

Immigrant ‘new speakers’ in minority language contexts: a case study of  
Cape Verdeans in Galicia

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## **ABSTRACT**

Globalisation and changing migration patterns have changed the linguistic climate in Galicia. What was once a bilingual society, with Galician and Spanish, has become a multilingual one. This thesis focuses on a community of Cape Verdean immigrants living in a small fishing town in northern Galicia. The Cape Verdean immigrants at the centre of this study are ‘new speakers’ of both Spanish and Galician, while at the same time native speakers of Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole. These complex multilingual repertoires have interesting implications both for the process of integration into the host community and for the formation of identity.

In this thesis I examine the language practices and ideologies of teachers and Cape Verdean students in two Galician secondary schools. Drawing on ethnographic data such as interviews, focus groups and non-participant classroom observation, I explore the challenges that are faced by immigrant ‘new speakers’ who are in the process of acquiring new linguistic resources and negotiating their identity. Specifically, I look at how contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority (Woolard, 2008, 2016) can impact their position as ‘legitimate’ speakers (Bourdieu, 1991), and how this in turn can impact their access to certain linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1991; Pujolar, 2007).

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# DECLARATION STATEMENT



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## **Chapter 1- Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction to the study**

My own linguistic trajectory has in many ways been central to the development of this ethnographic study. I spent the first ten years of my life living in Galicia, speaking English at home with my Irish parents, and learning Spanish and Galician in school. As my childhood was spent in Vigo, one of Galicia's largest urban centres, my exposure to the Galician language was limited to what was taught at school and the scattering of Galician words that had worked their way into the vocabulary of the wider community in Vigo. At the age of nine, I moved to Ireland, where my family were originally from. Although having left my Galician surroundings, I came to know another bilingual, minority language context. My school teachers spoke Irish frequently, and quickly the sounds of Galician and Spanish that characterised my time in Galicia were replaced with those of Irish and English. Although this small Irish school was different in so many respects to what I had previously known, learning two 'local' languages in school felt very familiar.

My undergraduate studies were an opportunity to re-access the language and culture I had left behind in Galicia; I enrolled in a degree in Spanish and French. However, the modules in my degree focused on the Spanish and Latin American contexts. My final year dissertation, which was to be on a topic of my choosing, was my opportunity to look at the Galician context more specifically. I began exploring the major authors of the Galician language revival of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rosalía de Castro was an obvious starting point for me, having always had a preference for poetry over prose. As I began to research Rosalía's work, I found my interest moving towards the sociopolitical context of her writing, rather than the poems themselves. Curiously, I concluded what was essentially a degree in Spanish literature and history, with a dissertation on Galician sociolinguistics. In a sense, my Galician past was to become the future of my research.

On completion of my degree, and having grappled with Rosalía and the linguistic battles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the next step in my journey was to recover the 'lost' Galician language I had learned in school over a decade ago. I was fortunate to be offered a place on a language course in Santiago, run by the Instituto da Lingua Galega and the

University of Santiago de Compostela. Although the course only lasted four weeks, it was sufficient to reignite my dormant knowledge of Galician.

My initial explorations of current sociolinguistic research in Galicia led me to a wealth of material on autochthonous speakers of Galician. However, there was a discernable lack of research that reflected the new social landscape of Galicia, greatly influenced by globalisation and immigration. As someone who identified in many respects as an immigrant during my time in Galicia, I was interested in exploring this issue further. Initially, many academics with whom I discussed my budding interests responded with “but there aren’t any immigrants in Galicia”. Granted, the number of immigrants in Galicia does not reach the levels experienced in other parts of Spain. Nevertheless, immigrants in the small and often ‘forgotten’ region of Galicia, who were in a sense a ‘minority within a minority’, I felt deserved more attention. I was drawn in particular to the research being done on ‘new speakers’, which was a conceptual framework that I thought would be quite useful for understanding the sociolinguistic dynamics of immigrant students learning Galician in schools and in wider Galician society.

I developed contacts with Galician research centres in Ireland, where I was based at the time. During a coffee break at a conference organised by the centre for Galician studies in University College Cork, I discussed my research (which was then in its initial stages), with a colleague. This colleague, (one of the first people not to meet my ambitions with a response along the lines of “there aren’t any immigrants in Galicia”), drew my attention to the situation in As Rocas<sup>1</sup>. Although she did not know much about the town, she pointed me to a documentary that had been made about the immigrant community there. The amateur documentary was intended to be an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in As Rocas. Made up mostly of interviews with people from the community, it showcased students from all corners of the world speaking Galician and reflecting on their love of the language. This documentary stood in stark contrast with much of the scholarly research being produced in Galicia at the time, which largely agreed that young people’s use of Galician was steadily declining. The documentary presented As Rocas as a ‘sociolinguistic paradise’, where immigrants were integrated ‘seamlessly’ and the Galician language was thriving; a ‘melting pot’ of cultures and languages, As Rocas seemed impossible to ignore. Although previous anthropological

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<sup>1</sup> In order to ensure anonymity, a pseudonym has been used for the name of the town in question. Pseudonyms have also been used for names of all participants.

studies had been carried out in As Rocas, their focus was not specifically on language. No systematic research had yet been carried out in this small town that seemed an opportune site for an ethnographic study. Not only was there a large community of migrants living in As Rocas, but also, from watching the documentary, it seemed as if the local community was proactive and open to inviting more investigation.

Following discussions with my supervisor, I was put in contact with Miguel, one of the makers of the documentary, who also happened to be a secondary school teacher in the town. Initially, I did not have clear-cut research questions, but rather a keen curiosity to learn more about this multilingual, multicultural town, which seemed to defy the process of language shift that was happening throughout the rest of Galicia. What was it that made As Rocas different? How did the claims made in the documentary translate in daily life? What was the 'secret ingredient' that made As Rocas a sociolinguistic paradise?

My first visit to As Rocas took place in the summer of 2013. During my first visit I stayed with Miguel and his family. The many hours I spent with them made it feel, at times, as if I was doing an ethnography on their family interactions rather than on the sociolinguistic context of the town. There were only two secondary schools in As Rocas (IES Primavera and IES Margarita<sup>2</sup>), and Miguel was a teacher in one and his wife, Carla, in the other. Gaining access to the field, which many researchers struggle with a great deal, was relatively easy in my case. I was met with open arms (figuratively and literally) in both schools and was invited to sit in on more classes than the hours in the school day allowed me to. Over the next year I visited As Rocas twice more, once in October 2013 and again in the summer of 2014. During the last field trip in summer 2014, which was to be for several months, I rented my own accommodation and felt truly part of the community, attending local events and enrolling in extracurricular classes in the town centre.

My research visits were mostly spent going between the two adjacent schools where Miguel and Carla taught. I got to know the teachers, especially those working closely with immigrant students, and was fortunate to be able to interview many of them. While sitting in on classes, I built rapport with the students, although at times my researcher

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<sup>2</sup> As with the name of the town and the names of interviewees, the two schools have been given pseudonyms.

status perplexed them (as a non-participant I was neither teacher nor student, something that was often difficult to explain). In the afternoons I would often spend time with Miguel, joining him in community activities he had organised. As demonstrated by the documentary I had watched, the community in As Rocas were indeed receptive to the idea of a researcher arriving in their town. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic melting pot that was presented was undeniably apparent. However, as a researcher, it was my job to scratch the surface, and as such, try to find out in more detail about the sociolinguistic complexities of As Rocas.

Having discussed my own relationship to the study, the next part of this chapter will establish the theoretical aims and objectives of the study, situating it within the wider field of research.

## **1.2 Aims, objectives and research questions**

Contemporary social and linguistic landscapes have experienced significant changes due to increased globalisation and shifting, accelerating patterns of migration. Multilingualism is now increasingly prevalent, with many children growing up in homes where there is more than one language, or more than one way of speaking (García, 2009; Grosjean, 2013). The changing linguistic ecologies of contemporary societies have provoked a rethinking of previously accepted binary concepts such as ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ speaker (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). For immigrant communities, learning the language or languages of their new community is often an important step in their process of integration, acting as a vehicle for their contribution to the social, economic and political life of the community in which they now reside (Bermingham & O’Rourke, forthcoming). However, as ‘new speakers’ of a language, immigrants often come up against resistance from ‘native’ speakers, who at times challenge and deny their position as ‘legitimate’ (Bourdieu, 1991), often contributing to discrimination and social exclusion (O’Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). These issues are of particular importance in 21<sup>st</sup> century multilingual classrooms. Questions about the management of linguistic diversity are increasingly at the fore of language policy and education debates in contemporary globalised societies. Policy engagement with the multilingual realities of schools in European contexts continues to be inadequate, and the linguistic ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1991) of modern day education systems remains largely monolingual (O’Rourke, 2011a).

In this dissertation I look specifically at the challenges and opportunities experienced by Cape Verdean immigrants who are becoming ‘new speakers’ of both Galician and Spanish in the town of As Rocas. The complex multilingual repertoires of Cape Verdeans, who are already ‘native’ speakers of Portuguese and Cape Verdean creole are central to this study. It is against this backdrop that I question whether Cape Verdean students use their existing linguistic resources as an integrative tool or, rather, renounce their former languages in favour of the new linguistic market in Galicia, where Spanish is positioned by many as the language of social mobility.

By exploring the language practices and ideologies of Cape Verdean students in As Rocas, I examine the extent to which these speakers position themselves as ‘legitimate’ speakers (Bourdieu, 1991) of Spanish and Galician, and in turn, whether their host community in As Rocas accepts them as such. I investigate the challenges that are faced by immigrant ‘new speakers’ who are in the process of acquiring new linguistic resources and negotiating their identity. Drawing on previous theoretical discussions, I look at how language ideologies about authenticity and anonymity (Woolard, 2008, 2016) can impact their position as ‘legitimate’ speakers (Bourdieu, 1991). Furthermore, I question whether the language practices of Cape Verdean students are determined by a desire to integrate in the local community.

The data presented in this thesis will provide insight into how deficient models of linguistic ability are often constructed. It will examine whether new approaches to the management of linguistic diversity in multilingual and multicultural schools have managed to diverge from previously engrained conceptions of multilingualism as ‘parallel monolingualism’ (Heller, 1999) and worked towards contributing to more ‘fluid’ understandings of language (García, 2014). Looking specifically at immigrant students in the education system, the thesis will contribute to scholarly debates about how new ways of thinking about language can contribute to increased intercultural recognition in multilingual and multicultural schools. By examining the case of As Rocas, I will shed light on the way multilingualism is or isn’t valued in this community, and what languages hold capital for whom in what linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989).

As mentioned above, the 21<sup>st</sup> century has brought with it a new range of challenges for minority language contexts, notably the linguistic integration of migrants in officially

bilingual communities. Within certain communities, we often see the native speaker as having privileged access, while non native speakers are seen as the ‘other’ (Piller, 2001b). This concept of ‘otherness’ has been applied in Galicia to ‘new’ Galician speakers called *neofalantes*. *Neofalante* is a term used in Galicia to describe those who grew up speaking Spanish (usually in urban, middle class contexts) but at a certain point in their lives rejected the Spanish language in favour of speaking Galician almost exclusively (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013) (See chapter 3.7 for a more detailed discussion of the *neofalante* label). However, where does this leave the immigrant who is neither a ‘native’ Galician speaker nor an urban, middle-class *neofalante*? It could be suggested that these migrant speakers experience a double layer of ‘otherness’. This ‘otherness’ can present both social and economic challenges for migrants, possibly denying them access to certain markets (Bourdieu, 1991; Pujolar, 2007).

In light of the above discussion, the research questions that this thesis seeks to answer are the following:

- What are the challenges that are faced by immigrants who are in the process of acquiring new linguistic resources and negotiating their identity?
- How do language ideologies of linguistic authority impact immigrants’ position as ‘legitimate’ speakers?
- How can acceptance as a legitimate speaker (or indeed having access to the legitimate language) impact access to social capital?

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

This chapter has provided an introduction to this ethnographic study and outlined the motivations for conducting the research. It has also given a brief theoretical introduction to the thesis, and argued for the relevance of the case of As Rocas for exploring issues relating to immigrant ‘new speakers’ in educational settings. In chapter 2, the theoretical foundations of the study will be discussed, positioning this study within the broader research context. Chapter 3 looks specifically at the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia. It examines issues relating to language planning and migration in Galicia, both issues that are central to this present study. Chapter 4 gives an ethnographic exploration of As Rocas, and argues for the use of ethnographic methods for eliciting information about

the language ideologies that circulate in As Rocas. Moreover, it discusses researcher positioning and how this can impact the process of data collection and analysis.

Chapters 5 to 8 of this thesis are dedicated to examining the data collected for this ethnographic case study. The chapters broadly follow a thematic outline and draw on the theoretical foundations presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 explores the ideologies that underpin top down and grassroots language planning initiatives in Galicia, and questions the implications of such on the Cape Verdean community of As Rocas. Chapter 6 looks at the changes that have taken place in the schools in As Rocas since the arrival of proportionately high numbers of immigrants. Moreover, it examines how both schools in As Rocas are managing their linguistically diverse classrooms. Chapter 7 looks at how ideologies of linguistic authority (namely authenticity and anonymity) act as legitimating ideologies and influence the language practices of both teachers and Cape Verdean students in As Rocas. Chapter 8 looks at the language hierarchies present in Galicia, and how these affect the Cape Verdean immigrant ‘new speakers’. Moreover, it draws parallels between the linguistic hierarchies engrained in Galician society and those in Cape Verdean society. Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, provides a summary of the research questions, findings and methodological approach. It discusses the theoretical implications of such findings, and proposes ideas on how the results of this ethnographic study contribute to existing academic debates on issues relating to ‘new speakers’ in contexts of migration. Moreover, it advises how this study could be taken further by providing suggested directions for future research.



## Chapter 2- Theoretical foundations

### 2.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines the theoretical foundations of this study. It is broken up into five key sections. Firstly, this chapter reviews the literature on language and migration. It argues that globalisation and migration have changed the way that we think about language, seeing it increasingly as a set of fluid resources (Blommaert, 2010). Moreover, this first section looks at how issues relating to migration, language and social inequality intersect. It explores how the relationship between dominant and dominated plays out in contexts of migration in globalised society. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the concept of the ‘new speaker’. As already mentioned, ways of thinking about and conceptualizing language are changing. Therefore, this chapter looks at how the concept of ‘new speaker’ fits into this ever-shifting understanding of language in the social world. As this thesis focuses on ‘new speakers’ in the Galician context, this section will lay the theoretical foundations for the discussion that is to follow. The third part of this chapter, in keeping with the previously discussed ideas about ‘rethinking’ language, will focus specifically on the fluid nature of language in contexts of migration. It will trace the development in academic discussions of ‘code-switching’ to postmodern terminology such as ‘translanguaging’ (García and Wei, 2014). As social inequality is an issue that is central to this thesis, section four of this chapter will look at Bourdieu's ‘thinking tools’, namely, *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. Moreover, it will consider concepts such as the linguistic market and the legitimate language. These topics form the basis of a large part of Bourdieu's body of work (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1991) and will contribute to understanding the issues raised in this study. Finally, this chapter will present a discussion of the literature on language ideologies. More specifically, it will look at *authenticity and anonymity*, ideologies of linguistic authority. It will outline how ideologies about language are not exclusively about language, but rather consider how language ideologies are connected to issues of power (Woolard, 1998).

## **2.2 Sociolinguistics of migration**

### **2.2.1 Globalisation and the 'paradigm shift'**

Blommaert (2016), reflecting on the developments in the field of multilingualism, notes that there has been a 'paradigmatic shift' from 'stability' to 'mobility'. Migratory movements have impacted sociocultural diversity and multilingual contexts, giving way to "highly complex, "messy" and hybrid sociolinguistic phenomena that defy established categories" (2016, p.245). Moreover, he notes that the influence that migration has had on multilingualism has led researchers to give greater consideration to 'mobile people', while migratory flows have influenced the connection between geographic territories and language, consequently affecting the linguistic resources and communicative opportunities of said mobile people.

The term 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) has been used to explain the "diversification of diversity": 'superdiversity' aims to explain how new waves of migration, brought about by globalisation and the development of new technologies, characterise the social world. This so called 'superdiversity' has "generated complex social-communicative environments and webs of mobile people, semiotic modes and forms, and meanings" (Blommaert, 2016, p.245). In order to better understand the linguistic dynamics of such complex 'superdiverse' environments, some researchers have developed their ideas under the umbrella of a 'sociolinguistics of globalisation' (see Blommaert, 2010 for an indepth discussion) and focused on mobility as a central theme (Pennycook, 2007; Coupland, 2010).

This focus on mobility in academic scholarship marks a shift in sociolinguistic theory; previously, language, as well as other cultural and social characteristics were conceived as static and set in time and space: "A language or language variety was something that "belonged" to a definable (and thus bounded) "speech community"; that speech community lived in one place at one time and, consequently, shared an immense amount of contextual knowledge" (Blommaert, 2016, p.245). Instead of viewing language as a 'bounded' object as described in Blommaert's 'sociolinguistics of distribution', Blommaert argues for a 'sociolinguistics of mobility' which positions languages as resources: "I categorically opt for a sociolinguistics of resources, not of

languages, and mobility is a central theoretical concern in this sociolinguistics of resources” (Blommaert, 2010, p.21).

### ***2.2.2 Language and migration: earlier contributions***

Although, as discussed above, sociolinguistics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen a shift towards an increased preoccupation with migration and mobility, the fluid and dynamic aspects of language did not go unnoticed in earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century studies. Early sociolinguistic contributions such as Gumperz and Hymes (1972) on ethnographies of communication discussed the connected and dynamic nature of linguistic features, while Gumperz (1982) explored interethnic linguistic encounters, drawing on Hymes’ (1972) notion of ‘communicative competence’.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, scholarly contributions to the sociolinguistics of migration focused primarily on code-switching practices amongst migrants, processes of language shift, and migrants in the education system (Broeder and Extra, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1981; Cummins, 1984), with Rampton (1995) later coining the term ‘crossing’ to describe language contact and code-switching practices and the blurring of linguistic boundaries amongst young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds in Britain.

Meanwhile, sociolinguistic studies carried out in the United States explored the topic of migration with a specific focus on issues of race (Parsons Dick, 2011). Lippi-Green (1997), put forward a strong critique of the ‘myth’ of the standard language and explored how accents in English influence social inclusion and power dynamics in the context of the United States. Other important sociolinguistic studies that explored language and migration in the United States include Jane Hill’s work on ‘mock Spanish’, where she looked at how Spanish linguistic expressions are misused by English monolinguals, at times to index playfulness and at others as a form of stigmatisation (Hill, 1995, 1999, 2008).

### ***2.2.3 Social inequality and the ‘migrant problem’***

As Blommaert (2010) posits, “considering globalisation phenomena involves an engagement with power, misrecognition and recognition, social justice and

empowerment” (2010, p.19). In recent decades, linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists have focused on how language is used to create social hierarchies (Agha, 2007; Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Kroskrity, 2000). In particular, studies of migration over the last two decades have also been concerned with the production of social inequality, and how such social inequality is salient in organizing human movement (De Genova, 2005; Smith, 2006). As Parsons Dick (2011) notes,

one cannot understand who moves, why they move, or what happens to them when they move without attending to the ways people are made into distinct and hierarchically ranked kinds through varied processes of social differentiation, from the formal designation of categories of migrants within a nation-state’s immigration law to the dynamics of social positioning within locally salient gender, race, and class formations. (2011, p.228)

More recently, studies have looked at the relationship between forms of linguistic domination experienced by immigrants and the strategies employed by them to gain legitimacy in social settings (Collins, Slembrouck, & Baynham, 2009; Duchêne, Moyer, and Roberts, 2013; Márquez Reiter and Martín-Rojo, 2015).

In 1998, Blommaert and Verschueren, drawing on Belgium as an illustrative example, discussed the ideological and sociolinguistic foundations of the “migrant debate”, which they posit is underpinned by ideologies of discrimination and homogenism. They argue that although “the need to move around is part of the condition humaine” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, p.14), the diversity that results as part of such movement of people is presented in public discourse as “a problem that needs to be managed” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, p.15). However, they argue that the opportunity for ‘management’ lies always with the powerful: “Despite an overtly professed democratic attitude, the ‘managed’ have little say in all this. Therefore the debate is really about the ‘other’, viewed from the perspective of the majority” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, p.15). The nation state, they argue, is imagined as linguistically homogenous, and the migrant community is perceived as being disruptive of such linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Therefore, the ‘migrant problem’ is ‘managed’ by the majority group through processes of ‘integration’ which aim for linguistic assimilation.

The way in which language and inequality are linked is particularly discernible in discourses regarding the ‘management’ of immigrant communities, where practices such as language tests and language teaching are used to ‘place’ immigrants, with the expectation that if they do not learn the language of the host country they will face exclusion (Pujolar, 2009). Furthermore, it has been argued that the notion of ‘placing’ immigrants is a “simple and fundamental way to initiate an unequal relation as ‘definer’ and ‘defined’, as ‘locator’ and ‘located’” (Pujolar, 2009, p.85). In his study of language classes for immigrants in Catalonia, Pujolar (2009) found that the aim of the classes, reinforced ideologies of ‘us versus them’. He says: “the general objectives of the language courses I studied were to provide immigrants with basic skills ‘to communicate *with their environment*’, including knowledge about ‘cultural, administrative and social patterns to develop autonomously *in our society*’ and also to provide a space for ‘intercultural dialogue’ so as to ‘promote the integration of immigrant communities *in our society*’ (emphases in the original text)” (Pujolar, 2009, p.95).

This emphasis on integration as a one directional model whereby the immigrant is assimilated into the host society resonates with what Blommaert and Verschuere refer to as the ‘dogma of homogeneity’, where there is “a view of society in which differences are seen as dangerous and centrifugal and in which the ‘best’ society is suggested to be one without inter-group differences” (Blommaert and Verschuere, 1998b, p.194). The term ‘integration’ has also been criticised for its semantic vagueness (Horner, 2009; Blommaert and Verschuere, 1998a). It is positioned as a solution to the ‘migrant problem’, “in that the completion of this vaguely defined process presumably paves the way towards reaching the equally ambiguous goal of social cohesion” (Horner, 2009, p.118). As Horner notes, discourses on integration allow for a national sense of place to be maintained in that the ‘Other’ has to ‘fit in’, while also facilitating processes of (national and European) unification (Horner, 2009, p.125).

Therefore, policies aimed at managing immigrant populations are more than just methods of political ‘management’, but rather they also contribute to broader ideological processes (Hogan-Brun et al., 2009), are ideologically motivated (Piller, 2001a) or what Blommaert (1999) has termed ‘ideological debates’. Such a focus in public discourse on promoting homogeneity highlights a contradiction in the ideologies of the modern nation state, which aim to promote labour migration and porous political

boundaries but also place importance on issues of national sovereignty (Turner, 2006). As Turner notes, “This contradiction means that we can expect state policies towards citizenship and migration to vacillate between treating migration and multiculturalism as aspects of economic policy, and treating multiculturalism within a framework of asserting national sovereignty” (Turner, 2006, p.610).

## **2.3 Exploring the ‘new speaker’ label**

### **2.3.1 *Problematizing ‘nativeness’***

In recent decades, applied linguists have begun to problematise the concept of 'nativeness' and the native speaker (Doerr, 2009; Davies, 2003). This critique, however, has focused in large part on the English language and its presence as a global language. As there are now more non-native speakers of English than there are native speakers (Crystal, 2003), the linguistic authority that the native speaker was presumed to have is, in certain contexts, being called into question (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). However, in minority language contexts, such as in Galicia, the problematizing of the native speaker concept in academic scholarship has been more recent (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013, 2011). Research carried out in European minority language contexts such as Basque, Irish and Breton, for example, has tended to focus more on native or heritage speakers as the key to language revitalisation processes (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). The ‘new speaker’ category, which this section will discuss, has received less attention than the native speaker in discussions on minority languages. Nonetheless, there have been a small number of studies that have examined ‘non-native’ speakers, for example Trosset (1986), Woolard (1989) and Mc-Ewan-Fujita (2010).

Historically, minority languages in Europe have experienced marginalisation and ‘minorisation’ in favour of the linguistic homogeneity promoted by European nation states. As O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013, p.49) note, this was especially true in the Spanish context, where regional minority languages such as Galician, Catalan and Basque were marginalised and ‘minorised’ as a consequence of the linguistic unification of Spain as a Spanish speaking state. The Spanish example is not an exception, however. Breton and Occitan in France, and Gaelic and Welsh in Britain experienced a similar trajectory of minorisation due to the linguistic homogenisation of their

respective nation states. This led to a process of language shift and, consequently, the number of speakers of these minority languages declined. Thus, as a reaction to such language shift, the 20th century saw an increase in language revitalisation movements across Europe. However, ironically, as O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013) point out, such movements often drew on the types of ideologies that led to their oppression in the first place, drawing on "European ideologies about language and identity, based on the premise that communities of speakers were conventionally constructed around distinct nationalities" (2013, p.49). Moreover, minority revitalisation movements established their "right to nationhood through the construction or re-construction of a native speaker population" (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013, p.50). In line with this type of thinking, the 'purest' and most authentic form of the language was thought to be that of the rural, socially isolated sectors of the population who had not been 'contaminated' by language contact in urban spaces.

### ***2.3.2 The role of the speaker***

Academic discussions on nativeness in English language settings have largely centred on the social and political implications of English as a global language. However, the discussions in minority language contexts, have been more concerned with issues surrounding language loss, with Dorian (1981) notably discussing language death. Thus, there has been a focus on 'saving' minority languages and minority language speakers, and the key to halting processes of language shift has been seen to lie in the preservation of the native speaker community (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). Nevertheless, one of the pitfalls of 'saving' the language by 'saving' the authentic native speakers has been to create a very narrow definition of who fits into this native speaker category. By delineating who is 'in' the group of authentic and legitimate speakers, revival sociolinguists have also established who is 'out'. This has implications for speakers who, like many of those discussed in this present study, may speak a minority language, but may not be a native speaker of said language.

The role of the speaker has been central to studies on language and language death. Notably, Dorian (1977) introduced the term 'semi-speaker' in her seminal work on speakers of Gaelic in East Sunderland. Jaffe (2015) explains how Dorian's concept of the 'semi speaker' indexes language shift by representing the decline of the minority language. The 'semi-speaker', Jaffe notes, "is a potential harbinger of "language death"

(2015, p.23). In keeping with Dorian's earlier discussions, contemporary discourses on language endangerment have continued to focus on typologies of speakers, with Grinevald and Bert proposing seven categories of speaker: fluent, semi-speaker, terminal speaker, rememberer, ghost speaker, neo-speaker and last speaker (Grinevald and Bert, 2011, pp.49–52). More recently, the 'new speaker' label has garnered scholarly attention in minority language debates (Walsh and Ní Dhúda, 2015; Pujolar and Puigdevall, 2015; O'Rourke et al., 2015).

Jaffe highlights that, in contrast to the decline that the semi-speaker label indexes, the new speaker label is 'inherently more hopeful'. The figure of the 'new speaker' suggests "an upward movement away from language shift and loss rather than an inevitable downward slope. That is, both non- and semi-speakers are envisioned as potential new speakers" (Jaffe, 2015, p.23). Thus, if the new speaker contrasts positively with the semi-speaker, he or she also contrasts with the "pure" and "authentic" native speaker. In keeping with the previous discussion in this section, this calls into question the inherent authority of the native speaker and of their potential as targets in the language revitalisation movement and the creation of new speakers (Jaffe, 2015, p.23).

In several European contexts, 'new speakers' of minority languages now outnumber the native rational speaking community. Examples include Irish in Ireland; Manx, where the last native speaker was considered to have been lost in 1974; Basque, where more than 50% of young speakers of Basque are 'new speakers' (Ortega et al., 2015); and Galician, where most young people learn the language outside the home (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2015). This, O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013) argue, calls for a questioning of Fishman's model for reversing language shift, which focuses on the role of the native speaker community (Fishman, 1991). Scholars such as Romaine (2006), King (2001) and Jaffe (2010) have challenged previously accepted language revitalisation models, with the latter two authors suggesting a move towards involving 'new speakers' in language revitalisation rather than restoring the 'native' community.

### ***2.3.3 Conceptualisation of the new speaker label***

The societal changes that have been brought about by globalisation and new migratory patterns have led to a rethinking of previously accepted terms such as 'native' and 'non-native' speaker in academic debates on minority languages (O'Rourke and Ramallo,



2011, 2013; O'Rourke et al., 2015). This rethinking can be applied particularly to the current research in the context of As Rocas. The Cape Verdean speakers in As Rocas are challenging the notion of 'nativeness': it could be argued that they are 'native' speakers of Portuguese and Kriolu, while at the same time 'non-native' speakers of Galician and Spanish. However, their diverse linguistic trajectories, and their daily 'translanguaging' practices force us to question the suitability of these terms altogether.

The shortcomings of terms such as 'native speaker' and 'mother tongue' extend beyond this study, and have been highlighted by sociolinguistics over the last several decades (Doerr, 2009; Davies, 2003; Rampton, 1990). Nevertheless, these terms continue to be used frequently due to a lack of suitable alternatives (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2013). The 'new speaker' label, which is positioned as an attempt to move away from the constraints of the native/non-native binary, has therefore gained much attention in recent academic scholarship (Walsh and Ní Dhúda, 2015; Pujolar and Puigdevall, 2015; O'Rourke et al., 2015). Although the 'new speaker' label is new, the concept itself has been present in academic debates under (now frequently contested) labels such as non-native speaker, second language speaker, L2 speaker, etc. (O'Rourke et al., 2015). The new speaker label differentiates itself in that it is an attempt to move away from the deficiency implicit in aforementioned labels.

In a similar vein, in an attempt to capture the changing nature of languages (and speakers of language) in the globalised world, other scholars have proposed terms such as "emergent bilinguals" (García and Kleifgen, 2010), "metrolingualism" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010) and "translanguaging" (García and Wei, 2014). The 'new speaker' label therefore fits into this new terminology that is underpinned by changing ideologies about the nature of languages in the world. Puigdevall (2014, p.45) argues that the new speaker phenomenon challenges "the dominant linguistic ideologies of early modernity in which the identification between language, culture and territory was the base for legitimate national identities". The exploration of the 'new speaker' label, she argues, provides a way to investigate new language practices that are emerging in contexts of increased globalisation.

Therefore, in the case of Galicia, where sociolinguistic debates have been dominated by discussions of traditional speakers and *neofalantes*, the 'new speaker' label is useful for describing speakers (in this case Cape Verdean immigrants) who do not fit 'neatly' into

either category. The fluidity of the ‘new speaker’ label allows us to account for the fluid profile of the Cape Verdeans in this study, who draw daily on their multilingual repertoire and have complex multilingual profiles. Moreover, the ‘new speaker’ label is helpful in moving away from thinking of languages as bounded units, and aids in the discussion of Cape Verdeans’ ‘translanguaging’ practices.

## **2.4 Conceptualizing bilingualism: from code-switching to ‘translanguaging’**

### ***2.4.1 Multilingual practices and code-switching***

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many scholars debated the nature of bilingualism and what constituted bilingualism: As early as 1933, Bloomfield, in his classic definition, argued that a bilingual was one who displayed “native-like control of two languages” (Bloomfield, 1933). Decades later, Mackey (1962, p.52) postulated that bilingualism was “the ability to use more than one language”. This sentiment was echoed by Weinreich (1968), who argued that bilingualism was “the practice of alternately using two languages” (Weinreich, 1968, p.1).

Over the last several decades, there has been a significant increase in the number of studies on bilingualism and code-switching more specifically, the latter a subject which during the mid-twentieth century existed on the periphery of sociolinguistic enquiry (Auer, 1998). This was, perhaps, because code-switching was perceived to be a ‘somewhat peculiar act’ (Luckmann, 1983, p.97) or as Gafaranga (2007) put it, a ‘disorderly’ phenomenon. Labov (1971), in his discussion of creole languages and specifically the code-switching practices he observed in a New York Puerto Rican speaker, succinctly explained his positioning regarding the haphazard nature of code-switching (although not referring to it as code-switching, and rather referencing ‘rapid alternation’).

So far, however, no one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints, and we therefore must describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems. (1971, p.457)

However, despite perceptions regarding the unsystematic nature of code-switching, and until then its status as a ‘peripheral’ subject in the field of linguistics, the 1970s saw the

publication of now seminal works on the study of code-switching. Leading the research on the sociolinguistic aspects of code-switching were Gumperz and his colleagues (Gumperz, 1964, 1967; Gumperz and Wilson, 1971; Blom and Gumperz, 1972), while Poplack (1980), examined the grammatical nature of the phenomenon; all of these studies contributed to refuting the notion that code-switching was merely a random occurrence. This was followed by publications in the 1980s and 1990s, for example Myers-Scotton (1988, 1993a, 1993b), and Auer (1984), which, Auer argued, placed code-switching as a “subject matter which is recognised to be able to shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior” (Auer, 1998).

#### **2.4.2 Post-modern approaches**

More recently, sociolinguistic studies (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998) have critiqued and refuted the notion that code-switching consists of a speaker alternating between two separate linguistic codes. Rather, there has been a shift towards a “monolectal view of code-switching” (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998, p.76) that portrays code-switching as a “system that operates very much on its own, with dynamics of its own” (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998, p.76): that is, rather than an alternation between two codes, the speaker produces “one code in its own right” (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998, p.76).

The idea that bilingualism consists of perfect mastery of two codes, described by Heller (1999) as ‘parallel monolingualism’ runs through the academic discourse on bilingualism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Literature on bilingualism has often focused on the separate nature of different codes, and therefore the idea of “keeping the two languages apart” (Haugen, 1956, p.155) has been, in the past, presented as problematic, with ‘interference’ between languages being presented as a problem for bilinguals (Haugen, 1956; Weinreich, 1953; Mackey, 1962). Scholars have argued that conceptualizing bilingualism in such a way is an outcome of modern nation-state ideologies which promote the notion of *one nation one language* (Blommaert, 1999; Hobsbawm, 1990). However, conceptualizing language in such a way does not come without problems, especially in diverse, multilingual globalised societies. As has been noted, “the ‘traditional’ model of bilingualism does not enable us to deconstruct the hybridity and multiplicity of linguistic practices and their social and contextual embeddedness” (da Silva et al., 2007, p.186). Gafaranga (2007, p.15) has noted that previously used terms such as ‘harmonious bilingualism’ and ‘semilingualism’ are founded on the notion that

“the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual speaker is seen as compartmentalised between the two languages”. Echoing Heller’s discussion of ‘parallel monolingualism’, Gafaranga (2007, p. 16) explains how “for proponents of semilingualism, the yardstick for measuring bilingual competence is monolingual competence”. Grosjean (1989) was also one of the earlier researchers to counter these notions of ‘parallel monolingualism’, arguing that a bilingual person was not simply “two monolinguals in one person”. As Baker (2011) notes, Grosjean’s is a “holistic view which argues that the bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but that he or she has a unique linguistic profile” (Baker, 2001, p.7). Notwithstanding, terminology such as ‘semilingualism’, and the assumptions of bilingualism to which it is tied have, over recent decades, gradually been rejected (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985; Romaine, 1995).

García and Wei (2014) detail how the post-modern era has brought with it new ways of understanding language: “language is less and less understood as a monolithic autonomous system made up of discrete structures (as in Saussure) or a context-free mental grammar (as in Chomsky)” (García and Wei, 2014). Instead, they posit that language “has begun to be conceptualized as a series of social practices and actions by speakers that are embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations.” (García and Wei, 2014). In keeping with such a focus on ‘social practices’, many sociolinguists have thus begun to use the term ‘languaging’ (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007a; Canagarajah, 2011b; Shohamy, 2006) to highlight ‘the agency of speakers in an ongoing process of interactive meaning-making’ (García and Wei, 2014).

Makoni and Pennycook (2007a) have argued that language is a social and political construct and that consequently labels such as bilingualism and multilingualism should be thrown out; they argue instead for the ‘disinvention’ of language and a rethinking of languages as ‘hermetically sealed units’ (Makoni, 1998). Such new conceptualisations of language have had an impact on academic discussions on bilingualism: The study of bilingualism has seen a break from the previous focus on code-switching and the alternation between ‘separate’ languages (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) instead propose that researchers shift towards exploring “the relationships between what people believe about their language (or other people’s languages), the situated forms of talk that they deploy, and the material effects – social,

economic, environmental – of such views and uses” (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007a, p.22).

### 2.4.3 *Translanguaging*

Contemporary sociolinguists have developed a new range of terms to address and understand the linguistic diversity experienced in modern globalised societies and to reflect their “desire to move away from the language of bi- or multilingualism, castigating earlier work for operating with the idea that multilingualism is the sum of several, separate languages” (Pennycook, 2016, p.201). These terms include, but are not limited to, code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011a), polylingual languaging (Møller, 2008; Jørgensen, 2008), flexible bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2010), crossing (Rampton, 1995), and metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015). While acknowledging that the aforementioned terms circulate in academic discourse, this thesis will draw most substantially on the concept of ‘translanguaging’, as will now be discussed.

It was Williams (1996), an education scholar, who first used the Welsh term *trawsieithu*, later translated to ‘translinguifying’ and then subsequently to ‘translanguaging’ (Lewis et al., 2012), to refer to a pedagogical practice whereby two languages are used in the classroom for teaching and learning. Put simply, Williams described the pedagogical basis of a translanguaging approach as:

translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g., English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g., Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it (C. Williams, 1996, p.64)

The pedagogical focus taken by Williams in his exploration of ‘translanguaging’, has, however, been extended by scholars in recent years. While the term was originally conceived in the 1980s, and applied to the context of Welsh education, it has more recently, since the turn of the century, gained traction and been adopted by scholars, albeit in slightly different ways, in the broader academic scholarship, as this section will discuss (García and Wei, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011b; Wei, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012).

Translanguaging, as a concept, has been extended beyond the parameters of the Welsh classroom, and indeed the classroom *per se*, and, “has been generalised from school to street, from pedagogical practices to everyday cognitive processing, from classroom lessons to all contexts of a bilingual’s life” (Lewis et al., 2012, p.647). In one of the key contributions to the study of translanguaging, García and Wei (2014, p.2) explain how they have adopted and understood the term

for us translanguaging is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages.

What is salient about their statement is how the term translanguaging is proposed as a way of understanding of bilingualism; as García and Wei note, the ‘translanguaging’ practices of bilinguals are part of ‘one linguistic repertoire’, rather than the combination of two autonomous language codes. García and Wei (2014) posit that their use of the term ‘translanguaging’ stems from a change in the way language has been conceptualised since the turn of the century: globalisation and changing social and linguistic climates have led to epistemological changes in the conceptualisation of language, for example Vertovec’s (2007) ‘super-diversity’ or the ‘multilingual turn’ denoted by May (2013). They claim that “the concept of translanguaging is based on radically different notions of language and bilingualism than those espoused in the 20th century” (García and Wei, 2014).

While translanguaging is a term that has been adopted and developed by scholars (García and Wei, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011b; Wei, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012), there are also many other terms currently used in academia, as I mentioned previously, that endeavour to contribute to new ways of understanding bilingualism. One of the first labels used to refer to multilingual practices and linguistic alternation was that of ‘code-switching’. As outlined above, this was pioneered by Gumperz and colleagues and later developed and analysed by other scholars (Jørgensen, 1998; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2000; Auer, 2000). However, as discussed previously, earlier studies on code-switching

frequently focused on the notion of languages as two separate codes (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993 publication entitled “Duelling Languages” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a)); as García and Wei (2014, p.22) point out, code-switching and translanguaging are different in so much as translanguaging “refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers’ construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers’ complete language repertoire.” Indeed, as echoed by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015, p.241) “A recent movement in bi and multilingual studies has been to shift away from a focus on how distinct codes are switched or mixed, in favour of an interest in how boundaries and distinctions are the results of particular language ideologies and how language users manipulate the multilingual resources they have available to them.”

In light of the scholarly contributions to new understandings of long used terms such as bilingualism and multilingualism, García and Wei (2014, p.43), explain their understanding of translanguaging as follows:

Translanguaging for us refers to languaging actions that enact a political process of social and subjectivity transformation which resist the asymmetries of power that language and other meaning-making codes, associated with one or another nationalist ideology, produce. [...] Translanguaging resists the historical and cultural positionings of monolingualism or of additive bilingualism, releasing speakers from having to conform to ‘parallel monolingualisms’ (Heller, 1999) or to traditional linguistic ways of making meaning.

#### ***2.4.4 Pedagogical implications***

García and Wei (2014), in their detailed contribution to the study of translanguaging, acknowledge that the pedagogical scholarship on translanguaging is underdeveloped. This thesis will engage with the challenges of translanguaging in educational settings, focusing specifically on state run schools (see chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion). While Creese and Blackledge (2010) have explored translanguaging in the context of afterschool classes for Chinese immigrant children in the United Kingdom (Creese and

Blackledge, 2010), it is rare to find translanguaging as a legitimate practice in state funded schools (García and Wei, 2014).

García and Wei (2014) outline, from a theoretical perspective, the benefits that translanguaging can bring to the classroom as “It incorporates difference, pluralities and the languaging of everyday to produce and legitimize learning.” (García and Wei, 2014). However, as discussed in chapter 5, while translanguaging approaches can be beneficial for helping students learn and for legitimizing the language practices of immigrant students, it can be problematic when it comes to assessment, where the standard language variety is the only accepted and legitimate one. As noted by García and Wei (2014) “standardized assessments are usually administered in one language only, confounding knowledge with language ability” (García and Wei, 2014). Furthermore, “Translanguaging in assessment is then not accepted either by the policy makers who commission the development of tests nor by many teachers who have been taught to assess knowledge in accordance with artificial bounds of social norms and language” (García and Wei, 2014). As seen in As Rocas, many teachers acknowledged the fluid languaging practices that took place in their multilingual classrooms, and acknowledged it as ‘understandable’. Nevertheless, some teachers still came back to the issue of exams: one of the main academic roles of the school is to prepare students for examinations (see Chapter 5.4.2). Passing such examinations is usually dependent on mastery of the standard language that is accepted as legitimate within this context. Translanguaging practice in classrooms can build self-esteem of students and contribute to increased academic engagement and meaning making, especially among immigrant students. However, unless examination practices are significantly changed, favouring a translanguaging approach can leave students unprepared for the markets in which they are about to compete. This ties into what Martín-Rojo has discussed in relation to decapitalisation (discussed in more detail in chapter 6), whereby immigrant students in the education system are not given the tools they need to compete. However detrimental the monolingual ideologies and standards of schools are in the present day, and however great the need to re-examine the process by which students are examined, in the case of As Rocas, as it stands, immigrant students, in order to succeed within the education system and access university, need to become proficient in standard Spanish and Galician.



