stream) as foreign languages for two to three hours per week. English is also taught in Khorog's UCA School of Professional and Continuing Development, whose town campus opened in 2006, as well as at the Khorog English Program, which was launched in 1998 to facilitate exchange between Khorog and the Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS) in London, by providing English-language training to local pupils who wish to enter MA programs at the IIS.

[5] The Aga Khan is a British national who was born in Geneva, Switzerland. In an interview he gave in 1958, he claims to speak both French and English fluently (Aga Khan UK press interview of 1958, published on Nano Wisdoms Blog).

11.5 Language Policy as Language Ideology

The results presented in this chapter are part of a larger study on the role of English in Khorog for which I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in 2013. This entailed living with local families, conducting qualitative interviews ($N = 11$)[6] and group discussions ($N = 2$), and being a participant observer. The interviews and discussions were all held in English.[7] In the course of the fieldwork, I elicited data on language policy by asking my interlocutors to put themselves in the role of policy-makers for Tajikistan and to tell me which languages they would choose for which institutions and why. As Hornberger (2006, p. 33) maintains drawing on her own earlier work (Hornberger 1994, p. 83), 'planning for a given language never occurs in a vacuum with regard to other languages'. By asking which languages my interlocutors would use in institutions in Tajikistan, I am able to study facets of the role of English not solely through an analysis of claims about the importance of English (coupled with observations about its use or lack of use in day-to-day life), but relationally, that is, with respect to Tajik, Russian, and Shughni in multilingual Khorog.

My interlocutors clearly do not have the power or authority to draft or impose language policies, yet the act of imagining themselves to be language policy-makers involved them in 'a form of creative interpretive practice' or 'appropriation' (Levinson et al. 2009, p. 768). By virtue of engagement in this process of appropriation, I believe it is warranted to extend Levinson et al.'s (2009, p. 770) concept of 'nonauthorized policy makers', who construct policy from 'outside the agencies or offices that are constitutionally charged with making policy', and who, like authorised policy-makers, through appropriation, 'are in effect making new policy in situated locales and communities of practice (COP)' (Levinson et al. 2009, p. 768).

To study the policy-making of these nonauthorised policy-makers, I adopt a linguistic anthropological approach to discourse analysis as

[6] One of the interviews was conducted in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and one was conducted with two young women.

[7] The use of ethnographic fieldwork was important in light of me holding the interviews and discussions in English.

outlined in Wortham and Reyes (2015). Drawing on Jakobson (1971 [1957]), Wortham and Reyes (2015, p. 3) distinguish between a 'narrated event' and a 'narrating event', or between 'what is being talked about' and 'the activity of talking about it', respectively. Applied to my data, I treat language policy as the 'narrated event' of the first half-hour of the group discussion[8] and of the question–answer exchanges in the interviews where I cast my interlocutors into the role of nonauthorised policy-makers.

I further propose that it is through the activity of talking about language policy that language ideologies emerge, understood here as 'cultural (or subcultural) system[s] of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989, p. 255). Indeed, these nonauthorised policy-makers do not just propose policies by stating which language/s should be used in which institutions. By encouraging them from the outset to provide reasons for their choices, they were prompted to argue for or against particular languages, and in doing so, they drew on and constructed language ideologies pertaining to Tajik, Shughni, Russian, and English while at the same time performing a range of further narrating events, like agreeing and disagreeing with or teasing one another (Wortham and Reyes 2015, p. 3).

In this sense then, there is an intricate and inseparable relationship between discourse, the proposed language policies, and the emergent language ideologies, warranting both the treatment of 'language policy as discourse' (Barakos 2012, p. 169) and of 'language policy as ideology', which is constituted through this same discourse. As Barakos (2012, p. 169; cf. also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2) maintains, a view of language policy as discourse means that language policy is 'constructed, constituted and enacted in and through language'. Since this enactment simultaneously triggers a process of explanation and justification of particular choices, language ideologies are simultaneously 'constructed, constituted and enacted'. They cannot be separated from the policies suggested by my interlocutors. Building on Pennycook's (2014, p. 2) claim that language ideologies (and not languages) are

[8] The remainder of the group discussion (which totalled 1 hour and 50 minutes) addressed numerous other themes and will not be addressed in this chapter.

the foci of language policies, I thus propose conceptualising language policy *as* ideology (cf. also Huang, this volume, Chap. 6).

To study these emergent policies, I first tagged the transcriptions[9] of the data using MAXQDA 11 (a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software) and coded the group discussion data for three main types of information: speakers (i.e. which of the six female participants in the group discussion said what in the course of the discussion, and when and how often did they/I speak), the ordering of the languages (i.e. how were the four languages—Tajik, Russian, English, and Shughni—hierarchically ordered for use in Tajikistan/in particular institutions in Tajikistan, or in GBAO), and references to the four languages (i.e. explanations for my interlocutors' proposed policy choices). This latter information was coded using second-order labels derived from the data. For example, claims about fears that Tajik might disappear or should be preserved were coded under the umbrella label 'References to Tajik—language maintenance', and statements about the importance of using Tajik because of living in Tajikistan or 'being Tajik' under the label 'References to Tajik—Tajik for Tajikistan'.

More specifically my analysis draws on Wortham and Reyes (2015, p. 41), who emphasise three main phases for discourse analysis within speech events: 'mapping narrated events', 'selecting indexicals', and 'construing indexicals' (cf. also Mortimer, this volume, Chap. 4, on the role of indexicals for the relationship between policy and identity). In this chapter, I focus on personal deictics, notably on pronouns in connection with descriptions of 'who' the particular varieties 'belong to' in contexts where my interlocutors argue for or against particular language hierarchies. I also study the adjectives used to describe the varieties. The process of 'inferring models of voicing, evaluation, positioning and social action that could fit with the relevant context signaled by salient indexicals' (Wortham and Reyes 2015, p. 41) is facilitated through the ethnographic fieldwork I did in Khorog (cf. Hornberger and Johnson 2007, for the importance of ethnography for studies of language policy;

[9] The transcription of the data is broad, but includes indications of false starts and repetitions, overlaps and salient silences (relative to the speakers' pace of speaking), and instances where the speaker laughs or his/her voice quality is suggestive of laughter.

cf. also Mortimer, this volume, Chap. 4, for an ethnographic approach to language policy) and studied via an exploration of how my interlocutors position themselves with respect to different 'scales' (Blommaert 2007, 2015) when legitimising their choices (e.g. 'Tajikistan' vs. 'GBAO').

11.6 Policies and Ideologies of English, Tajik, Russian, and Shughni

The data collected during fieldwork in Khorog show that three languages are constructed as relevant with respect to issues of language policy: Tajik, Russian, and English. While Shughni is the most important language used in day-to-day life by Pamiris in Khorog and the first language of all but two of my interlocutors,[10] with only one exception, it was not proposed as a language to fulfil any official functions. One young Pamiri woman did argue that there should be different language policies in schools for children with different linguistic backgrounds; whereas schooling should be in Tajik for those who have Tajik as a first language, school should be in 'Pamiri language for Pamiris'.

Of the 13 interlocutors I asked to imagine themselves as language policy-makers (six in the group discussion and seven in interviews), the majority view, held by seven, was that Tajik should be the first language of Tajikistan—an opinion which reflects the current policy outlined in Sect. 11.3. One argued that Russian should be the first language of schools and universities; three argued English should be the first language of Tajikistan; one argued that there should be different policies for individuals with different first languages; and in one case, it was unclear which order was proposed, with my interlocutor more generally arguing that there is now a greater need for English-language teaching and a smaller need for Russian.

In the following subsections, I will discuss two of these findings in more detail. As a first step, I will address the privileged role of Tajik drawing on examples from the focus group discussion (Sect. 11.6.1). While the focus in this chapter is on English, the strong emphasis my

[10] One of my interlocutors has Tajik as her first language, although she speaks Shughni, too, and another has Kyrgyz as her first language and does not know Shughni.

interlocutors place on Tajik means that discussions on the role of Tajik emerge as a backdrop or relevant context against which issues of English language policy as ideology need to be interpreted. As a second step, I will focus on the rise of English relative to Russian and explore ideologies accompanying the argument that English is and should be more important than Russian. Here, too, examples will be drawn from the focus group discussion, but I will also more generally refer to the language hierarchies proposed by interlocutors whom I interviewed (Sect. 11.6.2).

11.6.1 Tajik for Tajikistan

The data analysed thus far shows a close relationship between the policy proposed by the nonauthorised policy actors and an ideology I label 'Tajik for Tajikistan'. Those who argue that Tajik should be the first language of Tajikistan simultaneously highlight an intricate and inseparable relationship between nation-state and language, an attitude which is compatible with current language policy (cf. Sect. 11.2). This ideology was discursively constructed through the use of pronouns, notably through the first-person plural possessive pronoun 'our'.

This is shown in Extract 1 taken from the group discussion, from the start of a monologue in which Madina[11] disagrees with Zena, who has just suggested that Russian should be the language of universities and schools as it is so widespread:

Extract 1

Madina: Even though I'm like Ru--[12] uh Russian language very much, but as we are in Tajikistan and our native language is Tajik uh the first language uh of course must be Tajik everywhere […]

The natural, almost 'taken-for-grantedness' of the connection between nation-state and language is made manifest through boosting—'of course', 'must', and 'everywhere', that is, even in places like GBAO where Tajik is not the first language of the majority of the population.

[11] All names are pseudonyms.

[12] I use double hyphens (--) when an interlocutor begins but does not complete a word, and single hyphens (-) to indicate a false start at the level of words or phrases.