## 2.5 Bourdieu, language and the construction of social difference

The economic metaphors developed by Bourdieu (1991) are particularly pertinent for the study of sociolinguistics in the globalised world (Blommaert, 2010). This section will explore Bourdieu's key concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*, often referred to as Bourdieu's 'thinking tools', which he drew on in his analyses of social contexts. Although I will outline each concept separately, it is important to note that the interdependent nature of habitus, field and capital is central to their understanding.

### 2.5.1 *Habitus*

The concept of habitus was developed by Bourdieu throughout his body of work, initially referred to as "habitat" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964) later developed in more detail as habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu, 1972, 1980). One of Bourdieu's primary preoccupations was with the relationship between social structures and each person's individual agency. As he noted in 1994, "all of my thinking started from this point: how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" (Bourdieu, 1994, p.65) Part of Bourdieu's effort to better understand this question, was the development of the concept of habitus.

It has been posited that habitus is one of Bourdieu's most hard to define concepts and one that is often misunderstood and contested by academics (Maton, 2008). Among the various definitions put forward of habitus, one of the most cited is the following, where habitus is explained as

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can only be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (Bourdieu, 1980, p.53)

As seen in the 1980 citation above, Bourdieu refers to habitus as ‘structured structures predisposed to structuring structures’, or in his 1994 work as a “structured and structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1994, p.170). While at first, this sequence of words may be confusing to a reader, they are succinctly and clearly explained by Maton (2008) in his exploration of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus:

It [habitus] is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is "structuring" in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. It is a "structure" in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned.” (Maton, 2008)

In simpler terms, habitus explores the ways that individuals, groups or institutions act, feel, think, etc. It endeavours to encapsulate how past experiences can affect the present and therefore influence the subsequent choices and actions that people make. This process is fluid, and it explains how, although individuals dispose of the agency to make decisions, such decisions are actively shaped by past experiences. Habitus explains how past experiences shape people’s path and thus their actions and ways of thinking. The fluid nature of this process is important, and it is in this sense that the concept of field, which will be discussed subsequently, becomes salient for understanding of habitus. Bourdieu does not propose that human beings are programmed machines whose actions are entirely predetermined and preconditioned by their past experiences. Instead, he ascertains that there is an “unconscious relationship” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.76) between habitus and field. In other words, the choices that are made by people are determined by the options that are available to them at that particular moment (because of the current context, or field), and the disposition or socialisation that has taken place during their personal trajectory (habitus). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain the complex and interconnected relationship between habitus and field

On one side it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus [...] On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.127)

### 2.5.2 *Field*

Field formed an important part of Bourdieu's work; he applied the concept to many areas, including education (Bourdieu, 1984) and culture (Bourdieu, 1979). Bourdieu also applied his concept to television, and in this discussion gave a useful explanation of his conceptualisation of field as

a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (Bourdieu, 1998, pp.40–41)

Hierarchies exist within fields; as Bourdieu notes, the field contains “people who dominate and people who are dominated”. However, as noted previously, social actors are not ‘programmed machines’ and possess agency which can translate into change in the field. According to Bourdieu, fields can overlap, and therefore people can occupy more than one field at any given time (for example the educational field, the political field etc.). These fields can also be connected and influence one another. For example, the educational qualifications that an individual may gain in the educational field can directly influence their position in the economic field. This interdependence is elaborated on further through Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital, which will now be discussed.

### 2.5.3 *Capital*

In order to better explain the competitive and hierarchical nature of exchanges within the field, Bourdieu introduced the idea of capital.

Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46)

For Bourdieu, capital existed in three different forms:

economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p.47)

However, within the field, not all social actors have equal starting points, and some may hold an advantage because of the capital they are endowed with from the outset, leading at times to them accumulating more capital and further advancing their position. By discussing the various types of capital, Bourdieu attempts to distance himself from the idea that power stems only from economic wealth, but that cultural and social resources can also influence social standing, material wealth and power. He posits that

[i]t is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognised by economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore *disinterested*. (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46)

In his discussion on the types of capital, Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes, broadly, between symbolic capital (which includes things such as cultural and linguistic capital), and economic capital. Economic capital applies to material wealth including income, properties and other forms of financial possessions. It is not symbolic in that it is openly concerned with profit, does not have an intrinsic worth, and is, in Bourdieu's words "self-interested" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46). The various forms of symbolic capital, on the other hand, differ from economic capital in that they appear to be 'disinterested': their

concern with profit and gain is not overt. For capital to have worth, especially symbolic capital, it must be recognised as valuable within a specific field. Although not everyone in the field will possess capital, everyone covertly recognises it, and it is in this way that it gains validity. Capital acts as a way of marking social difference, it gains its value from its exclusivity: if available to everyone, it would no longer be valuable. Furthermore, it is acknowledged as valuable by those in the field, whether they themselves possess it or not. An example pertinent to this study is that of linguistic capital. Linguistic capital is symbolic in that it does not automatically imply economic gain. However, in certain fields, linguistic capital can translate into economic capital. Furthermore, the value of linguistic capital is dependent on the value placed on it by other social agents in the field, which leads us to a discussion of Bourdieu's market.

In his discussion of linguistic capital and the economics of linguistic exchanges, Bourdieu (1977) critiques the notion of linguistic competence. He posits that linguists have presented competence as inherently abstract, whereby a "capacity for infinite generation of grammatically regular discourse" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.646) is implied. Making specific reference to Chomsky, he notes that "Chomsky's notion of competence is an abstraction that does not include the competence that enables the adequate use of competence (when to speak, keep silent, speak in this or that style, etc.)" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.646). Bourdieu argues instead that language is a 'praxis', intended for more than just communicating: "it is made to be spoken appropriately" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.646). In this way, he explains how linguistic competence is more than just about knowledge of grammatical structures and the ability to communicate, but rather, language, and therefore 'language competence', is inherently about power. He highlights, moreover, the nature of this power dynamic, explaining that competence is about possessing the authority whereby one will be listened to: "those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.648).

#### ***2.5.4 Linguistic markets and the legitimate language***

As discussed previously, for Bourdieu, habitus and field are central to understanding the social world. They are interconnected, dynamic and always subject to change. In the case of language, "a *linguistic market* represents the objective linguistic *field* relations,

and *linguistic habitus* is the subjective element of *habitus* connected with actual language use” (Grenfell, 2011, p.52). Language plays an important role in many fields, such as the educational and political ones. In each field, there are dominant forms of language, be it standard varieties or certain accents that are valued. Bourdieu uses the term ‘market’ to explain this as “a system of relations of force which determine the price of linguistic products and thus helps fashion linguistic production” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.47). Thus, all forms of language have value, but this is dependent on the linguistic market it question. However, this means that, as Grenfell (2011) explains

Linguistic utterances hence need to be understood as *dispositional*, that is, not based on perfect, invariant competence, but on individuals’ linguistic competence and the ‘linguistic climate’ in which they find themselves. (Grenfell, 2011, p.51)

The *legitimate language*, as coined by Bourdieu, refers to the linguistic form that is most dominant within a particular social context. In his introduction to Bourdieu’s seminal 1991 publication, Thompson explains the interconnectedness between the legitimate language and power relations in the linguistic market:

“Through a complex historical process, sometimes involving extensive conflict (especially in colonial contexts), a particular language or set of linguistic practices has emerged as the dominant and legitimate language, and other languages or dialects have been eliminated or subordinated to it” (Thomson, 1991, p.5)

Bourdieu highlights that the legitimate variety is usually that spoken by dominant groups. This is exemplified in the case of the variety of French endorsed by the *Académie française*, or RP English. As Grenfell notes “These forms of language – however imperfectly realized – set what is acceptable in terms of linguistic usage” (Grenfell, 2011, p.52). The power to confer legitimacy lies with the dominant group; it is they who possess ‘competence’ in the legitimate variety and who subsequently decide who is in and who is out. It is this line of reasoning that Bourdieu follows when he argues that language is a form of ‘symbolic power’ (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu (1991) therefore contends that having competence in the legitimate language in a field is thus the most valuable form of linguistic capital on the linguistic market.

Heller (2011) makes clear reference to the inequality that characterises linguistic markets: “we can think of language as a form of capital which is unequally distributed and elements of which have different value in a market in which people participate” (Heller, 2011, p.36). This unequal distribution of resources is also discussed by Martín-Rojo (2010) in her Bourdieusian discussion of language and power in educational contexts. Heller (2011, p. 36) uses the word ‘stratification’ to explain the struggles that exist regarding the production and distribution of legitimate resources (or the legitimate language), who controls the value that is given to these resources and how relations of power are legitimised. The challenges to gaining access to linguistic capital in the form of the legitimate language are twofold: one has to gain access first to the social contexts in which socialisation in the legitimate language can occur, and, furthermore, a process of ‘resocialisation’ must occur in order to prove legitimate ‘competence’ in the language. Heller (2011) highlights the inherent risks in this process, as there is no guarantee that one will be accepted as a legitimate speaker by the dominant group, and one may face rejection from their former group.

### ***2.5.5 Language and the construction of social difference***

Linguistic practices are central to the construction and (re)production of social inequality and processes of legitimisation (Martín Rojo, 2010). Thus, research that explores access to and the circulation of linguistic resources is inherently concerned with the building of social difference and inequality (Blackledge, 2011). Language “has always been, a terrain for constructing both social difference and social inequality, a space in which to compete for jobs and markets and resources, both as individuals and as groups” (Heller, 2011, p.171). However, as Heller (2011) also notes, the interplay between linguistic practices and the construction of social difference “are challenged on a daily basis, with people regularly doing things with language they are not supposed to do, or failing to do what we expect of them linguistically, or fighting over who should do what” (2011, p.4). In the context of nation-states, language has been used a tool to foster homogeneity by creating boundaries that lead to the inclusion of certain groups through citizenship that is accessed through language learning, and subsequently the exclusion of others (Heller and Duchêne, 2012). As Heller and Duchêne note “These others are both internal (groups which get constructed as “indigenous” and “minority”) and external (racialized colonial subjects)” (2012, p.4).

Language gains importance as a resource that contributes to boundary making and maintenance, and can be used to regulate and legitimise processes of social inclusion and exclusion and present them as legitimate (Heller, 2011; Martín Rojo, 2010, 2013; Gorski, 2011). Heller explains this in relation to how social inequality is justified in contemporary discourses:

In a democratic society, we are not supposed to select people (for good grades in school, jobs, housing, and so on) on the basis of social categories (gender, race, ethnicity, religion, class, sexual orientation, disability, or anything else). We can select on the basis of talent and achievement, and learning language supposedly falls into that category. So we have invented the idea that some forms of language are good and some are not, and some of us are better at them and some are worse. The fact that some people master good forms of language and others do not can be understood as a problem of individual merit (talent, effort) rather than a problem of social inequality (2011, p. 38)

Processes of standardisation and the promotion of 'legitimate' languages in schools contribute to the aforementioned 'justification' of social inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The school is positioned as the means by which the 'objective', legitimate language can be accessed and it is expected that, in order to succeed, students should possess 'competence' in the legitimate language (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Failure in mastering the legitimate language that is promoted within the school often leads to students being classified as 'deficient' and placed in separate classes to their peers who do have command of legitimate linguistic resources (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Martín Rojo, 2010; Gorski, 2011).

As discussed previously, language also serves as means to justify social inequalities and stratification by presenting the 'legitimate' language as 'democratically accessible' (Heller & Duchêne, 2012, p. 4). However as Heller and Duchêne point out, this justification of inequality is legitimised by "discourses which locate failure at mastery in the moral fiber or physical characteristics of the excluded, rather than in the desire of the powerful to remain so" (Heller & Duchêne, 2012, p. 4). In other words, such discourses have been used "to convince the powerful that they deserve their power, and



the marginalized that it makes sense to be at the margins” (Heller and Duchêne, 2012, p.5).

Heller and Duchêne (2012) note that discourses about the value of languages is shifting: although languages are still valued for their connections to cultural identity, discussions about the ‘added value’ and economic merits of language learning are coming increasingly to the fore in public discourse. In order to describe these two value frameworks, Heller and Duchêne use the metaphors of ‘pride’ and ‘profit’. Pride refers to the cultural value afforded to languages as part of cultural heritage and ethnic identity. This framework is based on discourses of eighteenth century German romanticism and has been a dominant ideology in modern nation states for many decades, with minority language rights movements often basing their discourses on such. However, Heller and Duchêne (2012) argue that late capitalism and the neoliberal economy have changed the way that linguistic resources are valued. In contrast to ‘pride’, which is awarded value because of its connections to cultural identity, within the ‘profit’ framework, languages are valuable because of the economic benefits attributed to them.

The following questions, posed by Heller (2011), resonate through this particular research project, and through others concerned with the interplay between language and power: “Who gets to define what counts as legitimate language? Is the evaluation of language skills something that requires linguistic ownership, or can it be done through standardized procedures? What matters more, being able to handle the unpredictability of conversation or sticking to the script? being a “native speaker” or having schooled knowledge?” (2011, p. 170)

## **2.6 Language ideologies**

Focusing specifically on language ideologies, this section will examine the current literature in an attempt to bring clarity to a topic that is not free from incongruities and ambiguities (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998). As noted by Blommaert & Verschueren (ibid.) “ideologies may be, and usually are, full of internal contradictions” (p. 36), making it difficult for scholars to arrive at a consensus of how language ideologies can or should be defined (Sif Karrebæk, 2013). The importance of the study of language

ideology will be scrutinised, making a case for it not only as a bridge between other fields of study but also as an important subject in its own right, looking at the impact language ideologies can have on social structures.

When discussing the study of language ideology in her 1998 publication, Woolard noted that language ideology, as a field of research, was still a relatively recent pursuit in academic scholarship (Woolard, 1998). However, since the turn of the century, there has been a significant increase in academic scholarship exploring language ideologies (Feng, 2009; Iglesias, 2002a; Blackledge, 2000; Heller, 2007). Nevertheless, it is still an academic field that is lacking in unity and encompasses a wide variety of terminological definitions (Kroskrity, 2004). Kroskrity (2004) has noted that whilst ‘thoughts about language’ have been the focus of much academic debate, research on the speakers of languages has only come to the fore in recent times. Whilst the study of language ideologies is relatively recent, the foundations for the exploration of the social meaning of language were laid in the 1960s and 1970s, namely through Dell Hymes’ work on the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964) and Blom and Gumperz’s research on the social meaning of code switching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

Language ideologies as a field of study came about in tandem with other research areas such as linguistic anthropology, language shift and language planning (Blackledge, 2000). Broadly speaking, the study of language ideology is concerned with issues including but not limited to language varieties, language users, and the value of languages in their various contexts (Pastor, 2008). The initial aims of the study of language ideologies were to shed light on the links between language and culture and to examine linguistic behaviour at a collective level (Blackledge, 2000).

A useful starting point for defining language ideologies is Silverstein’s much cited definition that explains language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p.193). In Silverstein’s definition, the linguistic awareness of the speaker is emphasised, and the possibility for speakers to rationalise and impact language structure is highlighted (Kroskrity, 2004). Preceding Silverstein’s definition, Heath (1989, p.53) put forward her explanation of language ideologies, placing emphasis on the social dimension. Heath stated that language ideologies are “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social

experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group". Rumsey (1990, p.346) echoed Silverstein's sentiment by stating that language ideologies are "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world". Other scholars such as Irvine (1989) have elaborated on this sociocultural factor, stating that language ideologies are a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (1989, p.255). A more recent definition of ideologies, and one that I adopt as useful and salient for understanding this present study, is that of Kroskrity (2010, p.192), where he describes language ideologies as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states."

In Heath's definition, as cited above, the notion of the 'group' is a focal point. Language ideologies are, for the most part a group phenomenon, as they organise the opinions and attitudes of a certain group, establishing what is good and bad, correct and incorrect and in so doing regulating the behaviour of the members of said group (Iglesias, 2002b). Woolard's early work on language ideologies, where she explains language ideologies as a "link between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard, 1992), exemplifies this. Language ideologies can impact the way in which people think about and use languages, including their own (Milroy, 2001).

Language ideologies transmit beliefs about the value, nature and function of language (Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes, 2013). It is important to note that language ideologies are not confined to the macro level of the political sphere or policy makers, and also play a part in impacting the sociolinguistic context at the micro level (De Korne, 2012). Language ideologies are not simply top-down ideas, but rather a "ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 497) that are adopted by all speakers in their linguistic communication. Furthermore, language ideologies can feed into ideas about what languages and language varieties are more or less prestigious or superior (Kroskrity, 2004). Moreover, significant to the understanding of language ideologies is that they are not exclusively about languages (Woolard, 1998) but rather "are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies" (Blackledge, 2009, p.84).

Woolard (1998) proposes three strands of academic discussion where the concept of language (or linguistic) ideology has been drawn on. The first of these is situated in the field of linguistic anthropology and explores the connection between language ideology and linguistic structures, with Silverstein's concept of metapragmatics as the focal point. Secondly, and arguably most relevant to the study at hand, is the relationship between language ideologies, language contact and language varieties, with scholars discussing "ideologies of standardisation" (Milroy and Milroy, 1985) and "purist ideology" (Hill and Hill, 1980). Lastly, Woolard highlights publications on the scientific ideologies of professional linguistics, where reference is made to "ideologies of language" (Joseph and Taylor, 1990) and calls for a re-examination of the academic research on issues such as language attitudes, prestige, standard, within a language ideology framework (Woolard, 1998).

### ***2.6.1 Ideologies of authenticity and anonymity***

Central to Woolard's scholarly contributions to the field of language ideologies are discussions of ideologies of linguistic authority, namely, *authenticity* and *anonymity*. Early discussions regarding the ideological constructs of authenticity and anonymity stemmed from larger scholarly debates about language ideologies and the relationship between social structures and linguistics practices (Woolard, 1992; Gal and Woolard, 1995; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). In their 1995 special issue, and in a subsequent edited volume (2001b), Gal and Woolard focus on and explore "the role of linguistic ideology and practices in the making of political authority" (Gal and Woolard, 1995, p.130). Drawing on previous studies on Habermas' theory of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989) they probe how publics gain authority from being in a way anonymous (Warner, 1990). Gal and Woolard (1995, p.134) posit that, through such anonymity, publics "supposedly or potentially include 'everyone' but abstract from each person's interest-bearing and privately-defined characteristics. By this reasoning, publics can represent everyone because they are no-one in particular".

However, other authors in Gal and Woolard's 2001 edited volume (cf. Hill, Errington, Gal, Bauman, Urla) argue that alongside anonymity, exists the authority of authenticity, which can act as an opposing legitimating authority. Although, as acknowledged by Gal and Woolard, pitching authenticity and anonymity as opposing ends of a spectrum may

be too simplistic an approach, they explain the complexities of the opposing authorities as follows

“Strategic glimpses of authenticity may actually serve the authority of the impersonal, clinching the force of public discourse [...] Or, the voice-from-nowhere may be constructed as the most authentic of voices competing for recognition as the embodiment of a particular community” (Gal and Woolard, 2001a, p.7)

Following Gal and Woolard’s initial discussions on authenticity and anonymity (1995, 2001a), Woolard furthered the discussion of the aforementioned ideologies of linguistic authority, applying them to the Catalan context (Woolard, 2008). Woolard argues that the legitimacy that a language variety is awarded is influenced by either its perceived authenticity or anonymity. She explains the ideology of authenticity as follows:

The ideology of Authenticity locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self. Within the logic of authenticity, a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value. For many European languages, these roots are in the mountain redoubts of peasant folk purity. (Woolard, 2008)

In contrast to this, the ideology of anonymity indicates that it is the ‘aperspectival objectivity’ (Gal and Woolard, 1995, p.134) of a language variety, or its construction as the ‘view from nowhere’ (Nagel, 1986 cited in Woolard, 2008) that awards it legitimacy. This ties into the previous discussion about how publics gain authority through their perceived anonymity (Gal and Woolard, 1995); when applied to a language variety, the ideology of anonymity means that the language belongs to everyone and no-one at the same time. It is perceived as a “common, unmarked standard public language” (Woolard, 2008) and thus perceived as appropriate for use in the public sphere.

### *2.6.2 Authenticity and anonymity in minority language contexts*

The contrasting and competing ideologies of authenticity and anonymity, as explained by Woolard (2008) are useful for understanding the complex dynamics experienced by bilingual societies and in minority language contexts (cf. Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes, 2016; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; O'Rourke, 2015; Soler, 2012; Urla, Amorrortu, & Ortega, 2016). In minority language contexts, research has frequently found a strong association between the minority language and authenticity (Bucholtz, 2003; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011; Urla et al., 2016). This is consistent with Woolard's argument that

To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local. If such social and territorial roots are not discernable, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system. (Woolard, 2008, p. 2)

However, the implication that the authentic variety is awarded authority due to being 'profoundly local' and rooted in social or geographic spaces can be problematic in contexts of minority language revitalisation, where the wider population may be deterred from speaking the minority language due to the possibility that they may not sound 'natural' or the same as those who speak a 'profoundly local' variety (O'Rourke, 2015). In their discussion of authenticity and anonymity in the Galician context, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) argue that traditional native speakers of a minority language may create a 'social closure' in which they position themselves as the legitimate and authentic speakers of the minority language. Similar discussions were found in the Basque context (Urla et al., 2016) where it was shown that 'new speakers' based their ideas of linguistic identity strongly around the 'mother tongue ideology' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1989) whereby the language that speakers were socialised into in the home was the foundation of their linguistic identity and not subject to change throughout their life's linguistic trajectories. For 'new speakers' who wish to learn the minority language, such associations between the minority language and the authenticity that acts as a legitimating ideology can lead new speakers to avoid speaking such language varieties (McEwan-Fujita, 2010; O'Rourke, 2011c).

In order to counter to the 'social closures' referred to above, where native speakers and legitimacy are inherently linked, in many minority language contexts, revitalisation

initiatives have centred on processes of standardisation whereby the aim of policy makers is to increase the anonymity of the minority language and make it, a “neutral, objective vehicle of expression equally available to all users” (Woolard and Frekko, 2012, p.7) Thus, instead of holding value to due its links to cultural or national identity, the minority language can become the ‘voice from nowhere’ spoken by the ‘everyman’ (Woolard, 2008). Such efforts at policy level to increase the anonymity of minority languages is apparent in the Spanish context, where the term ‘normalisation’ is preferred to ‘revitalisation’ (Urla et al., 2016) (see chapter 3 for a discussion of linguistic normalisation in Galicia). As Urla et al., note “Minority language advocates see their project to be not simply to preserve or to destigmatize the language, but to enable and make *normal* the use of Catalan, Basque or Galician in official institutions and public life more generally.” (Urla et al., 2016, p.4) In this way, the language “becomes a resource which can potentially belong to anybody irrespective of group membership” (O’Rourke, 2015, p.65).

The shift from authenticity to anonymity as the authenticating ideology in globalised neo-liberal societies thus positions language as a commodity that holds more economic than cultural capital (Duchêne and Heller, 2012). Such commodification of language has been cited by some as one of the salient aspects of late-modern life (Heller, 2011; Duchêne and Heller, 2012). This has been noted in the Irish context, where Irish as a minority language has been cast as a commodity by mobilising it as a source of authentic Irish identity and of added value (O’Rourke, 2015, p.78). However, this commodification has created unease between those who produce the commodity and those who consume it (O’Rourke, 2015, p.78).

Duchêne and Heller (2012) note a shift away from discourses about language rights, identity and cultural preservation (what they refer to as ‘pride’) and a move towards discourses about the ‘added value’ of languages and their economic potential (‘profit’, in their terms). Nonetheless, this is not to say that the traditional or cultural capital held by languages is being dismissed in economic discourses about language. Rather, as Duchêne and Heller (2012) explain, a combination ‘pride’ and ‘profit’ shape current conceptualisations of language. One way of bringing together these two ‘goals’ (pride and profit) is by “harnessing identity symbols (or “pride”) to define symbolically distinctive goods and niche markets” (Duchêne and Heller, 2012, p.9). Therefore, much in the same way as authenticity and anonymity are not mutually exclusive, but rather

complex and intertwined (Gal and Woolard, 2001a), the conceptualisations of pride and profit benefit from being understood in a similar way.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined and discussed the theoretical debates on which this study is founded. It has argued that the mobility brought about by globalisation has changed the sociolinguistic dynamics of contemporary societies. Furthermore, this chapter has contended that a new focus in sociolinguistic debates on mobility and on language as a ‘set of resources’ has presented challenges to long engrained notions of languages as autonomous and bounded units. Part of this shift towards a ‘sociolinguistics of globalisation’ (in Blommaert's terms) or a shift from stability to mobility, has led to the questioning of the suitability of the native speaker label. Therefore, linguists have begun to theorise around this issue: notably, and central to this thesis, is the concept of the ‘new speaker’, proposed as a move away from dichotomised views of speakers as native or non-native, and as a way to account for the fluidity of language practices (and speakers) brought about by increased movement of people.

This new speaker label, as mentioned previously, fits into debates about the nature of language itself. This chapter traced how debates on language and migration have developed. It noted how changing linguistic dynamics have led to post-modernists calling for a complete reconceptualisation or ‘disinvention’ of language (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007b), and proposing terms such as ‘translanguaging’ to capture linguistic fluidity.

Social inequality, or access to social capital, is a key question in this thesis. As a way of understanding how ‘new speakers’ in contexts of migration gain or do not gain access to social capital or mobility, this chapter introduced Bourdieu's economic metaphors or ‘thinking tools’. These well-known and often cited metaphors prove useful for understanding the issues that impact immigrant new speakers’ access to capital.

This thesis focuses on language ideologies as a theoretical lens through which to further understand how issues of legitimacy and language impact new speakers in contexts of migration. This chapter, then, provided an introduction to key concepts in the field of



language ideology. Specifically, it introduced authenticity and anonymity as contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority. These concepts provide a framework for understanding the discussion on legitimacy that run through this thesis.

In the chapter that follows, the sociolinguistic context of Galicia will be presented. The following chapter will provide a backdrop to understanding the dynamics of language ideologies and practices amongst ‘new speakers’ of Galician in contexts of migration by specifically examining language policy and planning in democratic Galicia.

## Chapter 3 - Galicia: Setting the scene

### 3.1 Introduction

Following a brief introduction of key demographic information about Galicia and the Galician language today, this chapter will discuss Galicia's sociolinguistic history. Subsequently, the chapter will discuss and critique the language planning measures that have been implemented in Galicia since late 20<sup>th</sup> century democratisation, looking specifically at their ideological underpinnings. As this thesis focuses on an immigrant community who speak Portuguese and a Portuguese-based creole language, the historical links between Galician and Portuguese will be outlined. Moreover, the implications of such historical links in the standardisation of Galician will be elaborated on. As this chapter will explain, an outcome of standardisation and revitalisation in contemporary Galicia has been the emergence of a category of speakers referred to as *neofalantes*. In Chapter 2.3, a theoretical discussion of the conceptualisation of the 'new speaker' term was provided, situating the concept of the 'new speaker' within broader sociolinguistic debates. However, this chapter will look specifically at 'new speakers' in the context of Galician language revitalisation. Finally, as migration is central to this thesis, patterns of migration to Galicia and their impact on the sociolinguistic climate will be discussed. By providing historical, demographic and sociolinguistic information, this chapter will be significant for contextualising the discussion of data that follows.

### 3.2 Demographic information

Galicia is one of the autonomous regions of Spain, located in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. The population of Galicia, as of the most recent data published by the Spanish Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) in 2015, stands at just over 2.7 million. The most recent statistical information regarding use of Galician was published in 2013 by the Galician Institute of Statistics (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2013). In 2013, 57.31% of Galicians aged 5 or over claimed to be able speak Galician very well, 29.62% claimed to speak it fairly well, and 10.23% claimed to speak it a little bit. In total, these figures reflect that just over 97% of the Galician population over the age of 5 claims to be able to speak Galician to some degree. Moreover, in 2013, 31.2%

of Galician people said they always speak Galician in their day-to-day life. This percentage is similar to the 30.29% recorded in the 2008 data but 12 points lower than the data collected in 2003.

Over the last several decades, habitual use of Galician has declined. This is demonstrated through comparison of the findings of the Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE), who in 2001 found that 57% of the population spoke Galician in their day-to-day lives. Approximately 30% stated that they used the language sometimes and only 13% claimed to never use it. Ten years later, in 2011, when the next set of data were collected, the number of people claiming to use Galician daily had dropped to 44%, whilst 45% claimed to use it sometimes and 11% never. These findings indicate a significant decrease in the number of habitual users of Galician but an increase in bilingual practices.

Galician is recognised as co-official to Spanish within the region of Galicia, much like Catalan is co-official to Spanish in Catalonia and Basque is co-official to Spanish in the Basque country. Galician, Catalan and Basque are the only three languages to hold co-official status within the territorial confines of their respective autonomous communities. Furthermore, when it comes to speakers of regional minority languages in Spain, Galicia has the highest number of speakers in proportion to its population when compared to Catalan in Catalonia and Basque in the Basque Country (O'Rourke, 2003). Nevertheless, Galicia has often been seen as the 'forgotten' language of Spain, with Basque and Catalan attracting more scholarly interest (O'Rourke, 2014) and holding a larger presence in the political arena.

### **3.3 Galicia's sociolinguistic history**

During the 13th and 14th Centuries, the language spoken throughout the kingdoms of Galicia and Portugal was Galician-Portuguese (López Carreira, 2005). During the Middle Ages, Galician was the language used for poetry throughout the Iberian peninsula, with poets often favouring Galician as a language for poetry due its inherent 'musicality' (Kulp, 1968). The literary tradition in Galicia was to come to a halt during the 16th century, when Spanish replaced Galician as the official language (Ramallo, 2007). What was once the lyric language of Galicia was to be superseded by the

“language of the Empire” (Stevens, 1986), relegating Galician to being the language of the working classes, with Spanish taking over as the dominant, prestigious language. The 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century are known in Galicia as the ‘*séculos escuros*’ (dark centuries) as during this period the Galician language was subjugated, both in literary and political spheres, whilst Spanish dominated the region (Beswick, 2002; Ramallo, 2007; Monteagudo, 1999).

By the mid nineteenth century, the Galician language had been socially stigmatised and had not been used in print for more than four centuries (Montero, 1972). In 1853, one of Galicia’s celebrated authors, Juan Alberto Pintos, described the societal status of Galician, explaining

“Aquí mismo, aquí en Galicia, a doctorcillos de pelos les oí que su idioma es tosco lenguaje y feo impropio de gente fina, reservado a los paletos”

Right here, in Galicia, I heard people say that their language is uncouth and ugly and not suitable for polite people, only for country bumpkins  
(Montero, 1972, my translation).

Wanting to effect change, and attempting to reverse these negative attitudes towards the Galician language, in the nineteenth century, a group of intellectuals came together in a national revival, known as the *Rexurdimento* (Rei Doval, 2007; Bouzada-Fernández and Monteagudo, 2003). This group of activists strove to restore Galician to the status it held during the Middle Ages. The period that followed the *Rexurdimento*, between 1916-1936, was termed the *Nós* period; it was during this first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the effects of the national revival began to be noticed, with the setting up of the *Irmandade de Fala* (The Brotherhood of the Language), the *Partido Galeguista* (Pro-Galician Party) and the Galician language academy called the *Real Academia Galega* (The Royal Galician Academy) (Baliñas Fernández, 2000). The year 1936 marked an important point for the *Partido Galeguista* as the *Estatuto de Autonomía* (Statute of Autonomy) was ratified. This statute recognised Galician as co-official to Spanish within the Galician region (Beswick, 2007).

The Spanish Civil War that began in 1936, followed by Franco’s rise to power, brought the Galician language movement to a halt, meaning that the aforementioned Galician

Statute of Autonomy never came to pass. Franco's regime favoured a linguistically homogenous Spain and restricted the use of minority languages. Many Galicians emigrated to other countries (Rei Doval, 2007), in particular Argentina. These emigrants were responsible for the setting up of many Galician centres throughout Latin America and were in a sense considered the stronghold of the language for the period of the dictatorship. To this day, the city of Buenos Aires has the fourth largest Galician population after Vigo, A Coruña and Lugo, meaning it is at times thought of as the '*quinta provincia gallega*' (fifth Galician province)<sup>3</sup>. Franco's death in 1975 marked the beginning of the period of the transition to democracy. A process of devolution began, with the Spanish Constitution being passed and the Galician autonomous government (*Xunta*) being established in 1978. This was followed by the *Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia* (Galician Statute of Autonomy), which was ratified in 1981.

During the 1970s, a process of urbanisation began in Galicia. People left their rural dwellings and migrated to the main cities, leading to a decrease in the number of speakers of the Galician language (Rei Doval, 2007). The process of urbanisation went hand in hand with the industrialisation of the main Galician cities. Rural workers, for the most part, gained employment in factories or in the service sector. These rural workers usually had Galician as their first language. As they were working low paid jobs, this emphasised the links between the Galician language, rurality and poverty (Bouzada Fernández, 2003). Thus, Spanish was increasingly seen as essential for social mobility. Parents encouraged their children to use Spanish in order to progress in life and break free from the poverty that characterised rural Galician life (Rei Doval, 2007). Galician was seen as the rural language, whereas Spanish was urban, modern and prosperous (Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo, 2002). In terms of population, throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the percentage of the Galician population living in rural areas decreased from 90% to 60% (Ramallo, 2012). This change increased the urban rural dichotomy, impacting greatly on economic and linguistic practices, and strengthening the process of language shift to Spanish (Ramallo, 2012).

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2005/06/19/espana/1119215923.html>

### 3.4 Language planning in democratic Galicia

One of the aims of Galician language planning, after the transition to democracy, was to include Galician in administrative, educational and political spheres (González González, 2012). In 1983, the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Linguistic Normalisation Act) was approved. This law restored the Galician language to domains from which it had previously been excluded, including the civil service, schools and the media (O'Rourke, 2011a; Loredó Gutiérrez et al., 2007; Lorenzo Suárez, 2005). The Galician Autonomous Government (*Xunta*) has largely been credited for investing in language planning and being the primary driving force behind language revitalisation initiatives (Lorenzo Suárez, 2009). The *Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística* (General Directorate for Language Policy) was set up in 1983 to enforce these plans. Language planning initiatives focused greatly on the medium of education in order to increase the literacy levels of the population and to increase the status of the Galician language. Learning Galician was instated as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum in 1981 (Beswick, 2007). It has been noted that almost one third of Galician language policy concentrates on education (Rodríguez Neira, 1993). In 1988, the *Lei da Función Pública de Galicia* was passed. This law made the knowledge of Galician essential for those seeking employment in the public sector (O'Rourke, 2011a).

The 1990s saw the promotion of a concept referred to as '*bilangüismo harmónico*' (harmonious bilingualism) (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005). The premise of '*bilangüismo harmónico*' was that both Galician and Spanish would co-exist harmoniously, neither language infringing on one another. Both were to have equal status and people had the right to conduct their lives in the language of their choice, without disrupting the 'natural equilibrium'. While the harmonious bilingualism policy has been favoured by some, it could be posited that this policy has acted only to hide linguistic conflicts rather than finding a solution to them, and, furthermore, that downplaying the linguistic conflict in the region has accelerated the process of language shift to Spanish (del Valle, 2000). Lorenzo Suárez argues that, rather than promoting change, such policies were aimed more at maintaining the current linguistic situation without causing social conflict (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008, 2005).

Standardisation (discussed in more detail in the following section) and normalisation has been seen as an important tool in giving Galician the level of prestige it was

considered to lack and ensuring its survival (Frias-Conde and Bosco, 2006). In 2004, the *Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega* (General Plan for the Linguistic Normalisation of the Galician Language) was approved unanimously in the Galician parliament. This has been one of the most significant contributions in Galician language policy, suggesting over 400 different ways in which Galician could be promoted, primarily in the areas of administration, economy and health care. By ‘normalising’ the language, policy makers had several different objectives. The first was to re-establish the Galician language as a symbol of ethnic identity, harking back to the time of the Rexurdimento (Beswick, 2007). Furthermore, it was intended that speaking Galician could become in a sense a neutral act, free from political associations (Bouzada Fernández, 2003).

### **3.5 Outcomes and ideological underpinnings of language policy in Galicia**

The historical overview of the linguistic situation of the Galician language, as outlined in an earlier part of this chapter, is generally agreed upon in the literature. The effectiveness of language policy since democratisation, however, has been much more controversial (del Valle, 2000). Scholars have acknowledged that the status of Galician has improved since the turn of the century (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008; González González, 2012; Monteagudo, 2004). Not only have Galician language speakers distanced themselves from previous stigmas regarding the associations between the Galician language and working classes and uneducated populations, but the presence of Galician has also increased in areas of administration, politics, education and public health (González González, 2012). Galician is now not merely seen as a language that is suitable exclusively for informal domains, and written use of the language has increased (González González, 2012). Furthermore, it has been argued that an increase in positive attitudes towards the Galician language, the increase in the prestige of the language, and the increase in the linguistic competence of the population are indicative of the positive outcomes of language planning in Galicia (Bouzada-Fernández and Monteagudo, 2002).

However, despite the aforementioned progress, there are still important issues that are affecting the maintenance of Galician. Lack of intergenerational transmission, failure of usage by the younger generations (Romero Alegría, 2011; Ramallo, 2012), and rural to urban migration (Rei Doval, 2007) have been highlighted as key obstacles in the

revitalisation of Galician. Moreover, although the prestige attributed to Galician has increased, it still does not hold the same prestige in Galician society when compared to Spanish (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005; O'Rourke, 2014).

Although language policy in Galicia has been criticised for being of 'low intensity' (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005) or 'non-interventionist', this does not imply that it is 'ideologically neutral' (O'Rourke, 2014). Rather, O'Rourke (2014) argues that taking a 'lukewarm' approach to Galician language revitalisation was a way of maintaining the linguistic and social status quo in Galicia, and therefore maintaining the dominant position held by the Spanish speaking population. The promotion of the '*bilinguismo harmónico*' model during the 1990s (cf. Regueiro-Tenreiro, 1999) is demonstrative of such a non-conflict language planning approach. Despite the non-confrontational rhetoric of the 'harmonious bilingualism' policy, there has been a tendency amongst Galician nationalists to see the situation of language contact in Galicia as precisely one of confrontation, where Galician speakers continue to form part of a socio-economically subjugated category (O'Rourke, 2014). There has been much criticism of Galician language policy amongst Galician nationalists, as they feel the policy is at best ineffective in revitalising Galician, and at worst a catalyst for language shift to Spanish (O'Rourke, 2014). These tensions between the ideologies of Galician nationalists and the ideologies underpinning official policy may in some ways be another detrimental factor in the maintenance of the Galician language (Bouzada-Fernández and Monteagudo, 2002).

Educational policies have not escaped criticism either. In 2007, the regional Galician government ratified a policy, which stated that 50% of all non-language subjects in school must be taught through Galician. The regional government at that time was ruled by a coalition of the socialist party, *Partido dos Socialistas de Galicia* (Galician Socialist Party), and the Galician nationalist party, *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (Galician Nationalist Bloc). This proposition to have half of all subjects taught through Galician was met with resistance by a 'small but vocal' group who euphemistically called themselves *Galicia Bilingüe* (Bilingual Galicia), despite their anti-Galician rhetoric (O'Rourke, 2011b); they argued that such legislation discriminated against Spanish speakers and violated their language rights (O'Rourke, 2014, p.85). O'Rourke (2014) argues that the goals of the *Galicia Bilingüe* movement demonstrate how language, in this situation acts as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) on the



linguistic market in Galicia - the Spanish speaking sector of Galician society perceived the Galician language movements as a threat to their dominant position and a possibly indication of a shift in the social power balance.

When the conservative centre-right party *Partido Popular de Galicia* (Galician Popular Party) came to power in 2009, they proposed a 'trilingual decree'. Under this policy, one third of subjects would be taught through Spanish, one-third through Galician and one third through English. This proposal never came to fruition. Instead, in 2010, a decree entitled the 'plurilingual decree' was passed. This stated that on completion of obligatory schooling, pupils should have equal knowledge and competence in Spanish and Galician and also have 'some knowledge' of a foreign language. O'Rourke (2014, p.86) notes how these changing decrees have satisfied neither the Spanish speaking population nor the Galician language advocates. The Spanish speaking sector feel that the current legislation does not sufficiently guarantee the rights of Spanish speakers in Galicia, while the Galician speakers see a further reduction in the amount of school time dedicated to Galician - many feel that, as the Galician language is socially minorised, positive discrimination measures are needed in order to effect change.

The current government has in some ways moved away from discourses of 'harmonious bilingualism', as was understood in the context of the 1990s. However, continuing references to *bilingüismo cordial* (cordial bilingualism) and *bilingüismo amable* (friendly bilingualism) indicate that underlying ideologies (in line with those outlined above) remain (O'Rourke, 2014, p.84). Thus, it has been argued that the end result of language planning in Galicia has been a top down approach with questionable impact on the linguistic practices of the population and a lack of success in halting the process of language shift to Spanish (Ramallo, 2012; Lorenzo Suárez, 2005). Taking into consideration what is being perceived as the 'failure' of language revitalisation measures in increasing the number of active speakers of minority languages, sociolinguists have called for a re-examination of the Fishmanian model of reversing language shift (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). The continuing focus of revitalising the community of native speakers has been referred to as 'salvage' linguistics (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013). As discussed in chapter 2, in order to provide new directions for language revitalisation, Jaffe (2010) suggests including minority languages in new contexts, and championing new speakers, instead of solely focusing of 'saving' the native speaking community.

### 3.6 Standardisation of Galician and the reintegrationist movement

Scholars have argued that to understand the complexities of the sociolinguistic context in Galicia, the inherent ‘hybridity’ of its languages must be acknowledged: the language varieties spoken in Galicia are a product of language contact between Galician-Portuguese and Spanish (Bobillo García et al., 2008). As noted earlier in this chapter, during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the language spoken throughout the kingdoms of Galicia and Portugal was Galician-Portuguese (Monteagudo, 1999). This language remained until the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, despite the separation of the northwest territory of Spain in 1096. While difficult to demonstrate the complexities of the language contact described above in quantitative terms, it has been argued that a broad understanding of this situation is essential to understanding the hybrid nature of languages in Galicia (Bobillo García et al., 2008). In order to better explain the linguistic situation in Galicia, Bobillo García et al. (2008) have put forward the metaphor of a language continuum, whereby standard Spanish stands at one end, and standard Galician at the other. Along the continuum, exist many different varieties of Galician and Spanish, each characterised by the degree of language contact they have experienced.