A further striking point is the labelling of Tajik as 'our native language' (Extract 1), 'our own language', and 'our language'. In Extract 2, Farzona uses the phrase 'our own language', and because it is unclear to me what this refers to, I ask her to clarify:

Extract 2

Farzona: we are more aware of uh Russian and English, but we- we are not so familiar with our o-- with our own language, which is not good.

Brook: And with our own language which do you mean now, do you mean Tajik or Shughni?

Farzona: Of course Tajik.

The fact that Farzona answers my question with 'of course Tajik' is salient considering that Tajik is neither her own first language nor that of the majority of the other interlocutors. It is further salient if we consider that one of the most frequently discussed themes in the group discussion pertains to difficulties my interlocutors have with Tajik, that is, to problems they or others had/have learning Tajik at school, references to Tajik having become more difficult over time, and to differences between the variety of Tajik they speak ('academic Tajik' from books) and the 'street Tajik' spoken by Tajiks in western Tajikistan, a difference which leads to them being teased when, for example, they use Tajik in Dushanbe.

As stated by van Dijk (1995, p. 22), '[t]he structures of ideologies […] suggest that such representations are often articulated along an us versus them dimension, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms'. Of note in this data is that the scope of 'our' is comprehensive and refers to all Tajiks, in the sense of all people who are labelled 'Tajik' in their passport. Differences between Tajiks, for example, with respect to religion (which has emerged as an important category marking difference in recent years, cf. Mostowlansky, 2017), are bracketed out here. Indeed, in these references to 'our language', 'our own language', and 'our native language', my interlocutors are positioning themselves as being equally as 'Tajik' as the Tajiks who speak Tajik as a first language.

Indeed, the data makes manifest that the 'Tajik for Tajikistan' ideology is coupled with ethnicity (in the sense described in Sect. 11.2), and in Extract 3, Sitora discursively constructs her ethnicity as Tajik:

Extract 3

Sitora: I support the idea that Madina [cf. Extract 1] said that we should use Tajik language, because every country has their- every nationality have their language and our- as we are Tajik w-- we should have- we have our own- own language is Tajik, and it's our identity I think. All country all over the world know us as Tajik and I think that Tajik should be the main language.

As shown in the extract, Sitora refers to herself and others (constructed through the pronouns 'we' and 'our') as Tajik, a term which is reflective of the ethnic identity they are recorded as having in their passports and may adopt when differentiating between self and other at a national level, that is, we are Tajik as opposed to German, for example. This is evidenced by Sitora's reference to 'all country over the world' knowing them 'as Tajik', and it competes with the ethnic category Pamiri, used by Nilufar, when she calls for 'Pamiri language for Pamiris', a suggestion she bases on her disagreement (Extract 4) with Madina's claim (Extract 1) that 'our native language is Tajik':

Extract 4

Nilufar: Madina said that our native language is Tajik, but I'm not ah quite agree with her, because when you look at Tajikistan there are different regions, different people, who speak different languages, for example, in GBAO ah we speak different language, ah.

Of note here is that Nilufar juxtaposes Madina's reference to 'our native language' by shifting 'scales' (Blommaert 2007, 2015) from the nation-state of Tajikistan to the region of GBAO. Moreover, it is through this shift in scales that she can maintain in-group belonging via the use of the first-person plural pronoun 'we' in the claim 'we speak different languages', yet here, the scope is less broad as it no longer refers to Tajiks but to people (potentially Pamiris and/or Ismailis) living in GBAO.

The relational nature of ethnicity thus emerges as intricately connected with particular languages and gives rise to a tripartite distinction. On the one hand, there is the category 'Tajik for Tajiks who are never Pamiri' (but come from western Tajikistan); on the other, there is 'Shughni for Pamiris'; and on a third, there is 'Tajik for Pamiris who are sometimes Tajik'. As these extracts show, there is fluidity between the categories. The data highlights that there is room for negotiation with respect to the latter two. My interlocutors all perceive themselves as Pamiri, with the majority of them also speaking Shughni as their mother tongue. Yet they also variably position themselves as Tajik by virtue of their Tajik ethnicity recorded in their passports. It is this latter positioning which is linked with the ideology of Tajik for Tajikistan, and it tends to be discursively constructed through the coupling of the possessive pronoun 'our', which premodifies 'language' and whose scope is mapped onto the scale of Tajikistan as a nation-state.

11.6.2 English as the Language of the World

In Extract 2, Farzona claimed that 'we' know Russian and English better than Tajik, a claim which indicates tension between the ideology of Tajik for Tajikistan and judgements of language competence. A similar theme was raised by two further interlocutors who emphasised the importance of maintaining Tajik and expressed fear that Tajik could disappear. One of them thereby specifically refers to the role of the Aga Khan Lycée, which provides instruction in Tajik, Russian, and English (cf. Sect. 11.4). After arguing that Tajik should be the first language of Tajikistan (Extract 3), Sitora goes on to state (Extract 5):

Extract 5

Sitora: And there is- today if you will look um, for example, in s-- in school, Lycée school, many classes are in English, but if we talk with the students, with the pupils, they don't know their own language. They- they know English but their own language, they don't know their own language, and it's ve-- I think it's shame for us if we don't know our native language.

Here, the ideology of Tajik for Tajikistan emerges relationally with respect to the growing importance of English and fear that English is responsible for students not knowing 'their own language', a reference again to Tajik, although it is likely that only a minority of the Aga Khan Lycée students have Tajik as their first language.

After hearing this argument in the group discussion, where it was voiced twice, I followed up on it in individual interviews. In the course of the interviews, I was generally told that there are students who complete the English stream at the Aga Khan Lycée without learning Tajik—a perhaps unsurprising factor given that Tajik (and Russian) is taught to these pupils for only two to three hours per week.[13] For Madina, this is problematic because if such students are not accepted to study abroad, they will have difficulties studying at the local universities, like Khorog State University, where instruction is in Tajik (Extract 6):

Extract 6

Madina: Apparently the student who study in Lycée in the English group, uh all subjects are in English and uh if they uh have problems with TOEFL, they, for example, they apply somewhere and they uh are not accepted and uh if uh their parents uh can afford, uh for example, t-- mhm can support them for studying somewhere, and they study here in the Khorog State University, it is very difficult for them, because they don't know Tajik.

There is only a small number of students who can afford to go to the private coed Aga Khan Lycée, and it is unclear how many of those in the English stream complete school without being able to read, write, and speak Tajik. Yet the fact that this topic was even raised in an unprompted manner in the group discussion and in a further interview (as stated above, on other occasions, I specifically asked about English and Tajik competence of Aga Khan Lycée students) is striking for a region which

[13] Although, in a further interview, a former English stream pupil told me that teaching was half in Tajik and half in English, even when he was in the English group. This might stem from the difficulty of finding (local) teachers who are able to teach in English in the school.

is typically considered 'remote' and was, until 1991, firmly embedded within a Soviet linguistic landscape.

Overall, the data shows that English is perceived and discursively constructed as having grown more important in Khorog, particularly relative to Russian. There were even three people who said that English should be given more prominence than Tajik, despite a clear overall tendency for Tajik, as discussed in Sect. 11.6.1. The emphasis placed on English is reflective of a change which has largely been brought to the region through the efforts of institutions like the Aga Khan Education Services and the UCA. While these efforts had to be limited during the Soviet Union, its dissolution in 1991 meant Ismaili communities in Central Asia could become institutionally embedded within the global community (Steinberg 2011; Karim 2011), and thereby also privy to educational opportunities and services, many of which hinge upon learning and knowing English. At the same time, the language policy put forward by the Aga Khan is officially one of multilingualism, as reflected, for example, in the Aga Khan Lycée's trilingual policy, and, as I was told during fieldwork, Ismailis are expected to know both the national language (in this case Tajik) and English. There is thus little danger that a strong emphasis on English will be at the expense of Tajik. Yet it is unclear at present what effects a progressive emphasis on English (as promoted by the Aga Khan's transnational language policy) coupled with de-Russification and Tajikisation (as promoted by president Emomali Rahmon's national language policy) will have on the future role of Russian.

In the course of my fieldwork, my interlocutors stressed how widespread Russian is in GBAO, and how important it is to them and their families; they also underlined feeling comfortable using Russian and liking it. Indeed, attitudes towards Russian were consistently positive, which was not the case for Tajik despite it being accorded a privileged status. In addition, competence in Russian and the importance of the language were emphasised in connection with labour migration to Russia (cf. Sect. 11.3).

At the same time, English was more often placed before Russian when my interlocutors imagined themselves responsible for language policy. The main reason provided was an ideology of English as an international language and language of technology. These surface in descriptions of a present in which English is dominant, sometimes in explicit distinction

to a past where Russian was more dominant. In Extract 7, Nilufar justifies changing her earlier opinion of placing Russian second and English third to English second and Russian third by explicitly juxtaposing different 'scales' (Blommert 2007, 2015). Whereas Russian is positioned as the language of Central Asia, English is positioned as the language of the world:

Extract 7

Nilufar: I change because Russian language- only in Central [A-- Asia speak Russian language, but the world is uh speak uh Eng[lish language, so if you want to uh- to have a bright future ah you should learn English language.

Since many of the people with whom I spoke are learning English with the aim of being able to go abroad to study in an English-speaking country or at an English-language institution, the associations of English with 'the world' and with opportunity are close to my interlocutors' personal trajectories and to an 'imagined identity' (Norton 2013) of themselves as competent speakers of English. These ambitions are clearly also linked to the guidance provided by the Aga Khan, who encourages his followers around the world to learn English as a means to economic possibilities for themselves and their communities (cf. Bolander 2017).