One of the first debates regarding the standardisation of Galician focused on orthographic norms (Hermida, 1987). In order to explore ways of writing the Galician language, literary sources were drawn upon, as well as improvised, idiosyncratic transcriptions of people speaking Galician (Roseman, 1995). Although written material in Galician began to appear increasingly throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> century period of the *Rexurdimento*, and brought with it discussions about standardisation of Galician (Hermida Gulías, 1992), it was not until after the transition to democracy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century took place that a standardised variety was developed (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015).

These first efforts at standardizing Galician were fairly concerted, with the significant divide between Galician language advocates not arising until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Part of the language revitalisation and ‘normalisation’ efforts that took place in Galicia in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were focused on language standardisation, aiming to achieve a ‘unifying’ variety that would bring together all dialectal variations of Galician. However, this process was not without its challenges. Beswick (2002) explains that the difficulty in standardising Galician was due to “the low level of

literacy and the high level of linguistic diversity, above all due to the isolation of the rural areas, [which] made it extremely difficult to establish a colloquial, supradialectal and modernised standard within Galicia based upon one dominant dialect” (2002, p.261). Although language planners wished to make the Galician language more ‘Galicianised’, many of the varieties of Galician spoken in the region approximated Spanish due to a long period of language contact (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2012).

Despite emerging disagreements about standard Galician, during the second half of the 20th century the Galician language underwent a rather rapid process of standardisation (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015). Although the Real Academia Galega was founded in 1906, it was not until after democratisation that a Galician dictionary along with orthographic and morphological guidelines were published (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015). Throughout the standardisation process that took place in the latter half of the 20th century, many Galician grammars were published (Álvarez, 2003). However, an institutional grammar has not yet been finalised (Álvarez et al., 2004) and the *Real Academia Galega* has yet to recognise a comprehensive grammar (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015).

The main debate around the standardisation of Galician, referred to as the ‘normative debate’ (Monteagudo, 2003), is based around whether codification should approximate standard Portuguese or whether it should be based on traditional oral varieties or 19th and 20th century literary publications (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015). As a result of the challenges that arose through 20th century standardisation, when it came to the orthographic development of standard Galician, two sides emerged: the reintegrationist movement and the isolationist movement (see Álvarez & Monteagudo, 2004 for a discussion of the standardisation of Galician). The main argument of the reintegrationist movement is that the Galician language is a variety that stems from Portuguese, and hence should align with Portuguese normative rules (Diéguez Diéguez et al., 2004). The first academic article to emerge that advocated for an approximation to Portuguese orthography was in 1973 (Alonso Pintos, 2004). The reintegrationists claim that the historical and linguistic links between Galicia and Portugal should be recognised, as Portugal forms part of Galicia’s ‘former identity’ (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p.91). Not only do reintegrationists believe that Galician should be written in the same way as standard Portuguese, they also advocate that Galician people belong to the broader community of people who speak Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese and varieties spoken in former

Portuguese African colonies (Roseman, 1995). By identifying with the aforementioned speakers, the reintegrationist movement turn their back on Spanish and the Spanish language, looking to Portugal and Portuguese as their identity point of reference. Scholars have noted that the reintegrationist movement is a minority group in more than one respect. On the one hand, they are a minority at the level of the Spanish state due to their standpoint, which aims to revitalise the Galician language. Furthermore, they are a minority within the Galician language revitalisation movement as they wish to change the orthographic rules of the standard Galician devised by the regional government (Ramallo and O'Rourke, 2014). In contrast to the reintegrationists, those who proposed an 'isolationist' approach, argue that Galician is a language in its own right and that therefore the 'standard' that is achieved should not conform to either Spanish or Portuguese, and rather develop its own orthographic rules that reflect the particularities of the Galician language (Beswick, 2007). However, due to the historical language contact between Galician and Spanish, heightened by the restrictions on the use of Galician during the Franco regime, much of the Galician spoken today is highly 'Spanishised'.

In response to the standardisation of Galician carried out by the Galician autonomous government, the reintegrationist movement has set up organisations that promote their views, most notably the Galician Language Association entitled *Associaçom Galega da Língua* (AGAL). Furthermore, as a support to their arguments regarding Galician orthography, reintegrationists have developed their own style of writing Galician, which uses the same orthographic norms as standard Portuguese. While the isolationist movement is dominant both in sheer numbers and in the political arena, some dialogue between the two groups has begun to take place, with some of the orthographic recommendations of the reintegrationist movement being implemented by the Real Academia Galega in their recent revisions of standard Galician (Loureiro-Rodriguez et al., 2012).

The reintegrationists' resistance to the standard variety of Galician that is supported by the regional government (which aligns primarily with the views of the isolationist movement), has caused a degree of instability in the efforts to revitalise and 'normalise' the Galician language (Roseman, 1995). It has been argued that the tensions between isolationists and reintegrationists in the Galician language revitalisation movement weaken efforts to promote the language, especially due to the complications it presents

for education (Mar-Molinero, 2000). Nevertheless, these debates are primarily theoretical and carried out in academic and political spheres, while everyday teaching practice adheres to the standard norms agreed by the regional government (Rei Doval, 2013). However, a further layer of complexity presents itself for teachers and students alike, as often, the variety of Galician spoken by members of the school community differs greatly from the academic standard featured in the school curriculum. This causes tensions when dialectal forms of a language are considered as inherently less valuable than the standard language (Roseman, 1995). (See chapter 7.5.2 for examples of how this plays out amongst the teachers in As Rocas).

Despite on-going debates about the connection between Galician and Portuguese, as Ramallo and Rei-Doval note, “the most accepted and official view is that Galician is to be considered an autonomous language that has historical roots with Portuguese” (2015, pp.63–64). This view is supported by the *Real Academia Galega*, who although consider Galician as an autonomous language, have acknowledged the historical connections the language shares with Portuguese (Instituto da Lingua Galega/Real Academia Galega, 1982, 2003). In attempts to create a standard variety that was accepted by the Galician population, language planners settled on what Monteagudo (2004) has referred to as a ‘transdialectal’ variety that draws on linguistic features from three main dialectal regions.

The standard variety of Galician endorsed by the *Real Academia Galega* since the 1980s is the variety that is regarded as the legitimate variety by the general population (Bouzada-Fernández and Monteagudo, 2003). Nevertheless, sociolinguistic investigation has found that many Galician speakers find the standard language to sound artificial and inauthentic as it differs from the variety they themselves speak (Monteagudo et al., 2012). This perception on the part of the local population could be related to the recent nature of the standardisation process, which although beginning in the 1980s, was last amended in 2003 (Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015). Furthermore, as discussed previously in this chapter, government support for the Galician language has not been that substantial (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005; O’Rourke, 2014).

The ‘hybrid’ nature of language in Galicia, discussed in the introduction to this section, is interesting in light of the discussion presented in Chapter 2.4. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) argue that language is a social and political construct, and call for a rethinking of

languages as ‘hermetically sealed units’ (Makoni, 1998). Instead, their ideas are in line with García and Wei (2014), who propose that languages are instead a “series of social practices [...] embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations”. The Galician context, with its long history of language contact, presents an interesting and relevant case for the exploration of these issues. Moreover, as the immigrant community in this study come from a bilingual Portuguese/Kriolu speaking background, a questioning of the ‘bounded’ nature of language becomes even more salient.

### **3.7 Speaker profiles in Galicia: Native and new**

The term ‘new speaker’ is credited to Robert (2009) who used the term to refer to new speakers of Welsh in the context of Welsh medium education programmes. However, many other minority language contexts have developed terms, both as folk terms and in academic discourse, to refer to ‘new speakers’, notably *eskaldunberri* for new speakers of Basque and *neofalantes* in the Galician context. New speakers of Galician (*neofalantes*) are identified as people who used to have Spanish as their first language, but at a given point in time decided to switch to using Galician almost exclusively, rejecting Spanish in favour of Galician (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). These new speakers are usually young, urban, middle class, interested in the social position of the Galician language and quite frequently politically motivated, leaning towards nationalist ideologies (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2010). *Neofalantes*’ speech usually approximates the official, standardised variety of Galician that is taught in schools (Pusch and Kabatek, 2011; O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2010).

There are many differences between new speakers and traditional speakers in the Galician context. These range from demographic variations to ideological ones. As mentioned above, new speakers of Galician tend to be young, urban, middle class and politically aware (O’Rourke, 2014). Traditional speakers on the other hand usually come from working class, rural backgrounds. Their knowledge of Galician has been acquired through an oral tradition and it is the language of the home. New speakers of Galician have, for the most part, learned Galician in school. They have concentrated on technical aspects of the language, becoming proficient in the standard variety.

It has been argued that there is a contrast in language attitudes between new speakers and traditional speakers (Hornsby, 2015). New speakers generally tend to have positive attitudes towards their language and value intergenerational transmission. On the other hand, it has been argued that native speakers of minority languages, can, at times, devalue their language (Jones, 1998). This can be due to feeling that they do not speak 'correctly' (Jones, 1995; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2010) as their variety may differ from the one they hear in official domains, on television channels and on the radio.

This 'standard' variety in itself is a point of contention (see Milroy, 2001 and Lippi-Green, 1997 for a discussion of language standardisation). Speakers of standard Galician tend to speak with a Spanish 'accent', something which can lead the traditional speakers to claim the standard variety is 'inauthentic'. This phonetic similarity to Spanish carries significant affective value as Spanish has always been the oppressor of Galician. Tensions arise over who has legitimate ownership of the language and which speakers are more authentic (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2013). Traditional speakers often feel that 'new speakers' will disrupt the traditional language and that they are trying to occupy a position that is not rightfully theirs (Frias-Conde and Bosco, 2006)

Another challenge for new speakers is the impact their language choices have on the people around them. Speaking a regional language such as Galician in an urban space can be seen as radical (Frias-Conde and Bosco, 2006). Indeed, sociolinguistic investigation has found that some *neofalantes* perceived that presenting themselves as Galician speakers could be potentially detrimental when seeking employment outside the public sector (O'Rourke, 2011a). Although most of the Galician population is passively bilingual, many people in urban cities would shy away from the use of Galician due to the links perceived between speaking Galician and nationalist ideologies (O'Rourke, 2011a; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). In the main Galician urban centres like A Coruña and Vigo, the small amount of Galician one hears on the street is more often than not that of *neofalantes*, who are using the language in an affective way. They may not want to be associated with certain ideologies. It has been suggested that language revitalisation should aim to promote minority languages in areas where they were not previously used in order to attempt to make them as 'anonymous' as the majority language (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2012).

### 3.8 Migration to Galicia

Galicia makes for a very and interesting location for the study of migration, as the demographic profile of the migrant population is diverse, despite the fact that immigrants account for just 3.2% of the Galician population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016). Twenty-first century Spain has seen a stark rise in immigration from around the world. A country which was once seen as a point of departure has now become host to migrants from Northern Africa, Eastern Europe, South America and more (Valero-Matas et al., 2010). Due to this shifting dynamic, Spain's bilingual autonomous regions have had to rethink their language policies (Hoffmann, 2000; Ramallo, 2014). Following the collapse of the Franco dictatorship, language planning initiatives in the communities of Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country focused on promoting the use of their indigenous languages amongst local, native people and restoring prestige to the languages through the education system and the political sphere. In the Galician context, the plans that were put in place to ensure all school children became competent in Galician have been deemed a success by some in that overall linguistic competence has improved (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2012). However, as discussed previously in this chapter, Galician language planning measures have also received much criticism and their success in halting the process of language shift to Spanish has been called into question. However, the improvement in linguistic competence is supported by the fact that more than 97% of Galicians over the age of 5 report being able to speak Galician (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2013). However, the disparity between the number of people who have the ability to speak Galician and the number of people who actually use it is increasing (Monteagudo, 2004). This is most noticeable amongst the younger sector of society (O'Rourke, 2011a) (See Bouzada-Fernández & Monteagudo, 2002, p. 26–28 for an overview of sociolinguistic studies carried out in Galicia that overall conclude that there is a trend amongst the population to show positive attitudes to Galician but low usage.)

Traditionally, Galicia has experienced lower levels of immigration than the rest of Spain. Between 1998 and 2007 there was an increase in the arrival of immigrants in Galicia (see section 5.1 for a breakdown of immigration statistics in Galicia). This was due in part to the 'saturation' of other autonomous communities such as Catalonia. An important change that also took place during this period was that there was a change in the migration patterns. Whereas in 1998 immigrants were arriving mostly from Eastern



Europe, by the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century migrants were arriving predominantly from the Americas (Oso Casas et al., 2008). Due to the fact that many Galician immigrants have some connection with Galicia (return migrants, second generation migrants), the immigrant population is better regulated and for the most part complies with legal migration requirements when compared to the rest of Spain (Oso Casas et al., 2008). These connections with Galicia, albeit tenuous at times, give some migrants the hope that they may escape the prejudices they might experience in other regions and have a better chance of being accepted into the community (Oso Casas et al., 2008).

Five categories of migrants have been identified in the Galician context (Oso Casas et al., 2008). Firstly there are those who were born in Galicia, hold Spanish nationality but emigrated to Latin America or Europe for a long period of time and have now returned. These can be classified as ‘return migrants’. Secondly, there are the children of Galician emigrants, who were born outside Spain but chose to ‘return’ to Galicia. These could be classified as second-generation immigrants who are returning to their roots. Thirdly, there are immigrants who do not have any family ties with Galicia but have some ties to the community. This is quite common in Latin American communities (especially Argentina) where there is a large Galician diaspora. Although these immigrants do not have a family connection to Galicia, they may feel affinity towards the region and are drawn to it as a migration destination. Fourthly, there are migrants who do not have any ties whatsoever with Galicia. This category of migrants is the one that this study will focus on. Finally, there are the ‘border’ migrants. This term is used to denominate migrants that cross the border from Portugal.

These new and diverse patterns of migration have begun to sculpt the linguistic landscape in Galicia. We now see Galicia evolving from a bilingual society to a plurilingual one. Galicia is now the home to languages such as Wolof, Fulani, Manding, Jola, Mandarin and Quechua amongst others (Silva Domínguez and Recalde, 2012). According to the Galician Statistics Institute, the top six countries of origin for immigrants in Galicia are Portugal, Romania, Brazil, Morocco, Colombia and Venezuela, respectively (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2016). Therefore, it could be concluded that the most spoken immigrant languages in Galicia include Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic.

### 3.9 Conclusion

Post-dictatorship language planning initiatives which have expanded the domains in which Galician is used, have brought about new tensions surrounding authenticity and the ‘legitimate’ speaker (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). While throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Galician was a language that was primarily spoken in rural areas and by the working classes (Ramallo, 2007), the revitalisation and ‘normalisation’ initiatives that have awarded anonymity to Galician through standardisation have raised questions about who are the legitimate speakers and what is the legitimating ideology.

While the language standardisation initiatives of the last several decades have worked towards awarding Galician prestige, there have been wider repercussions for groups of native speakers whose language variety has been ‘re-stigmatised’ due to the prescriptive standard variety that is now promoted in official and educational settings (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2011). Furthermore, the stigmatisation experienced by traditional speakers is two fold: as first language speakers of Galician their language variety is subordinate socioeconomically and politically in respect to Spanish. Moreover, the traditional variety can lack prestige in official domains where Standard Galician is favoured.

There have also been repercussions for new speakers in Galicia. The *neofalantes* in Galicia who are usually urban and from middle class backgrounds have learned standard Galician through the education system, and thus their language variety holds value in certain markets such as in public sector employment. Thus, although *neofalantes* are a linguistic minority, their social class and the prestige of the variety they speak gives them linguistic authority that at times can be more important than being perceived as a ‘native speaker’ (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). Nevertheless, use of Galician in urban areas, where Spanish is still the most commonly used language, may still be perceived as a marked form of speech, with associations being made between urban *neofalantes* and nationalist political movements (Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo, 2002; O’Rourke, 2011a).

It has been argued that, despite the move towards ‘anonymising’ Galician, use of the language is still, overall, a marker of authenticity (DePalma, 2014); This is because the use of Galician, be it the standard or traditional variety, continues to be associated with either urban middle class intellectuals or a rural ageing demographic, respectively

(O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). As DePalma (2014) notes, access to Galician for people who are considered to be outside the two aforementioned linguistic groups continues to be restricted. In contrast to Catalan, which DePalma and others (cf. Pujolar & González, 2013; Soler, 2012) contend has succeeded in drawing on the authority of anonymity, the political, geographic and class associations linked to the use of Galician “render its use anything but neutral” (DePalma, 2014, p.429). The characteristics of Galician as an identity marker arguably make it more comparable to other historically marginalised languages (DePalma, 2014), such as the case of Estonian (Soler, 2012) or Irish (O'Rourke, 2015). Such languages, through language planning efforts have positioned themselves as valuable, but have drawn on attributes of authenticity such as identity building.

This raises questions for the immigrant ‘new speakers’ at the centre of this study. These speakers are neither traditional speakers nor young, urban *neofalantes*. Moreover, as the focus of this study is on school-aged immigrants, their motivations for language learning, and attitudes towards Galician, often differ from *neofalantes*, whose linguistic practices are often catalysed by their increased political and ideological awareness. In contrast to the *neofalante* profile, the Cape Verdean immigrants in this study are learning Galician through the education system.

Moreover, the multilingual profile of the Cape Verdean students in this study, coupled with the situation of language contact in Galicia, brings up interesting issues relating to conceptualisations of language. Following this discussion of Galicia's sociolinguistic climate and its history of language contact, can we really talk about languages as separate units, and if not, what does this imply for multilingual Cape Verdean immigrants in the Galician education system?

The following chapter will provide an ethnographic sketch of the town of As Rocas, providing a backdrop for the subsequent data analysis. It will give an overview of the data collected and the methods used, justifying the use of ethnographic methods for understanding the language ideologies and practices of teachers and Cape Verdean students in the multicultural community of As Rocas.

## **Chapter 4- As Rocas: An ethnographic case study**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the setting where this ethnographic study was conducted. It will provide demographic information about As Rocas that is important for understanding the data that will be presented in subsequent chapters. As well as contextualising As Rocas, the chapter will present salient demographic information about Cape Verde, explaining how the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas came to settle in As Rocas. The chapter will then discuss the particularities of the linguistic situation in Cape Verde, and outline the similarities it shares with the linguistic situation in Galicia. This too will be central to understanding the data that will be presented in the following four chapters. Focusing specifically on methodological considerations, this chapter will then discuss the researcher role and positioning. Furthermore, it will present detailed information about the participants, how the data was obtained, and what considerations were taken in the analysis process.

### **4.2 Ethnographic setting**

As Rocas is a small town situated on Galicia's northern coastline. The population of the town is small, with approximately 10,000 people registered as officially living there (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2016). Although diglossia and tensions between use of Spanish and Galician are apparent in As Rocas, as will be discussed in chapter 8, the nature of language use is somewhat different to many other Galician towns. As Rocas is a working class, geographically isolated town. Due to this, As Rocas has been a stronghold for the Galician language - as discussed in chapter 3, the Galician language is most widely spoken in rural, working class parts of Galicia. Galician continues to be the first language of most of the population in As Rocas, with more than 50% claiming to use Galician exclusively (IGE, 2011). These statistics are above average when compared to Galicia's urban centres such as Vigo or A Coruña, where exclusive use of Galician is reportedly approximately 15% (IGE, 2011).

The immigrant population of As Rocas is high if you take into account the size and rural location of the town; approximately 13% of the population are immigrants, the large

majority of them originating from outside the European Union. The late 1970s saw the beginning of a rapid rise in the population of As Rocas. The Spanish transition from dictatorship to democracy, coupled with increasing industrialisation in the region, made this part of Galicia an attractive destination for migrants. The jobs created by industrialisation meant that the Galician men who until then had worked in the fishing industry, sought employment in occupations in factories due to improved working conditions. This created a shortage of workers in the fishing industry, a gap which was quickly to be filled by immigrant workers, and in the case of As Rocas, immigrants from Cape Verde. The first wave of Cape Verdean immigrants in Galicia were men who were later to be joined by their wives and children through family reunification processes. These changes in the structure of the economy caused As Rocas to go from being a rural town of approximately 1,000 people to an urban centre of 10,000 in a period of approximately thirty years.

The impressive natural scenery in As Rocas dominated my first impressions arriving in the town. As Rocas is a town that is ‘fenced in’, on one side by the sea, and on the other by a mountain. This means that in order to cope with the growing population, the only direction for planners to build, is up. Locals have described the layout of the buildings in As Rocas as a ‘badly played game of Tetris’ as, during the population boom, speed was a higher priority than precision when building homes to accommodate the growing number of people living in the town. Furthermore, the hilly nature of As Rocas means that buildings of all different sizes have been built at many different heights, giving the architectural landscape of the town a unique feel that I had not come across before. Another thing to note about As Rocas, is that unlike many historical Galician cities, it does not have an ‘old quarter’ as such. As Rocas is in many respects a ‘new’ town. Most of the buildings are new, most of the population is ‘new’, making this an interesting site for conducting ethnographic research which considers the phenomenon of ‘new’ speakers.

The photo below is taken from the top of the mountain that overlooks As Rocas and illustrates how, as mentioned above, the town is ‘fenced in’ by sea and mountain. As can be seen from the photo, the sea provides a natural border on the town, with the mountain acting as the other border. The layout of the buildings is not uniform or grid like, but rather feels haphazard and reflects the sudden nature of the architectural development of the town.



Figure 4.1 - As Rocas

Source: Photograph taken by author

### **4.3 The Cape Verdean community**

The Cape Verdean community is the largest subgroup of migrants in As Rocas, making up almost one quarter of the immigrant community. The Cape Verdean community does not only hold importance in the town because of its numerical strength; the cultural and linguistic parallels Cape Verde shares with Galicia are also salient. While immigrants in As Rocas who come from Asian countries are usually self-employed, mostly operating in the retail industry, the Cape Verdean immigrants in As Rocas work primarily in the fishing industry. In both Cape Verde and Galicia, fishing is central to the economy.

Cape Verde is a former Portuguese colony, having gained independence in 1975. Around the same period, Cape Verde focused on strengthening ties with Africa, notably joining the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1976. Much like Galicia, Cape Verde is characterised by a long history of emigration due to extensive poverty. The Cape Verdean diaspora is widespread, reaching Europe, Africa, and North and South America. Although Cape Verde shares many links with the African continent, its socio-historic context varies considerably from other countries on the West African mainland. Cape Verde has been described as being ‘alone at sea’, experiencing a mix of African, European and Caribbean culture (Batalha & Carling, 2008).

Cape Verdean migrants in Europe have sought employment in a range of sectors. Men have typically found work in the fishing industry and in construction work whilst women have taken positions as domestic workers with European families. Cape Verdean men's work in the fishing industry has meant that most Cape Verdean communities have settled in port towns rather than large cities. Examples of these include Rotterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg and Gothenburg (Batalha & Carling, 2008) and, of course, As Rocas. Cape Verdean emigration to Europe increased in the 1960s and 1970s. The growing shipping industry in the Netherlands attracted large numbers of Cape Verdean migrants, making this community the largest Cape Verdean group in northern Europe (Batalha & Carling, 2008). The influx of Cape Verdean migrants to southern European countries such as Spain and Italy provoked a 'migration turnaround': countries which up until this point had been points of emigration were becoming hosts to migrants for the first time (King et al., 1997).

In the diaspora in Galicia, much like in the Cape Verdean community living on the archipelago, women are often responsible for caring for children while men work abroad or on fishing boats for long periods of time. This means that women play a key role in the community. Family structures in Cape Verde are more flexible than the nuclear European model. The tie between mother and child is strong, whereas the father's role is less constant (Batalha and Carling, 2008). In Galicia, the Cape Verdean women ensure the maintenance of Cape Verdean cultural practices, including passing on the Kriolu language to their children. Their relationship with the autochthonous community is limited to the work domain, while social activities are mostly within their own Cape Verdean community (Moldes Farelo & Oca González, 2008). This is exemplified by the fact that since the arrival of Cape Verdeans in Galicia, few "mixed" marriages have taken place.

#### **4.4 Galicia and Cape Verde: Sociolinguistic parallels**

The linguistic and indeed sociolinguistic parallels between Galicia and Cape Verde are pertinent to this case study. The official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese. However, the majority of the population speaks Kriolu, a Portuguese creole language which has different grammar to Portuguese but shares many lexical and phonetic

similarities. As discussed previously, Galician and Portuguese are languages that share ties too (Bobillo García et al., 2008). The linguistic ties between Galician and Portuguese are central to the debates about ‘reintegrationist’ Galician (see chapter 3.6 for a detailed discussion), where Galician is seen to form part of a wider community of speakers of Portuguese-based languages, including those in Brazil, Portugal and former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Therefore, reintegrationists argue that written Galician should approximate Portuguese orthographic norms.

In As Rocas, Miguel, one of the members of teaching staff most involved in the development of the grassroots Plan As Rocas language planning model (discussed further in chapter 5), is active in the reintegrationist movement in Galicia. Miguel aligns himself with the position of the reintegrationist movement, whereby the Galician language, especially written Galician, should approximate the Portuguese standard rather than peninsular Spanish. Especially in the case of As Rocas, where the largest immigrant community comes from Cape Verde (an ex Portuguese colony), Miguel sees the ties between Galician and Portuguese as an opportunity for increased integration and intercultural communication. As mentioned previously, not only is the reintegrationist movement concerned with orthographic norms, it also posits that Galicia, as a nation, has ties to Brazil, and other parts of Africa. Most of the Cape Verdean students in As Rocas have received formal education in Portuguese. Using Portuguese orthography in Galician, then, according to Miguel, would facilitate the language learning process from the Cape Verdean community. However, Miguel's reintegrationist view is a minority position. During the processes of standardisation that took place in Galicia in the latter part of the 20th century, the variety that was elaborated and promoted by the autonomous government was a ‘transdialectal’ variety that used Spanish orthographic norms. (For a discussion of Galician standardisation see chapter 3). Therefore, the school curriculum is based on standard Galician and does not allow for reintegrationist orthography. In this respect, we see tensions between teachers who see opportunities for enhanced language learning by drawing on the historical links between the countries in question, and the imposed curriculum which maintains that the Galician that is taught in schools must conform to the standard ‘Spanishised’ variety of Galician.

As just discussed, the current standard form of Galician, which was developed during the latter half of the 20th century, aligns closely with the Spanish language. Consequently, use of Portuguese orthography when writing Galician is a marked action,



and can act as a way of highlighting the writer's political stance: reintegrationists, through their use of Portuguese orthography, reject what they perceive to be the dominance of the Spanish language and look to Portuguese as their point of reference in their broader language community (Roseman, 1995).

The use of Portuguese orthography was visible in much of the political graffiti in As Rocas. The photo below, which depicts the flags of the countries in which Portuguese languages are spoken, I found particularly pertinent.



Figure 4.2 - Temos unha língua mundial

Source: Photograph taken by author

The text written in green translates as “We have a global language”. The flags pictured are of those countries that speak a variety of Portuguese, which reintegrationists in As Rocas argue Galicia forms a part of. The blue diagonal stripe is supposed to represent the Galician flag. Hence, the graffiti is displaying the ideology of the reintegrationist movement: Galician should be considered part of the Portuguese speaking community. Furthermore, it implicitly indicates a distancing from the Spanish language and the Spanish state. Miguel was vocal about his views regarding Galicia's ties to Portugal. However, in my interviews with other teachers, there was no direct mention of the reintegrationist movement. Rather, there was just a general recognition of the linguistic proximity between Portuguese, Galician and Cape Verdean Creole. Nobody else in my study, apart from Miguel, made explicit political statements. Meanwhile, the Cape Verdean students who I spoke to showed more of an interest in Spain and Spanish, and again did not make political statements about the links between Galicia and Portugal.

Instead, they just made passing comments where they acknowledged the similarities between the languages of Galicia and Cape Verde.

#### ***4.4.1 Language hierarchies in Galicia and Cape Verde***

The social dynamics between Kriolu and Portuguese in Cape Verde proves an interesting point of comparison to Galician and Spanish in Galicia. Both contexts have experienced a long history of language hierarchies, and before the revitalisation of Galician took place, both countries had one code for official use and another for informal use within the community (Batalha and Carling, 2008; Beswick, 2007). In Cape Verde, Kriolu is primarily an oral language, used in informal domains by most of the population. Portuguese is the language of prestige, used for official communication in government, schools etc. This is comparable to how languages were used in Galicia for most of the 20th century, where Spanish was the language of the dominant classes and Galician was used orally and mostly in rural, poorer parts of the region. Some of the Galician teachers I spoke with, who had visited schools in Cape Verde, provided anecdotal examples of situations in Cape Verdean classrooms where the textbooks were in Portuguese but teachers conducted their classes in Kriolu. Similar linguistic dynamics are found in Galicia, although the language revitalisation processes that have taken place in recent times have increased the presence of, and awarded prestige to, the Galician language. This is something that is currently happening in Cape Verde: The standardisation of Kriolu and the recognition of it as an official language is something that is currently being debated and put forward as a key step in Cape Verdean nation building (Batalha & Carling, 2008).

#### **4.5 Primary research sites: IES Primavera and IES Margarita secondary schools**

There are two secondary schools in As Rocas. For the purposes of this research and to ensure anonymity, the secondary schools have been given the pseudonyms IES Primavera and IES Margarita<sup>4</sup>. IES Primavera has a student body of about 300 students whereas IES Margarita has about 600. IES Margarita provides adult training courses

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<sup>4</sup> The acronym IES stands for Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria (Secondary Education Institute) and precedes the name of public secondary schools in Spain.

*(Ciclos Profesionales)* as well as the secondary school curriculum, and hence has a student population almost twice of that of IES Primavera. Although I had the opportunity to conduct research at both centres, IES Primavera granted me more access than IES Margarita. There were several factors that contributed to this. Firstly, my contact with Miguel, who is a teacher in IES Primavera, made it easier for me to gain access to said school. Furthermore, it was teachers from IES Primavera who were most involved in the making of the documentary that originally drew my attention to this town. What I subsequently learned from Miguel, when I arrived in As Rocas, was that the documentary was made as a way to showcase the success of a language planning model, entitled Plan As Rocas, that he and other members of the community had elaborated.

The Plan As Rocas, which will be discussed and analysed more closely in chapter 5, was developed in the early 2000s. It is a language planning model with several key objectives: revitalising and promoting the use of Galician, providing a ‘multilingual’ education for children that is suitable for 21<sup>st</sup> century globalised society, and accounting for the linguistic diversity brought about immigration. Miguel, along with some other teachers in IES Primavera, was at the forefront of the elaboration of the language planning model. Therefore, the staff at IES Primavera were more open to the idea of me researching their school context.

As well as speaking to teachers and students, the physical environment of the two schools gave interesting insights to their ethos and values. The walls of IES Primavera were decorated with posters, some made by the students and some printed from other sources. A large amount of the signage and posters in the school focused on promoting Galician, and in fact I struggled to find anything on the walls of the school that was written in Spanish. It was clear from the moment I stepped in the school that this was a centre where the promotion of Galician took centre stage, and seemed to be embraced by the activities undertaken by staff and students. In keeping with the objectives of the Plan As Rocas, IES Primavera was the school that demonstrated the most interest in the promotion of multilingualism. IES Margarita seemed to focus less specifically on the promotion of multilingualism and more on a diverse range of topics, perhaps due to the fact that they also provided adult education courses.

The photos below show the display board found at the entrance to IES Primavera. The board was updated throughout the year to reflect the activities undertaken by the school that formed part of the Plan As Rocas. The first photo is part of the celebration of the *Dia das Letras Galegas*, a day that is celebrated throughout Galicia and each year commemorates a deceased Galician author. The second photo is a collage of photographs taken from the students' most recent visit to London. As the Plan As Rocas focuses on 'plurilingualism', cultural exchange programs are a key component.

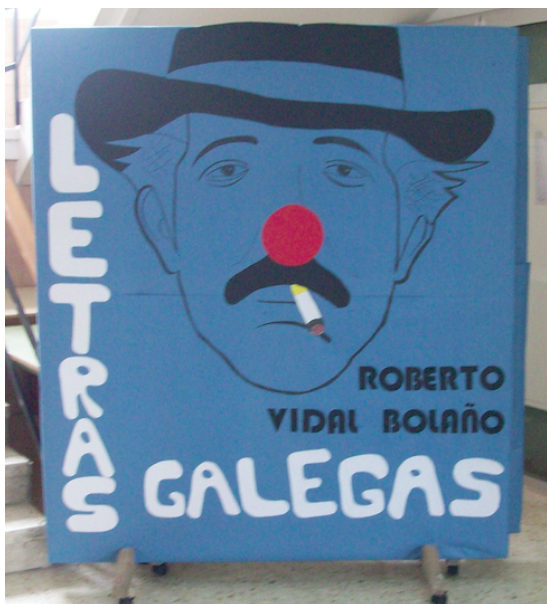


Figure 4.3 - Letras Galegas

Source: Photograph taken by author



Figure 4.4 - Our Trip to London

Source: Photograph taken by author

As can be seen from the two photos, the first contains text in Galician and the second contains text only in English. This is an example of how, from the moment you enter the school, there is a visual display of the outputs of the Plan As Rocas.

Interestingly, and conveniently, the two school buildings were adjacent to one another. It took less than five minutes to walk between the two schools. This made it feel at times as if I was conducting my research on the one site. However, once I delved deeper into the dynamics of each school, it became apparent that the schools were quite different. Many of the teachers I interviewed spoke about the ‘great divide’ between the two schools, and the relative lack of communication between teachers in each school. Even the support teachers, who worked closely with immigrant students, had never met one another. I proposed that it might be useful for teachers to have contact, especially those who are working on developing materials for newly arrived immigrant students. However, it was apparent that each school, and the teachers of each school, worked separately from one another.

## **4.6 Negotiating researcher role and positioning**

### **4.6.1 *The gatekeeper***

My research in As Rocas was guided significantly by my relationship with Miguel, who in many respects could be considered the gatekeeper to the community. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, I was put in contact with Miguel through one of my PhD supervisors. I first met Miguel when I went to stay in his house. We had exchanged emails in the months previous, and I had spoken to him about my research. However, I had not gone into detail about my own Galician background. On the initial car journey to As Rocas with Miguel’s wife, Carla, I spoke at length about my ties to Galicia. When I arrived in Miguel’s house, he greeted me enthusiastically, exclaiming “¡Es de Vigo!” (You’re from Vigo!). Miguel immediately accepted me as a fellow Galician. Miguel spoke to me in Galician, and although up to then my recent contact with the language was only during the summer course I did in Santiago, I was soon able to converse with him fluidly. My language skills were put to the test straight away as I found myself having to explain my PhD research in Galician, something that can be challenging enough in the language you’re familiar with, let alone a ‘foreign’ language. What I found over the coming weeks, was that Galician was not ‘foreign’ to me at all, and soon

I felt comfortable speaking in Galician, at times even more so than in Spanish, a language which I had had significantly more contact with. Being able to speak Galician was important to me - I felt it helped me build rapport with the local community, and helped me become accepted as part of the community. While in many ways I was still an 'outsider', being able to speak Galician was a sort of bridge to becoming an insider. Additionally, if I was going to be examining the sociolinguistic context of the town, having knowledge of the languages spoken was, for me, an important asset.

It is important to understand Miguel's role in the community to understand how my ties to him shaped my research trajectory. Miguel is an active member of the community, having taught in IES Primavera for more than ten years. Moreover, Miguel is one of the key members in the development of the Plan As Rocas. Miguel is very proactive and involved in Galician language planning events, and is active with the local media. While knowing Miguel gave me instant access to both schools in the town, and allowed me to build relationships with many of the teaching staff, it is important to explore how this guided my research. The people that Miguel introduced me to were mostly teachers he had a good relationship with, and were sympathetic to the objectives of the Plan As Rocas. Some of the teachers I spoke to had also been involved in the implementation of the plan. Because I was introduced to people through Miguel, it was difficult at first to find interviewees who were willing to speak about the Plan As Rocas from different perspectives. However, as time went on and I began to build relationships in the community independently from Miguel, I encountered more people who offered me different views on the Plan As Rocas.

#### ***4.6.2 Where are you from? Negotiating my identity in relation to the community***

Most of the initial contact I had with people in As Rocas was through Miguel. As mentioned earlier, when I first met Miguel, he welcomed me as '*viguessa*' (from Vigo). This was unusual to me, as having spent more than half my life living between Ireland and Scotland, being identified as 'from Vigo' was unfamiliar. However, it was something that made my position as a researcher unique. As I will now explain, some of my social characteristics made it easier for me to gain access to this community. As mentioned above, in many ways, I was part of the 'in-group', being able to speak Spanish and Galician. Having spent time in the Galician education system myself, this

territory was not entirely foreign to me. However, the fact that I was now based at a Scottish university gave me some distance from the community and the people there. In a sense I had a dual position of insider and outsider.

The position of the researcher as insider and/or outsider, and the tensions that can arise as a result, have received much attention in the field of anthropology (Godina and McCoy, 2000). This dichotomy is frequently described as the emic/etic perspective, first put forward by Pike (1954). Put simply, the emic represents the 'insider' perspective while etic is seen as the 'outsider' (Godina and McCoy, 2000). However, scholars have increasingly argued that, rather than being mutually exclusive categories, "Etic and emic, the universal and the historical particular, are not separate kinds of understanding when one person makes sense of another. They are both part of any understanding." (Agar, 2011, p.39). Indeed, Agar succinctly explains the process whereby emic and etic understandings work together as "When one human tries to make sense out of a second human for the benefit of a third" (Agar, 2011, p.39).

In conducting this type of ethnographic research, where the role of the researcher is of great importance, maintaining the 'balance' between insider and outsider has been noted as a primary objective (Waddington, 2004). Due to the close contact and often long time span that the researcher spends in the community, there is the possibility of what has been termed 'going native', where the researcher becomes part of the community to the extent that their ability to critically analyse a situation may be compromised (Waddington, 2004). However, conversely, remaining too much of an outsider, always on the periphery of the community, risks the possibility that no trust or empathy (which is a key aspect of ethnographic research) is built with the community under study (Waddington, 2004).

Following Agar's argument that the emic and etic are inextricably linked, I was aware of how my own characteristic variables (outlined above) such as age, ethnicity and class could shape my research and influence the interactions of and responses from participants.

### ***4.6.3 Teachers, students and the wider community***

My relationship with the members of the teaching community was not surprisingly quite different to the one I had with the students. Many teachers were curious about my research project, and also interested in the teaching work I had been doing in Scotland. When the teachers introduced me to their students, however, they introduced me as a ‘Spanish teacher from Scotland’. This was difficult to explain to students who had many questions about why, if I was a teacher, I wasn’t actually doing any teaching; if I was from Scotland, why was I a Spanish teacher?; and if I was from Ireland, why did I speak Galician? These were all very valid questions, and ones that I explained to students as I got to know them better.

Miguel, keen to make sure that all activities relating to Plan As Rocas had a media presence, called the local newspaper the first week I arrived. I did a phone interview with a local journalist who asked me questions about how I came to do my research in As Rocas. Following that, a photographer came to the school to take a photograph of me for the article. That same week, Miguel interviewed me on the Plan As Rocas radio programme, posing questions about my experiences as a ‘new speaker’ of Galician. In a town as small as As Rocas, this amount of media attention meant that people began to recognise me on the street. It was a very surreal and indeed funny experience looking back. I recall one evening in the hairdresser when the receptionist who was taking my booking said “Oh hello, you’re the girl from the newspaper!”. The welcome I received in the community was unanimously positive. I was fortunate to have never encountered resistance to my research.

Although my research was about the Cape Verdean community, I found this a social group that was harder to gain access to. The students in the school context were open to speaking with me, and, as per the ethics approval I received, all contact with students was done on the school premises, during school time and organised through members of teaching staff. I did not have the opportunity to make contact with Cape Verdean parents. There are several issues that cause Cape Verdean parents to distance themselves from the school as an institution. Firstly, most of the parents of Cape Verdean students have received little or no formal education, and many are not literate. This means that when confronted with parent teacher meetings that might involve paper



work etc. many Cape Verdean parents shy away from the school. Secondly, most of the Cape Verdean men work on fishing boats and are at sea for several months at a time. The women who stay in As Rocas usually work long hours in the hospitality industry or cleaning houses. They also usually have numerous families to care for. This makes it difficult for them to attend parent teacher meetings that are usually scheduled during their working day.

In May 2014, while I was in As Rocas, the local town festival took place. The festival took place over the course of a week, with concerts being held in the town square, and a fair ground being set up. On one of the nights, the local council organised a night to celebrate Cape Verdean culture. It was interesting that the Cape Verdean community, who have now been in As Rocas for nearly 40 years, were included in the local cultural celebrations. They were the only immigrant community to have a night dedicated to them. On the night in question, I went along to the town hall where the event was held. When I arrived, I found that there were only Cape Verdean people in attendance. Apart from one other person, I was the only white person there. I felt as if I had intruded on a private event, and when I tried to go into another part of the hall, somebody closed the door on me. It was clear that this, although an event organised by the local council, was *de facto* a private event for the Cape Verdean community. While it may be an important part of integration to offer a space to the culture of the immigrant community, what could be seen here was what a previously anthropologist working in As Rocas referred to as segregation, rather than integration. There was no evidence, during this particular festivity at least, of bi-directional integration. At the other events that formed part of the festivities, there was a very clear visual: black people stood around in groups with other black people, and white people likewise. I never witnessed any overt examples of racism or discordance between the locals and the Cape Verdeans in As Rocas. However, examples of bi-directional integration, outside the school context, were rare if not non-existent. The lack of communication between the two communities is something that has been noted. The fact that there have been few marriages between Cape Verdeans and Galicians in a period of 40 years is a clear example of this segregated co-existence (Fernández González, 2006). The anthropologist who had previously conducted research in As Rocas focused her work on Cape Verdean women. In her work she managed to build relationships with the community at a more proximate level than I did. However, she was not involved in the education system. I think the fact that my

research centred in the education system put me in a category that made it harder to connect with the Cape Verdean community at the home level.