11.7 Conclusion and Outlook

In this chapter, I aimed to contribute to the volume's focus on discursive approaches to language policy by exploring questions of language policy and ideology in Khorog, Tajikistan, via discourse analysis of a group discussion and individual interviews collected during ethnographic fieldwork in Khorog. A major aim was to explore the role of English for Ismailis in light of it being the community's official language and much of its promotion in Khorog being a result of the Aga Khan's transnational language policy. Yet since English is but one language in multilingual Khorog, exploring the role accorded to English by local Ismailis entails exploring ideologies of Tajik, Shughni, and Russian, too.

The discourse analysis of the data showed that my interlocutors privilege Tajik as the natural first language of Tajikistan, and I discussed this position in light of an ideology I called 'Tajik for Tajikistan'. I also addressed the extent to which this result is surprising in light of Tajik not being the first language of the majority of my interlocutors and the related fact that many of them have problems learning Tajik, and I attempted to explain the apparent paradox inherent in references to Tajik as 'our own language', 'our language', and 'our native language' by referring to the relational nature of ethnicity as performed through discourse.

With respect to English, the analysis showed its growing importance in Khorog as made manifest, for example, through fear that local students from the English stream at the Aga Khan Lycée may end up learning English but not Tajik. It also demonstrated that English has taken over Russian in terms of imagined importance, particularly as a result of its assumed status as an international language. This is linked to my interlocutors' own ambitions, since English is seen as key to international mobility. Yet while the discussions on policy show competition between Russian and English which would not have been prevalent in GBAO before 1991, the importance of English as constructed in discourse does not necessarily reflect practice. Access to English remains a privilege, and for the majority of Pamiris, English is a third or fourth language, or a language they do not (yet) have access to at all, whereas access to Russian remains key to labour migration and thus economic survival.

Adopting a discursive approach to language policy coupled with ethnographic fieldwork allowed me to explore how my interlocutors—conceptualised here as nonauthorised policy-makers—draw on language ideologies in their construction of their proposed language policies and hierarchies of language. The impossibility of severing the proposed policies from ideologies led me to conceptualise language policy as ideology. Arguments for or against different languages—Tajik, Shughni, Russian, and English—in other words, emerge as intricately linked to ideas and beliefs about their respective importance and roles at different scales—local (GBAO), national (Tajikistan), and, in light of the Aga Khan's influence, transnational.

Yet these results present a mostly contemporary snapshot. Future research should be diachronic in nature and endeavour to draw on more and varied acts of language policy written in different languages while taking into account more fully the ways in which these ideologies are

discursively constructed not only within but also beyond the speech events (Wortham and Reyes 2015). It also needs to explore more fully the relationship between transnational and national language policies (cf. also Kremer & Horner, this volume, Chap. 7) and attempt to gain more profound insight into the uptake of these different policies by local people who are affected by them without assuming straightforward causal relationships between the macro and the micro (cf. also Barakos, this volume, Chap. 2; Huang, this volume, Chap. 6; Lawton, this volume, Chap. 5).

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12

Commentary

Thomas Ricento

12.1 Introduction

As Karl Marx famously wrote: 'If everything were as it appeared on the surface, there would be no need for science' (cited in Harvey 2014, p. 4). Marx used the term 'fetishism' to refer to the masks, disguises, and distortions that surround us, and his desire to understand what was *really* going on in the world, especially with reference to rapid industrialization in the nineteenth-century Europe, required a massive analysis and critique of capital in order to uncover the fundamental bases of social relations and social inequality in society. In Volume 1 of his magisterial work *Capital* (1967), Marx made the following observation regarding the task that confronted the reader of his book:

> The method of analysis which I have employed, and which had not previously been applied to economic subjects, makes the reading of the first

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> chapters rather arduous. … That is a disadvantage I am powerless to overcome, unless it be by forewarning and forearming those readers who zealously seek the truth. *There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits.* (Capital, Vol. 1, p. 21 [italics are added]; cited in Harvey (2006, p. 1))

In reading the illuminating and thought-provoking chapters that comprise this excellent collection, I was reminded of the challenge posed by Marx that applies equally well to understanding why language(s) can be the cause of such divisiveness in human societies. To understand how language policies evolve over time within a given society requires an understanding of the history, beliefs, ideologies, and, especially, intercultural relations within that society, both in the present day and in the historical past, as well as an understanding of political economy in its many guises. The chapters in this collection provide rich analyses of these factors, relying on a range of theoretical orientations and methodological approaches, including critical discourse analysis, interpretive policy analysis, historical analysis, and related areas. Given the range of topics and contexts covered in these ten chapters, I have decided to tease out roughly four themes that seem to emerge and that merit particular attention. Clearly, each chapter stands on its own and makes a unique contribution as a case study or contribution to research methods. Therefore, the reader is encouraged to carefully consider the particular contribution of each chapter to the literature on language policy and planning.

12.2 Discourse and the Political Economy

A theme that emerges as important and relevant to several of the chapters is the role of political economy and the ways it is imbricated in discourses surrounding language policies. Language policies, broadly construed, are directly related to economic processes, which are, in the end, constituted and enabled by political systems and their various institutionalized instrumentalities (see Ricento 2015, for detailed case studies). The democratic liberal state, with its laws, regulations, and institutions,

provides the stability and security necessary for the accumulation of capital, indispensable for the operation of a market society within a globalized economy. Therefore, it should not be surprising that, for example, in the case of the promotion of Welsh in the discourse of business in Wales (Barakos' chapter, Chap. 2), the discourses of a neoliberal market society would play an important role since the ideology of the 'market' is deeply ingrained as common sense in liberal democratic societies. It is not nearly enough to be persuasive that Welsh should be promoted using only the tropes of national identity, pride, and a unique culture conveyed by and through Welsh; rather, in economic terms, the *use* value of Welsh must be enmeshed discursively with its *exchange* value to persuade people of the economic and instrumental value of using Welsh in business transactions. Barakos describes a Bilingual Code of Practice developed by a large communications services company located in a high-density Welsh-speaking area of north Wales. Throughout this Bilingual Code of Practice, according to Barakos, 'different discourses are articulated together, which conflate the company's concerns over the socio-cultural and economic value of Welsh'. The interesting move in this document, pointed out by Barakos, is that pride in the language (Welsh), culture, and nation is used to *legitimate* profit-making endeavors, which points to commodifying processes of language and the conflation of the twinned tropes of 'pride' and 'profit'. This twinning of pride and profit, according to Barakos, is invoked in the phrase the 'branding of Wales' and in the 'authenticity' of Welsh in that process. Barakos, through her analysis of business discourse, shows us how threatened/minority languages in countries where these languages are supported by official state policies are discursively positioned in the economy's demands for flexibility, variability, and authenticity through targeted customer service, niche markets, and tailored advertising.

12.3 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies have very tangible effects on attitudes toward languages that shape norms and policies. In the case of English-medium instruction (EMI) in European higher education, Frank van Splunder

compares the use of EMI in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) and Finland, two regions characterized by a similar linguistic profile but with different language ideologies and practices. Van Splunder examines discourses on EMI and identifies four major 'bundles' of ideologies that can be represented on dichotomous continua: essentialism versus instrumentalism, monolingualism versus bilingualism/multilingualism, correct versus communicative language, and territoriality versus personality. Based on historical comparative analysis of the two countries and analysis of selected governmental and institutional policies, van Splunder concludes that the ideologies of essentialism, monolingualism/multilingualism, standardization, and territoriality are prevalent in Flanders, while Finland is characterized by instrumentalism, bilingualism/multilingualism, and the personality principles, noting that these ideologies vary in strength depending on various factors, including a person's age. The study reveals how 'us' and 'them' are being constructed in government and university legislation related to the medium of instruction. In both Flanders and Finland, language has played an important role in the construction of a national identity.

In Chap. 4, Katherine Mortimer focuses on processes of social identification and how circulating models of identity influence how people interpret a national policy for universal bilingual education in Paraguay. Using an ethnographic methodology, she demonstrates how models of identity circulate through metapragmatic discourse; models of types of people and types of language use are circulated in moments of speaking and hearing, and passed along across people and social time and space. Language ideologies, the beliefs in which language forms are linked with kinds of people and kinds of social activity, circulate through metapragmatic discourse (as well as through other semiotic activity). Metapragmatic models can be both reproduced and changed in interaction; thus, according to Mortimer, 'language ideologies and models of identity may be taken from widely-circulating discourse and applied in interaction to give shape and meaning to people and languages … but in the process, these models take on new local configurations and can sometimes alter the more widespread meanings as well'. The key conclusion in Mortimer's chapter is that the relationship between language policy and social and linguistic change is anything but linear and simple; yet, if we want language policies to improve education for minoritized language speakers, then it

is important that we try to understand how policy shapes and is shaped by social identification.

12.4 Policy Development as Nonlinear

Policy development is nonlinear. The broader sociopolitical context influences how actors and actions are engaged (or not) at different moments and at different sites. Kristof Savski shows us the trajectory of a Slovenian policy document in four versions of a strategic document outlining government language policy, which went through changes as a result of political elections and realignments. In addition, the developing and ongoing 'discourse about policy' leads to sites of contestation at different times and in different spaces, in social, political, public, and private domains. Relevant here is the idea that, as Jan. Blommaert (2013, p. 133) notes,

> there is rarely just one ideological hegemony governing actual social events; more often there are a number of hegemonies that co-occur in a social event, but their co-occurrence is layered, with macro-hegemonies (e.g., the official language policy) playing into and against meso- and micro-hegemonies (e.g., one's own ways of organizing practices, or more local pressures on performance, such as the presence of friends in the audience of a formal speech event).