#### **4.7 The data**

Ethnography, as a qualitative research method, has its roots in anthropology and is therefore best suited to answering questions of an anthropological nature (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). In this research, my aim was to understand the experiences of immigrants in the town of As Rocas and their 'subjective experience' was at the core of the study. It was for these reasons that I deemed an ethnographic approach the most appropriate. By collecting qualitative information from participants about their 'lived experiences' (Cassel and Symon, 2004), observing how they acted within their specific social context and through collection of detailed field notes, I endeavoured to answer the anthropological questions at the core of this study.

The data for the study was collected between May 2013 and June 2014 in the town of As Rocas. I visited As Rocas three times in total. The longest fieldtrip was the final one, which took place during the months of May and June of 2014. The research methods comprised 22 semi-structured ethnographic interviews with students and teachers. This included one interview with a past pupil of IES Primavera and one interview with an anthropologist who lived in and had carried out ethnographic research in As Rocas. I also conducted one focus group with a group of five people including teaching staff and senior management in IES Primavera. My research also involved non-participant classroom observations in Galician language classes, Spanish language classes, classes run by the guidance department and support classes for immigrants and ethnographic observations taken at key sites such as the local radio station and festive events in the town that took place during my time there. All interviews were conducted in either Galician or Spanish. In total, 13 school students, 10 teachers, one independent researcher and one university student who was a past pupil of IES Primavera took part in the study.

#### ***4.7.1 Participant observation in As Rocas***

Participant observation has been said to be central to the process of conducting ethnographic research (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998), and both participant and non-participant observation were central to this study. Nonparticipant observation has been described as a method where “the researcher enters a social system to observe events, activities, and interactions with the aim of gaining a direct understanding of a phenomenon in its natural context” (Liu and Maitlis, 2010, p.609). The main distinction between participant and nonparticipant observation, not surprisingly, is that in the latter the participant does not directly participate in the events under observation. My time spent in classrooms was mostly nonparticipant. I usually sat at a desk on my own, observing and taking notes, which is a key part of the process of conducting observation in the field (Liu and Maitlis, 2010). However, in some classes, the teachers involved me in the activities, and at some points I acted almost as an auxiliary teacher. While nonparticipant observation can be carried out in an overt or covert way (Liu and Maitlis, 2010), my research was overt, in that participants knew that my purpose in the school was to carry out research.

While nonparticipant observation has many strengths, including providing a unique insight into the events experienced by a community of people in a particular setting, allowing the observer to see social processes as they are taking place, it also has drawbacks that must be considered by the researcher (Liu and Maitlis, 2010). The first challenge that Liu and Maitlis (2010) note is the effect that the observer has on the research setting. Many caution about the ‘observers paradox’, and explore ways of avoiding such ‘contamination’ of data. However, Heller (2008) rejects the possibility that one can truly ‘disappear’ from the research setting. She highlights that “No matter what, by virtue of the questions we ask and how we ask them we are there; we are better off trying to understand how people make sense of us and our activities than trying to pretend we can disappear” (Heller, 2008, p.255). This was an issue that I struggled with throughout my ethnography: Is what people are telling me ‘true’? Would the students be acting differently if I was not sitting in the classroom? Thus, I used different methods to collect my data, in order to gain a more complex and multifaceted understanding of the setting.

I think that Heller's proposition of aiming to understand how our activities shape the research context, rather than being preoccupied with the 'observers paradox' can lead to much more fruitful observations. As Waddington (2004) has noted, acknowledging the 'bias' of the research, rather than being a drawback, can be of benefit to the study. He argues that "it is preferable to address the possible effects head on than to merely pretend [...] that research can be carried out in a social vacuum" (Waddington, 2004, p.162). An example of this was when I spent time in the school playground, chatting with groups of students. From anecdotal accounts and some well-timed eavesdropping, I found that many of the students (both locals and immigrants) used Spanish frequently. However, when I spent time in the playground chatting with some of the local teenagers, they were keen to speak to me in Galician. Speaking Galician may have not been consistent with their daily linguistic practices, and indeed my presence may have prompted them to speak Galician over Spanish. Thus, there was an 'observer's paradox' in that my being there shaped the interaction. However, following Waddington and Heller, I used this to try to better understand the situation: if the students saw me as a figure of authority (I was introduced frequently as a teacher), did their use of Galician demonstrate the value they placed on Galician? What image were the students trying to convey through their use of Galician? These questions, rather than focusing on whether their language practices were the same as if I had not been there, provide more interesting focal points.

#### **4.7.2 Curricular structure**

Most of the teachers who I was introduced to invited me to sit in on their classes. However, due to time constraints, I had to make decisions as to what classes would be most relevant to my study. There were two main issues at play: the percentage of Cape Verdean students in the class, and the nature of the subject being taught. There is a 'pyramidal' (Martín Rojo, 2010) structure to the distribution of immigrants in both secondary schools in As Rocas. The number of immigrant students is highest in the first two years of secondary school. During these two years students are not streamed, and all students attend the same classes. In third and fourth year of secondary school, streaming begins, and this is where I saw the number of Cape Verdeans reducing, with the Cape Verdeans who remained mostly joining streams specifically for students with 'academic difficulties'. In the final two years of secondary education, which are non

compulsory and usually for students who are planning to attend university, the number of Cape Verdean students was at its lowest. Although I was more interested in interviewing students who were more senior in the school, as I felt they would be more comfortable discussing their views, it was difficult to find Cape Verdean students in the upper cycles of education in As Rocas. This was something that caught my attention and in many ways shaped the next stages of my research. The second issue I had to take into account when conducting classroom observation was the nature of the subjects being taught. I narrowed down my criteria to focus on language classes, as language is a key focus of my study. After sitting in on several types of classes, I decided to divide my time between Galician and Spanish classes for the fourth year students with ‘academic difficulties’, the support classes for immigrant students and some classes organised by the guidance department. As these groups tended to be small, and had a high percentage of Cape Verdean students, they gave me more of a chance to observe linguistic and social interactions.

In order to understand the non-participant classroom observation I conducted in As Rocas, a general understanding of the curricular structure of the two schools in As Rocas is needed. During my time in As Rocas, I observed that the resources in place for ‘supporting’ students could be broken down into four main areas.

First, there is the guidance department, referred to as *Orientación*. The areas covered by this department are broad. Primarily, the guidance department is responsible for assessing students’ progress and assisting in the design and development of curricular adaptations aimed at students with specific educational needs. Furthermore, the staff member in charge of the guidance department acts as a liaison officer with the students’ parents, especially those who are newly arrived in the school. Both IES Primavera and IES Margarita had one person working in the guidance department. It is important to note that for the most part, the guidance teacher does not engage in classroom-based teaching. The exception to this is an occasional class on topics concerning social, personal and health education.

Secondly, there is the department of *Pedagogía Terapéutica* (translated literally as ‘therapeutic pedagogy’ but equivalent to Special Educational Needs in the UK context). IES Primavera had one teacher working in this department, while IES Margarita had two in order to cope with demand. The department of Special Educational Needs (SEN

henceforth) is dedicated to working with children with serious learning difficulties. The appointed SEN teacher has a special classroom with materials tailored to students' needs. The SEN teacher will provide materials that are appropriate to the students' level, often adapting exercises from the primary school curriculum. The decision to place certain students in the SEN class is based on an assessment carried out by the guidance teacher in conjunction with other members of staff. It is recommended that a child spend no more than 30% of their class time in the SEN classroom. However, this is not always adhered to. For example, if a student is having difficulty in a Spanish language class that is held three times per week, they might go to the SEN classroom for one or two of those scheduled Spanish classes. Furthermore, the SEN teacher will provide the student with material to work on during their time in the mainstream class. So, although they sit in a mainstream class twice a week, they do not always fully participate in it.

Thirdly, there are the *Programa de Diversificación Curricular* (Curricular Diversification Programme - PDC henceforth) and *Programas de Cualificación Profesional Inicial* (Initial Professional Qualification Programme - PCPI henceforth) streams. These streams were only available at IES Primavera. IES Margarita had not implemented them due to lack of resources and facilities to cater for many of the practical subjects that are based in work studios rather than classrooms. Students are streamed into PDC and PCPI groups in the third year secondary education. The PDC stream covers the same subjects as the mainstream classes. However, the course work is simplified and the class size is usually much smaller. Many immigrants are encouraged to opt for this stream. The PCPI stream focuses mainly on practical subjects such as woodwork and metal work and is aimed at students who do not want to pursue an academic path. There were a high number of immigrant students in the PCPI stream also. The number of immigrant students in mainstream classes after the second year of secondary education was small.

Finally, there are the 'reinforcement' classes. These classes are scheduled during the school day and aim to complement the work that is being done in the mainstream curriculum. For example, a teacher in the reinforcement class may help students with prescribed reading material that is set in one of their language classes. These classes usually have a mix of locals and immigrants in them. They are optional and attending

them does not impact on a student's learning trajectory in the same way as choosing a PDC stream or attending SEN classes would.

Based on the curricular structure of the two schools, I decided to carry out non-participant observation in classes organised by the guidance department, SEN classes, and PDC Spanish and Galician language classes.

#### **4.7.2.1 *Orientación / Guidance***

The first thing that struck me about the guidance classes was the number of students in them. The groups were of approximately thirty students, and at times the classes felt more like an exercise in crowd control than anything else. This was in stark contrast to the atmosphere in the SEN classes where the students were in groups of five and their relationship with the teacher could almost be described as maternal. Juan was the guidance teacher in IES Primavera. Miguel, my main contact in IES Primavera, introduced me to him. Juan was in his forties and from Vigo, one of Galicia's main cities. This was Juan's first year working in As Rocas. Juan was interested in my research and agreed to be interviewed. He also invited me to sit in on some of the classes he taught.

I had the opportunity to meet the guidance teacher in IES Margarita also. Her name was Veronica and, unlike Juan, she had been living and working in As Rocas for more than fifteen years. Veronica explained to me that she did not organise classes like the ones Juan did. She focused her working hours on administrative tasks, and told me that she had not taught the students for many years. Veronica was less forthcoming than Juan. However, she agreed to be interviewed and spoke at length about her role in the school.

#### **4.7.2.2 *Pedagogía Terapéutica / Special Educational Needs (SEN)***

The SEN classes were the ones I found the most interesting and also the ones where I was able to observe the most interaction between students and teachers. The classes were small and mainly made up of Cape Verdean students. The SEN teacher in IES Margarita was Alberto. Alberto was in his fifties and had been teaching in As Rocas since he started his career almost thirty years previously. Alberto had a leg injury, meaning that he could not stand or move around during his classes. This impacted

greatly on the dynamic of the class. The students sat at tables, organised in a circle, and, in lieu of using a blackboard, Alberto explained things by writing them on a sheet of paper at the desk. Alberto, much like the majority of the staff in the school, was very welcoming and interested in talking to me about the work he did. He explained how the students in his group have an *Adaptación Curricular Individualizada* (individual curricular adaptation - ACI henceforth). This means that the student is taught at a level much lower than what would correspond to a child of their age. Alberto told me that most of the students in his group were working at basic primary school level, learning how to read, write and do basic mathematics. If a student is deemed to need ACI, they cannot progress to higher education after completing their studies. In order to be placed in a SEN class and put on the ACI program, a student must be deemed to be at least 2 years 'behind' the standard established by the Department of Education. However, the evaluation criteria used to determine if a student is 'behind' is wide ranging. For example, one of the students in Alberto's class was a Galician girl with cerebral palsy. Her parents wanted her to go to a mainstream school, so she had been put in the SEN class. There was another boy from Senegal who had autism and he had been assigned to the SEN class. Some of the other children there were deemed to have 'socialisation problems' and various learning difficulties. However, many of the students were Cape Verdean immigrants whose main learning 'deficiencies' were related to their language competency in Spanish and Galician.

Alberto told me that in the last ten years, more than three quarters of the students in his class had been Cape Verdean immigrants. In 2014 there were 13 students in the SEN class in IES Margarita, an exceptionally high number. The average school in Galicia would have 2 or 3 students that needed to attend the SEN classes. Alberto told me that the numbers were so high in IES Margarita because of the immigrant population.

The SEN classroom was very different to the other classrooms where the mainstream students were. The tables were set out in a round shape, the walls were full of posters and maps and there were many shelves with books on them. Furthermore, there was a wall full of lockers where the SEN students could leave their things. In contrast, the mainstream classes had a more clinical feel; the desks were set out in rows, the walls were usually bare and students did not use the room as a base once class concluded. It was clear that the SEN room served as a base for the children as well as a classroom. Students frequently came and went, leaving their bags or collecting books. They used



the space freely and the atmosphere was relaxed. Unlike the other classes, which approximated a lecture environment, these classes were reminiscent of primary schools, encouraging play and group work amongst the students. In the SEN classes I forged the most meaningful relationships, getting to know the students better and establishing trust with the teachers. Reasons for this could be due to the class size, the nature of the classes and the fact that the classes were held much more frequently than mainstream classes.

After reading about the ethnographic research carried out by Pérez Milans (2007) in another Spanish school, his metaphor of the 'island' seemed all too familiar. Pérez Milans conducted his work in a 'Welcoming Classroom' put in place especially for immigrants. Reflecting on this class, he states that

*Aquella aula comenzó pronto a convertirse en una verdadera isla, en un islote de bienvenida al que los estudiantes habían sido enviados y del que, poco a poco, me fui preguntando si conseguirían salir. (p. 121)*

*That classroom soon became a veritable island, a welcoming islet to which the students had been sent and where, slowly but surely I began to ask myself if they would ever be able to leave. (my translation)*

Although the SEN classes in As Rocas were not specifically designed for welcoming immigrants, they served this function for the most part. They were described as a place that would support students in their 'transition' to the mainstream classes. However, the number of students 'progressing' to the mainstream classroom after being sent to the metaphorical island that was the SEN classroom was very low.

I saw an increasing disconnect between the SEN class and the rest of the school. The SEN class was colourful, full of posters, books and games. The mainstream classes were practically empty, with only tables, chairs and a blackboard. The SEN rooms were set up to facilitate interaction between the students at round tables. This was discouraged in mainstream classes; tables were set out in rows, facing the blackboard and any communication between students was reprimanded. The relationship between students and teachers in SEN was familiar, with the mainstream teachers remaining

formal and distant from their students. The SEN classes seemed to function within the walls of the school but completely independent from it.

I raised issues about the suitability of SEN classes for students that did not have recognised learning disabilities. I was informed that five years ago there was a language class in IES Margarita dedicated to students from immigrant backgrounds with no knowledge of Spanish or Galician. The students were entitled to attend these classes during the school day for a maximum of one year. However, the guidance teacher (Veronica) felt that the fact that IES Margarita was the only school that offered these classes was problematic. As the only school in the area which offered this facility, the number of students from immigrant backgrounds enrolling there was, according to Veronica, disproportionately high. This placed a strain on the limited resources of the school, especially with regard to staffing extra teachers to cope with the increasingly diverse needs of the student body. Veronica felt that running such language classes was ultimately detrimental to the overall functioning of the school, as they did not have the resources to manage such high numbers of immigrant students.

#### **4.7.2.3 *PDC and language classes***

When I arrived in the field, I made contact with Spanish and Galician teachers at both schools. As mentioned above, IES Primavera has the optional PDC and PCPI streams. I was told that PDC was where I would find the highest percentage of immigrants. There were only one or two Cape Verdean students who were in the mainstream classes at the upper levels of secondary school. Again, this highlights the pyramidal structure of the school. Based on this, I made contact with Maria, the teacher in charge of the PDC stream. As the curriculum for PDC is simplified, one teacher is in charge of teaching arts subjects while another teachers teaches science. Maria was the arts teacher for PDC, therefore, she taught the group Spanish as well as Galician. It was interesting to see Maria teaching both classes and observing her approach to each subject.

There were eight students in Maria's class: four girls and four boys. The four girls were of immigrant origin (three Cape Verdeans and one Peruvian) and the four boys were Galician.

#### **4.7.2.4 Other community involvement: extracurricular activities**

Aside from observing classes in both secondary schools, I also became involved in some extra curricular events. The Cape Verdean students were notably absent from the majority of these events. I asked other members of the community about this and they put it down to financial issues, and large family sizes. Older children were expected to spend their evenings helping with their younger siblings rather than getting involved in extra curricular activities.

The first event I attended was a concert organised by IES Primavera and Plan As Rocas in conjunction with a group of singers in Santiago. The school organised a bus to leave from As Rocas on a Saturday to take a group of students to see the concert. The concert was to celebrate the *Día das Letras Galegas*, which once a year commemorates a deceased Galician author. The group sang songs in Galician and several speeches were made advocating the revitalisation of the Galician language and promoting intergenerational transmission as the key to this. The students that attended were all native Galicians. No immigrant students from either school were present. This could be attributed to the fact that the event took place on the weekend. Some of the Cape Verdean students had part time jobs and would have been working on Saturdays. Others, as mentioned above, may have been helping care for younger siblings and relatives. Furthermore, although the transport was subsidised by the school, students were expected to pay for their meals during the day. The cost of this might have been prohibitively expensive to some students.

#### **4.7.3 Interviews**

During my time in the field, as well as conducting participant and non-participant observation within various sites in the community, I also conducted interviews with students and teachers. Interviews have been recognised as useful for “getting a sense of participants’ life trajectories and social positioning” (Heller, 2008, p.257) which can then shed light on the things they do (e.g. their language choices, their academic trajectories). Furthermore, and especially in the research that I carried out, interviews served as a point of comparison for what I observed in the field. As Heller (2008) notes, interviews can serve “as ways of discovering coherences and contradictions and how

people strategize around them” (Heller, 2008, p.257) Further, as Musson states “participant observation [...] can be combined with life history data to provide a richer, more holistic picture than perhaps either method could furnish on its own” (Musson, 2004, p.43). Although interviews as a research tool alone have their limitations as they cannot give a full, holistic view of the social and linguistic practices of a community (Briggs, 1983, 1986), through the interview process, the interviewee has the opportunity to reflect on their understanding of the issue at hand, while the researcher has the opportunity to explore answers and encourage candid responses from the interviewee. Furthermore, when used in conjunction with other ethnographic methods, it has been noted that interviews are one of the best methodological approaches for projects concerned with the “subjective understanding” (Seidman, 2006, p.11) of participants.

Life history interviews as a research method have been explained as a method that “focuses on the ways in which individuals account for and theorize about their actions in the social world over time [...] the method prioritizes individual explanations and interpretations of actions and events, viewing them as lenses through which to access the meaning that human beings attribute to their experience” (Musson, 2004, p.34). The interview questions I asked aimed to elicit answers regarding the language ideologies of the students. I posed questions about their linguistic trajectories and their experiences with language in As Rocas. I asked students to reflect on how their language practices had evolved since arriving in As Rocas. Also, I elicited responses about students’ changing use of language in their daily lives: What do they speak in school? What do they speak at home? What do they speak with their friends? It must be noted that responses to interviews, rather than being objective facts, are merely a representation of the ideological stance of the interviewee, a stance which is shaped by their linguistic trajectory and social surroundings. Nevertheless, I found this information useful and relevant when conducting ethnographic observations outside the interview environment. Furthermore, the interviews revolved around a discussion of students’ beliefs and ideologies of the ‘value’ of languages in their own linguistic repertoires, a matter that was highly salient for multilingual ‘new speakers’ adapting to their new social surroundings.

The selection of interviewees loosely followed the snowball sampling technique. Through Miguel, the gatekeeper, I was introduced to members of teaching staff and I approached them about the possibility of conducting interviews. These teachers then

introduced me to their students and suggested students who might be interested in taking part in an interview. Miguel also introduced me to an anthropologist who had close ties with the Cape Verdean community, whom I later interviewed. I got to know the students through sitting in on their classes. While some were interested in the project and in speaking to me, many of them were shy and opted not to take part in a one to one interview. Some students showed an interest in doing interviews in pairs, and this proved particularly successful with two girls from IES Margarita. All the students who were interviewed were of Cape Verdean origin, some having been born in Cape Verde, and others in Portugal or Galicia. Although many students seemed enthusiastic about being interviewed, during the interview process some were significantly more vocal than others. Due to ethical considerations, the classes I sat in on were not recorded. Rather, I made observations and took detailed ethnographic notes.

The following table outlines the general details of the participants who were interviewed for the study. There were fourteen students and ten teachers interviewed, as well as one anthropologist living in the local community who was also interviewed. The students were teenagers aged between 16 and 18 and the teachers were in their 40s and 50s. All of the students were of Cape Verdean origin (all but one were born in Cape Verde) and the teachers were local Galicians, with a mix of urban and rural backgrounds.

**Table 4.1 - Participant information**

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Interview type</b>
Lola	Galician	Anthropologist	Female	40s	Independent Researcher	Individual
Ana	Cape Verdean	University Student	Female	20s	IES Primavera (past pupil)	Individual
Clara	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Carlos	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual

Daniela	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Jorge	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Juanita	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Margarita	Individual
Lidia	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Manuel	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Marcos	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Pablo	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Roberto	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Samuel	Cape Verdean	Student	Male	Teenager	IES Primavera	Individual
Vanessa	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Margarita	Group (2 participants)
Katerina	Cape Verdean	Student	Female	Teenager	IES Margarita	Group (2 participants)
Alberto	Galician	Teacher	Male	50s	IES Margarita	Individual
Miguel	Galician	Teacher	Male	50s	IES Primavera	Individual & focus group
Elvira	Galician	Teacher	Female	40s	IES Margarita	Individual
Juan	Galician	Teacher	Male	40s	IES Primavera	Focus group only
Jacinta	Galician	Teacher	Female	40s	Council teacher	Individual

Nuria	Galician	Teacher	Female	40s	IES Primavera	Focus group only
Maria	Galician	Teacher	Female	40s	IES Primavera	Individual
Raquel	Galician	Teacher	Female	50s	IES Primavera	Individual & focus group
Sergio	Galician	Teacher	Male	50s	IES Primavera	Focus group only
Veronica	Galician	Teacher	Female	50s	IES Margarita	Individual

#### **4.7.4 Analysis**

As in much of the research that uses life history interviews as part of the methodology, I took a thematic approach to analysis of the data (Pavlenko, 2008). Drawing on the framework method for qualitative research (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994), I used a matrix on Microsoft Excel to code interview transcripts according to emerging themes. The advantage of coding life history interviews according to themes is the possibility to pick up on recurrent issues and topics that are central to the stories of those who participated in the study (Pavlenko, 2008). However, as Pavlenko (2008) cautions, it is important not to simply follow the pattern of using quotes to back up a series of observations. She notes that doing this “displays uncritical reliance on what is said in the narratives, neglect of what is omitted, and lack of insight as to why certain things are said in certain ways at particular times and others are excluded” (Pavlenko, 2008, p.322). In order to avoid a superficial reading of the content of life history interviews, Pavlenko suggests treating them as “discursive constructions [...] subject to analysis that considers their linguistic, rhetorical, and interactional properties, as well as the sociolinguistic and sociohistoric contexts in which they were produced” (Pavlenko, 2008, p.322) In this sense, using life history interviews was beneficial as

The life history method also recognizes the collusion of the researcher in the research process. It does not presume that the researcher is some impartial,

value-free entity, unproblematically engaging in the research process to produce objective accounts of a reified truth. (Musson, 2004, p.35)

The coding was done in several stages. As I coded the interviews, common themes began to repeat themselves, and therefore shaped the on-going stages of the analysis. I did not approach the data with a set of themes that I wished to find. Rather, I read through the interview transcripts and listened back to the recordings, observing the patterns that emerged. It has been noted that “Transcription is already a first step in interpretation and analysis” (Turell and Moyer, 2008). As my study did not focus on specific linguistic features, and was rather concerned with the ideologies expressed by participants, the phonetic specificities of conversations were not transcribed. However, as language choice and use was of importance, the transcripts noted when a participant switched between Spanish and Galician.

At first, the codes I used were very specific, resulting in a large amount of emerging themes. Following this, I explored the commonalities of these ‘subthemes’ and grouped them into broader overarching issues. These findings then provided a backdrop when reviewing field notes and classroom observations in order to provide the ‘rich’ data that characterises ethnography. In my analysis, I took into account the social, political and economic context of the participants, and also, as Pavlenko (2008) has suggested, the language ideologies and discourses that are valued both within the broader community of As Rocas and how this relates to how the participants position themselves in relation to such. Therefore, in my analysis of the interview data, although I took a thematic approach and looked out for recurring salient themes, I also, in the first instance, considered the sociohistoric conditions under which the interviews took place.

A further point towards avoiding the pitfalls of superficial thematic analysis is taking into consideration the power dynamics and positioning of people during the interview process. For example, in my study, the power dynamics shifted depending on who I was interacting with. I initially felt that the students mostly saw me as an authoritative figure (due in part to me being introduced to them as a teacher), although this diminished as I spent more time with them they got to know me more. The teachers I worked with were older than me, and even though I was conducting interviews with them, I was doing so in their workplace. Issues such as these were important in shaping the dynamics of my interactions with the community in As Rocas. Pavlenko (2008) has made specific



reference to the power dynamics at play when interviewing people from immigrant backgrounds. She posits that sensitivity to the context of the interview process is “particularly important, as some participants may be refugees or immigrants, and thus occupy inherently powerless positions not only vis-à-vis the researcher but vis-à-vis the society in general” (Pavlenko, 2008, p.322). This point is salient in my research, as it centred on the experiences of the Cape Verdean immigrant community. I was aware that I was perceived as a figure of authority to the students. Furthermore, my affiliation with the school and my relationship with the teachers was another aspect that alienated me from the student population. Some of the Cape Verdean students whose school life was problematic for either behavioural or academic reasons were in many ways distrusting of the school, which could have led to a distrust of me. Nevertheless, over time I got to know the students and they got to know me, which in some cases eased such feelings of alienation.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter provided an introduction to the setting where the study was conducted, and thus contributed to a greater understanding of the ethnographic context. It explored the reasons for the changing demographics in As Rocas, exploring how the Cape Verdean community came to settle there. In keeping with the sociolinguistic nature of this study, this chapter provided a discussion of the linguistic parallels between Cape Verde and Galicia, focusing specifically on their common history of language hierarchies and, moreover, how the historical links between the Portuguese and Galician languages played out in the community. This chapter also looked in closer detail at the methods used in this study and the justifications for their use. The chapter argued that combining ethnographic interview data with observations from classroom interactions and events in the broader community in As Rocas provided ‘rich’ multifaceted ethnographic data for this research.

The following chapter will take a closer look at language and education in Galicia and As Rocas. Through analysis of ethnographic data, it will explore the ideologies behind current language education policy. The next chapter focuses in particular on the development and implementation of the Plan As Rocas, and draws on contrasting theories on multilingualism in education to explore how multilingualism is viewed and valued in As Rocas.

## Chapter 5- 'Translanguaging' and educational policies in Galicia

### 5.1 Introduction

Before turning to the ethnographic data, this chapter will first provide a contextual introduction to the linguistic changes that Galicia and As Rocas have experienced in recent decades. It will explain how these changes are important for understanding the sociolinguistic context of As Rocas today. Looking specifically at language and education, this chapter will examine the ideologies that guide the language planning measures that are in schools in present times. Drawing on data from interviews, non-participant classroom observations and ethnographic field notes, this chapter will take a closer look at the Plan As Rocas language planning model, and question whether it has succeeded in moving away from long standing conceptions of multilingualism as 'parallel monolingualism' (Heller, 1999), and managed to foster intercultural integration through more 'fluid' understandings of language (García, 2014) (See section 2.4 for an in depth discussion of post modern approaches to conceptualizing language). My argument concludes by considering how the language practices of the immigrant community challenge the widespread view that 'mixing' of languages takes place due to a linguistic deficiency on the part of the speaker (García and Wei, 2014; Woolard, 2004; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook, 2010) instead of being indicative of the competence and skill that multilingual speakers have when navigating their broad linguistic repertoire.

While 20<sup>th</sup> century Galician language planning was characterised by the struggle between Galician and Spanish, the shifting political and economic landscape of the 21<sup>st</sup> century brought with it a range of challenges never experienced before in this region. The industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s of a previously rural, agricultural society gave rise to increased employment opportunities. This change in societal structure, where there was a move from a primarily agricultural society to an increasingly urbanised one (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008; Rei Doval, 2007), followed by the joining with the European Union in 1986, were factors that contributed to migrants settling in Galicia for the first time. When compared to other parts of Spain, it is important to note that the number of immigrants in Galicia is low. However, as Galicia is one of Spain's autonomous communities that had previously experienced mostly out-migration, these

waves of immigration presented a rapid and unprecedented diversification of the region's sociodemographics (Teasley et al., 2012). Consequently, the language planning measures that had been developed over the course of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and focused for the most part of the dynamics between Galician and Spanish, were re-examined at local government level by the *Xunta*, and also, as this chapter highlights, by certain members of the community in As Rocas.

In recent decades, educational policies in Galicia such as the *Orde do 20 de Febreiro 2004* (Order of 20th February 2004) and the *Plan de Acollida 2005* (Welcome Plan of 2005), which will be discussed in closer detail later in this chapter, have started to focus more attention on the needs of the immigrant community, looking particularly at language learning and 'cultural' integration. Twentieth century Galicia was a bilingual region; however, the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen a shift towards multilingualism and multiculturalism (Silva Domínguez and Recalde, 2012). While it is beyond the scope of this study to provide an exhaustive account of language planning and policy in contemporary Galicia, the following table outlines the main pieces of legislation and documentation that relate to language and education that have been elaborated in Galicia since the transition to democracy. (See also chapter 3 for a discussion and critique of language policy and revitalisation initiatives in post-dictatorship Galicia). This chapter will look at legislation from 2004 and 2005, as their focus is specifically on immigrant students in the education system. Furthermore, these two pieces of legislation have been chosen as they were elaborated around the same time as the Plan As Rocas, and provide a useful point for comparison between the policies of the autonomous Galician government and the grassroots language planning model that is the Plan As Rocas.

**Table 5.1 - Language Education Policies**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Legislation</b>	<b>Translation</b>
1981	Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia	The Galician Statute of Autonomy
1983	Lei de Normalización Lingüística	Linguistic Normalisation Act
2004	Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega	General Plan for the Linguistic Normalisation of the Galician Language

2004	Orde do 20 de febreiro de 2004 pola que se establecen as medidas de atención específica ó alumnado procedente do estranxeiro	Order of 20th February 2004 that establishes measures specifically aimed at students who come from abroad
2005	Plan de acollida	Welcome Plan
2008-2011	Plan Gallego de Cidadanía, Convivencia e Integración	Galician Plan for Citizenship, Coexistence and Integration
2010	Decreto 79/2010, do 20 de maio, para o plurilingüismo no ensino non universitario de Galicia	Decree 79 of 20th March 2010 for plurilingualism in non university education in Galicia

While the immigrant population of Spain stands at just over 4.6 million, immigrants in Galicia total approximately 88,000, and account for 3.2% of the total Galician population. According to the figures published by the Spanish Statistics Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016), migratory flows to Galicia have increased significantly over the last three decades: in 1990, 4,532 foreign born immigrants were recorded as having immigrated to Galicia.; this figure peaked in 2007, when 26,386 foreign-born immigrants were recorded. The number of immigrants arriving has decreased since the economic crisis of 2008; however, with approximately 12,000 immigrants arriving in 2015, immigration figures have not returned to the low levels of immigration seen in the final decade of the 20th century. Moreover, according to data from the Galician Department of Education, between the academic year 1998-1999 and the academic year 2006-2007, the number of students enrolled in non-university education who were born outside Spain increased from 1,733 to 10,561<sup>5</sup>.

Due to the sudden nature of immigration to Galicia, language policy that makes reference to the linguistic integration of immigrants in Galicia has been criticised for being largely reactive (Recalde, 2016). Furthermore, it has been argued that, since the economic crisis that took place in 2008, immigrants in Galicia have often been overlooked at policy level (Recalde Fernández and Silva Domínguez, 2016). There has been much criticism of language policy in Galicia due to the perceived reliance on segregating students in order to cope with linguistic diversity (Silva Domínguez &

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<sup>5</sup> <http://emigracion.xunta.gal/es/conociendo-galicia/aprende/publicacion/plan-galego-cidadania-convivencia-e-integracion-2008-2011>

Recalde, 2012). Additionally, there are no specific provisions to support the languages of immigrant communities; the focus of the curriculum continues to be ‘hispanocentric’, privileging standard peninsular Spanish and official regional languages (Silva Domínguez and Recalde, 2012). Hence, while attention has been given to the incorporation of immigrant students in the education system, the principles and ideologies that have guided policy makers continue to ascribe to ideologies of ‘parallel monolingualism’, where languages act as bounded entities, independent from one another, and the ideal speaker is often seen as one who speaks several languages free from ‘interference’ (see del Valle (2000) for a discussion of the monoglossic ideologies that guide Galician language policy and Ramallo (2014) for a more recent discussion of tensions around language policy in Galicia).

In response to increasingly multilingual and multicultural classrooms, certain members of the community in As Rocas, primarily school teachers and some language activists in the community, have elaborated a ‘multilingual’ language planning model, which aims to promote the use of Galician, Spanish, English and French, and affords some peripheral space to the languages of origin of the immigrant communities. As outlined in the Statute of Autonomy of 1981, education is one of the competencies that are devolved to the autonomous community of Galicia, and thus it is the *Xunta*, the Galician Autonomous Government, who are in charge of mapping out the language in education strategies for the region. In parallel to this, each school is at liberty to design their own language planning initiatives, so long as they align with the main objectives of policies at regional level. This is important for understanding language and education in As Rocas: the schools broadly follow the system as laid out by local government, and concurrently have implemented their own, grassroots language planning initiative.

The Plan As Rocas model, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, was devised in parallel to policies mapped out by the Galician Autonomous government, in an attempt to promote a more inclusive and intercultural approach to language education, as I will discuss further in this chapter. As well as language teaching, the Plan As Rocas model aimed to go a step further and engage in intercultural activities in the school which highlighted the value of multilingualism, and established exchanges with schools outside Spain (namely in England and France). The model (the wording and specifics of which will be discussed later in this chapter) was developed in the early 2000s by a group of teaching staff and local language activists. Many of the

teachers involved in the Plan, and with whom I spoke, noted that there was a dearth of resources for intercultural integration and second language teaching in Galician, in a town (and region) that was experiencing proportionately high levels of immigration for the first time. Unsatisfied with the policies put in place by the Galician Autonomous government, which, as noted by some of the teachers with whom I spoke during my time in the field, were perceived to be falling short of promoting interculturalism, and rather focused on what they perceived as assimilationist models of integration, these teachers wished to foster cultural awareness in the town, concentrating their efforts, in large part, on the benefits of multilingualism.

## **5.2 Top-down policy: Orde do 20 de febreiro 2004, Plan de Acolida 2005**

In 2004, the Galician government approved a policy entitled *Orde do 20 de febreiro de 2004 pola que se establecen as medidas de atención específica ó alumnado procedente do estranxeiro* (Order of 20th February 2004 that establishes measures specifically aimed at students who come from abroad). This policy focused on educational provisions for immigrant students. It stipulated that, upon entering the education system, immigrant students should undergo an evaluation of their linguistic and numerical skills to assess how their educational level aligned with the Spanish education system. It further outlined several criteria by which students would be assessed. The criteria by which students were evaluated were the following:

- a) Descoñecemento das dúas linguas oficiais da nosa Comunidade Autónoma, galega e castelá.
  - b) Desfase curricular de dous cursos ou máis, con respecto ó que lle correspondería pola súa idade.
  - c) Presentar graves dificultades de adaptación ó medio escolar debidas a razóns sociais ou culturais
- 
- a) Lack of knowledge of Galician and Spanish, the two official languages of our autonomous community
  - b) Curricular lag of two or more years, with that which corresponds to the student's age

- c) Presenting serious difficulties in adapting to the school environment due to social or cultural issues

(my translation)

From reading the above three points, a ‘deficit discourse’, where difference is mistaken for ‘deficit’ (Gorski, 2011, p.2) can be identified. (Deficit discourse is discussed in more depth in chapter 6, and has also been documented in other contexts such as Martín Rojo, 2010; Gorski, 2011; Van Der Wildt et al., 2015; Allard et al., 2014). Rather than a model that views integration as a two way process, with both host and immigrant community participating, an assimilationist view of integration emerges in the above legislation, where the previous knowledge of immigrant students is not valued (see Teasley et al., 2012 for a discussion of ‘unidirectional’ versus ‘multidirectional’ integration in the Galician education system). Rather than building on the knowledge immigrant students have, the school curriculum outlines an evaluation that is based on examining what they do *not* know, rather than what they *do* know, positioning immigrants as deficient from the moment they enter the education system.

“Cultural issues” (i.e. difference perceived as deficit) are outlined as a category by which students will be assessed. The ‘culture’ of the Galician community is seen as the standard which is normalised, and any deviation from this is perceived as a deficit. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998a) make specific reference to how ‘culture’ is used in discourses about immigrant integration. “The prototypical ‘migrants’ are depicted as a traditional people, with one foot in the late Middle Ages [...] They do not care to adapt, and their culture is static and deterministic.” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, p.100) This is contrasted with European culture which is promoted as being characterised by “Democratic values, respect for freedom of expression and other basic human rights [...] which make Europeans inherently or naturally open-minded and tolerant for ‘otherness’” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a, p.63). In this sense, the above legislation positions Galicians as respectful of democratic values but at the same time paints the culture of the immigrant community as potentially problematic.

In 2005, the Galician department of education built on the 2004 policy document, publishing the *Plan de Acolida* (Welcome Plan), aimed also at the incorporation of immigrant students in the Galician education system. The plan had the following key objectives:

1. Asumir como centro, dun xeito global, o deseño e posta en práctica das respostas educativas que precisa este alumnado.
2. Favorecer a súa adaptación progresiva ó centro.
3. Proporciona, ós pais e ó propio alumnado, información sobre o funcionamento e organización do centro educativo.
4. Fomentar actitudes de respecto cara a estes alumnos e alumnas e facilitarllelo proceso de integración.

1. Undertake, as a whole school and in a global sense, the design and implementation of the educational interventions required by *these students*.
2. Foster *in them* a progressive adaptation to the school.
3. Ensure that *the children as well as their parents* are informed about the organisation and operation of the school.
4. Develop attitudes of respect towards *these students* and facilitate the process of *their integration*.

(Consellería de Educación, 2005, p. 13, Teasley et al., 2012, italics added)

I have used the translation provided by Teasley et al. for the above excerpt as their translation, as well as their italicised text, illustrate clearly the following point: while the 2005 plan aimed to outline a more inclusive plan and move away from the deficit discourse of the 2004 policy, the wording is still indicative of an assimilationist model of integration. As Teasley et al. point out, “this discourse essentialises the immigrant student as the only object of these processes of adaptation and integration [...] The existing students do not seem to have any need to integrate themselves with respect to these newcomers. Although they are expected to develop attitudes of respect ‘towards’ their immigrant peers, this does not seem to imply any mutual implication in the integration process” (Teasley et al., 2012).

Therefore, rather than focusing on the possibilities for cultural enrichment that immigration can present, the regional government’s policy focuses on the deficiencies of the immigrant child. For these reasons, the integration policies developed by the Galician government have been criticised; assimilation continues to be the overarching objective, while the possibility for multi-directional integration is largely overlooked (Teasley et al., 2012).



### 5.3 Grassroots movement: Plan As Rocas

Language activists and teachers in the local community in As Rocas have, over the last fifteen years, developed a language planning model called Plan As Rocas. The plan has put forward strategies for language planning in local public sectors such as health care and the police force. However, the focal sites for the elaboration of the language planning model have been the two secondary schools in the town. While the development and conceptualisation of the Plan As Rocas began in the early 2000s, as a response to the changing demographics of the town, the model was not drawn up and presented to local government until 2007. The plan was not intended as a stand-alone initiative, but rather as a local language planning project that would contribute to the region's overall plan for the linguistic 'normalisation' of Galician.

Plan As Rocas claims to promote an additive model of language learning, with its ultimate goal being to achieve an essentially 'trilingual' society. In closer detail, this is explained as: giving more support to written Galician, which continues to be used primarily in oral domains; strengthening the use of Spanish as the language of the state and language of communication with Latin America; and promoting the speaking of 'foreign languages' such as English or French, as they serve for 'international communication' when Galician or Spanish are not suitable. Although Portuguese is not mentioned explicitly in the Plan As Rocas as a language that will be taught in the curriculum, mention is made of promoting use of Galician as a means of promoting intercultural communication with countries whose languages stem from '*a lingua galego-portuguesa*' (the Galician-Portuguese language). See chapter 3.6 for a discussion of the linguistic ties between Galicia and Portugal and their relevance to this study.

In the Plan As Rocas, the motivating factors for the promotion of Galician are linked to Galicia's history of diglossia, and the promotion of the language is viewed as an effort to restore prestige to a language that was once socially subjugated. Conversely, the justifications for the learning of Spanish, English and French are instrumental, in the sense that "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language" are promoted (cf. Lambert, 1974, p. 98). Within this framework, Galician holds cultural capital, while the other three languages hold economic capital. (See Chapter 2.5.3 for a discussion of Bourdieu and the forms of capital). Nevertheless, it is important to note

that, although the Plan As Rocas focuses overtly on the cultural capital that Galician holds, Galician also holds economic capital as it can be used to access certain parts of the Galician labour market, especially in the public sector (Ramallo, 2012). Thus, the document outlining the aims of the Plan As Rocas positions Galician as the minority language that is valued for its authenticity (see Chapter 2.6.2. for a discussion of authenticity and a value marker in minority language contexts), whilst the majority languages are positioned as a commodities with value on the international linguistic market (Heller and Duchêne, 2012).

The preoccupation with the inherent capital in language learning is addressed explicitly in the document, which states the following as one of its aims:

“Deberá vincularse o dominio de diferentes linguas a referentes de prestixio e relevancia social: incorporándoo aos procesos de innovación e mellora profesional e social.”

Prestige and social importance are what mastery of language should be rooted in: it [language learning] should be linked with innovation, and professional and social development.

Although the model does not explicitly make mention of the languages of the immigrant community, or afford them a concrete place within the education system, it does broadly address issues of the cultural diversity that immigration brings, and presents the beneficial and enriching aspects of such. Despite the lack of attention afforded to languages of the immigrant community, the notion of integration and intercultural awareness does not go unnoticed (see points 4-8 of the policy document listed below).

The model lists the following overarching objectives:

1. Garantir e velar polos dereitos lingüísticos de toda a poboación.
2. Implicar no proceso de planificación lingüística as entidades públicas e privadas.
3. Facer normal o uso do galego no conxunto da sociedade burelesa.
4. Fomentar o coñecemento doutras linguas por parte da poboación de As Rocas.