This layering and permeability of discourses and political events and their effects on policy development present challenges for researchers in assigning responsibility, that is, agency, in decision-making. Critical ethnography appears to be a useful method to deal with this complexity in analyzing the nature and effects of language policies and the various roles played by actors at different levels of engagement with policy.

12.5 Interdiscursivity and Intertextuality

Interdiscursivity and intertextuality are widely used strategies in discourses on topics dealing with language debates with broad societal importance, such as in the 'English-only' movement in the USA and

the European Union Language and Multilingualism Policy (EULMP), in the making since 1997. In Chap. 5, Rachele Lawton shows us that the same discourses are often used by supporters *and* opponents in making English the official language of the USA, for different purposes, with distortions or omissions of historical or empirical information to make particular arguments. This study builds on the work of Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) and Ricento (2003), who used the methods of both critical discourse analysis and historical-structural analysis in revealing the mismatch between the claims made by politicians in speeches and writings about national character and identity that profess a liberal and inclusive attitude toward minorities (racial, gendered, ethnic, religious) while examining in detail the manifest historical factual contradictions and omissions that belie such claims. Johnson's (2010) research on the development, interpretation, and enactment of language policy in the Philadelphia School District demonstrates how different actors arrived at very different understandings of extant policy and, as a result, supported very different implementation of the same written (formal) policy. The range and mixing of texts in the discursive processes of language policy-making, explanation, implementation, justification, and the subsequent revisions, reductions, realignments, and reaffirmations that inevitably occur over time are common to virtually all types of language policies that navigate domains where competing ideologies, stakeholders, and powerful interests are in play.

12.6 Discursive Approaches to Language Policy: Their Place Within Language Policy Planning

In the four-volume work I recently edited, *Language Policy and Planning*: *Critical Concepts in Linguistics* (Ricento 2016), I reviewed hundreds of journal articles and book chapters published over the past 60 years that have been influential in establishing the goals, methods and theories that have shaped and defined the field of language policy planning (LPP). In the process of assembling the 68 publications that comprise

the four volumes, I found that what was particularly interesting was the rich and varied disciplinary backgrounds, perspectives, and interests of the scholars represented, each contributing 'pieces of the puzzle' on how language(s) 'works' in society; what sorts of linguistic, social, historical, economic, and political phenomena are worth looking at in detail; and what sorts of planning might be possible and desirable in different contexts. One of the most important and early critical voices to be heard with great relevance for the field of LPP is that of Dell Hymes, whose chapter 'Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Setting' (1967) appears in Volume I of Ricento (2016). Hymes' attraction to linguistic anthropology informed his commitment to social justice, and he was, from the beginning of his career, interested in understanding the relationship between language and systems of domination and subordination. As is the case with intellectuals who change the way we think about the world, Hymes was not constrained by existing disciplinary boundaries or orthodoxies. Alan Luke, in his introduction to an anthology of Hymes' work, *Ethnography*, *Linguistics*, *Narrative Inequality*: *Toward an Understanding of Voice* (1996, p. vii), notes that Hymes' broader proposal was for a science of 'mediative' practice, involving interventions with, on behalf of and alongside of marginalized communities of speakers. In Hymes' essay 'Speech and Language: On the Origins and Foundations of Inequality Among Speakers', originally published in 1973 in the journal *Daedalus*, Hymes explains his justification for a 'mediative', as opposed to an 'extractive', ethnography of language that is a science of activism and intervention:

> In this way one can go beyond a liberal humanism that merely recognizes the abstract potentiality of all languages, to a humanism which can deal with concrete situations, with the inequalities that actually obtain, and help to transform them through knowledge of the ways in which language is actually organized as a human problem and resource.

From these interests and concerns, Hymes, along with John Gumperz and other colleagues, developed an 'ethnography of communication' that remains influential to the present day, the influence of which is clearly seen in much of the work contained in *Discursive Approaches in Language*

Policy (*DALP*). In fact, the empirical work in *DALP* follows in a direct line from the work of Hymes and Gumperz. What is especially noteworthy for the field of LPP, generally, is that Hymes clearly understood and championed the view that a mediative ethnography of language would require scholars from all the social sciences working in a common enterprise, a feature of the best work in LPP today, well-represented in the multidisciplinary research presented in *DALP*.