5. Aproximarse a outras culturas mediante o contacto directo coas visitas a lugares especiais do seu patrimonio.
6. Entrar en contacto con hábitos, modos de vida e costumes propios doutros países ou rexións contrastándoos cos do noso entorno e valorando a súa singularidade dentro do marco común da identidade europea.
7. Abertura da poboación de As Rocas, especialmente da mocidade, a outras ideas e inquietudes mediante a convivencia con persoas doutros lugares.
8. Asentar a conciencia de cidadanía europea

1. Guarantee and protect the linguistic rights of all the population
2. Involve both public and private entities in the language planning process
3. 'Normalise' the use of the Galician language amongst the population of As Rocas
4. Encourage the population of As Rocas to gain an understanding of other languages
5. Develop awareness of other cultures through direct contact and through visits to special heritage sites
6. Engage with customs and ways of life of other countries or regions, comparing them with our own surroundings and valuing their uniqueness within the framework of the common European identity
7. Promote open attitudes, especially amongst the youth of As Rocas, towards different ways of thought and coexistence with people from other places
8. Establish an awareness of European citizenship

My intention in detailing the objectives of Plan As Rocas, is to present it as a point of comparison to the previously mentioned 2004 and 2005 policies which were implemented by the Galician government. It is important to note that while the 2004 and 2005 policies were aimed at developing provisions and guidelines for immigrants in the education system, the Plan As Rocas focuses primarily on the linguistic development of the town, with the role of immigrants and multiculturalism as a key component. The 2004 and 2005 immigrant education plans developed by the Galician government revolved around a deficit discourse, where assessment and depiction of immigrants was done through a lens which focused for the most part on what were framed as shortcomings. Little attention was devoted to intercultural integration, whereby both the

host and the immigrant community were required to partake in processes of intercultural recognition. Rather, the wording of both policies reflected ideologies of ‘us versus them’, where the immigrant students must learn to adapt, and the host community must only go so far as to show ‘respect’ and ‘tolerance’ for these cultures (Teasley et al., 2012).

The Plan As Rocas has taken a different approach. Issues of intercultural awareness, and understanding, and the symbiotic nature of the relationship between the host and immigrant community is addressed. The model clearly addresses the multilingual climate in As Rocas, and highlights the importance of people’s ‘linguistic rights’ as its key objective. However, while the Plan As Rocas has made advances and improvements on the deficit discourse that is found in the policies developed at regional level, it still requires further examination. The wording of Plan As Rocas, although supporting plurilingualism and multiculturalism, feeds into discourses that organise languages into hierarchies. According to the Plan As Rocas, the languages of ‘social importance and prestige’ are Galician, Spanish, English and French. Even though the ‘other’ languages of the community are recognised as important, they are overtly excluded from the top places in the linguistic hierarchy. Classifying languages in such away can contribute towards the way the language awareness of students and teachers is built. By structuring languages into linear hierarchies, the school maps out which languages hold value and which languages do not. Furthermore, it is important to note that the hierarchical language ideologies that are promoted within the school system do not exist within a vacuum. Often, the ideologies and beliefs that are endorsed by school curricula are reflections of those held by, and operating at a wider societal level (Martín Rojo, 2010). Thus, schools and the people within the school community do not operate in isolation from the broader social context. It is for these reasons that research conducted in schools can offer interesting insights to how individuals challenge or support language ideologies and societal attitudes (Wortham, 2003). Educational settings have long been acknowledged as environments for the promotion of social inequality (Bernstein, 1996; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) and the organisation of languages into hierarchies in the multilingual classroom is representative of such inequality.

The language planning model in As Rocas is similar to other documented cases of ‘bilingual’ education, where linguistic diversity in classrooms is fostered rather than simply tolerated (or even prohibited) (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Wei, 2014).

Although the previously mentioned studies have documented the successes of multilingual approaches to education, language ‘separation’, whereby the ‘mixing’ of language is seen to be a marker of deficiency, continues to be a contentious issue (García, 2009). As seen in the case of Plan As Rocas, although languages are conceptualised as separate entities, multilingualism and a multidirectional approach to integration, is encouraged and valued.

#### **5.4 Analysing the Plan As Rocas**

Having comparatively discussed the educational policies designed by the regional government in Galicia and the grassroots language planning initiative Plan As Rocas, and highlighted the underlying ideological motivations of each, I will now turn to ethnographic data collected during my time in the field that will illustrate the advantages and shortcomings of the Plan As Rocas, within a context of regional governance and high numbers of immigrants in the school system. I will draw on interview data as well as reflections from ethnographic fieldwork. Through a closer examination of the Plan As Rocas, and the reflections of students and teachers who have taken part in initiatives organised by the plan, this chapter will question whether cultural awareness and intercultural contact has been achieved and whether there has been a move away from notions of ‘parallel monolingualism’ (Heller, 1999) in favour of conceptualisations of language as a more fluid process. I will illustrate this by exploring whether the language practices of the immigrant community refute long standing notions that position language ‘mixing’ as a marker of deficiency (Wei, 2014; Woolard, 2004) and instead establish themselves as skilled actors within a multilingual and multicultural context.

##### ***5.4.1 Linguistic proximity: possible advantages***

The following discussion will examine the linguistic proximity between Galician (one of the languages of As Rocas) and Kriolu and Portuguese (the languages of origin of the immigrant community). As discussed in chapter 3, Galician and Portuguese have historical connections; notably, the language spoken in the kingdoms of Galicia and Portugal in the 13th and 14th centuries is referred to as Galician-Portuguese. For further discussion of these linguistic links, see Chapter 3.6. The sociolinguistic parallels

between Cape Verde and Galicia are essential to understanding this case study. Linguistic hierarchies have been long engrained in both Galician and Cape Verdean society. Furthermore, Kriolu, Portuguese and Galician derive from the same language family, sharing a degree of mutual intelligibility. These salient overlaps are focal points for the discussion of the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas.

An analysis of the interview data demonstrated that, according to many members of teaching staff, it is ‘easier’ for Cape Verdean students to learn Galician than it is for them to learn Spanish. These sentiments were also expressed by many Cape Verdean students, mainly because of the abundance of lexical items that are the same in Kriolu, Portuguese and Galician. Also, due to the similarities between Galician and Kriolu and Portuguese, some students made reference to preferring to speak Galician because of the emotional and affective connections they had with the languages of their country of origin. In example 5.1, Clara, a seventeen year old girl from Cape Verde, who had come to live in Galicia ten years previously, makes explicit reference to the linguistic similarities between Portuguese and Galician, demonstrating her awareness of the connection between the two languages. She explains that she ‘feels good’ (*síntome ben*) when she speaks Galician, because it reminds her of speaking Portuguese, a language which she feels an emotive connection to.

#### **Example 5.1 - Feeling comfortable speaking Galician**

E: que pensas do galego entón como: como idioma que che parece?

C: a *mi* paréceme unha boa lingua porque falo: gústame falalo

E: [si

C: non] sei *síntome ben* falando galego

E: si *sínteste ben e sínteste máis cómoda* falando en galego que en castelán?

C: si porque á parte de que *síntome* falando como portugués sabes?

I: what do you think of the Galician language?

C: I think it’s a great language because I like speaking it

I: yes?

C: I don’t know, I feel good when I speak Galician

I: you feel good? So you feel more comfortable speaking in Galician than in Spanish?

C: yes because I feel as if I’m speaking Portuguese, you know?

This could also be understood, in Bourdieu's terms, as an example of how *habitus* and *field* intersect (Bourdieu, 1993). As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.5, the choices that people make are shaped by the options that are available to them at that moment in time (field), but also by the socialisation that they have experienced over the course of their own personal trajectory (habitus). In this case, Clara's statement that she feels 'comfortable' speaking Galician is conditioned by her past experiences (habitus) in a Portuguese speaking country, but also influenced by her current context (field), where she acknowledges the communicative and integrative value of speaking Galician. It is in this way that habitus and field are connected:

On one side it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus [...] On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.127)

In example 5.2 we see Clara expanding on the previous comment where she discusses how speaking Galician makes her 'feel good'. Not only does Clara prefer to speak in Galician because of emotional factors that remind her of speaking Portuguese, she also perceives Galician to have communicative advantages within the context of As Rocas where Galician is the primary language of most of the population.

### **Example 5.2 - Galician and Portuguese are similar**

C: para poder comunicarse coa xente de aquí pero tamén en castelán pódese pero co galego xa é mellor no?

E: si e por que é mellor?

C: a ver pa os pa os caboverdianos xa / polo simple feito de falar portugués escoitar a xente falar portugués xa o galego e moi parecido

C: To be able to communicate with people who are from here, you can communicate in Spanish but Galician is better

E: Yes? And why is it better?

C: Well for Cape Verdeans because of the simple fact that they speak Portuguese and have heard people speaking Portuguese and Galician is very similar

Clara explains that Galician is the more advantageous of the two co-official languages in order to communicate with “people from here” (*xente de aquí*). Thus, Clara presents Galician as having more integrative value than Spanish. Clara demonstrates meta linguistic awareness in her acknowledgement that the similarities between Portuguese and Galician make it easier for her, as a speaker of Portuguese, to communicate with the local population in As Rocas. Nevertheless, Clara also demonstrates awareness of the value of Spanish within the bilingual Galician town of As Rocas, but stresses that, for her, Galician “is better” (*é mellor*). It could be argued that for Cape Verdeans, who are usually speakers of Portuguese, Galician is more accessible than Spanish, due to the similarities they perceive between Galician and Portuguese. Clara addresses this issue clearly, describing Galician as being “very similar” (*moi parecido*) to Portuguese and thus a logical starting point when learning the new languages of her new community.

Nevertheless, Clara expressing positive attitudes about Galician to me could be influenced by many factors. Firstly, she is a student in the school where the Plan As Rocas was developed, which has the promotion of Galician as one of its core elements. It could be that Clara is trying to show me, the interviewer, and someone she might perceive as an authority figure, how her values align with those of the school, thus making her a ‘good’ student. Furthermore, throughout the interview, Claudia frequently mixed words from Galician and Spanish, so perhaps although she was referring to languages as separate countable entities (Galicia, Portuguese, Spanish, Kriolu), her daily practices were more hybrid.

As well as interviewing teachers in the two secondary schools in As Rocas, I had the opportunity to speak to a teacher who worked in a state funded community centre. Jacinta was a middle aged Galician woman and a first language speaker of Galician who lived in the neighbouring town. It was an interesting opportunity for me to be able to interview somebody who worked with the Cape Verdean community but outside the official school context. Cape Verdean students attended Jacinta’s classes on an optional basis. While the teachers in the school worked in larger mixed groups, Jacinta worked in smaller groups and many of her classes only had Cape Verdean students in them. In this sense Jacinta had closer contact with the Cape Verdean students than some of the teachers in the school. Furthermore, IES Primavera was following the Plan As Rocas language planning model, and many of the teachers with whom I spoke were involved



in organising it. Interviewing Jacinta was a chance to speak to somebody who, although involved in educating the immigrant community, operated independently from the school and therefore was able to provide an opinion outside of the internal politics of the state run secondary schools.

The community centre where Jacinta taught provided general information services for immigrants as well as language classes and broad curriculum adult education. My first impressions of the centre were that it was a fairly limited initiative. Jacinta had one room in the community centre, and she only taught part time during the school year. During the rest of the year the centre was used for various other community activities such as IT courses and the local radio station recording studios. The classroom in which Jacinta taught held about ten students, meaning the class sizes and the number of students availing of the courses was low. There were no learning materials permanently in the room, instead, Jacinta brought books and photocopied material that she distributed to the students each week.

Jacinta spoke to me about her experiences teaching both children and adult members of the Cape Verdean community (example 5.3). Jacinta emphasised that, in her experience, Cape Verdeans achieved better results in academic activities that were through the medium of Galician, than those done through Spanish. Jacinta credited this to the fact that Cape Verdeans were able to draw on their knowledge of Portuguese, which shares many lexical items with Galician. These commonalities, she believed, allowed Cape Verdean students to deduce the meaning of much vocabulary, and hence they achieved better results in Galician exercises than in Spanish ones.

### **Example 5.3 - Galician vocabulary**

J: si: teñen moito vocabulario que o sacan es que tú: póñelles unha: un texto en galego e: traballan moito mellor sobre o texto as preguntas sobre o texto en galego que en castelán

J: yes they have a lot of vocabulary that they can figure out. If you give them a text in Galician, they work much better with the text and the questions if they're in Galician rather than in Spanish

Students usually come to Jacinta's classes at the start of their time in As Rocas, so it may well be that they initially perform better in Galician because of the lexical similarity between the two languages. As time goes on, and students spend more time in As Rocas, their exposure to Spanish likely increases, and their language ideologies are shaped by their immediate context, which continues to be influenced by ideologies which in many contexts privilege Spanish, and therefore they may end up investing more time in Spanish. Again, although most of the teachers reported that the Cape Verdeans would theoretically find Galician easier, a lot of the students showed a preference for speaking Spanish.

In example 5.4, Jacinta follows on by positioning Cape Verdean students as having a linguistic advantage in As Rocas because of their plurilingual repertoire.

#### **Example 5.4 - Benefits of speaking Portuguese**

J: e *eso* que os caboverdianos / a *verdad* coa lingua [Galega] bastante ben home [...] có castelán teñen máis problema e có inglés [...] pero *bueno* como eles falan en portuxés e *entonces* en *criollo* en portuxés un pouco de todo {risa}

J: the Cape Verdeans actually get on quite well with the [Galician] language [...] with Spanish they have more problems, and with English too [...] but because they speak Portuguese and a Portuguese creole and a bit of everything (laughs)

According to Jacinta, Cape Verdean students have increased capability for learning Galician because of their prior knowledge of Portuguese and a Portuguese based creole language. In comparison, Jacinta reports that Spanish and English can be more problematic for Cape Verdean students. Jacinta's comments reflect a move away from deficiency models which view multilingual students as inherently lacking (Teasley et al., 2012), and towards a view that acknowledges them as skilled agentive actors. Jacinta makes reference to how immigrant students speak "a bit of everything" (*un poco de todo*) and how having a plurilingual repertoire can be beneficial to newly arrived immigrant students. However, Jacinta's remark that the students speak "a bit of everything" could also be interpreted negatively, in that by having mixed language practices, they may not have a "good" command of any language variety. This can also be linked back to what Jacinta says about Cape Verdean students having "more problems" in Spanish. Many of the students downplayed their linguistic abilities

because they reported that they “mixed” their languages too much. The word ‘castrapo’ is a term that is frequently used by Galicians to refer to hybrid language varieties that arise from the linguistic contact between Galician and Spanish. ‘Castrapo’ is often used as a pejorative term (Beswick, 2007; O’Rourke, 2011a). However, more recent studies have found evidence of the term being used amongst adolescents in Galician speaker areas in a more positive way, as an expansion of bilingual speakers’ linguistic repertoire (Iglesias Álvarez, 2013). Nevertheless, in this case, students used the term ‘castrapo’ in its more traditional pejorative sense to make reference to a language variety where Galician and Spanish are mixed. Within the educational context of the school and in Jacinta’s classes, the standard variety (be it of Galician or Spanish) is the one that is valued. It could be that because Cape Verdeans speak “a bit of everything”, and engage in ‘translanguaging’ practices, they struggle with adhering to the prescriptive norms of standard languages. Furthermore, although Jacinta may be acknowledging the translingual practices of the Cape Verdean immigrant students, their academic performance in school continues to be lower than that of local Galician students. Thus, while Jacinta acknowledges the fluidity of their languages, the education system continues to have a monolingual ‘habitus’ where students are academically penalised for producing language practices that deviate from the standard that is endorsed by the school.

#### ***5.4.2 Language contact, language mixing***

Although both students and teachers demonstrated their awareness of the closeness between Galician and Portuguese, dominant language ideologies, where certain languages are more valued than others, continued to be discernable when analysing the responses of interviewees. These ideologies often presented challenges for Cape Verdeans in As Rocas. There were contradictions between the sentiments expressed by teachers in their interviews (where they presented the linguistic proximity between Portuguese and Galician as advantageous and were overall positive about the notion of ‘mixing’ languages), and the focus of their language classes, which continued to take a monolingual approach, or rather ascribed to multilingualism in the way that Heller (1999) describes as ‘parallel monolingualism’. Heller explains ‘parallel monolingualism’ as a way of viewing languages in which “each variety must conform to certain prescriptive norms” (Heller, 1999, p.271). Thus, although the school officially promotes multilingualism, it is a type of multilingualism that sees languages as bounded

units: this in turn could be seen to privilege certain groups and delegitimise the language practices of others (in this case the Cape Verdean students) who, as Jacinta pointed out in the previous example, speak “a bit of everything”. Nonetheless, it is likely that teachers are not intentionally setting out to stigmatise the immigrant community, instead, their views of multilingualism and the separate nature of languages is reflective of deep rooted ideologies about language and a reflection of the institutionalisation of language ideologies whereby institutions such as the school promotes ideologies of linguistic homogeneity. Many of the teachers with whom I spoke showed positive attitudes towards language mixing, and demonstrated an awareness of the language contact experienced by the Cape Verdean community. However, conversely, despite the positive attitudes they displayed, they also highlighted the necessity for students to gain competence in standard varieties in order to progress through the education system and gain access to the employment market.

When discussing issues of language contact and language mixing in interviews with teachers, a discernable mismatch between the ideologies of the teachers and the parameters of the school curriculum implemented by the regional Galician government came to the fore. In the following example, Maria, a secondary school Galician language teacher, details these incongruities. Maria’s role in the school is primarily teaching the *Programa de diversificación curricular* (Curricular Diversification Programme) stream, a stream where academic materials are adapted to a lower level and which is made up mostly of immigrant students. (For a discussion of the PDC stream see Chapter 4.7.2). Maria is an advocate of the Galician language, and one of the teachers from IES Primavera who was most involved in setting up the Plan As Rocas. Maria has two small children with whom she only speaks Galician, as she says that for her, Galician “*é a miña vida*” (is my life). In the comments below Maria is discussing language contact in the Cape Verdean community.

### **Example 5.5 Language contact**

M: é normal é *decir* non: en calquera situación de de de contacto entre linguas e: vai haber vai haber mestura é *decir* vai haber e: interferencias dunha lingua con outra [...] tampouco tampouco a ver tampouco lle dou máis importancia quero *decir* a ver si: *si* están facendo un exame pois claro eles teñen que saber se teñen que escribir en galego ou en castelán [...] entre os caboverdianos e os caboverdianos é normal que teñan mestura de linguas porque é *decir* eles

estudan portugués no no seu sistema educativo o que falan é crioulo [...] despois chegan aquí teñen castelán e galego que son o portugués e: linguas todas romances entón é normal que mesturen

M: It's normal. In any situation of contact between languages there is going to be some mixing, there is going to be interference between the languages [...] However, I don't give it that much importance, but if they're doing an exam then of course they need to know whether they need to write in Galician or in Spanish [...] it's normal for Cape Verdeans to mix languages because they studied Portuguese in their own education system and they speak Kriolu [...] then they arrive here and they have Spanish, and Galician which comes from Portuguese and they're all Romance languages so it's normal for them to mix

From Maria's comments, where she reflects on language contact saying "it's normal for them to mix" (*é normal que mesturen*), we see how she is both aware and tolerant of the linguistic complexities experienced by the Cape Verdean students in her classes. Moreover, she personally rejects notions of 'parallel monolingualism' by explaining that keeping languages separate is not something she places great importance on in her teaching practice. Maria explains that engaging in code switching or 'mixing' practices is 'normal' for students who are experiencing situations of language contact. However, Maria's views (which were similar to those of most of the teaching staff) that demonstrate tolerance, understanding and awareness of the linguistic dynamics of her classroom, stand in stark contrast to the learning objectives of the class which continue to be to differentiate between two individual linguistic codes: Galician and Spanish. Maria is clear about the importance of these distinctions in exam settings. Maria's comments are an excellent example of the tensions between the school curriculum, which adheres to what Heller describes as 'prescriptive norms' and the language ideologies held by teaching staff, which understand language learning as a more dynamic and 'fluid' phenomenon (García, 2014).

Moreover, it is important to this discussion to acknowledge the distinctions between the ideological underpinnings of the Plan As Rocas, namely the promotion of plurilingualism and interculturalism, and the curriculum implemented by the Galician autonomous government, which is more one-directional in its understanding of language and integration. As noted previously in this chapter, official regional policies

have tended to take a position whereby “they” (the immigrants) must adapt to “us” (the hosts). These assimilationist ideals were one of the catalysts for the development of the Plan As Rocas, which aimed at promoting a multidirectional approach to integration and language learning.

Veronica, a teacher who is part of the career guidance department at a secondary school in As Rocas, outlines in example 5.6, a key example of the incongruities between policy at the macro level (the *Xunta*) and at the micro level with the teaching community in as Rocas.

### **Example 5.6 - Exemption from Galician**

V: la ley permite que tengan exención de gallego lo fantástico sería que pudieran tener exención de castellano porque puestos a: a tener exención el gallego es muchísimo más próximo [...] pero la ley permite eso y entonces tienen exención de gallego la exención solo sirve para e: no tener una nota que contabilice [...] pero van a clase igual hacen exámenes igual y: no solo eso sino que se le evalúa igual aunque la nota digamos a efectos académicos no cuenta

V: the law allows them [Cape Verdeans] to be exempt from Galician. What would be wonderful is if they could be exempt from Spanish because Galician is much more similar [to Portuguese and Kriolu] [...] but the law allows that, so they have an exemption from Galician and the exemption is only so that their grade won't count [...] but they go to classes and do exams like the others and not only that, they're assessed in the same way although the grade, in academic terms, doesn't count

Veronica explains how, in line with current educational policies outlined by the Xunta, it is possible for Cape Verdean students to have their grades in Galician exams exempt from their overall grade average. These exemptions are granted on a case by case basis to students who are having academic difficulties. Students who receive an exemption are still required to attend Galician language classes, and even sit Galician exams. However, there is no academic requirement for them to pass, as their grade will not count towards their overall average. Conversely, all students must attend Spanish classes and sit Spanish exams, without the possibility for having their grade exempt. In

her comments, Veronica contests this practice, stating that an exemption from Spanish, rather than Galician, would be more beneficial for students from Cape Verde, who as noted above, often achieve better results in Galician than in Spanish. Veronica, in line with many of the other teachers in As Rocas, believes that the proximity between Galician and Portuguese would be advantageous to Cape Verdean students who are struggling to adapt in the education system.

What is interesting about Veronica's comments is that as a career guidance teacher, she is advocating an exemption from Spanish, which continues to be more economically powerful than Galician on the international linguistic market as it is the main language of communication across the Spanish state as well as in many Latin American countries. Over several decades as a teacher in As Rocas, Veronica has been witness to the low academic outcomes of the Cape Verdean community. These low outcomes were evident throughout my time in both schools, reflected by the 'pyramidal' distribution of Cape Verdeans in the school. The highest number of Cape Verdeans was in the lower, obligatory education cycles (years 1 to 4 of secondary education). However, in years 3 and 4 of secondary education the pupils are streamed into mainstream classes and PDC and PCPI adapted streams (see Chapter 4.7). At these stages, the number of Cape Verdeans in mainstream classes decreases, as most opt for either PDC or PCPI streams. The last two years of secondary school (years 5 and 6), which prepare students for entry to university and further education, were attended by a very small number of Cape Verdean students, with most of them having opted to leave school on completion of the obligatory cycles of education. Consistently, Cape Verdean students receive lower overall grades than their Galician counterparts. In her role as a guidance teacher, Veronica's primary objective is to facilitate the incorporation of Cape Verdean students into the school system. Thus, although Spanish may present more economic opportunities, the possibility for Cape Verdean students to become proficient in Galician with more ease than they would in Spanish, makes Galician the preferable medium of instruction for teaching Cape Verdean students, according to Veronica.

In example 5.6 above we see how the rigid parameters of the school curriculum can introduce immigrant students to the beliefs, ideologies and social practices of their new community. By allowing students to be exempt from Galician, but not from Spanish, the school curriculum indicates to immigrant students that Spanish is the dominant and top language in the hierarchy, and that within this system, Spanish holds more value than

Galician. It is through comments made by teachers like Veronica that we see how the official curriculum is being challenged and contested: Veronica calls for a system that acknowledges the linguistic realities of the Cape Verdean community, and allows for them to be exempt from Spanish and ‘capitalise’ on their knowledge of Portuguese through Galician medium classes. However, Veronica’s view that Galician is preferable for teaching Cape Verdean students in some ways holds internal contradictions. Veronica’s role, as a guidance teacher, is to help students adapt to the school. One of the school’s roles, however, is to prepare students for the labour market. Thus, although Veronica states that Galician is the most appropriate medium of instruction for Cape Verdean students, orienting them towards leaning Galician instead of learning Spanish could have implications for their employment opportunities going forward as Spanish is a language that holds economic capital internationally.

The official curriculum devised by the regional government, the Plan As Rocas, and the remarks made by teachers like Veronica, ascribe to ideologies where languages are seen as bounded units: this is seen in the policy of Plan As Rocas which outlines the languages taught in the school and their individual value to the community. Their arguments continue to be framed and underpinned by notions of ‘parallel monolingualism’, and do not highlight the potential pedagogical benefits of promoting translanguaging and fluid use of language. (See Chapter 2.4.4 for a discussion of the pedagogical applications of translanguaging and how they relate to the situation in As Rocas). The benefits of translanguaging have been advocated by scholars in recent years (Wei, 2014; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010), who argue for students to be allowed to draw on all the languages in their linguistic repertoire in order to improve their academic learning experience. It could be posited that allowing students to draw on their multilingual repertoires in a fluid way, and engage in ‘translanguaging’, bringing together the use of immigrant minority languages and official languages of the school, could foster inclusivity in the classroom and increase cultural awareness and integration: as García and Wei (2014) note, the incorporation of translanguaging in classrooms “incorporates difference, pluralities and the languaging of everyday to produce and legitimize learning.” (García and Wei, 2014). While ‘translanguaging’ pedagogy was not part of the official curriculum or the Plan As Rocas, I saw evidence of teachers drawing on multiple language repertoires to enhance the learning experience in the classroom. Frequent examples included teachers asking Cape Verdean students to use Kriolu words when they were struggling to express themselves. Moreover, the Plan



As Rocas included initiatives that promoted the Kriolu language and encouraged Cape Verdean students to draw on their multilingual repertoire in classroom contexts.

### 5.4.3 *The hidden curriculum*

Language ideologies in educational settings have previously been described as a ‘hidden curriculum’ (Asker and Martin-Jones, 2013), meaning that implicitly, the system indicates to children what type of knowledge is of value within their society. As outlined in the above example, the curricular structure in Galicia favours and privileges the Spanish language, albeit in subtle ways: students can be given an exemption from Galician in their final grades while it is not possible to do this for Spanish. In addition, as mentioned above, the current legislation in Galicia<sup>6</sup> stipulates which subjects must be taught through the medium of Galician, and which must be taught through Spanish. While initially this may seem like an equal division of school subjects in both languages, on closer examination, it is clear that the subjects that must be taught through Spanish (such as technology) are those that could hold the most economic advantages. These subtle but significant measures shape and influence the language ideologies of the immigrant community. Cape Verdean students are made aware of what languages are valuable within their new social context, leading many who participated in the study to show preference for Spanish instead of Galician, despite the facility they might have for learning the latter.

In the example below (5.7), Carlos, a teenager from Cape Verde who has been living in As Rocas for over ten years, reflects on his language practices. Carlos was in his second year of secondary school at the time of the interview. Therefore, he was still attending mainstream classes with the other students; it is not until the third year of secondary education that students are streamed. Carlos was friendly and eager to speak with me. When I spoke with his Galician teacher privately his teacher told me that although Carlos had been struggling a lot in class, he had made significant progress in the last academic year. Before beginning each interview, I gave all participants the option of what language they wanted to conduct the interview in: Spanish or Galician. Although it could be argued that by doing so I drew boundaries around the two languages as

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<sup>6</sup> *DECRETO 79/2010, de 20 de mayo, para el plurilingüismo en la enseñanza no universitaria de Galicia* [Decree 79/2010 for plurilingualism in non-university education in Galicia]

separate linguistic codes, as was done in the school, the rationale behind presenting this question to students was to elicit a response about why they chose one language over another. Carlos decided to do the interview in Spanish because he said it is what he 'always speaks' (*hablo siempre*), and because of this fact, he felt he 'speaks better' (*falo mellor*) in Spanish than he does in Galician.

The following example details Carlos' views of the value of Galician and Spanish when seeking employment. He explains what he perceives to be the value of both languages in the current job market. Overall, Carlos feels that Spanish is the most economically advantageous language, holding capital in Galicia as well as Spain and Latin America. He does, however, make mention of the opportunities that Galician can offer within the region of Galicia but makes references to the limitations of the Galician language as 'not as many understand it' (*no lo entienden mucho*). For Carlos, as an immigrant, Spanish is his preferred choice of language, reflected by his decision to use Spanish in his interview. However, it is important to note the *dispositional* nature of linguistic utterances (Grenfell, 2011). Their value is not dependent on invariant 'competence', but rather on the 'linguistic climate' in which the speaker finds himself or herself. In Bourdieu's terms, Carlos sees Spanish as the language with the most potential for 'converting' into economic capital on the international linguistic market. He also acknowledges the symbolic capital of Galician. However, for him, as an immigrant speaker, he doesn't see the symbolic capital of Galician as having as much potential for conversion into economic capital.

#### **Example 5.7 - Spanish widely spoken**

E: y crees que es importante para encontrar trabajo?

C: sí {asiente} porque si vienes a trabajar en Galicia más bien las empresas siempre hablan gallego y eso y tienes que tener gallego y en: España tienes que saber castellano

E: {asiente} y qué lengua crees que es más importante el: gallego o el castellano?

C: pa mí el castellano porque se habla en casi toda España sabes? y el gallego no no lo entienden mucho así que el castellano pa mí

I: do you think it [Galician] is important for finding work?

C: yes, because if you come to work in Galicia, many companies use Galician so you need to speak Galician. In Spain you need to speak Spanish

E: and what language do you think is more important, Galician or Spanish?

C: For me, Spanish, because it's spoken in almost all of Spain, you know? And Galician isn't understood by many so for me Spanish [is more important]

The perceived prestige and economic advantages linked to the Spanish language seem to influence the language choices of the Cape Verdean students in As Rocas with whom I spoke, despite Galician being 'easier' for them to acquire, according to many teachers and students. This is evident in the comments made by Carlos: he is aware of, and makes reference to the opportunities that speaking Galician can present within the Galician job market. However, for Carlos, Spanish holds the top place in the language hierarchy as it offers increased employment and communicative opportunities. Carlos's opinions were not formulated in a vacuum: the current educational policies as discussed above, which stipulate that the school subjects which offer the most economic prosperity and possibility for secure employment should be taught through Spanish, could be influential in the shaping of Carlos's language ideologies and consequent language choices.

Many social groups in As Rocas (teachers, students, parents) displayed evidence of prejudiced attitudes about the 'value' of the Galician language when compared to the value of Spanish. The example below outlines the comments made by Ana, a Cape Verdean student who reported using both Spanish and Galician in her daily life. Ana is 29 years old, and is one of the few Cape Verdean students from As Rocas to have attended university; Ana is now studying sociology in the University of La Coruña, one of the largest cities in Galicia. My interview with Ana was through Galician. However, when I met her on other occasions in coffee shops or on the street, we spoke in Spanish as well as Galician. In the following example, Ana is discussing her mother's attitude towards Galician.

#### **Example 5.8 - Galician sounds uncouth**

A: e: non lle gusta o galego gústalle o castelán dice que o galego que é así muy: que sona brusco [... ] entonces] sempre: nos decía "a: e e aprendede na escola español e tal non aprendedes galego" pero: o entende perfectamente

A: she doesn't like Galician, she likes Spanish. She says that Galician is very, that it sounds very uncouth [...] so she would always say to us "learn Spanish in school and don't learn Galician" even though she understands Galician perfectly

In her interview, Ana reflected on how her Cape Verdean mother tried to dissuade her from learning Galician in school. She explained that her mother believed Galician was 'uncouth', linking it to deep rooted negative beliefs of Galician as a rural language and language of the working classes. Ana and her siblings were encouraged by their mother to learn Spanish in school and were told, "don't learn Galician" (*non aprendedes galego*). Through these comments we see how Ana's mother recognises the symbolic and economic capital associated with Spanish and its possibilities for accessing jobs both in Galicia and in Spain. It is interesting to note that Ana's mother's comments in many ways replicate the ideologies of many Galicians who see the Galician language as lacking value and prestige. (For a discussion of the lack of prestige attributed to Galician see Chapter 3.3. See also Chapter 8 for a discussion of these issues in relation to the situation in As Rocas).

For many Cape Verdean parents and students alike, Spanish is the language which offers greater opportunity for social mobility and greater possibilities for accessing employment. The Cape Verdean immigrants in As Rocas are a social group whose motivations for emigrating have been for the most part economic. So, it could be posited that social mobility and job security are issues that are significant to them, as they have left their own country seeking improved living conditions. As Spanish is presented as the language which has the most potential for securing safe and better paid working conditions, this is the language most Cape Verdeans show preference for learning. This is despite the fact that Galician might offer them a smoother linguistic transition and may present stronger integrative possibilities in their new community. Moreover, the educational policies outlined previously regarding exemption of Galician and compulsory teaching of technology subjects through Spanish only serve to reinforce and legitimise the concerns of the Cape Verdean population in As Rocas.

#### **5.4.4 Multilingual realities**

As stated by both students and teachers, and as I observed during several field trips to As Rocas, 'code switching', 'mixing' or even 'translanguaging' was common practice

amongst the immigrant community (who drew on at least four language varieties) and amongst the locals, who often code switched between Galician and Spanish. Through these ‘linguaging’ practices, the Cape Verdean students drew on a wide range of linguistic resources. However, despite evidence of ‘translanguaging’ as a daily practice ‘on the ground’ in As Rocas, both at regional government level and school level there is still a resistance to these new conceptualisations of language, with policy makers and language planners still favouring measures buttressed by ideologies of ‘parallel monolingualism’. Within this ideological framework, languages are viewed as separate, countable units and therefore ‘legitimate’ multilingual speakers are deemed to be those who can navigate between two separate linguistic codes without demonstrating signs of linguistic ‘interference’. A result of this is that the Cape Verdean immigrant speakers are at times categorised as deficient. Because of their ‘translanguaging’ practices, they do not conform to the ideal multilingual profile as proposed by models of ‘parallel monolingualism’.

The following example is taken from an interview with Vanessa, a Cape Verdean teenager. Miguel, my main contact in As Rocas, suggested I interview Vanessa. Vanessa is one of the Cape Verdean students who have done well academically. She is in her fourth year of secondary school and has continued in mainstream classes. Vanessa is confident and displays positive attitudes towards Galician, which is likely a reason why Miguel wanted me to talk to her. Vanessa’s positive attitude towards Galician was exceptional, with most other Cape Verdean students showing a preference for speaking Spanish. In the following extract, Vanessa describes her fluid ‘linguaging’ practices, explaining how she draws on her range of linguistic resources depending on the context in which she finds herself. The language practices she reported were in line with what I observed during non-participant classroom observation. The Cape Verdean students played ‘linguistic hopscotch’ in class, shifting from one code to another without difficulty. These ‘linguaging’ practices in daily classroom interactions can be juxtaposed with the learning outcomes imposed by the school curriculum, which favour ‘parallel monolingualism’ and standard language varieties. Although Vanessa portrays the fluid nature of her linguaging as a positive trait, she does not go as far as representing them as a skill. Rather, for Vanessa, this ‘translanguaging’ is just an example of how she speaks in her daily life.

### **Example 5.9 - Multilingual language practices**

VV: depende aos meus compañeiros / de clase en galego e: aos meus compañeiros así que conozco: que son de Cabo Verde tamén pos falamos en crioulo en portugués en galego en castellano empezamos a falar nun idioma e terminamos outro {risa }

VV: It depends, with my friends from class I speak Galician and with my friends that are from Cape Verde we speak in Creole, in Portuguese, in Galician in Spanish. We start in one language and end up in another

Many Cape Verdean students reported speaking ‘a bit of everything’. I observed this frequently during my time in both schools. For the community in As Rocas, multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception. Translanguaging practices were not only apparent amongst the immigrant or even the student population; teachers drew on their multiple linguistic repertoires in the classroom too. What can be discerned from the observations from this data is that, despite official policy that complies with ideals of languages as separate entities, the daily practices ‘on the ground’ in As Rocas are constantly challenging and diverging from these notions. There appears to be an intrinsic discordancy between the aims and objectives of language learning policies that are devised at the macro level, and the ‘translanguaging’ practices at the micro level that are experienced every day by the local community in As Rocas.

Recent educational policies in Galicia have shown a limited degree of favourability to ideas of ‘plurilingualism’, in so much as Galician and Spanish have been endorsed alongside English and other European languages. Hence, ‘plurilingualism’ in schools is commendable so long as it is in the ‘correct’ languages and adheres to the language varieties that are considered ‘legitimate’, most notably standard languages. The linguistic repertoire of the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas, which displays shifts between Portuguese, Kriolu, Galician and Spanish and frequent ‘translanguaging’, is not considered valuable within the linguistic hierarchy established by Galician language policy.

Regarding immigrants in the Galician education system, Teasley et al. (2012) have pointed out

These children are thus seen exclusively in terms of what they lack, rather than what they can offer in terms of enrichment. In a sense, a child who is still in the process of developing a second (or third, or fourth, etc.) language is cast as possessing less cultural capital than a monolingual one, as long as this monolingual capacity happens to be in the ‘right’ language. *Our* children have language capacity; the newcomers have language deficits. From this point of view, it is difficult to imagine *their* integration as an intercultural, mutually enriching process. (Teasley et al., 2012)

Hence, the linguistic challenges faced by Cape Verdeans in As Rocas are two: firstly, the language varieties they speak are not in line with the language varieties that hold value within this social context; secondly, their translanguaging practices diverge from the standard language varieties which are held as the ideal.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Questions about multilingualism and indeed multilingual education have come to the fore in recent academic debate (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Martín Rojo, 2010; Saxena & Martin-Jones, 2013; Wei, 2014). Previously accepted classifications of languages as ‘hermetically sealed units’ (Makoni, 1998) have failed to reflect the way people use language in their everyday lives. Furthermore, in educational contexts, the division of languages into individual entities “produces a linguistic differentiation through its border-making design in which each language is separated and segregated into its own discrete space and time and is not allowed to mix with the other” (Hadi-Tabassum, 2006, p.5). García (2007) has called for pedagogical practices that diverge from these rigid classifications of language, and instead “reflect people’s use of language” rather than “people as language users” (García, 2007, p.xiii).

In light of these debates, and calls for language to be understood in a more fluid way, Lemke (2002) asks whether the current educational policies in most Western contexts indeed “make multilingual development more difficult than it need be, simply because we bow to dominant political and ideological pressures to keep ‘languages’ pure and separate?” (Lemke, 2002, p.85). Thinking about languages in different ways, and from

different perspectives, may lead us to rethink many of the multilingual education models in present day schools. Especially in the case of As Rocas, and indeed other minority language contexts, Heller & Duchêne (2007, p.11) present a salient point: “Rather than assuming we must save languages, perhaps we should be asking instead who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is at stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition”. We see how in As Rocas, although the language planning model promotes the use of several languages, side by side, the epistemological underpinnings continue to align with notions of languages as ‘pure’ and ‘bounded’ and fail to capture the ‘translanguaging’ practices that take place in the daily lives of people.

The following chapter will take a closer look at the education system in Galicia and As Rocas, focusing specifically on the changes that have been brought about by increased numbers of immigrant students in classrooms. Drawing on theoretical concepts such as ‘decapitalisation’ (Martín-Rojo, 2010), it will explore the measures that have been implemented by the Galician regional government and by the schools in As Rocas for managing linguistic diversity in contexts of increased multilingualism, and how these measures have impacted the immigrant community. Turning to data from interviews (primarily from members of the teaching community but also at times from students), one focus group, and ethnographic observations, this chapter will seek to examine the views expressed by students and teachers regarding immigrant integration in As Rocas.



## **Chapter 6- Deficit ideologies and 'decapitalisation' of immigrant students**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Scholars working across a wide range of countries have documented changing classroom dynamics due to increased multilingualism and cultural diversity. European examples include Greece (Gkaintartzi et al., 2014; Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou, 2011), Belgium (Pulinx et al., 2015; Van Der Wildt et al., 2015), Luxembourg (De Korne, 2012), the Basque Country (Etxeberrias and Elozegi, 2008) and Catalonia (Corona et al., 2012), while Latino students in classrooms in the United States have also been the subject of academic discussion (García, 2009; Allard et al., 2014).

Both in As Rocas and in the broader Spanish context, changes in economic structures, coupled with various waves of migration since the 1970s, have had a discernable impact on the classroom environment (Martín Rojo, 2014). While the level of immigration to Galicia, and therefore the number of immigrant children in the Galician education system is small when compared to other parts of Spain, scholars have explained immigration to Galicia as “a sudden presence of diversity that was inconceivable less than a generation ago” (Teasley et al., 2012). However, despite the number of immigrant children in the Galician education system, there continues to be a mismatch between the academic successes of immigrant students when compared with local Galician students. In the Spanish context, since the turn of the century, researchers have noted that the number of immigrant students leaving school on completion of compulsory education is increasing (Franzé Mudano, 2001; Serra and Serra Palaudàrias, 2007). A previous anthropological study conducted in As Rocas confirmed that, although the Cape Verdean community has been settled in As Rocas since the 1970s, it was not until 2003 that the first Cape Verdean student attended university. Since then, according to the teachers with whom I spoke in As Rocas, who had access to records about the academic achievement of students, the number of Cape Verdean students completing higher cycles of secondary education and continuing on to third level continues to be small, certainly when compared to the academic success rates of local Galician students.