Researchers in language policy and planning usually have strategic goals in mind when they formulate research questions, goals that are strongly influenced by their particular beliefs and (often unstated) theories on a range of phenomena. This is clearly the case with regard to the topics dealt within *DALP*. Certainly, and understandably, there have been important changes over the past half-century in the strategic goals favored by researchers to understand why and how language(s) is viewed as a problem and resource in diverse societies. For example, in the early days of the field, an important strategic goal of researchers was to provide technical assistance on language matters to governments of newly independent multilingual states, such as Tanzania and Kenya in East Africa, Indonesia in Southeast Asia, and India in South Asia (Tollefson 2013, p. 26). The strategic goals were pragmatic, and the expertise of scholars was provided with the goal of advancing nation-building projects. Tollefson (1991) used the term 'neoclassical approach' to characterize this period of practice and research in LPP, a phase of work in LPP in which scholars provided technical support and expertise to states and their governments based on their particular skills as scholars of language, sociology, and policy sciences. The next phase of LPP research, beginning in the 1980s, reflecting, in part, influences of new social movements in the Global North and South, was more engaged than the earlier one with issues of ideology, power, and inequality, associated with various strands of critical theory that encompassed aspects of (neo)Marxist economic analyses, gender studies, critical race theory, globalism studies, and heterodox conceptualizations of political liberalism, such as communitarianism. The influence of theories and methods associated with structuralism in the social sciences is apparent in both the 'neoclassical approach' and the later 'historical-structural approach' (Tollefson 1991); both approaches tended to ignore or minimize individual agency in the

processes of language planning, policy development, and policy implementation. In more recent scholarly research in LPP, from the 1990s to the present day, there has been an attempt to take into account the decision-making and influence of individuals and communities in LPP processes, from the micro to the macro levels of planning and implementation, often subsumed under the general term 'agency' in the literature. The methods represented in *DALP* clearly are in step with this general orientation to agency, although the historical-structural dimension is clearly important as well (see, in particular, the chapters by Kremer and Horner, Chap. 7 and van Splunder, Chap. 9).

I think it is fair to say that, at this point in time, as Tollefson (2013, p. 28) argues, there is a tension between two paradigms: the historical-structural approach, on the one hand, and various approaches that coalesce under the heading 'public sphere(s)', originally conceptualized by Jürgen Habermas (1982) as an open space available for discussion of issues of common concern, and later problematized by critics, who proposed a pluralistic view that posited multiple public spheres and 'subaltern counterpublics' that provide counterhegemonic discourses challenging the discourse of the dominant public sphere, on the other. According to Tollefson (p. 29), the historical-structural approach is useful for understanding the conditions under which the state and other powerful institutions, such as corporations, can impose their will on individuals and communities through language policies, while public sphere approaches help us better understand the conditions under which individuals and communities act as agents in their own language learning and language use. Both approaches are necessary if an important goal of research in LPP is to understand the relationship between language and systems of domination and subordination in order to reduce inequality and promote greater inclusion and democratic participation for all members of civil society. As David C. Johnson notes in his framing essay in this volume, 'both structure and agency can emerge in a single discursive event and shape a single policy document … policy texts, discourses, and practices are heterogeneous, and ideologies are multiply-layered, and all can change from context to context over time'.

The arc toward social justice has always been present in LPP theorizing and research, perhaps best articulated by Dell Hymes in his call for a

'mediative', as opposed to an 'extractive', ethnography of language, that is, a science of activism and intervention that beckons us to aspire to 'a humanism which can deal with concrete situations, with the inequalities that actually obtain, and help to transform them through knowledge of the ways in which language is actually organized as a human problem and resource'. William Labov is another prominent scholar who believed that researchers have a responsibility to the speech communities in which they work and conduct research. David C. Johnson, in his framing essay, notes that during his career, Labov testified before the US Congress in support of bi-dialectal education, and in his published research (e.g., Labov 1982, p. 172), Labov argued that 'an investigator who has obtained linguistic data from members of a speech community has an obligation to use the knowledge based on that data for the benefit of the community'. However, as Johnson notes in his essay, too often, 'activism' and 'research' have been separated, thus 'perpetuating divisions between participants and observers that reify objectivist epistemologies'.

The studies presented in *DALP* address the myriad ways that language is organized as a human problem and resource, and help us to understand and explain in novel ways why policies come about, are contested and modified, reflect historical relations among various groups and are understood and responded to by stakeholders and citizens through processes that involve both conflict and compromise. This research extends arguments developed in previous published research that deal with the multilayered nature of language policies, including Ricento and Hornberger (1996), Ricento (2005), Blommaert (2006), Shohamy (2006), and Johnson (2010), among other work that could be cited here. The work presented in *DALP* provides new tools for scholars and practitioners in language policy to help us broaden our understanding of what is *really* going on in the world with regard to how individuals, institutions, societies, and the apparatus of modern states, each with their deep historical roots and ideologies, think about and deal with their differences and commonalities manifested and embodied in the languages they use or come into contact with. It is a never-ending story that is told in different ways in different times and places, that is the warp and woof of human history and, ultimately, circumscribes our destiny as a species.

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