In recent years, scholarly research has looked at immigration, education and the construction of social difference (Asker and Martin-Jones, 2013; Spotti, 2008; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Bartlett and García, 2011), with many studies on the Spanish context examining the factors that can contribute to the poor academic achievement of immigrant students (Patiño-Santos et al., 2015; Codó and Patiño-Santos, 2014; Pérez-Milans, 2011; Pujolar, 2010). Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), discussed in Chapter 2.5, Martín-Rojo (2010, 2013) has used the term 'decapitalisation', to explain how schools, as agents of the state, distribute capital in such a way that privileges certain members of society while at the same time classifies others (for the purposes of this study immigrants) as deficient. Martín-Rojo explains 'decapitalisation' as "not providing and or preventing the capitalisation of social agents" (Martín Rojo, 2013, p.127). Looking specifically at the context of education, she explains that

decapitalisation refers to acts of subtracting capital, such as the lack of valuation of students' previous schooling, languages and knowledge, but also to acts of discouraging capital formation [...] with the tendency for educational programmes to orient students toward unskilled jobs and toward lower positions in the labour market (Martín Rojo, 2013, p.138).

This chapter will draw on 'decapitalisation' theory to explain some of the issues that arise with regards to the integration of Cape Verdean students in As Rocas. Furthermore, in this chapter, the concept of 'deficit ideology' (Gorski, 2011), which shares many overlaps with 'decapitalisation' theory, will be drawn upon. Put simply, "deficit thinking emerges when we mistake difference—particularly difference from ourselves— for deficit" (Gorski, 2011, p.2). Gorski (2011) has noted that this concept has been the subject of academic discussion for several decades, with some using the term 'deficit theory' (Collins, 1988; Dudley-Marling, 2007; Gorski, 2008), and others preferring 'deficit thinking' (Ford and Grantham, 2003; Pearl, 1997; Valencia, 1997; Yosso, 2005). However, Gorski (2011) argues for the use of the term 'deficit ideology', in order to highlight the fact that "it is, in fact, an ideology, based upon a set of assumed truths about the world and the sociopolitical relationships that occur in it [...] deficit ideology is a worldview that explains and justifies outcome inequalities— standardized test scores or levels of educational attainment, for example—by pointing to supposed deficiencies within disenfranchised individuals and communities" (Gorski, 2011, p.3).

This chapter will first look at the changing needs of the schools in As Rocas since the arrival of proportionately large numbers of immigrants. It will explore teachers' criticisms of the resources currently available and look at what demands are made for language specific learning resources. Are the measures that are currently in place in the school deemed to be a success? If not, what criticisms are made of them? Furthermore, if criticisms are made, are measures for improvement proposed? Subsequently, through analysis of ethnographic data, this chapter will examine teachers' attitudes to students' previous education, and how this impacts immigrant students' progress through the education system. It has been argued that the host society's valuation (or lack thereof) of students' existing knowledge is an important factor in the academic outcomes of immigrant students and their adaptation to their new environment (Martín Rojo, 2010; Gkaintartzi et al., 2014; Allard et al., 2014; Van Der Wildt et al., 2015). In order to better understand the objectives of the curricular initiatives aimed at immigrant students, this chapter will examine how 'integration' is constructed by members of teaching staff and by the educational policies that shape the school curriculum in As Rocas. What is meant by integration? What do teachers (and students) perceive to be the 'ideal' integration? What ideologies underpin the ideas of 'integration' that are expressed by interviewees?

## **6.2 The changing needs of the schools in As Rocas**

Various waves of migration over the last several decades have noticeably shaped the sociodemographic profile of classrooms in As Rocas. As a geographically isolated town, the population of As Rocas was previously relatively homogenous, in the sense that immigration to the area was rare, and when it did occur it was usually from neighbouring parts of Spain such as Asturias. Therefore, up until recently, the student population was made up of children who had either Spanish or Galician as their first language, and who came from a Western educational background. The arrival of immigrants from Cape Verde (and also Latin American countries, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia) changed the linguistic profile of the classrooms in As Rocas in a very significant and sudden way. Where previously the two main languages heard in the town were Galician and Spanish, As Rocas was now host to languages from many continents such as Africa, Asia and South America. These linguistic and demographic

changes prompted changes and a process of adaptation on the part of the schools in the town. Teachers who had trained during the period of the dictatorship, where the only language of instruction was Spanish, were experiencing an unprecedented degree of diversity in their classrooms.

During an interview with Veronica, the guidance teacher in IES Margarita, she reflected on the changes she had witnessed in the school over the last two decades. As seen in example 6.1, she notes that, in the past, at secondary level, there was a tendency for student groups to be more homogenous than in the present day, due to many students leaving school early to undertake vocational training.

### **Example 6.1 - Homogenous Student Body**

V: las medidas de atención a la diversidad eran muy poca cosa era sobre todo informativo y bueno mejora de técnicas de estudio [...] poca cosa porque el alumnado era un alumnado que ya estaba escogido o sea previamente después de la primaria los alumnos que tenían menos actitudes o menos aptitudes eh? que les costaba más por lo que fuera por capacidad de trabajo o por por capacidad intelectual se iban ya [...] e: entonces eran alumnos mmm mejor más homogéneos y académicamente mejor adaptados

V: there used to be very few measures for managing diversity, they were mainly informative and about study techniques [...] there were very few measures because the student population was already chosen previously, I mean, after primary school the students who had less capability, who found things harder for whatever reason be it because of work of because of intellectual abilities, they would leave [...] so therefore they were a more homogenous student group and better adapted academically

Because of the homogeneity that was previously the norm, and the fact that As Rocas had never experienced such a degree of academic and linguistic diversity in its schools, the resources that have been put in place to manage linguistic and academic diversity are relatively new, and have been implemented as a reaction to the rapid changes to the demography of the town. In the above comment, Veronica notes how, in the 1970s and 1980s, before significant numbers of immigrant students attended school in As Rocas, the need for special measures that catered to students' diversity was low due to the

‘homogenous’ student body. Previously, according to Veronica, students who did not ‘adapt’ academically did not continue to second level education. For this reason, the resources that are in place in As Rocas today have been developed over recent decades, as immigrant numbers have increased.

Veronica’s framing of a homogenous classroom as one with students who are ‘better adapted academically’, contrasted with ‘students who had less capability’ is demonstrative of ideologies that suggest that ‘diversity’ is problematic (cf. Van Der Wildt, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2015 for a discussion of this same phenomenon in the Flemish context). Veronica does not mention the possible advantages of heterogeneous classrooms. Veronica’s comments, that refer to students who are ‘better adapted academically’ place the responsibility to ‘adapt’ on the student (in this case immigrant students). (See Chapter 5 for a critique of immigrant integration policy in Galicia). As Teasley et. al remarked in their critique of the Galician Newcomer Reception Plan (2008) “the tendency is to direct attention to ‘these [immigrant] students’ and ‘their integration’ and adaptation to the school. [...] With this narrow focus, this discourse essentialises the immigrant student as the only object of these processes of adaptation and integration (Teasley et al., 2012). Moreover, in line with Gorski’s (2011) comments, outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the ideologies expressed by Veronica allude to the supposed deficiencies of the immigrant community and therefore ascribe to a deficit way of thinking.

As well as bringing about changes to the school context as a whole, the increasingly multicultural context in As Rocas has impacted most notably on the Guidance and Special Educational Needs (SEN) departments of the two secondary schools. The specific role of each of these departments, and how they have adapted to the presence of immigrant students in the school system is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.7. Before immigrants began to settle in As Rocas in relatively large numbers, the role of the guidance department was to provide career and study guidance to students and liaise with parents on the school’s behalf when necessary. The role of the SEN department was to work with students who had special needs. Furthermore, the professional training that SEN teachers had (and continue to have) was based around pedagogic methodologies for students with physical or psychological learning difficulties. It is important to note, for this context, that SEN teachers have not trained as language teachers per se. In the example below, Raquel, the SEN teacher in IES Primavera

explains how the nature of her work has changed over the last decade. She explains how, before immigrants began to settle in As Rocas, she worked mostly with children with physical disabilities or special learning needs.

**Example 6.2 - Changing role of the SEN teacher**

R: eu traballaba por exemplo con nenos que: tiñan ao mellor unha deficiencia mental: deficiencias auditivas bueno que teñen xa algunha deficiencia psíquica ou física ou mental [...] neste centro non hai agora tantas necesidades tan específicas de pedaxo pedagogía terapéutica e hainas máis pois a nivel lingüístico ao mellor

R: I used to work with children that for example had some sort of mental deficiency, hearing deficiency, children that had some sort of psychological, physical or mental deficiency [...] in this school there are no longer as many students who need the services provided by Special Educational Needs, the students' needs are more at a linguistic level

The student profile in Raquel's class has changed considerably in recent years (while her title and training has not), and consequently the needs of the students have changed. Raquel states that there are no longer so many specific 'Special Educational Needs', but there is a greater requirement for language teaching resources. It is important to note that not all immigrant students attend the SEN classes. Rather, after an evaluation process is carried out by the school, which usually examines linguistic and numerical competency, members of teaching staff coupled with the guidance teacher decide on the appropriate course of action for that particular student. It may be that students attend SEN classes for one or two years, or they may attend other support classes, and, as is the case with many Cape Verdean students, they are allocated to a class group with students who are several years younger than them. This is done in an effort to compensate for the 'curricular lag' that Cape Verdean students are deemed to present.

Raquel's comments highlight the changing needs of the school since the arrival of immigrant students. Previously, there was a SEN teacher who was trained in dealing with students' physical and psychological learning needs. Currently, according to Raquel, there is a requirement for teachers who specialise in teaching language. In many ways, Raquel is taking on an ad hoc role of language teacher for immigrant students, a

role which she has not trained for. When I spoke to Raquel, I got the feeling that she at times felt out of her depth teaching groups of Cape Verdean students. She emphasised how she did not have a background in language teaching and had not undertaken any training in teaching such diverse classes. This sense of ‘being thrown in at the deep end’ was also expressed by Alberto, the SEN teacher in IES Margarita. It seemed that Raquel and Alberto were chosen to teach the immigrant students, as they were the teachers who had the most availability and the smallest class sizes. However, both of them had trained specifically to work with children with disabilities, mostly on a one to one or two to one basis. However, due to the demands of the school, they were suddenly tasked with teaching groups of five or six students at a time, each with very different learning needs. Both teachers expressed a sense of anxiety at this sudden change of role and, while both of them were extremely committed to their work, both at times made me feel as if they were struggling to cope with the demands being placed on them. Indeed, previous research has found that teachers often struggle to manage culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms (Agirdag, 2009; Coleman, 2010), leading some teachers to conclude that linguistic diversity negatively affects learning within the school context (Pulinx et al., 2015; García, 2009).

Although Raquel has observed that the ‘needs’ of students are now linguistic, rather than physical or psychological, it is important to note that not being able to speak Spanish or Galician, the co-official languages of Galicia, is still positioned by the school as a ‘deficiency’ and one that must be ‘fixed’ by attending segregated classes such as the SEN classes. Gorski (2011) has cautioned against ideas of ‘fixing’ students who are considered deficient, instead suggesting a focus on fixing what is disenfranchising students in the first place.

Certainly this is not to say that we should not offer tutoring and mentoring programs for any students who need them, as long as we do not fall into the deficit-inspired “savior syndrome” or use “mentoring” as code language for “assimilating.” But in the end, these programs and practices pose no threat to educational inequities, much less economic injustice. They simply sustain disenfranchised people within a disenfranchising system. (Gorski, 2011, p.20)

Since the number of immigrant students in As Rocas has increased, many students who do not speak Galician or Spanish are sent to the SEN class. The pedagogic materials

that SEN teachers have access to are not language specific and are mostly (although not all) based on activities designed for children studying at primary level. In this way, the decapitalisation process that Martín-Rojo et al. (2010) put forward can be supported: the information that students are taught in the SEN classroom does not equip them for the market in which they will have to participate. While teachers and students may report some positive experiences within the support classes, it has been suggested that “the problem comes when they finish and have to transition to mainstream classrooms and deal with the regular curriculum” (Mijares and Relaño-Pastor, 2011). Currently, the support that the Galician government provides for the education of immigrants in As Rocas revolves around the teaching of Spanish and Galician (the co-official languages of the community) and providing extra academic resources in the form SEN classes and through contact with the guidance department. As was noted by previous studies that examined the educational practices in As Rocas, activities that promote the cultural recognition of the immigrant community and encourage multiculturalism in general are limited to punctuated undertakings by select members of staff within the two secondary schools (Teasley et al., 2012).

As noted above, Raquel was not alone in her criticisms of the resources in place for managing linguistic diversity and immigrant adaptation in the school. Many other teachers were also critical of the resources in place for immigrant students, stating that they were misguided and failed to meet the students’ needs. Alberto, the SEN teacher in IES Margarita (Raquel’s counterpart in the neighbouring school), acknowledged that the students in his class have two types of ‘difficulties’: some have difficulty participating in mainstream classes because they do not speak Spanish or Galician, whereas others have diagnosed learning difficulties independent of linguistic competency. This is a challenge for Alberto, who works with groups of approximately six students at a time.

Elvira, a teacher in IES Margarita, explained the shortcomings of the Special Educational Needs classes. She compared the provision of SEN classes to sending a student who wanted to learn a new language to a speech therapist, instead of a language teacher. In the comment below, Elvira claims that, instead, language teaching for immigrants should be incorporated into the general school curriculum.



### Example 6.3 - Going to a Speech Therapist

L: eu sempre poño un exemplo que ao mellor aquí en algún centro en Galicia a un neno *cuando* ten: *tú cuando* tes un problema por exemplo articulatorio vas a un *logopeda* [...] *no?* pero si queres aprender o inglés ou un idioma estranxeiro non vas a un logopeda vas a un: un especialista en linguas e aquí o que pasa é que *a* veces o que ten que aprender o galego ou o castelán vai a un logopeda {risa} [...] pero eu ((16:44)) creo que se poden organizar de forma: curricular

E: e *eso* impacta non? nos: nos *estudiantes si* ten que:?

L: supoño que si

E: si: si porque si é tratar un problema con

L: con outra solución doiche a cabeza e: te operan dunha perna

L: I always give the example of if there is a child in a school in Galicia, if he has a problem with pronunciation he goes to a speech therapist [...] right? But if you want to learn English or another foreign language you're not going to go to a speech therapist, you go to a specialist in languages. What happens here is that sometimes the student who has to learn Galician or Spanish goes to a speech therapist {laughs} [...] but I think that it could be organised within the curriculum

I: that would impact them, right? Impact the students if they had to

L: I suppose it would, yes

I: yes because it's treating one problem with

L: with another solution. You have a headache and they operate on your leg

Elvira's comments demonstrate dissatisfaction with the current measures in place that are based on segregating immigrant students and sending them to classes that are designed for students with special needs rather than classes for students who are in the process of learning new languages. Elvira is critical of the measures implemented by the school, which she states are failing to cater for the needs of immigrant students. Elvira acknowledges that having Cape Verdean students who do not have special needs in groups with children who have diagnosed learning problems is unsuitable, and could have repercussions for students' self esteem and therefore success within the education system. Linked to this idea, is previous research that has demonstrated the importance of language learning on identity formation (Chung, 2006; Rampton, 2006). This, then, has led researchers to question the impact that dominant ideologies that view linguistic

diversity as a deficiency can have on the academic achievement of multilingual students (Van Der Wildt et al., 2015; Allard et al., 2014). As Martín-Rojo et al. (2010) have noted in their study of immigrant students in the Spanish education system

their languages and prior knowledge are neither recognised nor valued, and they are not taught the information that might help them compete. In other words, the new market for which these young people are being educated decapitalises them (Martín Rojo et al., 2010, p.64).

By segregating students who do not speak Spanish or Galician and limiting their time in mainstream classrooms in favour of SEN classes, the gap between mainstream students and students in SEN classes increases. Nevertheless, placing students in classes where they do not understand the language of instruction comes with its own range of difficulties. Merely sitting in the mainstream class does not guarantee access to the content being taught. For this reason, Martín-Rojo (2010) has suggested that auxiliary teachers attend mainstream classes with students, and help them in class on a one-to-one basis. This, she has noted, has proved helpful in contexts that she has observed. However, the resources required for this type of academic support for immigrants is likely beyond the budget of the schools in As Rocas, which already, as recounted by many teachers, are under strain to cope with staffing demands and high pupil teacher ratios.

As part of my ethnographic fieldwork, I conducted a focus group in IES Primavera. Those who participated included Miguel, a Galician teacher; Juan, the guidance teacher; Raquel, the SEN teacher; Nuria, the vice principal; and Sergio, the principal. The discussion centred on the initiatives that the school had in place to cater to the needs of their diverse student population. Similar to Elvira and several other teachers, Nuria, the vice principal of the school talked about the measures that are currently in place and how they are falling short. Again, in keeping with the opinions expressed by other members of staff, Nuria was of the view that there is a dearth of academic materials aimed at immigrant students, in particular materials for learning new languages.

#### **Example 6.4 - Lack of funding**

N: medidas hai pero: facía falta máis e medidas e: económicas non? porque: fai falta máis horas máis personal para poder atender a esa a eses nenos con: necesidades e: específicas con exemplo pois no idioma cando acaban de chegar [...] aquí en [...] somos unha terra de acollida donde recibimos moita xente e sin embargo desde primaria hasta secundaria [...] non vexo que o sistema sexa demasiado eficaz

N: there are measures, but we need more measures, economic ones. Because we need more staff hours to be able to tend to children with specific needs, for example linguistic needs, when they have just arrived [...] here in As Rocas we're a welcoming land where we welcome lots of people but nevertheless from primary to secondary school [...] I don't think the system we have is very efficient.

Nuria makes specific reference to the lack of funding the schools receive, and the subsequent lack of teachers available to cope with the changing demands of the school. It is this lack of availability of resources that leads to Cape Verdean students often being sent to SEN classes, which as outlined above often fall short in meeting their academic needs or in helping them succeed in mainstream classes.

Another suggested measure for integrating Cape Verdean students in the education system, as an alternative to the SEN classes, and usually for students who are deemed to be stronger academically than those in SEN classes, is the PDC stream. The PDC stream runs in third and fourth year of secondary school only, meaning that students who are the PDC stream will have been in mainstream groups up until that point. (See Chapter 4.7.2 for a more detailed explanation of the PDC stream). While the core subjects studied by the students are the same as those in the mainstream classes, the academic level is significantly lowered. This streaming process is said to allow students to complete obligatory cycle of education and receive a certificate upon completion. The main benefit of the PDC group, according to many of the teachers with whom I spoke, was the lower pupil-teacher ratio, which allowed teachers to give students more individual attention. Nuria's demands for more teachers could suggest a move towards the reduction of pupil teacher ratio across all classes, and possibly remove the need for segregating immigrant students altogether. As Martín-Rojo et al. (2010) have noted,

segregating students into various programmes aimed at managing diversity (be it SEN or PDC in this case) can force students into certain categories such as that of the ‘immigrant student’, viewed by some as deficient culturally and academically. This process has been described as the ‘minorisation’ of students (Rath, 1993), where students from various ethnic backgrounds are ‘minorised’ and positioned as inherently deficient (Martín Rojo et al., 2010). Furthermore, the simplified academic materials taught in the support classes do not serve the students effectively when competing in the labour market. Although in isolation the classes may be successful, and learning does take place, the segregated nature of the classes leads to an increase in the academic ‘gap’ between students undertaking mainstream classes and those in the various support groups. Nuria highlights that As Rocas is a town that has a history of welcoming immigrants from different places, yet, despite this history, the primary and secondary education systems are, due to lack of funding, not succeeding in being fully inclusive at an academic level and producing good (at least in relation to local, Galician children) academic outcomes amongst the immigrant community.

### **6.3 Countering decapitalisation**

In As Rocas, there are two contrasting approaches regarding the incorporation of immigrant students in the education system. On the one hand, there is the approach outlined by the regional government in Galicia. On the other hand, there are the steps taken independently by members of teaching staff. In more detail this can be explained as how, both schools follow guidelines imposed by the regional government that are based on segregating immigrant students who do not meet the academic level required by the school; evaluation of students’ academic level is based on assessment of their linguistic ability in standard Spanish and Galician, as well as their knowledge of other subjects in the school curriculum. In current educational policies, little attention is paid to valuing students’ broader linguistic repertoire and body of knowledge. However, in contrast to regional government policies, there are members of staff in both schools who actively work towards countering processes of decapitalisation that occur as a consequence of the implementation of measures devised by the regional government. Many of the initiatives that promote intercultural awareness and aim to recognise and value immigrant students’ previous knowledge are organised through the Plan As Rocas language planning model, discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 5. While the Plan As

Rocas is driven mainly by teachers in IES Primavera, teaching staff in IES Margarita have also undertaken projects with the aim of improving the academic outcome and linguistic adaptation of Cape Verdean students. Drawing on findings from previous anthropological work that looked at the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas, several teachers in IES Margarita have collaborated with the researcher leading the said project to develop learning materials for Cape Verdean students in Kriolu. Elvira, a teacher from IES Margarita with whom I spoke, had travelled to Cape Verde herself as part of a research project on immigrant education and had brought back copies of school books used in Cape Verde. These were seen as an important resource and a way of valuing students' previous schooling. While not intended to replace the learning materials included in the Galician school curriculum, teachers felt using materials in Kriolu to conduct initial assessments of students' ability was a way of resisting the decapitalisation process: rather than being treated as children who lacked literacy skills, using materials in Kriolu aimed to recognise that these were in fact literate children who were proficient in a language other than Galician or Spanish.

Veronica, the guidance teacher in IES Margarita showed favourable attitudes towards the use of materials in Kriolu. Veronica, who as a guidance teacher worked closely with the Cape Verdean student population, was keen to highlight the priorities of the guidance department and the school as a whole, which aimed to positively value Cape Verdean's cultural and educational background and thus work towards resisting processes of decapitalisation.

#### **Example 6.5 - They're not just immigrants**

V: queremos presentar a: a los caboverdianos como: bueno personas con una estructura social propia o sea no solo los emigrantes también hay allí embajador embajada y hay: estudiosos y hay: profesionales no? [...] porque realmente la: visión que: muchas veces tiene nuestro alumnado [...] es de caboverdiano como el que no sabe no como el que sabe otras cosas y tiene que venir aquí y aprender cosas nuevas y: eso es duro claro

V: we want to present Cape Verdeans as people with their own social structure, like, they're not just immigrants, in Cape Verde they also have an ambassador, an embassy, and there are students and professionals, you know? [...] because really, the view that our students often have [...] is of the Cape Verdean

{student} as a one who doesn't know things, rather than one who knows different things, and has to come here and learn new things, and that is difficult of course

In the example above, Veronica talks about how Cape Verdeans are perceived in the wider community in As Rocas. She says, as a representative of IES Margarita, that the school wants to positively influence people's perceptions of Cape Verdeans, and show that they are not '*solo los emigrantes*' (just immigrants). Through contact with anthropologists, and visits to Cape Verdean schools, the teachers in As Rocas demonstrate an interest in finding out more about the country of origin of the largest immigrant group in the town. The use of Cape Verdean learning materials is a step towards recognizing and 'legitimizing' the schooling students received before coming to As Rocas.

Veronica's comments reflect her perceptions of how other students in the school perceive Cape Verdean students, and their preconceptions about Cape Verdean culture and education. She talks about how staff in the school want to portray Cape Verdean people and acknowledge that they too have '*estructura social propia*' (their own social structures). It could be inferred that the school engages in initiatives that promote Cape Verdean culture in order to combat the prejudices that still exist amongst the local community in As Rocas. In the example below, Elvira, one of the teachers in IES Margarita who travelled to Cape Verde, highlights the prejudices that she perceived people in As Rocas to have. In the example Elvira is talking about what motivated her to travel to Cape Verde and conduct research in a school there.

### **Example 6.6 - Challenging stereotypes**

L: porque *bueno* había xente que non sei ideas {risa} como que comían monos ou que pensan que andan en taparrabos ou se imaxinan un África Subsahariana: ou que sei entón *bueno* tamén romper un pouco os os tópicos e os primeiros os meus non?

L: well, because there were people that had notions of {laughs} that they {Cape Verdeans} ate like monkeys or they thought they walked around in loincloths or they imagined sub-Saharan Africa, I don't know, so it was also to move away from those stereotypes, including my own.

In her comment, Elvira acknowledges her own prejudices, as well as the prejudices she perceived the broader community to have. By travelling to Cape Verde and visiting schools, she was able to learn about Cape Verdean culture and break away from her preconceptions. Following on from this trip, Elvira brought back many materials she collected, including books written in Kriolu, to As Rocas. It is a common perception, and one that was indicated to me by many teachers, that Kriolu is exclusively an oral language, with no written materials available. Through the work of people like Elvira, these ideas are challenged and contested. Furthermore, the use of materials in Kriolu, especially in the initial evaluation of students, can act as a counter to decapitalisation processes that do not value the educational background or existing linguistic repertoire of immigrant students (Martín Rojo, 2010).

#### **6.4 Ascribing to deficit ideologies**

As discussed above, prejudices about the cultural and educational background of Cape Verdean students were notable in the opinions expressed by many teachers. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these prejudices were not necessarily intentional, but rather derived from broader societal beliefs and ideologies. This could be understood using Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu, 1980). As explored in greater detail in chapter 2.5.1, habitus is used to explain how individuals or groups think - it seeks to show how past experiences shape the present, and, consequently, how the choices and actions that people make are influenced by previous socialisation processes. When discussing the high academic failure rates of immigrant students, many teachers in As Rocas approached the issue through a deficit lens, blaming the substandard education system in Cape Verde, the lack of interest on behalf of the parents in their children's education and the overall cultural differences between Cape Verde and Galicia. These 'differences' were often put down to varying cultural norms and ways of life. As discussed in chapter 4, Cape Verdean family structures differ at times to more traditional, nuclear European models. The role of the mother is constant, while the role of fathers, who often spend long periods of time at sea, is more flexible (Batalha and Carling, 2008). In the example below, Miguel comments on what he perceives to be cultural aspects of the Cape Verdean community that can contribute to their lack of academic success within the Galician education system. Miguel focuses on the role of

the family in the academic success of students, and frequently refers to their (Cape Verdean's) 'culture', specifically the lack of '*cultura do libro*' (book culture).

#### **Example 6.7 - Lack of 'book culture'**

B: entón os nenos son nenos de familias analfabetas [...] iso implica que non hai un reforzo escolar na casa [...] iso indica que na casa non existe a cultura do libro [...] e iso indica que na casa non hai cultura do esforzo académico [...] esa é a aprendizaxe académica a aprendizaxe de libro céntrase no horario escolar despois e: os nenos frecuentemente están pola rúa [...] porque non hai por exemplo a cultura de: // de que teñan horas de estudo na casa ou que ou que que fagan os famosos deberes

B: so the [immigrant] children are children from illiterate families [...] that means that there isn't academic support in the home [...] that means that in the home there is no 'book culture' [...] that means that at home there isn't a culture of making an effort academically [...] their academic and 'book' learning takes place during the school day and after that the children are usually on the street [...] because there isn't a culture of having to spend a few hours studying at home or doing their infamous homework

In his comments, Miguel is explaining what he perceives to be one of the reasons for the academic failure of immigrant students. Previously in his interview, Miguel also draws attention to the failures within the education system itself. However, in the above comment his emphasis is on the family, and, in keeping with what Gorski (2011) describes as 'deficit' thinking, and as found in other contexts too (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou, 2011) Miguel places the burden of responsibility for students' success on the educational and cultural values held by Cape Verdean families. This is interesting to note, as Miguel is one of the teachers who is most involved in the Plan As Rocas. Despite the deficit ideologies that underpin his above comments, his involvement in the promotion of intercultural awareness in the school, similarly to Elvira, demonstrates his interest in breaking away from the stereotypes that can be applied Cape Verdean immigrants. In many respects, there was a mismatch in the ideologies expressed in the formal interview setting and the day-to-day activities that Miguel carried out in the school. As mentioned above, this can be explained through seeing the discourses produced by teachers in interview settings as reflections derived from broader societal



beliefs and ideologies (*habitus*). However, in their daily endeavours, the actions of teachers reflected commitment to and engagement in intercultural activities and enhancing the academic achievement of the immigrant community.

Nevertheless, deficit ideologies were prevalent in the interview responses of many teachers. Sergio, one of Miguel's colleagues, expressed sentiments regarding the perceived cultural 'gap' between Galicians and Cape Verdeans. In the example below, Sergio reflects on the '*concienciación*' (awareness) that Cape Verdeans have about the value of education when compared to Galician families.

#### **Example 6.8 - Awareness**

S: son familias e sociedades tamén que eu creo que non teñen a concienciación que podemos ter aquí da: da necesidade de estudar e de formarse para despois ter éxito na vida non?

S: They are families and societies that don't have the same awareness that we have here about the importance of studying so that they can be successful in later life, you know?

In Sergio's comments, he contrasts what he perceives to be Galician values, which value the long term benefits of education, and Cape Verdean values, which he believes do not recognise the importance of education for social mobility. Sergio's comment resonates with what Heller and Duchêne note regarding societal justifications for inequality. They posit that "discourses which locate failure at mastery in the moral fiber or physical characteristics of the excluded, rather than in the desire of the powerful to remain so", (2012, p.4) serve to legitimate societal inequalities. This is evident in Sergio's comment where something abstract (and perceived to be inherent in the Cape Verdean community) such as their 'awareness' (or lack thereof) is blamed for their failure within the education system.

Despite these common views that immigrant or economically challenged families don't value education (Martín-Rojo, 2010), many studies have found that low-income families and wealthier families, overall, express the same attitudes about the value of education (Compton-Lilly, 2003; Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Leichter, 1978). As a social group who have emigrated primarily because of economic factors, it could be posited

that education, and the possibility for social mobility and ultimately improved working conditions are of importance to Cape Verdean families. As Martín-Rojo (2010) has noted, deficit discourses serve to justify immigrant students' academic shortcomings as "the effect of their "cultural" or "linguistic" deficit instead of the result of an unequal distribution of capital among different social classes and groups established as the norm" (Martín Rojo, 2010, p.65). In this way, the education system is central to the process of reproducing, naturalizing and legitimizing social inequalities (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). It is these justifications for academic failure, based on what are constructed as cultural 'deficits', that ultimately lead to the establishing of 'attention to diversity' measures that are based primarily on segregation of students (Martín Rojo, 2010). Rather than focusing attention on the systemic failures in the education system, deficit ideology aims to explain (and hence justify) the school drop out rates of immigrant students by placing the blame on 'cultural deficiency'; as a consequence of this ideology, the measures that the school implements focus on 'fixing' the student, rather than 'fixing' the broader social conditions that lead to failure rates in the first place (Gorski, 2011). As noted by Heller and Duchêche (2012, p.5), such discourses further serve "to convince the powerful that they deserve their power, and the marginalized that it makes sense to be at the margins" (Heller and Duchêne, 2012, p.5).

Martín-Rojo (2010) has called for a re-examination of the criteria by which immigrant students are assigned to classes such as SEN groups and other support classes that involve segregating students from the mainstream group, arguing that the classification of immigrants as 'deficient' is based on ethnocentric evaluations, cultural differences (which are seen as deficits) and low expectations of teachers, rather than actual academic deficiencies. This ties in with discussions of what counts as "legitimate knowledge". Specifically, as Patiño-Santos, Pérez-Milans and Relaño-Pastor (2015, pp. 309–310) point out in their discussion of schools in Madrid: Who are the authorized agents in the construction of legitimate knowledge? Who embodies knowledge? What communicative resources are used to validate classroom practices? What are the consequences for newcomers in the education system?

In my discussions with Cape Verdean students, I discussed the initial assessment process they experienced in the school. In the comments below, Vanessa, a teenager from Cape Verde tells me about how she was automatically placed in a group with students who were younger than her, without sitting an evaluation test.

### Example 6.9 - Initial evaluation tests

E: entón podías ao principio entender un pouco aunque tiñas idiomas [...] diferentes?

V: podía entender grazas ó portugués cando me falaban en galego entendía

E: porque *en*: no colexio no instituto en Cabo Verde *dabais* clase de portugués

V: si

E: e: entón cando chegaste tiviste unha reunión co orientador: e con:

V: si

E: recordas de facer probas?

V: estiven con: Loli a: a orientadora

E: si

V: que xa non está e: cheguei con: compañeiro meu que *ahora* xa non está *estudiando e: / estudiábamos* en Escola do Mar / e: tínhamos clases particulares porque xa que non entendíamos

E: ah pola tarde *no*?

V: non e: tínhamos clases *normales*

E: aquí no instituto?

V: si os / os que xa estaban aquí os que: falaban ben tiñan tiñan clase normal

E: [si

V: os] que non íamos con orientador para: preparar

E: ah: vale como unas de reforzo

V: si

E: vale pero era durante a o horario académico?

V: si era si si

E: e tiveches que facer *pruebas de evaluación no?* ó principio

V: si

E: e esas en que idioma estaba estaban?

V: *no* non fixen ningunha *prueba* a min baixáronme cursos porque ao non se porque *si* fora de *si* estivera en Portugal [...] íbanme facer unha *prueba* pero a: como son de Cabo Verde pos báixanche cursos

I: so were you able to understand things at the start even though you had different languages?

V: I could understand thanks to knowing Portuguese, when they spoke to me in Galician I understood

I: because in school in Cape Verde you had classes in Portuguese?

V: yes

I: so, when you first arrived you had a meeting with the guidance teacher and with

V: yes

I: do you remember sitting any tests?

V: I was with Loli, the guidance teacher

I: yes

V: who is no longer here. I first arrived with a friend of mine who is no longer studying, and we studied in Escola do Mar {primary school} and we had separate classes because we couldn't understand

I: oh in the evening, yes?

V: no, we had normal classes

I: here in the school?

V: yes those who were here that spoke well had normal classes

I: yes

V: those who didn't {speak well} went to the guidance teacher to prepare

I: I see, like support classes?

V: yes

I: ok and was that during the school day?

V: yes it was, yes

I: and did you have to do any initial evaluation tests?

I: yes

V: and what language were they in?

V: no, I didn't do any tests, in my case they just put me in a lower class {than would correspond to her age} because I don't know, if I had been in Portugal [...] they were going to give me a test but because I'm from Cape Verde well they just put me in a lower class

According to Vanessa, she feels she was placed in this group without previous assessment due to the fact that she is from Cape Verde, commenting that if she had been from Portugal, she feels this might not have happened. Vanessa makes reference to '*os que falaban ben*' (those who spoke well), and how they would be assigned to '*clase*

*normal*' (normal classes). Vanessa's understanding of what knowledge counts as legitimate resonates with Bourdieu's discussion of the legitimate language - Bourdieu notes that the legitimate language is normally that spoken by the dominant group (in this case Vanessa feels that those from a Portuguese, European background are in a socially dominant position when compared to Cape Verdeans). Moreover, Bourdieu notes that it is the dominant group who have the power to award legitimacy - they draw the boundaries around the legitimate language, deciding who is included and who is excluded. It is through this reasoning that Bourdieu contends that language is a form of 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1991). Vanessa's comments, where she contrasts 'those who spoke well' with her own linguistic competencies, indicate that she identified herself as a student who the school deemed to speak 'badly', and on those grounds she felt she was assigned to a group with students younger than her. Nevertheless, although Vanessa felt she had been assessed and categorised as a student who didn't have a high level of linguistic competence in Spanish or Galician, she explicitly states that she had few problems understanding Galician due to her previous knowledge of Portuguese. So, while Vanessa states that she did not perceive any significant communication barriers when she first arrived due to her prior knowledge of Portuguese, measures taken by the school nevertheless dictated that she should be placed in a class group with children younger than her. Classifying students in such a way could negatively impact their self esteem and thus their progress in the education system (Van Der Wildt et al., 2015); furthermore, "the internalisation of these discourses could lead students to understand their world in terms of inter-ethnic relations and inter-ethnic conflict and to perceive the school as a "foreign land" from which they are excluded" (Martín Rojo, 2010, p.90).

From speaking to Cape Verdean students like Vanessa, and discussing the incorporation of Cape Verdean students with teachers, I received many conflicting accounts of what the welcoming and evaluation process was for immigrant students. The staff at IES Margarita were keen to tell me about the materials in Kriolu that they used for newly arrived students. However, due to lack of communication and collaboration between the two adjacent schools, these materials were not used by IES Primavera. Remarks made by teachers in IES Primavera about the welcoming process for immigrants were geared towards criticism of the use of Spanish in the assessment of Cape Verdean students. After examining the wide range of information given to me by both schools and by students, I concluded that the welcoming and assessment process was done on a case-by-case basis, varying from student to student, but always guided by the guidance

teacher and with varying degrees of input from other teaching staff. In the above example, Vanessa reports that she did not have to sit any official tests, rather she was placed in a class with students two years her junior. In Vanessa's comments she indicates her assumption that she was allocated to a lower group in school based on the fact that she is from Cape Verde. She notes that she believes that if she had been an immigrant from Portugal the process might have been different. It is interesting to note Vanessa's example, where she contrasts Portuguese immigrants and Cape Verdean immigrants. Many Cape Verdeans who are in As Rocas have also spent time settled in Portugal so it is unclear whether she is referring to immigrants originally from Portugal, or Cape Verdeans who had spent time in Portugal. However, the salient differences between Cape Verdean immigrants who had spent time in Portugal and those who had come directly from Cape Verde relate to their experience in a Western education system and their contact with standard Portuguese. From Vanessa's comments, it could be inferred that the school privileges immigrant children who have come from other Western countries and who have learned standard Portuguese. In other words, those who have access to what is considered 'legitimate' knowledge (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, even within the immigrant population, (linguistic) hierarchies are established and reinforced by educational policies (Arthur Shoba, 2013).

Vanessa reports being a speaker of Kriolu, Portuguese, Galician and Spanish. When she first arrived in As Rocas, she spoke Kriolu and Portuguese. In many ways, this would not be much different from a Cape Verdean immigrant who had spent time in Portugal, as they too would have spoken Kriolu and Portuguese, albeit standard Portuguese taught in the Portuguese education system. Vanessa's language repertoire does not align with the standard Spanish or Galician that is valued within the education system. Moreover, Vanessa has not had prior experience in a Western education system. Her case exemplifies how languages can be "a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organisational processes, under specific historical conditions" (Heller, 2007, p. 2). According to Vanessa's comments, or from what she perceives, the educational policies imposed in the school devalue her previous knowledge and automatically place her into class groups with students her junior, preventing her from capitalising on her knowledge. Thus, as Bourdieu notes, it is in this way that language acts as a form of symbolic power. For Vanessa, not having 'competence' in what is considered to be the 'legitimate language' within the

educational field places her in a position of disadvantage on the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1989) or, in Martín-Rojo's terms, decapitalises her.

## 6.5 High academic failure rates

The number of immigrant students who leave school on completion of obligatory education is increasing (Franzé Mudano, 2001; Serra and Serra Palaudàrias, 2007). In her extensive ethnographic research in multilingual classrooms, Martín-Rojo (2010, 2013, 2014) has emphasised that, although processes of decapitalisation are not exclusively responsible for the academic failure of students, they do have an impact on the dropout rate of students and consequently on their opportunities for accessing skilled and well paid employment in the labour market (Martín Rojo, 2013). Many members of teaching staff in As Rocas expressed concerns about the failure rate of Cape Verdean students. Miguel, a teacher who was significantly involved in the development of the Plan As Rocas, and who dedicated much of his time to the organisation of extracurricular activities to promote intercultural and linguistic awareness, outlined his preoccupations about the high dropout rate of Cape Verdean students in the example below.

### Example 6.10 - Reasons for high academic failure rates

B: a ver que é o que pasa? / o fracaso de nove de cada dez / máis ou menos son números de que chegan dez alumnos e só un vai saír [...] ben / nunha comunidade que ten case seiscentas persoas [...] // e que leva aquí trinta anos [...] e se despois de trinta anos aínda temos estes resultados [...] *eso* / é necesario que saia á luz / é ben constatar que hai moito que mellorar [...] e: / outra cousa é // é o seguinte paso [...] unha vez unha vez constatado positivamente a través dos números que existe ese fracaso [...] hai dúas grandes preguntas

E: por que?

B: por que?! [...] e outra grande pregunta é // a ver o porqué non ten sentido se non é para responder se sabemos o porqué / como faremos para transformar esa situación [...] esas esas son as grandes [preguntas

E: e] que crees que é o porqué?

B: a ver o porqué e: / débese a dous factores fundamentais [...] e: // familiares [...] // e escolares

B: what is it that's happening? Nine out of ten [Cape Verdean students] fail. More or less, out of every ten students that arrive, only one will finish school. So, in a community of nearly six hundred people, that has been here for thirty years, if after thirty years we are still getting these kinds of results, it's important that we shine a light on that and recognise that there is a lot that could be improved. So the next thing, the next step, once we've established for certain, through analysing the statistics, that this academic failure exists, there are two main questions that need to be addressed

I: why?

B: why? And another question, the 'why' doesn't matter if it's not used to determine... if we know the 'why', what are we going to do to change this situation? They are the big questions

I: and what do you think the 'why' is?

B: let me see, there are two fundamental factors: family and school

In his interview, Miguel presents two main 'challenges' to integration (and therefore academic success) of Cape Verdean students. These are the family and the school contexts. While on one hand Miguel is critical of the education system and the resources available to immigrant students, he also ascribes to a deficit ideology, where immigrants' cultural background is blamed for their academic failure. Furthermore, in contrast with the progressive work that Miguel undertakes as part of the Plan As Rocas, that has intercultural awareness as its foundation, in his interview Miguel demonstrates some alignment with deficit ideology. This contrast between opinions expressed and actions taken in daily life was seen in other teachers too. While many teachers who were interviewed presented opinions that ascribed to deficit ideology, the efforts made by teaching staff in both schools to foster intercultural awareness indicated otherwise.

## **6.6 Integration as assimilation**

From speaking to many of the teachers in both secondary schools in As Rocas, it is clear that many continue to see assimilation as the ultimate goal in the integration of



immigrants. (See chapter 5 for a discussion of approaches to integration in the Galician education system). Furthermore, the ‘fault’ or blame for poor academic results and perceived lack of integration continues to be placed on the immigrant students who are viewed through the deficit lens. As discussed throughout this chapter, there are inconsistencies between the views expressed by teachers in interview contexts, and the activities that they undertake within the school. Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011, p.598) point out contradictions in findings from their studies too, indicating a mismatch between teachers’ desire to encourage inclusion and academic progress of immigrant students, and the “assimilative agenda that underlies their practices”.

The example below from Nuria exemplifies this. Nuria states that, according to her, the Cape Verdean children who most assimilate into Spanish and Galician society are the ones who have the most academic success. She contrasts this with Cape Verdean children who she says ‘*queda entre eles*’ (stick together), who she believes are more likely to achieve poor academic outcomes. In this sense, for Nuria, the most successful model of integration for Cape Verdean students, and the one she feels is conducive to positive academic outcomes, is one of assimilation.

#### **Example 6.11 - Integrating into the Galician community**

N: aqueles nenos que si están chegando ós ciclos formativos digamos que son nenos ou polo que eu vexo moito mellor integrados co resto da comunidade española: galega [...] esa xente que solamente queda entre eles e non se queren integrar demasiado son os nenos do fracaso

N: the children that do reach advanced levels are children that, from what I see, are much more integrated with the Spanish, Galician community [...] those people who just stick together and don’t want to integrate too much are the children that fail

Nuria’s comments point to two polarised views of integration: separation or assimilation, and indeed, this aligns with the findings of previous anthropological work on the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas that found that Cape Verdean immigrants in As Rocas either lived separately from the local community or had assimilated (Fernández González, 2006). The work done as part of the Plan As Rocas has aimed to challenge these binary views of integration and work towards multi-directional models

of integration. However, the opinions expressed by many teachers, as exemplified by Nuria's comments above, show that polarised views of integration still remain engrained in the ideologies of the community. Furthermore, despite the initiatives organised by the Plan As Rocas, as highlighted by Miguel in example 6.10, and in line with other Spanish contexts (Franzé Mudano, 2001; Serra and Serra Paludàrias, 2007), the number of Cape Verdean students who leave school before completing secondary education remains high.

### **6.7 Low expectations of immigrant students**

Preventing and discouraging the development of capital is one of the key factors in the process of decapitalisation (Martín Rojo, 2010). A contributing factor to this prevention of capital formation is teachers' low expectations of immigrant students. By having low expectations of immigrant students, the gap between the 'capital provided' and 'capital demanded' grows. That is to say, the standard of the academic material that children are being taught in segregated support classes is lowered, due to the fact that the expectations that the education system has of them is low. However, in contrast, the standards (or capital) demanded of them in the labour market are comparatively high. So, the gap between what they are being taught in school, and what they need to know to compete in the labour market increases during their time in school, concluding, in many cases, with immigrant students leaving school early and gaining employment in low paid job sectors (Martín Rojo, 2013). Looking at this through Bourdieu's (1986) discussion of capital, this can be explained in so far as immigrants are not acquiring symbolic capital in the form of academic qualifications; this subsequently impacts their ability to 'convert' this capital into economic capital through acquiring well paid positions in the labour market.

In the example below, Alberto, a SEN teacher in IES Margarita, discussed his approach to teaching immigrant students who were sent to Special Educational Needs classes. Alberto has been teaching in IES Margarita for more than twenty years, and has much experience working with the Cape Verdean community and with Galician students who have learning difficulties. In line with the findings of previous research (Martín Rojo, 2010; Allard et al., 2014; Etxeberrias and Elosegui, 2008), Alberto is one of many teachers who has low expectations of the immigrant students with whom he works.

Alberto feels that setting learning goals and targets is problematic with '*estes cativos*' (these students).

### **Example 6.12 - Learning objectives**

B: con estes cativos o primeiro que hai que facer é non marcarse un obxectivo é dicir / eu teño que chegar no trimestre primeiro a tal sitio [...] eso é malo pa o profesor e é malo para o alumno porque teste que adaptar a eles

B: with these students the first thing you have to do is not set out a clear learning objective. Don't say "by the end of the first trimester I have to complete the following" [...] that's bad for the teacher and bad for the student. You have to adapt to their level.

Rather than setting specific learning targets, Alberto states that the teachers must adapt to the level of the students. From what he has experienced in the past, following the standards of the school curriculum is not possible when teaching students with diverse learning needs. In order to cope with his diverse student groups (Alberto has up to six students in his class, mostly from Cape Verde but some from other immigrant backgrounds and some Galician students with learning disabilities), Alberto devises his own class structure and picks out learning material for students based on his own assessment of the students' academic level. In this case, although Alberto had low expectations of students, it was hard to see a better way to manage a class with students who have such differing needs. As mentioned by many teachers, there was a clear need for more teaching staff and learning resources. From examination of my data, I found that it was not only SEN teachers that had low expectations of immigrant students; this was something that was pervasive across teaching departments in both secondary schools. Stemming from 'deficit thinking', Nuria, a teacher in IES Primavera spoke about the academic goals that she would like to see immigrant students achieving. While her perspective suggests an interest in improving the educational outcomes of immigrant students, her low expectations, which present 'basic education' as the goal for immigrant students, point to deficit thinking that reinforces the process of decapitalisation experienced by immigrant students.

### **Example 6.13 - Motivating students**

N: a obrigación obligato son dazaseis anos temos que mantelos aquí pero os nenos non teñen motivación como conseguir esa motivación? como / traballar coas familias para que entenda que esto vai ser unha ferramenta de mellora para o futuro de esos nenos que: terán que atopar un traballo gracias a unha pequena formación académica que pode ser un PCPI unha formación básica o un ciclo formativo?

N: we're obliged to keep them here until the age of sixteen, but the students aren't motivated. How do we achieve that motivation? How do we work with families so that they understand that education will be a helpful tool for these children in the future? That these children will have to find a job thanks to a small academic qualification like a PCPI {stream geared at apprenticeships in industry}, basic training or a vocational course?

In her comments, Nuria, contrary to much research (Compton-Lilly, 2003; Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Leichter, 1978; Gorski, 2011), believes that the main reasons for the lack of motivation amongst immigrant students in the education system is down to a lack of understanding about the value of education on the part of immigrant families. Furthermore, Nuria talks about the possibility of students achieving '*unha formación básica*' (a basic education) or a '*ciclo formativo*' (vocational training programme). Thus, although Nuria's motivations are positive, and she demonstrates a desire to improve the academic outcome of immigrant students, her underlying ideologies still point to deficit ideologies whereby the families of immigrants are to blame for their lack of motivation and, furthermore, her expectations for the academic achievement of immigrant students are low and are limited to immigrants achieving low-level qualifications. As succinctly noted by Martín-Rojo (2010), "Contents, activities and demands are lowered to such an extent as to make it difficult for these students to follow a mainstream programme in the future. The process of decapitalisation produces deprivation and constraints on capital formation" (Martín Rojo, 2010, p.182).

While the focus of this research is limited to the two schools in As Rocas and the efforts made on their part to improve the academic outcomes of immigrant students, other studies have observed models of integration that have experienced relative success and have broken away from the decapitalisation patterns that characterise so many academic

initiatives for immigrant integration. In her research in Madrid schools, Martín-Rojo found the following method beneficial for students and effective in providing them with the capital they need for the mainstream classes and the labour market going forward:

over a nine-month period, before the non-Spanish speaking newcomer students are completely mainstreamed, the Bridging class teachers accompany students to some mainstream lessons, and during the remaining periods, they work in the Bridging class, preparing them to be able to follow these mainstream lessons, and to do the exercises and activities involved. This procedure ensures that the level of the lesson content (e.g. energy production, the structure of the cell, matter) is suitable for the students' age, and that the activities performed and the demands made correspond to a mainstream programme. The linguistic register is the academic one, and not a simplified one (Martín Rojo, 2010, p.180).

## **6.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the changes that the schools in As Rocas have experienced since the arrival of large numbers of immigrants to an area that had previously experienced little in-migration. It has looked at the measures the schools have implemented in their efforts to both manage linguistic diversity and help newly arrived immigrants adapt to their new educational environment. Despite efforts both at state level and on the part of the schools in As Rocas, the early dropout rate of Cape Verdean students is high, and they continue to receive lower grades than their Galician counterparts, despite being a community who has been present in As Rocas for over thirty years. This calls into question the current 'integration' of the Cape Verdean community, what the schools view 'ideal' integration to be, and what measures are being promoted to achieve this.

This chapter has argued that the 'deficit ideology' (Gorski, 2011) which was expressed by some teachers and which underpins many of the resources implemented to help immigrant 'integration' (such as segregated classes, streams with lower academic standards, and the placement of Cape Verdean students in student groups of lower age groups) contribute to a process of 'decapitalisation' (Martín Rojo, 2010) which prevents students from capitalising on their existing knowledge, does not provide them with the

new knowledge they need to compete in the labour market, and ultimately contributes to a cycle whereby immigrant students take up low paid, unskilled and precarious employment whilst the local Galician students for the most part attend university and access better career prospects. In line with previous research that discusses discourses that legitimise social inequality (Bourdieu, 1991; Heller & Duchêne, 2012), deficit ideology aims to explain the process whereby the disenfranchised community is blamed for their lack of success in the education system, blaming their cultural differences (which are positioned as deficits) and disregard for the value of education. This chapter has showed how although some deficit thinking was prevalent in the interview responses of some of the teaching staff, it was countered with actions taken by the school to empower the immigrant community and other comments which contradicted ‘deficit’ thinking comments.

These inconsistencies exemplify the incongruities and ambiguities that have been said to be inherent in people’s ideologies (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998a), and demonstrate the complexities of immigrant integration in education. This point, therefore, leads to the following chapter, which takes language ideologies in As Rocas as its central focus.

## Chapter 7- Language ideologies in As Rocas

### 7.1 Introduction

In her significant contribution to the study of language ideologies, Woolard posed the following as a central question: “what makes languages authoritative in community members’ eyes and ears” (Woolard, 2008)? By ‘authoritative’, Woolard refers to the ability to speak a language that will command an audience. In a similar vein, Bourdieu (1977) discusses how language ‘competence’ is intrinsically concerned with power and possessing the authority to be listened to. He states “those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.648). Woolard (2008) argues that in modern Western societies, such linguistic authority is usually founded on one of two contrasting ideologies: *authenticity* and *anonymity*. It is these issues that this chapter is concerned with.

Tied into discussions about linguistic authority are discussions about legitimacy and legitimate languages (cf. Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Heller, 2011; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), and furthermore, frequently tied in to debates about language and legitimacy are discussions about the concept of the ‘native speaker’ (O’Rourke, 2011c; O’Rourke et al., 2015; Piller, 2001b). Thus, before turning to some of the ethnographic data from this study, this chapter will explore broader theoretical concepts such as legitimacy and the hard-to-define ‘native speaker’ label, making reference to how these play out in the Galician context.

### 7.2 Language ideologies and social hierarchies

It is important to note that language ideologies are not exclusively about language, and tie in with issues that will be examined in this chapter such as legitimacy, power, and the construction of social difference (O’Rourke, 2011c; Thomson, 1984; Philips, 1998; Silverstein, 1998; Woolard, 1998). As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) noted in one of their earlier discussions on the nature of language ideologies: language ideology is a “mediating link between social structures and forms of talk” (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994, p.55). Furthermore, the aforementioned ‘mediating link’ is what makes the study

of language ideologies relevant to the study of how social difference is constructed in educational settings, such as the case that will be outlined in this study. Often, the practices of social institutions (such as schools) are grounded in specific ideologies. This includes decisions as to what the medium of instruction should be, what language varieties are valued, etc. These practices and their underlying ideologies can serve to (re)inforce social structures and hierarchies, making the study of language ideology salient in both social and linguistic investigation (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). As Bourdieu (1991) highlighted, schools act as agents of the state to impose value systems and hierarchies whereby some speakers are privileged and others are stigmatised, creating the ideal setting for the construction of legitimacy and indeed the legitimate speaker.

Language ideologies have traditionally presented languages as fundamental aspects of personal and group identity (Pujolar and González, 2013), and as ‘hermetically sealed units’ (Makoni, 1998) that are positioned as separate entities. These two core principles have been a central tenet of linguistic minority nationalisms and nation-state building, “whereby ideally monolingual native speakers make up the nation’s constituency and accord legitimacy to its institutions” (Pujolar and González, 2013, p.138). When examining the sociolinguistic situation of Galicia, the case of Catalonia, another bilingual autonomous community in Spain can provide useful points of comparison. Although it has occurred more recently in Galicia, both Galicia and Catalonia have been affected by changes brought about by the globalised economy. As has been noted in the Catalan context, despite increased engagement in the globalised economy, and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, political discourse at state level in Spain and at a more regional level in Catalonia continue to draw strongly on the aforementioned ideologies that view languages as separate and countable entities, and which see languages as markers of group identity (Woolard and Frekko, 2012). However, as Pujolar and González (2013) argue, a shift is starting to take place in Catalonia, and language (be it Catalan or Spanish) is no longer such an important marker of “ethnolinguistic boundary maintenance” (Pujolar and González, 2013, p.138). The Galician context, which admittedly differs from the Catalan context in that it is less economically developed and has traditionally experienced higher unemployment levels, is undergoing a process comparable to that in Catalonia, where the arrival of immigrants is contributing to an increasingly diverse population (Recalde, 2016). However, whether



the Galician context is experiencing the ‘de-ethnicization’ documented in the Catalan context (Pujolar and González, 2013) remains to be seen.

### **7.3 Authenticity and anonymity in As Rocas**

In keeping within the overarching framework of language ideologies introduced above and discussed in more detail in chapter 2, this chapter will draw specifically on the contrasting ideologies of authority of authenticity and anonymity in order to explore the legitimating ideologies that operate in the context of As Rocas. This contrasting framework of authenticity and anonymity, as explained in detail by Woolard (Woolard, 2008) (see also Gal & Woolard, 1995, 2001a), is helpful for understanding the complex dynamics that take place in bilingual, minority language settings (Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes, 2016; O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013; Soler, 2012; Urla et al., 2016). (For a discussion of how the terms authenticity and anonymity terms came about, and how they can be traced back through the literature on language ideologies, please see Chapter 2.6).

As a reminder of what was presented previously, within the framework of anonymity, a language is valuable as a ‘neutral, objective vehicle of expression equally available to all users’ (Woolard & Frekko, 2012, p. 7). This is juxtaposed with the ideology of authenticity in which ‘a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value’ (Woolard, 2008). In the Galician context, it could be contended that Galician holds the position as the authentic language (both for traditional speakers and new speakers), while Spanish is perceived as the anonymous, universal language that can be accessed by all. As will be seen in the discussion of the data in this chapter, and as O’Rourke and Ramallo (2013) have shown in the context of *neofaltantes* in Galicia, the ideologies of authenticity that characterise Galician can often deter new speakers from using the language, as they feel that their variety will sound inauthentic or unnatural when compared to the variety of Galician spoken by native speakers. In contrast, the anonymity that Spanish is awarded can be an attractive attribute for immigrants who are learning new languages as they may feel that Spanish is not held to the same prescriptive norms as Galician; it may be perceived as a ‘universal’ language that can be access by all. Indeed, as I will now explain, in the revitalisation of minority languages, anonymity can play a more important role than

authenticity (Soler, 2012; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). Woolard (2008) notes that within the authenticity/anonymity dichotomy, "To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local. If such social and territorial roots are not discernable, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system" (Woolard, 2008, p. 2). The authority of authenticity can therefore be problematic in minority language contexts. This is exemplified in the case of As Rocas, where the immigrant population may be discouraged from speaking the minority language for fear that their variety of Galician will sound unnatural and may differ from the autochthonous population who speak a 'profoundly local' variety of Galician. Conversely, anonymity, Soler (2012) and O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) argue, can be a more favourable authority for new speakers of minority languages: within the framework of anonymity, the minority language, rather than holding value for its inherent connection to cultural identity, it becomes a "voice from nowhere" (Woolard, 2008) that is equally available to all the speakers in the community. Efforts to move from an authority of authenticity to one of anonymity is evident in Galicia in the use of the term 'normalisation' instead of 'standardisation' in language planning. The term normalisation is used to imply that, rather than 'standardising' the language, the aim of language advocates is to make use of the language 'normal' across social contexts, including formal and informal domains (Urla et al., 2016). This 'normalisation' then implies that the language can potentially become accessible to anyone regardless of group membership (O'Rourke, 2015). (See Chapter 2.6.2 for a more detailed discussion of anonymity in minority language contexts)

#### **7.4 Legitimacy**

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2.5, Bourdieu has written in depth on issues of language, legitimacy, and the role of the education system in conferring legitimacy (see for example Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Drawing on Bourdieu, Costa explains that "Legitimacy is the ability to utter the right linguistic forms at the right linguistic moments in the right situations, and to comply with the type of discourse that society expects one to produce" (Costa, 2015, p.129). In other words, as Bourdieu explains, the legitimate language "is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the impostor [...] it is uttered in a legitimate

situation, i.e. on the appropriate market [...] and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms [...] except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer (Bourdieu, 1977, p.650)". Thus, the legitimate language is not static; it is fluid and constantly negotiated by its users (Costa, 2015). Depending on the social context, what is counted as a legitimate language may vary. As Blommaert and Varis note, authenticity or legitimacy entails "dynamic processes which involve conflict, contestation and reinvention" (Blommaert and Varis, 2011, p.4). Moreover, as Creese, Blackledge and Takhi point out, "authenticity and legitimacy are negotiated from moment to moment, and are subject to local and global contingencies" (Creese et al., 2014, p.939). Furthermore, as Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) note, tied into questions about the legitimate language are issues of power relations amongst speakers.

Regarding access to the legitimate language, acceptance into the community of 'legitimate' speakers is of greater importance than linguistic competence such as command of grammar, for example (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu (1977) explains how linguistic 'competence' is not merely concerned with grammatical competence and communicative competence. Rather, he highlights that, as mentioned previously, 'competence' is connected to issues of power and of having access to a language variety that will be listened to. Bourdieu goes on to explain this as the difference between having "the competence adequate to produce sentences that are likely to be understood" and the production of a language variety that will be listened to and accepted as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1991, p.55).

In order to greater understand the construction of legitimacy, Nic Craith (2000) has put forward a useful metaphor, drawing on the idea of horizontal and vertical axes that confer legitimacy: Nic Craith explains that legitimacy can be awarded in two different ways, that is, horizontally and vertically. The horizontal axis represents legitimacy that is self affirmed and does not rely on governmental support in order to be validated. In contrast, the legitimacy represented by the vertical axes is reliant on governmental and institutional support. Nic Craith highlights the subjective and fluid nature of legitimacy, and notes that "usually the degree of legitimacy acquired by a cultural concept depends on the extent to which a group or community has internalised it" (Nic Craith, 2000). Regarding the legitimacy of languages "much depends on the degree to which speakers are aware of the status of their speech form and consider it in any sense significant"

(Nic Craith, 2000). In the Galician context, and in particular in educational settings, legitimacy is awarded on both axes. Viewed through the lens of the vertical axis, standard Galician is considered the legitimate language variety. Indeed, as the discussion of this case study will demonstrate further on in this chapter, many teachers in their 50s and 60s who were first language speakers of Galician but had gone through the education system prior to democracy and therefore had not received formal education in Galician considered their variety to be deficient and illegitimate as it they saw it as deviating from the standard that is taught in the school curriculum. Conversely, in interviews with Cape Verdean students, legitimacy was awarded on the horizontal axis by positioning native speakers of Galician as the ‘true’ and ‘legitimate’ speakers of Galician due to the perceived ‘inherited’ nature of the language variety spoken by native speakers of Galician. In this way, we see how within the same community, different groups award legitimacy in different ways, confirming how legitimacy is “not an essential concept” (Nic Craith, 2000). Furthermore, as Bourdieu highlights through his concept of the linguistic market (see Chapter 2.5.4 for a discussion), the value (or legitimacy) of a language variety is dependent on the context (or field); all forms of language have value, but this value is determined by the linguistic market. “Linguistic utterances hence need to be understood as *dispositional*, that is, not based on perfect, invariant competence, but on individuals’ linguistic competence and the ‘linguistic climate’ in which they find themselves” (Grenfell, 2011, p.51).

Creese et al. pose a cogent question regarding the legitimisation of languages: “If a corollary of the legitimisation of authentic language is the delegitimisation of some other kinds of language as inauthentic, crucial questions include: Who has authority to make this distinction, and who validates authenticity claims?” (2014, p.939) Drawing on Gill (2011), Creese et al. further posit that “rather than asking what is authentic, we should ask what it means to be authentic in a particular setting, according to what norms, and what are the authenticating practices by which it is conferred or denied” (2014, p.939). In their discussion of language and identity, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) develop the notion of authenticity and propose ‘authentication’ as an alternative. They distinguish between the two in that “Where authenticity has been tied to essentialism through the notion that some identities are more “real” than others, authentication highlights the agentic processes whereby claims to realness are asserted” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p.385). Heller (1996), making specific reference to educational settings,

further questions the relational nature of legitimacy, contending that it is “our job is to understand why some language is legitimate and some is not and what that means for the participants in the setting” (Heller, 1996, p. 141).

## **7.5 The ‘native speaker’**

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, often linked to debates about legitimacy are discussions about the concept of the ‘native speaker’. The native speaker and mother tongue labels have been suggestive of a speakers’ historical or biological connection to a community or a place (O’Rourke, 2011c). However, over the last several decades, these terms have been contested by linguists (Davies, 2003; Rampton, 1990; Singh, 2006) and it has been contended that “the link between native speaker, mother tongue, place of origin, and knowledge of a language cannot necessarily be assumed” (O’Rourke, 2011c). In contemporary society, communities are increasingly multicultural and multilingual. Globalisation and technological developments have led to greater mobility in populations, meaning that the term ‘native speaker’ which is founded on notions of static connections to place, is increasingly difficult to define in contemporary globalised societies characterised by movement of people (O’Rourke et al., 2015). The native speaker concept has been describe as ‘ethereal’ (O’Rourke et al., 2015) due to the lack of consensus in the discussions surrounding it. Furthermore, the native speaker concept is often linked to 19<sup>th</sup> century ideals of ethnonationalism. As O’Rourke et al., note: “The history of the native speaker can be traced to anthropologically romantic notions which link nativeness to a particular community, within a particular territory, associated with an historic and an authentic past. [...] “the native speaker” was as much an abstraction as “the nation”, “the people” or “the language”, concepts that were mobilised to produce national imaginaries rather than to describe social realities” (O’Rourke et al., 2015). Moreover, the commodification of linguistic resources that has been a consequence of globalised neoliberal societies has raised tensions surrounding the authority of the “native speaker” popular in discourses of Romantic nationalism (Woolard and Frekko, 2012).

The authority of authenticity implies that the ‘legitimate speaker’ is one who has access to the social and territorial roots that characterise the language variety (Woolard, 2008). Therefore, within this conceptual framework, there is a connection between

authenticity, legitimacy and ‘nativeness’. As Creese et al. argue, “in the realm of language teaching, the notion of the authentic native speaker continues to hold sway” (2014, p.938), often attributing the native speaker legitimacy. In new sociolinguistic contexts, where processes of standardisation have contributed to the emergence of ‘new speakers’ of standardised varieties of minority languages (see O’Rourke and Ramallo 2011 for a discussion of this in the case of Irish and Galician), the question of who becomes a legitimate speaker is particularly pertinent (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2011, p.143). As O’Rourke and Ramallo note, language policy in Galicia has shifted some of the ownership from the native to the non-native speaker, which has given rise to questioning of who is considered the legitimate speaker of the language (2011, p.149). Moreover, as mentioned previously, in the Catalan context, there has also been a shift in legitimacy, or in Woolard’s terms, from authenticity to anonymity as the legitimating authority. Cresse et al. explain the changeable nature of legitimacy, specifically the legitimacy of the native speaker, in that it is “not based purely on the linguistic attributes of individual speakers, as language proficiency interacts with other social, cultural, and political features” (2014, p.940) and therefore “native speakerness does not always guarantee a position of power in certain educational settings” (Kubota, 2009, p.241).

With regard to issues of legitimacy, ‘native’ speakers are often viewed as authentic, legitimate and pure whereas the variety spoken by ‘non-native’ speakers can be deemed to be artificial and imperfect (O’Rourke, 2011c). This is exemplified in the Galician context, where *neofalantes* often attribute legitimacy to the native speaker who learned the language in their home community and who are perceived to have access to the most authentic and pure variety of the language. In contrast, both *neofalantes* themselves and traditional speakers of Galician often criticise the standard variety of Galician for sounding artificial as it is a ‘transdialectal’ variety (Monteagudo, 2004). However, despite common perceptions held by *neofalantes* and traditional speakers alike about the authenticity of the native speaker, it is the transdialectal standard variety that is promoted by the regional government and which is required from those who wish to gain formal qualifications in Galician language.

As Piller (2001) has concisely stated “It is usually assumed that native speakers have privileged access to their mother tongue: they do not produce errors as non-native speakers do, and if they do, they can identify and correct them themselves while non-

native speakers are incapable of this feat. Additionally, native speakers have privileged access to the language community: they belong while non-native speakers do not” (Piller, 2001b, p.2). Piller has reasoned that, as across the world multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception, the ‘native speaker’ label is fitting only to a minority of speakers, and thus the suitability and function of binary classifications of speakers (such as native and non-native) in a context of extensive multilingualism are called into question. Furthermore, following similar lines to Bourdieu’s argument regarding access to the legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1991) (see Chapter 2.5.4 for a discussion), Piller posits that being accepted as a native speaker, rather than being based on the competence of the speaker, is “mediated by other facets of social identity such as nationality, gender, race, religion, heritage, or class” (Piller, 2001b, p.7). Drawing on Pennycook (1998), Piller further explores the implications that polarizing classifications such as native and non-native speaker can have: “The native speaker of any language [...] is part of the imaginary Self, the non-native speaker forever excluded as the Other.” (Piller, 2001b, p.13). Therefore, it could be argued that immigrant speakers in As Rocas fall into the category of the Other as they are neither native speakers of Spanish *nor* Galician, the two languages of the host community.

Although, overall, “the metaphor of legitimacy” points towards native speakers as legitimate speakers (i.e. speakers who acquire the language through the ‘legitimate’ means of intergenerational transmission from their parents)” (Frekko, 2012, p.164), Frekko has refuted the claim that the native speaker is always the legitimate speaker of a language. When examining legitimacy in contexts of minority and majority languages, Frekko (2012) has posited that legitimacy can lie in nativeness in majority contexts, but that in minority language context legitimacy can lie in the non-native variety. Frekko draws this conclusion making reference to O’Rourke and Ramallo (2011) who found that the language variety of native speakers of Irish and Galician is often stigmatised as they usually come from rural working class backgrounds, while non-native speakers of the standard language, who are mostly middle class, urban and highly educated are perceived as speaking the prestigious language variety. Bourdieu (1991) made a similar observation in noting that “If Béarnais (or, elsewhere, Creole) is one day spoken on formal occasions, this will be by virtue of its takeover by speakers of the dominant language, who have enough claims to linguistic legitimacy . . . to avoid being suspected of resorting to the stigmatised language *faute de mieux*” (Bourdieu 1991, 69).

The blurry nature of the native speaker concept is particularly evident in the Galician context, as will now be discussed. The variety spoken by ‘native’ speakers of Galician, who are usually from rural backgrounds, is at times stigmatised and not valued in official domains. Meanwhile, the variety of Galician used in government, schools, media, aligns with the standard variety that is spoken by those who acquire the language in formal settings, and who are usually from urban, middle class backgrounds (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). In many instances, nativeness and legitimacy seem to go together. However, in minority language contexts, processes of standardisation and revitalisation have contributed to creating ‘new speakers’ of minority languages, who have access to a variety of the language that is valued in official domains. This has begun to breakdown the previously taken for granted link between nativeness and legitimacy (Frekko, 2012). The shifting and variable nature of legitimacy mean that, in certain circumstances, both native speakers and ‘new speakers’ may feel that the language variety they speak is or is not legitimate. While a ‘new speaker’ may display a high level of competence in a language, their language variety may be perceived as illegitimate due to the fact that it sounds ‘inauthentic’ (see chapter 3 for a discussion of this in the Galician context). In contrast to this, a native speaker may feel that their variety lacks legitimacy because it does not approximate the official standard variety. In the Galician context, while the language standardisation initiatives of the last several decades have worked towards awarding Galician prestige, there have been wider repercussions for groups of native speakers whose language variety has been ‘re-stigmatised’ due to the prescriptive standard variety that is now promoted in official and educational settings (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2011; O’Rourke, 2011a). (See chapter 3.6 for a discussion of the standardisation of the Galician language).

### ***7.5.1 Idealisation of the native speaker***

Following Woolard’s contrasting concepts of ideologies of authenticity and anonymity, in this chapter, I argue that for Cape Verdean students in As Rocas, Galician tends to be characterised more by the authority of authenticity, whilst Spanish tends to be characterised more so by anonymity. It is important to note, however, that while these two categories are distinct and stand at opposite ends of a continuum, the multifaceted nature of sociolinguistic contexts means that these two ideologies, rather than being mutually exclusive, are often interweaved and interconnected. As mentioned previously, the ‘climate’ in which the languages interact is salient to determining the linguistic



authority in play. In Bourdieu's terms, this is explained as the linguistic market that operates in relation to a specific field. As this study focuses primarily on two secondary schools, the discussion needs to be understood within this context.

The example below is taken from Katerina, a Cape Verdean student. Katerina has high educational ambitions, and states this at the start of the interview. She wants to study either psychology or law, and tells me that she achieves high marks in school. It is not uncommon for Cape Verdean students to be placed in groups with students who are several years younger than them. This is done in an attempt to compensate for the 'deficit' that Cape Verdean students are perceived to have. In Katerina's case, however, she joined a group of students who were the same age as her and she is noticeably proud of this. Katerina tells me that her home life is monolingual in Kriolu (see Chapter 4 for discussion of language in Cape Verde). She tells me that her mother has tried to learn Spanish, but has not been very successful. In her interview, Katerina strongly rejected Galician, highlighting how it would not be useful to her in the future as she planned to leave As Rocas on completion of her schooling. She emphasised how although 'the more languages you speak the better', she had no interest in actively using Galician and simply learned what she needed to in order to obtain high marks in her school coursework.

I interviewed Katerina along with her friend Sandra. Both Katerina and Sandra attended Spanish and Galician classes as part of a state funded programme in the community centre in As Rocas. Miguel, the gatekeeper, highlighted the benefits of these classes for students, stating that the number of hours of teaching in school is insufficient for immigrant students. Therefore, the community centre classes can be beneficial to newly arrived students. However, Miguel was critical about that fact that, according to him, there is not enough coordination between the school and the community centre so as to maximise the benefits of the extra classes.

As well as attending these state funded classes, Katerina also attended Spanish classes at a private academy at which her mother worked as a cleaner. Katerina told me that it was because of her mother's job that it was possible to arrange these classes, leading me to believe that the classes may have been free of charge or discounted as Katerina's mother is an employee in the language academy. Thus, Katerina was able to attend private Spanish classes because of her mother's job. Sandra, on the other hand, only had

access to a small number of state funded classes. Notably, when the girls started school, Katerina stayed at the correct level for her age whereas Sandra was put into a class with younger students.

In the example below, Katerina explains how she feels '*más cómoda*' (more comfortable) speaking in Spanish than in Galician because she doesn't have to worry about how her language might be perceived.

**Example 7.1 - Saying things correctly**

K: e porque: {risa} porque me siento más cómoda contestándole en castellano porque o sea sé que no: tengo que pensar en cómo voy a: por ejemplo en castellano ya sé cómo tengo que contestar y no tengo que pensarlo porque lo hablo continuamente pero en gallego como no lo hablo continuamente tendría que estar así pensando: si: estoy diciendo lo correcto y tal

K: I feel more comfortable speaking to people in Spanish because I don't have to think about how to say things. For example, in Spanish I already know how to express myself and I don't have to think about it because I speak it all the time. In Galician, because I don't speak it regularly, I would have to start thinking about whether I'm saying things correctly.

Katerina explains how, if she were speaking Galician, she would be concerned about whether she was speaking correctly, a worry she claims not to have when speaking Spanish. However, her spoken Spanish was not free from grammatical errors. Thus, Katerina's linguistic competence in Galician, which she feels insecure about, may not be, as Bourdieu (1991) notes, about her command of grammatical structures per se, but rather that she feels her variety of Galician is not one that will be 'listened to' and accepted as legitimate. Katerina's statement that she 'feels more comfortable' speaking Spanish implies that she feels *less* comfortable speaking Galician. This ideology is also common amongst Galicians who are first language speakers of Spanish also. As the context in which I interacted with Katerina was the school, it could be implied that it is within the linguistic market of the school that she does not feel comfortable speaking Galician as she might be judged for making errors. As a student who places importance on academic achievement, it may be that she also does not want to associate with a language variety that she perceives to have low linguistic capital. Throughout the

interview, Katerina was dismissive about Galician, noting that she did not feel it would be valuable for her in the future. She felt that Galician was a language for the locals to speak in the home but that, for her, as a student who wished to leave As Rocas and attend university, Galician held little linguistic capital. For Cape Verdean students, who have often left their country because of poor educational and employment prospects, the economic capital of languages can be a motivating factor in their language learning process. The students who took part in this study were nearing the completion of their secondary school studies, and most were planning on entering the job market in the coming years. The majority of the students with whom I spoke were aware of the potential value of multilingualism in the sense that they attributed value to dominant languages such as Spanish and English as they perceived them to hold the most value and potential opportunities. Katerina, a Cape Verdean student who was planning on studying law at university, although stating that “*cuanto más idiomas sepas es mejor*” (the more languages you know the better), explained her reluctance to learn Galician. Katerina felt there was ‘*ningún sentido*’ (no logic) in her learning Galician as it ‘*no me sirve para nada*’ (wouldn’t be of any use) to her.

Katerina’s comments regarding her concerns about her deficiencies in speaking Galician, concerns she said she did not have with Spanish (even though in her interview she spoke with grammatical errors in Spanish), could be indicative that she feels that Spanish provides her a sense of the anonymity of ‘just talk’ (Woolard, 2008) and frees her from the criticism she feels she would receive if she spoke what she refers to as ‘incorrect’ Galician. Further supporting her view that her variety of Galician is ‘inauthentic’, in example 2 Katerina contrasts her own variety of Galician which she worries is ‘incorrect’ with the variety spoken by “*los nativos*” (the natives) who she considers to be the group who speak Galician ‘well’.

### **Example 7.2 - The original Galicians**

E: qué significa hablar bien el gallego? cuando dicen esa persona habla bien

K: cuando hablas igual que ellos

E: sí / sí igual que ellos quiénes?

K: que los gallegos originales o sea los nativos

I: What does it mean to you to speak ‘good’ Galician? When people say that a person speaks Galician well.

K: When you speak the same as them.

I: The same as who?

K: The original Galicians, the natives.

From Katerina's comments, it can be inferred that within her ideological framework, Spanish holds the position of the anonymous language that has greater accessibility, and Galician holds the place of the authentic language, where the legitimate and valued variety is that which is spoken by the 'native', local community. From Katerina's comments we can infer that for her, the legitimate speaker in the linguistic market of As Rocas is the native speaker, and the legitimate language is that spoken by the native population. However, as Heller (1996) notes, we should be questioning why some language is legitimate while some is not, and what the implications are for these participants. In this case, for Katerina, the authoritative ideology for Galician is authenticity, implying that the language gains its legitimacy through its connection to place, and therefore the speaker gains legitimacy from having social or biological ties to the language. So, to follow Heller's (1996) line of questioning, we must ask what this means for Katerina, an immigrant student with no biological ties to the language. For her, the authenticity attributed to Galician means that her variety is implicitly inauthentic. This could therefore deter Katerina from speaking Galician, as she cannot access what she perceives to be the legitimate form of due to her immigrant (or non-Galician) background.

Katerina's comments, where she awards legitimacy to '*los gallegos originales*' (the original Galicians) were common across the Cape Verdeans with whom I spoke. Although not always making specific reference to the 'legitimacy' of the native speakers of Galician, many students frequently devalued their language practices because of interferences from the languages of their country of origin or because of their immigrant status. In example 7.3, Carlos, another Cape Verdean student I spoke to as part of the study, expressed ideologies similar to those of Katerina. Carlos, whose interview was also discussed in chapter 5, is in his second year of secondary education and has been living in As Rocas for a decade. In his interview, he too positioned the native speaker of Galician as the legitimate and authentic speaker within the community in As Rocas. Carlos perceived legitimacy to be based on biological ties to the language, thus also demonstrating how, like Katerina, for Carlos the authoritative ideology for Galician was authenticity. Poignantly, Carlos notes that the reason he finds Galician

‘difficult’, despite having lived in Galicia for over ten years, is that he ‘*vengo de fuera*’ (comes from abroad), highlighting his identity as an outsider in a community in which he has lived for most of his life. The ‘them versus us’ opposition was strong in Katerina's comment too (Example 7.2), where she talks about ‘*cuando hablas igual que ellos*’ (when you speak the same as *them*), showing how these Cape Verdean students see language as a boundary marker of group identity. This too may be a factor that contributes to their reluctance to speak Galician.

Similar to Katerina, Carlos explained that he felt the local students spoke Galician ‘better’ than him. In response to why he felt this was the case, Carlos made reference to the fact that “*sus padres de pequeños ya le hablaban en gallego*” (their parents spoke Galician to them from when they were young).

### **Example 7.3 - They were born here**

E: y decías que ellos lo hablan: qué dices que lo hablan mejor o algo po por qué es eso? por qué crees?

C: porque yo creo que vengo de fuera y: *aún* no: el castellano lo sé hablar pero el gallego *aún* me cuesta mucho hablarlo [...] mucho] y: por ejemplo si escribo un texto lo escribo en: castellano siempre y me dicen en gallego y yo sigo escribiendo en castellano [...] no entiendo muy bien el: gallego gallego [...] lo estoy cogiendo: el trunquillo y eso pero es difícil

E: sí y: ellos por qué lo hablan mejor? qué tienen ellos que:?

C: porque: ya nacieron aquí creo y: llevan aquí toda la vida y ya saben ya sus padres de pequeños ya le hablaban en gallego creo yo no sé / creo que será por eso

I: and you were saying that they [Galician class mates] speak it [Galician] better or, why is that? Why do you think that is?

C: because I come from abroad and I *still* don't... I know how to speak Spanish but I *still* find speaking Galician very difficult and for example if I write a text I write it in Spanish and they always say to me write it in Galician and I continue to write in Spanish [...] I don't understand Galician very well [...] I'm starting to get the hang of it but it's difficult

I: why do they speak it better? What do they have?

C: because they were born here, and they've been here their whole lives and they already know {the language}. Their parents spoke Galician to them from the time they were small so, I don't know, it must be because of that

Carlos's views are indicative of ideologies of authenticity that award legitimacy to the speaker based on their family and historical connection to the language. Carlos's comment is also interesting in his perception that the local children speak Galician at home with their parents. This may not necessarily be the case, and indeed census data shows that while Galician is the initial language of the majority of the population in As Rocas, there are still many who are first language speakers of Spanish and there are many families where the initial language of expression is Spanish. Carlos' discourse is also similar to that of urban *neofalantes* who refer to the authenticity of traditional speakers from rural areas (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). Moreover, Carlos' comments display his feelings of exclusion; he feels that he is not truly part of the community as he was not born there.

### 7.5.2 '*Re-stigmatisation*' and standardisation

While the Cape Verdean students in this study devalued their variety of Galician as they perceived that did not match the 'legitimate' variety spoken by the local population, some members of teaching staff also devalued their variety of Galician, nonetheless for different reasons, namely that they felt that their 'native' variety of Galician differed from the official standard variety taught in the school curriculum. In example 7.4, Alberto, a special educational needs (SEN) teacher (see chapter 4.7 for an overview of the role of the SEN teacher) who is a traditional speaker of Galician and has always spoken Galician exclusively in his family life, states that the Galician language '*cambia muito*' (changes a lot). Therefore, he believes that it is difficult for people to keep up to date and be aware of what the current linguistic norms are. Alberto contrasts Galician with Spanish and English which he says '*cambia menos*' (change less). The standardisation of Galician that has taken place since the late 1970s has been a dynamic process, with revisions frequently being made to standard orthographic norms (Salgado and Monteagudo, 1993; Ramallo and Rei Doval, 2015). As mentioned in chapter 3.6, the reintegrationist movement, which has elaborated its own set of linguistic norms which align more closely with standard Portuguese orthography, have successfully put

forward recommendations to the *Real Academia Galega* (Royal Galician Academy) who have recently included them in their revisions of standard Galician (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2012). It is changes like these that Alberto feels make it difficult to stay ‘up to date’ with the norms of standard Galician. Teachers like Alberto, who are over the age of 40, can remember the period of rapid standardisation during the 1980s and 1990s. Alberto’s schooling took place during the period of the Franco dictatorship, when use of Galician was restricted. Galician language was not taught in schools, and there was no standard variety. Rather, Alberto was taught to read and write in Spanish, although he spoke Galician at home and in his community almost exclusively. Alberto even spoke in his interview about how most of the reading he does nowadays is in Spanish, partly because he finds it more familiar and partly because of the lack of reading material to his taste available in Galician. The life experience that Alberto has from having been educated through the medium of Spanish while having Galician as his first language and community language is something that the Cape Verdean students do not have, as they have been exposed to formal schooling in Galician, something Alberto has not. Thus, Alberto’s insecurities arise from the fact that although his primary and secondary schooling was through Spanish, he is now tasked with teaching standard Galician, which he had not learned formally throughout his early formative years. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 3.6, and as discussed by Alberto in the quote below, standard Galician has undergone many changes since the process began in the late 1970s, meaning that some teachers like Alberto find it hard to ‘keep up’ with what the accepted standard variety is.

#### **Example 7.4 - Galician is always changing**

B: que unha lingua que cambia muito tamén é un problema eh porque a xente non todo o mundo ten tempo {son coma de trade} a estarse actualizando en cada [...] cada momento entendes? entonces o problema é ese / eu penso que o único que se lle pode exigir a unha persona é que se esforce porque o que ten un traballo nós xa nos dedicamos a esto pero o que ten outro traballo mecánico [...] ou unha persona que lle interesa o galego non pode estar tódolos días repasando as normas [...] o castelán cambia menos e o inglés tamén por exemplo

B: a language that is always changing is a problem because not everyone has time to get up to date [...] all the time, you know? So that’s the problem. I think that the only thing you can ask of people is that they make an effort because

those who work... We {teachers} work in this area but for those who have other work like mechanical work [...] a person who is interested in Galician can't spend every day going over the rules [...] Spanish changes less, as does English, for example

For Alberto, the legitimate language variety is the standard one that is promoted by the Galician autonomous government and reproduced by the education system. As a person who is employed in the public sector, and who is tasked with teaching Galician to his students, Alberto tells me that he doesn't want to appear as if he doesn't 'know' standard Galician. He finds it hard to stay up to date with the revisions that are made to standard Galician. Although, as mentioned previously in this chapter, legitimacy is often attributed to the native speaker, the standardisation processes that have happened in Galicia have in some ways shifted the ownership of the language towards speakers of the 'transdialectal' standard variety, and away from the native speakers (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011). This is seen in the case of Alberto, who although being a 'native' speaker of Galician, feels insecure about his linguistic abilities within the linguistic market of the school where standard Galician is taught in the curriculum. It is interesting to note the contrast between Carlos and Katerina, who position the 'native' speaker as the one with access to the legitimate language because of their biological connections to it (authenticity), while Alberto and other teachers who are native speakers of Galician position the standard variety ('the voice from nowhere') as the legitimate language (anonymity).

Alberto was not the only staff member in As Rocas to express these kinds of sentiments. Raquel, also a SEN teacher and native speaker of Galician who reported speaking Galician primarily in her day to day life, discussed how she did not feel 'comfortable' writing in Galician. Raquel, who is in her 50s, like Alberto, did not receive formal Galician language education throughout her school years. Raquel feels more competent writing in Spanish, despite stating that Galician is what she considers her 'native language'. In example 7.5, Raquel explains her situation, and like Alberto, highlights that she perceives Galician to be '*moito más cambiante*' (much more changeable).

#### **Example 7.5 - The norms and rules of Galician**

R: o galego pois como que sempre é moito *más cambiante* [...] en canto a normas a *reglas entonces bueno* faime *dudar* moito á hora de: de facer un un



escrito [...] síntome máis segura no *castellano* pero por esas circunstancias porque eu empecei a *estudiar e: gallego* escrito eh a nivel de escola cando fixen octavo é *decir* que eu non é coma nas *actuales*

R: Galician is always much more changeable {than Spanish} [...] because of the norms and the rules I doubt myself a lot when I have to write something [...] I feel more comfortable in Spanish because of the circumstances because I started studying written Galician in my last year in school, it wasn't the same as how it is nowadays

The language standardisation initiatives that have taken place in Galicia, discussed in Chapter 3, although restoring prestige to the Galician language, have created a situation whereby traditional speakers of the language, like Raquel and Alberto, can sometimes experience a 're-stigmatisation' (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011). Speakers of Galician were traditionally stigmatised for speaking a language that was considered 'backwards' and characteristic of rural society, when compared to Spanish, which was seen as the language of the middle classes and of urban life. Language revitalisation policy aimed to restore prestige to the Galician language and counter the stigma associated with it. However, the standardisation of Galician that came about as a result of such policy meant that traditional speakers of the language, whose language variety did not approximate the standard which draws on three dialectal forms, felt doubly stigmatised (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011).

As Alberto and Raquel work in schools, where standard Galician is part of the curriculum, they are aware that their traditional variety of Galician differs from the standard and, as Raquel notes above, it makes them doubtful of whether their written Galician adheres to the prescriptive norms of standard Galician. Thus, to avoid feeling stigmatised for not having command of the language variety which they perceive to be legitimate within the linguistic market of the school, Alberto and Raquel opt for writing in Spanish, a language they feel more secure in due to their educational backgrounds where written Galician was not taught.

Frekko (2012) has argued that in bilingual contexts such as the Catalan context, legitimacy is awarded to the native speaker of the majority language and to the non-native speaker of the minority language. For the minority language, Galician, the variety

that is usually valued by the local community of traditional speakers is the standard variety, or as Frekko posits, the non-native variety; speakers of standard Galician are usually those who have spoken Spanish in the home and the community and have learned Galician in formal education settings. Therefore, Frekko's position in many cases holds true. However, for the immigrant community, the reverse may be true. The Cape Verdean students in this study awarded legitimacy to the native speaker who displayed 'authentic' attributes. It has also been found that in the case of *neofalantes*, who speak the standard form of Galician, they too, like the Cape Verdean immigrants in this study, frequently award legitimacy to the native speaker due to their perceived authenticity (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). Furthermore, the younger generation of traditional speakers no longer necessarily value the standard variety, and often criticise it for sounding artificial (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013).

## 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has looked closely at the role of language ideologies in the construction of legitimacy as it played out in As Rocas and specifically amongst Cape Verdean secondary school students. It has explored the 'native speaker' label, and challenged its suitability in increasingly diverse contemporary societies. Drawing on contrasting arguments based on the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity, this chapter has examined the implications of both these ideologies in the Galician context, demonstrating how these ideologies influence both immigrants' and locals' linguistic choices. For many of the Cape Verdean immigrant students who took part in the study, Galician was viewed through the lens of authenticity, and the native speaker was positioned as the only legitimate one. Similar attributes of authenticity were applied to Kriolu, also a minority language. In contrast, Spanish was positioned (by students and some academic staff) as an anonymous and 'neutral' language. Thus, the conclusions of this research points to how, in As Rocas, minority languages are viewed as authentic, while dominant, majority languages (including English and Spanish) are seen as anonymous and therefore inclusive. Within the framework of authenticity, the Galician language is not 'equally available' to all users. Conversely, the authority of anonymity that is attributed to Spanish can make it more attractive to immigrant new speakers who wish to avail of the invisibility of 'just talk' (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2013; Woolard, 2008).

Paradoxes were evident in contrasting the views of the immigrant students with the teachers: whilst the Cape Verdean students positioned the native speaker of Galician as the legitimate speaker, the teachers (who *were* native speakers of Galician) positioned the standard variety of Galician as the legitimate one. Furthermore, the teachers in the community who were native speakers of Galician, were promoting the standard variety amongst their students, even though they were not in fact comfortable with this variety themselves.

The ideologies of linguistic authority that operate in As Rocas have interesting implications. For Cape Verdean immigrants, the ideology of authenticity deters them from speaking Galician. This can have implications for their success within the education system (where Galician language is a compulsory subject); for participation within their host community where the majority of people speak Galician as their first language; and for competing in the Galician labour market when they leave school. For teachers, their insecurities speaking Galician point to the already documented shift away from the authority of the native speaker (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011). It also marks tensions around ownership of Galician: in this situation, both immigrant 'new speakers' *and* traditional speakers working in the teaching profession expressed insecurities around their variety of Galician. For policy makers who are aiming to 'revitalise' the Galician language, and generate higher numbers of speakers, these ideological stances could prove interesting to note, and have implications for language planning going forward.

## **Chapter 8- Language hierarchies and their implications in the community of As Rocas**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The main argument in this chapter, which will be supported through discussion of ethnographic data, is that there is a mismatch between the fluid ‘translanguaging’ practices of the community in As Rocas in their day to day lives (discussed in chapter 5), and the deep-rooted diglossic ideologies about the hierarchical structure and ‘bounded’ nature of languages. This chapter will draw on examples and reflections of how languages are used in As Rocas, looking specifically at multilingual children’s use of language during play time, teenagers’ use of humour when negotiating situations of language ‘crossing’ (Rampton, 1995), use of language in formal and informal settings and the impact that this can have on locals’ decision to speak Galician to those they consider ‘outsiders’. Finally, the chapter will draw comparisons between the linguistic situation in Cape Verde and that of Galicia, exploring how the similarities between the two contexts may or may not influence the linguistic choices of Cape Verdean students.

Ferguson (1959) was one of the first sociolinguists to formally engage with the concept of diglossia, using the term to describe contexts with two co-existing languages varieties. However, in wider academic discussions, since Ferguson’s (1959) article, understandings of diglossia have been developed and, as will be discussed in more detail in this chapter, the term has not escaped contestation (see for example Wei, 1994; Williams, 1992; Fishman, 1967). Ferguson (1959) stipulated that, “the superposed variety in diglossias will be called the H (‘high’) variety or simply H, and the regional dialects will be called L (‘low’) varieties or, collectively, simply L” (Ferguson, 1959). While Ferguson’s concept of H and L languages was useful in 20<sup>th</sup> century contexts characterised by ‘one nation, one language’, an ideology that assumed that the nation would have one national language as a reflection of its pure and homogenous culture. However, these lines of thinking fall short when discussing the multifaceted linguistic practices of speakers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As Wei has noted “Rapid and frequent code-switching which has been shown to be a characteristic feature of conversational interaction in many bilingual communities” makes the model of H and L languages

“almost impossible” in today’s societies (Wei, 1994, p.7). Wei (1994) has contributed significantly to debates on diglossia, and has challenged both Ferguson’s (1959) and Fishman’s (1967) seminal works, taking account of the changing impact that globalisation has had on multilingual contexts. Recent research (as discussed in the theoretical introduction in chapter 2) has questioned the ways in which language is defined, arguing that conceptualisations of languages as separate bounded units is insufficient in discussing the ‘translanguaging’ practices found in contemporary society (Wei, 2014; García, 2009; García and Wei, 2014; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007a; García, 2007).

Although Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1967) have provided two of the earliest seminal contributions to discussions on diglossia, their positions have received strong criticism (cf. Williams, 1992). In 1992, Williams published a detailed critique of both Ferguson and Fishman’s early contributions, finding fault primarily with the ‘apolitical’ nature of their arguments on diglossia. Williams contends that, in both authors’ discussions of diglossia, the social aspect of language is overlooked, with neither exploring the importance of the social groups that employ various language varieties in different settings. Ferguson’s use of H and L to label language varieties has furthermore been criticised for lacking neutrality. As Williams notes, “As a consequence of the failure to address the differentiation of status between H and L in terms of power the relationship between the two varieties is reduced to one of difference” (Williams, 1992, p.97). In his critique of Fishman’s contribution, Williams denounces the fact that the power differences and inequalities among social groups are not dealt with overtly enough: “Society is here presented as a rigid, mechanical set of roles to which, it would seem, all members of the community have ready access” (Williams, 1992, p.99).

According to Williams, Ferguson and Fishman’s neglect of the social dynamics of language contact, the way in which conflict is overlooked, and the way in which power relations are disregarded, is prejudicial for minority languages especially. He contends that “This has the consequence of marginalizing the minority languages while also making it virtually impossible to express the anger and frustration experienced by members of minority language groups confronted by the process of language shift” (Williams, 1992, p.122). Although diglossia is now a term that is commonly used in sociolinguistic discussions, Williams argues that it is “more of a hindrance than a help”

(1992, p.122) when analysing situations of language contact, as it overlooks power dynamics that are central to understanding situations of languages in contact.

In the Galician context, Spanish has traditionally held the position of the above mentioned H language, used in religion, education and government, while Galician has been the L language, seen as most appropriate for use in the private sphere (Ramallo, 2007; Regueira, 1999; Monteagudo, 1999). In many academic discussions on the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia (Ramallo, 2007; Regueira, 1999; Bouzada Fernández et al., 2002; Lorenzo Suárez et al., 2008; Subiela, 2009; García-Molins, 2012; Sanmartín Rei, 2012; Silva Valdivia, 2012; Gugenberger et al., 2013; Rei Doval, 2007), the use of the term ‘diglossia’ continues to align with the Fishmanian conceptualisation: diglossia in the Galician context is usually used to describe two languages (Galician and Spanish) with differing status, used side by side in the same community (Beswick, 2007). Furthermore, because of the historical hierarchy between Galician and Spanish in Galicia, diglossia is a term that has received attention in sociolinguistic discussions about Galicia (see Monteagudo, 1995, 1998 and Alonso Escontrela, 1992, 1995 for discussions in the Galician literature, and DePalma, 2014; Beswick, 2002, 2007; Loredó Gutiérrez et al., 2007; Ramallo, 2007 for some English language contributions). However, it could be posited that this binary separation of languages into high and low varieties has been challenged by language revitalisation initiatives, for example the 2004 *Plan Xeral de Normalización da Lingua Galega* (General Plan for the Linguistic Normalisation of the Galician Language). Such plans have aimed to award more prestige to Galician and to counter the hierarchical imbalance between Galician and Spanish. Moreover, changing patterns of migration have contributed to the shifting of the boundaries between linguistic codes. This blurring of what were previously accepted as clear-cut classifications of Spanish as H and Galician as L, can lead to a questioning of the suitability of the term diglossia, at least in its traditional sense, to describe the sociolinguistic situation in contemporary Galicia.

## **8.2 Diglossia in Galicia**

During the Franco dictatorship, use of regional minority languages in Spain was greatly restricted. In Galicia, Spanish was the language of prestige, favoured by the dominant classes, while Galician was viewed as the language of the working classes. This led to a process of language shift whereby Spanish became increasingly prevalent in urban

centres, especially among the younger sections of society and Galician was relegated to rural areas (Ramallo, 2007). Spanish was the language used for religious communication, education, government, literature etc., while Galician was used primarily as a home language (Ramallo, 2007; Monteagudo, 1999, 1995; Monteagudo and Bouzada, 2002). It is in this respect that the term diglossia has been used to describe the status of languages in Galicia: Spanish has traditionally been positioned as the dominant (or H) language, while Galician was seen as the minority (L) language.

However, over recent decades this situation has begun to change, with language policies awarding increasing status to the Galician language. Language revitalisation initiatives in recent times have done much to influence the inequalities between Galician and Spanish, mostly by expanding the domains in which Galician is used. One of most tangible changes has been seen in the education system, where Galician, having previously been excluded, is now a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. As a result of this, the population's competence in Galician language has increased, especially in written expression and reading comprehension (Fernández, 2012). However, while top down approaches have increased the visibility of Galician, strengthened its legal status, and while there has been an increase in positive attitudes towards Galician (Monteagudo et al., 2012), use of Galician in Galicia has been diminishing, especially amongst younger sectors of society (DePalma, 2014; O'Rourke, 2011a; Lorenzo Suárez, 2008; Monteagudo, 2011) and there has been a decrease in intergenerational transmission (Monteagudo, 2011). Although the percentage of Galician speakers in Galicia is high when compared to Spain's other bilingual autonomous regions (namely Catalonia and the Basque Country), there are still issues regarding the low levels of prestige and low communicative value placed on Galician by its speakers (Monteagudo et al., 2012; Lorenzo Suárez et al., 2008; Bouzada Fernández et al., 2002) which impact on the political influence of the language when held in comparison to the Catalan and Basque contexts (DePalma, 2014).

Notwithstanding, Galician has experienced a revival of sorts in recent decades, and is now used in some literary, academic and governmental circles. This has in many ways served to counter the previously engrained associations between the Galician language and rurality and poverty (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008; DePalma, 2014; Monteagudo et al., 2012). The use of Galician in academic and professional contexts, usually by 'new speakers' who are from urban backgrounds and have learned to speak Galician in

school, although expanding the domains in which Galician is used, has given rise to a new type of stigma associated with the language, that being the association between ‘new speakers’ of Galician and Galician nationalist politics (see chapter 3).

Nevertheless, the sociodemographic diversification of Galician society has begun to dissolve the clear boundaries between the two co-official languages of Galicia and thus make the use of the term diglossia less clear-cut than it once was. Del Valle (2000) argues that language policy in Galicia does not reflect the heteroglossic practices of the community. He posits that language policy fails “to relate the co-existence of not two but multiple norms of linguistic behaviour (and their manifestation in actual speech) to the language attitudes displayed by Galicians” (del Valle, 2000, p.130). Therefore, although the language policy in Galicia is grounded on monoglossic ideologies, the practices and attitudes of the community to various linguistic forms are heteroglossic (del Valle, 2000).

Furthermore, as this thesis has shown, the arrival of immigrants to Spain and Galicia, in numbers unprecedented in contemporary history has impacted significantly on the linguistic climate of the region. The distribution of migrants throughout Spain has not been proportionate; Galicia has experienced a relatively low influx of migrants (which in 2012 accounted for less than 4% of the population (Recalde, 2016)). Nevertheless, Galicia has still experienced “a sudden presence of diversity that was inconceivable less than a generation ago” (Teasley et al., 2012).

Ferguson (Ferguson, 1959) originally claimed that one of the criteria to describe diglossic contexts was that, “In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly.” As has been discussed throughout this thesis, Galicia is no longer a region characterised by the use of two languages, Galician and Spanish. Rather, it is a multilingual and multi-ethnic society, home to languages from across the globe (Silva Domínguez and Recalde, 2012), meaning that the ‘slight overlap’ discussed by Ferguson does not seem to account for this new linguistically diverse society.



### **8.3 Cape Verdeans and ‘triglossia’**

The sociolinguistic context of Cape Verde shares many overlaps with Galicia. The official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese, used in education, administration and Government. However, the language spoken by almost all of the local population is Cape Verdean Creole (Kriolu). It could be contended that a situation of diglossia also exists in Cape Verde: Kriolu is considered primarily an oral language, used in the private sphere, while Portuguese is the public, official language of prestige. It has been argued that Cape Verdean immigrants in As Rocas experience a situation of ‘triglossia’ (Fernández González, 2006). Their language of daily use within their community is Kriolu, which lacks official status and prestige in their country of origin. Prejudices about the status of Kriolu are then added to the existing situation of diglossia in Galicia between Galician and Spanish. Fernández González (2006) explains that this context of ‘triglossia’ results in Kriolu taking third place in the language hierarchy, being reserved for use primarily in the home. The understanding that Cape Verdean speakers bring with them about the tensions between dominant and minority languages may be influential in shaping their linguistic choices in As Rocas.

### **8.4 Exploring language hierarchies in As Rocas**

#### ***8.4.1 Children’s interactions***

As discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis, since the turn of the century, Galician language planning has done much to ‘normalise’ the use of Galician. However, language policy has also been strongly criticised for perpetuating the process of language shift to Spanish and for downplaying the linguistic conflict in the region through the promotion of ‘harmonious bilingualism’ (Lorenzo Suárez, 2005; Ramallo, 2014). However, as seen chapter 7, which discussed the relationship between Galician and Spanish in relation to ideologies of authenticity and anonymity, the use of Galician, as also noted by De Palma (2014), is ‘anything but neutral’. While the stigma experienced by speakers of Galician during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was due to the long engrained associations between the Galician language and poverty, the emergence of ‘new speakers’ of Galician, usually educated and urban and a product of the aforementioned language revitalisation initiatives has carved out a second space for stigmatisation, that being the association

between ‘new speakers’ of Galician and nationalist political movements (O’Rourke, 2011a; Iglesias Álvarez and Ramallo, 2002; O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013). Thus, in contrast to the Catalan context (which serves as interesting point of comparison as it is also bilingual autonomous community in Spain that has invested in the revitalisation of its minority language since democratisation) where Catalan has seen a shift towards ‘anonymity’ (Soler, 2012) and experienced a ‘de-ethnicization’ of sorts (Pujolar and González, 2013), Galician continues to index authenticity (be it its traditional or ‘new’ varieties (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2013; DePalma, 2014)). Meanwhile, in Galicia, Spanish has held on more strongly to its place as the anonymous, universal and ultimately more accessible language. So, while traditional concepts of diglossia (that allow only for rigid classifications of H and L languages, not accounting for fluidity in language use) are not entirely suitable for describing the Galician context, notions of prejudice, and tensions regarding the status of each language still exist.

Although from an academic perspective the term diglossia falls short in accurately describing the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia, it is still a term that has made its way into the general vocabulary of the Galician population, being used broadly to describe the inequality between Galician and Spanish, where Spanish is the dominant language and Galician the minority one. In the interviews conducted for this thesis, many teachers made reference to diglossia when describing the hierarchical position of the languages of the community (where Spanish was seen to hold the top place). Maria, a teacher of Galician in As Rocas spoke to me about the language practices of young people in As Rocas, and drew specifically on her experiences with her six year old daughter. In example 8.1, Maria tells me about her experiences raising her child through the medium of Galician. Both Maria and her husband speak Galician in the home, and Maria’s daughter’s school classes are taught through Galician. However, despite the Galician ‘immersion’ that Maria’s daughter experiences in daily life, she shows a propensity for speaking Spanish. Maria attributes her daughter’s choice to speak Spanish to the influence of the media, especially the cartoons that are available in Spanish. In her interview Maria expressed disbelief that her daughter speaks Spanish “*cando ninguén na familia lle fala en castelán nin unha palabra*” (when nobody in the family speaks a word of Spanish to her). Maria explains that despite the fact that Galician is spoken in the home, and despite the fact that her daughter’s schooling is through Galician, she still shows a preference for speaking Spanish. Maria highlights that, from what she has observed in her role as a teacher, these practices are not particular to her daughter, and

that she thinks this applies to ‘*todos os nenos*’ (all children), noting that “*os prexuízos xa lles empezan desde moi pequenos*” (their prejudices start from when they’re very young).

### **Example 8.1 – Prejudices**

M: a nena que que: que ten seis vai cumprir sete e: eu vexo que [...] a nena por por: polos medios de comunicación sobre todo pola televisión que están vendo os dibuxos animados en castellan [...] todo o tempo a nena fala tamén castellan [...] fala tamén castelán si si si si cando ninguén na familia lle fala en castelán nin unha palabra [...] e ela fala en castelán e incluso se dirixe a min en castelán ás veces

E: e *tú* coméntaslle algo: *o*?

M: si si eu coméntollo eu coméntollo pero: pero chega ata tal punto a: non sei e: a inmersión que:: e e e e eu creo que os prexuízos xa lles empezan desde moi pequenos porque ven como ela ve como como: como muita outra: xente que ten ese prexuízo que como que o castelán é máis fino máis: [...] tampouco é algo que me preocupe demasiado pero pero si / a ver si me me e:: / me me preocupa no sentido de que de que teñen prexuízos desde *muy* pequenos xa non a miña nena en concreto [...] é dicir todos os nenos [...] non? porque están inmersos aínda que ti nin non lles fales en castelán e ninguén na familia [...] a inmersión en castelán é tal [...] que que que que que acaban falando castelán e que encima o ven moitas veces e: // sobre todo para certas cousas ou para cer en certos contextos para xogar a determinadas cousas pois veno como máis [...] como máis fino

M: My daughter who is six, nearly seven, I see how, because of the media, especially the television and the cartoons they watch in Spanish... My daughter speaks Spanish all the time. She speaks Spanish even though nobody in the family speaks Spanish to her, not one word. But she speaks Spanish and even speaks to me in Spanish sometimes

I: and do you say anything to her about it?

M: yes I say it to her but it gets to a certain stage that, I don't know, the immersion, I think that their prejudices start from when they're very young because they see how lots of other people have the same prejudices about how Spanish is more refined [...] it's not something that worries me too much but it does worry me in the sense that they have these prejudices from when they're very young, and not just my daughter but all children. Their immersion in Spanish is so... that they end up speaking Spanish and on top of that they see Spanish as... especially for certain things or certain contexts or when playing certain things they see Spanish as more refined

Maria cites Spanish cartoons as one of the influencing factors in shaping her daughter's language practices. It has been argued that the lack of quality media available in Galician contributes to the low prestige and value attributed to the Galician language (Lorenzo Suárez et al., 2008; Ramallo, 2014). In her comments, Maria also notes her daughter's choice of language depending on context; she highlights the fact that she observes her daughter using Spanish with her friends when playing certain games that they consider 'more refined'. Although Maria's daughter is quite young, as Paugh (2005) has noted, "The examination of children's social worlds provides a more nuanced picture of language shift – and potential maintenance – than observing only adult-adult or adult- child interaction" (Paugh, 2005, p.63). Going as far back as Fishman's (1965) article, what Maria reports seeing in her daughter's language choices align with Fishman's argument about multilinguals; Fishman posits that "not only do multilinguals frequently consider one of their languages more dialectal, more regional, more sub-standard, more vernacular-like, more argot-like than the others, but, in addition, they more frequently associate one of their languages with informality, equality, solidarity than the other. As a result, one is more likely to be reserved for certain situations than the other." In this respect, it could be argued that the way in which Maria's daughter draws on her language repertoire reflects how she associates Spanish with more 'refined' or 'elegant' contexts, thus using Spanish when playing games that she associates with such attributes. Nonetheless, Fishman takes a macro-level approach to understanding the language choices of speakers, focusing on the relationship between the activity that is taking place and the 'code' choice of the speaker. This approach to understanding language is substantially based on Ferguson's 1959 article on diglossia (discussed in the theoretical introduction to this chapter) and

fails to take into account the societal variables at play and their influence on the speakers' code choice.

While this thesis does not specifically explore the language practices of children, my discussion with Maria and her reflections on her daughter's use of language added further insight to the language ideologies of the community in As Rocas. While the teachers in this study were more forthcoming than the students when it came to discussing issues around language, the ways that children draw on their linguistic resources (to play different games, or to speak to different people) provide useful insights into the emergence of language ideologies of the community and the connections between language use and the formation of social identity (Paugh, 2005). In Paugh's 2005 study, which looked at the multilingual practices of children in Dominica, she found that children used Patwa, a language they were not allowed to speak in school, to create imaginary roles during play time. Paugh argues that play time provides children with a 'safe space' to explore their language repertoire. It could be, that for Maria's daughter, who is 'not allowed' to speak Spanish in school, and her home life is dominated by Galician, using Spanish in play time is a way for her to explore her social identities without the possibility of being reprimanded.

#### ***8.4.2 Minority languages and 'joking around'***

Both teachers and students, in their discussions about language, constructed Spanish and Galician as two separate linguistic codes. Although the language practices of the community were more in line with fluid 'translanguaging' as discussed in chapter 5, during interviews, people's views indicated an understanding of languages as bounded entities, each with its own attributes and suitability for certain contexts.

The example below is taken from an interview with Carlos, a Cape Verdean teenager who has been living in As Rocas for nearly ten years. Unlike many of the teachers who took part in this study, who were in their 40s and 50s and had first hand experience of the post-dictatorship revitalisation of Galician, Carlos has only known a context where Galician and Spanish are co-official languages (and everything that goes along with that such as the status of Galician in education, government etc.). Carlos has undertaken most of his schooling in As Rocas, and has not been in Cape Verde since he left almost

ten years ago. However, although his exposure to Galician in the school system has been almost on par with local children who have attended school in As Rocas since the age of four or five, Carlos says he feels more competent speaking in Spanish and reports that he does not usually speak Galician in day-to-day life. In the comment below, Carlos talks about how he doesn't 'really' speak Galician, but rather uses it with his friends '*de broma*' (as a joke). According to Carlos, within his social group, which includes Cape Verdean students and Galician students, Galician is only used when joking around. Carlos tells me that, from what he perceives, everyone in the community speaks Spanish, apart from '*los ancianos*' (old people) who speak Galician '*siempre*' (always).

### **Example 8.2 - Joking around**

E: y: con los amigos de aquí de [...] hay alguno con el que hablas en gallego?

C: mmm gallego: / no: / muchas veces hablamos gallego pero de broma sabes?

a: hacemos tonterías en gallego y estas cosas pero: hablar así no

E: y ellos entre ellos hablan en gallego o también hablan en español?

C: hablan en español también

E: sí? sí vale entonces tú la mayoría de la gente aquí en [...] qué idioma notas que hablan?

C: español menos los ancianos que hablan: gallego siempre

I: And with your friends who are from As Rocas, are there any with whom you speak Galician?

C: Em, Galician, no. A lot of the time we speak Galician but we're joking, you know? We joke around in Galician but we don't really speak it

I: And amongst themselves do they speak Galician or do they also speak in Spanish?

C: They speak in Spanish too

I: Yes? Ok so then most of the people here in As Rocas, what language do you hear them speak?

C: Spanish, except for old people who always speak Galician

The idea of a language being used only for 'joking around' is something that has been found in other linguistic contexts also (Chun, 2004; Hill, 1999, 1995; Ronkin and Karn, 1999; Rampton, 1995). Hill has used the terms 'junk Spanish' (Hill, 1995) and 'mock Spanish' (Hill, 1999) to refer to the process whereby monolingual English speakers in

the United States appropriate linguistic features of Spanish in daily interactions. These appropriations are used in a jocular way but can also be used as a form of ethnic stigmatisation. Hill (1999) argues that using ‘mock Spanish’ indirectly indexes ‘whiteness’ as ‘an unmarked normative order’. Hill’s work draws on the context of the United States and therefore differs from this study. However, in As Rocas, where students such as Carlos use ‘mock Galician’, or Galician ‘as a joke’, it could be posited that they perceive standard Spanish to be the, in Hill’s words, “unmarked normative order” or likewise, the ‘anonymous’ unmarked speech variety of the ‘everyman’ discussed by Woolard (2008).

Rampton’s (1995) ethnographic work, explores the linguistic practices of teenagers in England, using the term ‘crossing’ to describe “the use of Panjabi by youngsters of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean descent, the use of Creole by Anglos and Panjabis, and the use of stylized Indian English by all three” (Rampton, 1995, p.19). One of the findings of the study in South London was that “joking uses of Creole” by white and Asian teenagers “were much more common than serious ones, as well as being less likely to elicit black disapproval” (Rampton, 1995, p.53). In comparison with Rampton’s study, where creole is the minority language that is used to joke around, in As Rocas, for a student like Carlos, Galician is the corresponding minority language. Rather than claiming ownership of Galician, which is indexed by authenticity and perceived as a ‘local’ language belonging to the community, Carlos says he only uses Galician as a ‘joke’ but doesn’t ‘really’ speak it. The reasons why Carlos might report this are many. As discussed above, it could be due to the fact that he is rejecting the possibility of becoming a legitimate speaker of Galician, and limits his use of the local, authentic language to ‘just joking’. On the other hand, in addition to this, Carlos’s belief that Galician isn’t a language that he would speak in a serious context is reflective of his views of the value of Galician and its suitability for contexts other than informal, joking ones. The fact that in Galicia, Spanish has traditionally been the dominant language of prestige could be an influencing factor in determining Carlos’s language ideologies and therefore impact on his decision on how to employ his linguistic resources.

A further point to note in Carlos’s comment is his mention of ‘old people’, who ‘always’ use Galician. Previous studies on language use in Galicia have noted that the use of Galician among younger people is declining (O’Rourke, 2011a, 2014). This trend is reflected in Carlos’s comments, as he associates use of Galician with older

generations. Although Carlos's perception that 'everyone' other than 'old people' in As Rocas speaks Spanish may not be factually true, his perception of the situation is telling regarding the linguistic ideologies of younger people in the community, who see Spanish as the dominant language in the young community.

Despite the co-official status of Galician, and the support it received in the school environment in As Rocas as well as its relatively high level of use in daily life by the community, it was not a naturalised form of communication for Cape Verdean students like Carlos. In other words, deciding to speak Galician was a marked language choice, one that Carlos justified by stating that when he spoke Galician he was 'just joking around'. Another key issue at play is the inextricable link between Galician and the school ethos in As Rocas. As both schools were dedicated to championing the Galician language and were significantly involved in language promotion initiatives, the Galician language and the school were closely linked. Although Carlos was not a 'problematic' student, his rejection of Galician or his demoting of Galician to a language used only for joking, could be a reflection of his ambivalence towards school. As discussed in chapter 6, most Cape Verdean students do not achieve good academic results in As Rocas. This lack of academic success could provoke a rejection of the school environment on the part of immigrant students, and thus a rejection of the Galician language, which is integral to the school ethos. This rejection of a minority language, which is championed by the school, has been found in other language contexts also. In Nance's (2013) PhD study, teenage students in a Gaelic immersion school in Glasgow who were found to express ambivalent attitudes towards the school system as a whole were more likely to reject the Gaelic language due to its associations with the school as an institution.

#### **8.4.3 *Speaking Spanish to 'outsiders'***

While this study draws on issues specific to 21<sup>st</sup> century contexts of migration, many of the linguistic phenomena observed in the community of As Rocas have not deviated from the conclusions drawn from mid 20<sup>th</sup> century research. During my time in the field, as well as conducting interviews and non-participant classrooms observation, I observed people's language practices in daily encounters. As Miguel, a Galician teacher and local language activist, was the primary gatekeeper to this community, I spent most of my time in As Rocas speaking Galician. Galician was the language I used to initiate



conversations. Having spent ten years living in Galicia, and having undertaken a Galician language course in 2012, I have a high level of competence speaking Galician across a range of topics. However, despite what I perceive to be my proficiency in spoken Galician, and my enthusiasm to speak it, many people in the community in As Rocas addressed me in Spanish. For some people with whom I spoke, the initial formalities in the conversation were in Galician but then, a shift would take place and they would start speaking to me in Spanish. At times it was as if there was a gravitational pull making them speak Spanish to me, despite the fact that I was speaking Galician, and despite the fact that they themselves were habitual users of Galician. I raised this issue with some of the teachers whom I interviewed, many of whom laughed and acknowledged this as a familiar phenomenon. Many of them, Miguel included, explained that the practice of speaking Spanish to somebody who was considered ‘foreign’ stemmed from a desire to appear welcoming and respectful. A similar phenomenon has been documented in other minority language contexts. In the case of Wales, both Trosset (1986), and Crowe (1988, p.88) touch on these issues, with Crowe noting that the challenge for new speakers who wish to speak Welsh is not “drowning in Welsh [...] but finding a puddle of it in which to dip their feet”. This has also been found in the case of ‘edutourists’ in Galicia (students who travel to Galicia to attend Galician language courses) and their struggles to access Galician linguistic and cultural groups (O’Rourke and DePalma, 2016).

Similar issues related to the use of minority and dominant languages with people from outside the local community have been identified in the Catalan context (Pujolar, 2010). In Catalonia, although language revitalisation efforts that took place during and after the Spanish transition to democracy led to Catalan being the medium of instruction for most schools by the end of the 20th century (Woolard and Frekko, 2012), the practices of the local community still reflect those of many other minority language contexts, where speaking the minority language is seen only as appropriate with other ‘natives’ or members of the in-group (Pujolar, 2010). Pujolar argues that the language practices of many local Catalans are at odds with the objectives outlined in Catalan language policy, which increasingly aim to promote Catalan as a public language that can be accessed by all. The subsequent effect of these practices, both in Catalonia and Galicia, where locals tend to limit their use of the minority language to exchanges with other locals, and use Spanish as a lingua franca for use with other members of the community, is that immigrants show a preference for learning Spanish when they arrive as it is the

language they perceive to have the most communicative value. Furthermore, based on the language practices of the local community in As Rocas, it can be inferred that although Galician is the primary language of most of the population of As Rocas, diglossic practices and ideologies still exist, with Spanish maintaining the top position in the language hierarchy.

The example below is taken from a conversation I had with Miguel. In the excerpt Miguel is addressing me, explaining how ‘*ao ser estranxeira*’ (as a foreigner), I will see how many people speak to me in Spanish, despite my attempts to have a conversation in Galician. In the excerpt, Miguel questions why people from the local community, who are native speakers of Galician and use the language in their daily life, choose to speak Spanish with ‘foreigners’. Miguel proposes that the reasons for these language practices are rooted in ideologies about the superiority of the Spanish language and the corresponding inferiority of Galician. He says that people continue to see the use of Spanish as the best way to appear ‘*educado, respetuoso e acolledor*’ (educated, respectful and welcoming) when speaking to somebody from outside the community.

### **Example 8.3 - Showing respect**

M: entón e: ao ser estranxeira / observarás como: en moitos casos / aínda que *tú* fales en galego a persoa responderache en castelán sendo habitualmente galego falante entón / que pode pasar para que unha persoa galego falante habitual espontáneo e: (3”) falándolle *tú* en galego che responda en castelán?  
porque es estranxeira e ten que mostrarse e: educado *respetuoso* e acolledor contigo entón a millor maneira de mostrarse acolledor contigo é faládoche en castelán

M: As a foreigner, you will often see that when you speak to a person in Galician they will reply to you in Spanish even though they are Galician speakers. So why would a person who always speaks Galician answer you in Spanish when you speak to them in Galician? Because you are foreign they feel they have to show you that they are educated, respectful and welcoming. Therefore, the best way to do that is to speak to you in Spanish.

If what Miguel and other teachers say regarding the motivation for these practices is to be taken at face value, it implicitly indicates a lack of value for the Galician language, even amongst its native speakers. Moreover, this scenario is not unique to the Galician context, and has been documented in other language contexts, notably in the Irish context (O'Rourke, 2011c; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015). The low prestige awarded to Galician by its speakers acts as a hindrance to the sustainability of the language (Ramallo, 2012; Lorenzo Suárez, 2005; Rei Doval, 2007). Language revitalisation has done much to increase the status of Galician, at least in official domains such as education and politics (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008). Most significant for those working the education system in As Rocas is the heightened status of Galician in school settings. However, despite these changes, and the improved support for Galician at the institutional level, the ideologies of some members of the community are still anchored in diglossic ideas whereby Spanish is the dominant language of prestige and Galician is the colloquial, low-value, language of the home.

Pujolar (2009) explains the practice of speaking Catalan to immigrants in the Catalan contexts as “socially incongruent”. He found that

speaking Catalan to recent immigrants who obviously lack locally sanctioned forms of cultural capital is inconsistent with the position of this language in the local linguistic market. Therefore, speaking Catalan to immigrants does not entail so much communication problems, but is somehow socially incongruent (Pujolar, 2009, p.96).

Furthermore, drawing on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Pujolar explains how the deeply engrained ideologies of the local population make it difficult for them to change their linguistic practices, where they gravitate towards speaking the majority language to the non-local population: “The ‘habit’ or ‘habitus’ to speak Spanish to strangers is much more than a convention. It is an embodied disposition that is difficult for locals to change even if they wish to” (Pujolar, 2009, p.96).

In keeping with what I observed in As Rocas, it has been found that speakers make and vary “their choices of language in accordance with the identity of the addressee, regardless of the setting and topic” (Wei, 1994, p.10). In the case of As Rocas, I found that the identity of the addressee was a key factor in determining language choice. As

discussed above, whether or not the addressee was considered an insider or an outsider was influential over whether the speaker employed Galician or Spanish. Issues relating to the language choices made by members of the community were something I discussed at length with Miguel. He had many anecdotal examples of the language practices that took place in Galicia due to the historically complex sociolinguistic situation. Elaborating on the explanations Miguel provided in the above passage (where he attributed people's decision to speak Spanish to outsiders to a desire to seem respectful), in the example below he discusses the 'universality' that Spanish is perceived to have. Jokingly, Miguel says that people in As Rocas will speak Spanish to a Japanese person 'because they are Japanese'. The logic followed here is that, even though the Japanese person may only speak Japanese, people in the community instinctively think they will be better able to understand Spanish, as it is a global and 'universal' language.

#### **Example 8.4 - Spanish is universal**

M: ao non ser autóctono / hai algo na mentalidade colectiva / que que leva / a dirixirse a el en *castellano* porque non é de aquí porque teñen esa idea de que de que o *castellano* é universal entón un xaponés fálalle *castellano* porque é xaponés

M: Because they are not locals, there is something in the collective mentality that makes the locals address the immigrants in Spanish. The locals have this idea that Spanish is universal. Therefore, speak Spanish to a Japanese person because they're Japanese.

Miguel's view about people in As Rocas seeing Spanish as universal is supported by the practices that I observed and by the responses given by students in interviews. Indeed, many people (who considered me a foreigner) spoke to me in Spanish, and the students with whom I spoke frequently mentioned the value of Spanish at a national level and its communicative value as an international lingua franca. To draw on a marketing metaphor, it could be inferred from the data presented in this study that Spanish has been branded as an international product with global value, while Galician has been branded as an 'authentic' marker of local identity (Heller and Duchêne, 2012).

#### 8.4.4 *Linguistic proximity: A missed opportunity?*

As discussed in chapter 7, the ideologies and practices of the community in As Rocas were often inconsistent. Furthermore, as seen in chapter 5, the ideological underpinnings of educational policies set out by the Galician government are often at odds with the ideologies of the teaching community in As Rocas. This dissatisfaction and mismatch between government policies and the needs perceived by the community were the catalyst for the development of the Plan As Rocas language planning model. Added to the tensions between local government and the community, are differences in the language practices and ideologies of staff within the school in As Rocas. Although As Rocas is a town with a high level of Galician usage, and there is undeniably a concerted effort in both secondary schools to promote the Galician language, not all teachers share the same level of engagement with issues related to language and more specifically the linguistic integration of immigrants. Miguel, the gatekeeper to the community and a teacher very much involved in the development of the Plan As Rocas, had a personal interest in sociolinguistics and was very aware of the implications of language use with the Cape Verdean community in As Rocas. As a supporter of the Galician reintegrationist movement, discussed in chapter 3.6, which advocates use of Portuguese orthography when writing Galician and contends that Galician is closer linguistically and historically to Portugal than to Spain, Miguel promoted the use of Galician as a vehicle for the integration of Cape Verdean students, who already have knowledge of Portuguese. According to Miguel, the links to the Portuguese language that Cape Verdeans and Galicians have in common proved an opportunity for ‘easier’ integration in the community. However, due to the ideologies of many people in the community in As Rocas, which positioned Spanish as the dominant language for communication with outsiders, and Galician as the minority language for communication with members of the ‘ingroup’ (see discussion above), this opportunity was missed out on. Nevertheless, as Miguel is an advocate of the reintegrationist movement, his views about the suitability of the Galician language for ‘integrating’ the Cape Verdean community could be ideologically motivated. Although Cape Verdeans may have a facility for learning Galician, Spanish continues to be the language that holds more value on the international linguistic market. Thus, for immigrants who strive for social mobility, learning Spanish may in fact be more beneficial to them.

In the example below, Miguel reflects on the ‘missed opportunity’ that takes place during the initial welcome that students receive in his school. He explains how Cape Verdeans’ knowledge of Portuguese enables them to have a basic understanding of Galician, due to the lexical overlap between the two languages. He highlights that Cape Verdean students would be able to ‘*entender*’ (understand) and ‘*expresar*’ (express themselves), through the medium of Galician. However, he argues that it is due to a lack of awareness of this on the part of the administrative staff in the school, and because of the aforementioned diglossic ideologies which view Spanish as the most appropriate language for communication, that the initial welcoming process carried out by the school is done through the medium of Spanish.

### **Example 8.5 - Understanding Galician-Portuguese**

M: mais el ten un coñecemento / un coñecemento de galego-portugués mínimo

M: e: porta e: casa e: fame e:: comer beber e: brincar dormir

M: todas esas palabras o léxico básico el sabeo / aínda que non fose capaz de: / articular de articular e: frases si sería capaz desde o primeiro día de entender e o mesmo tempo e: // expresar o básico aínda que fose con palabras soltas mais nesa recepción / ó ser estranxeiro e: polo feito de ser estranxeiro e non haber experiencia a recepción que se que se fai non é por ningunha maldade é por por falta de experiencia entón] o primeiro que se lle fai é unha / recepción en castellano

M: But a Cape Verdean child has a basic language awareness, a minimum understanding of Galician-Portuguese. For example, words such as door, house, hunger, eat, drink, play, sleep, all of those words, the basic vocabulary, he has it. Even though he’s not able to articulate phrases, from the first day he would be able to understand and at the same time express himself, even if it was in broken words. However, because the child is considered a foreigner the school welcoming reception is given in Spanish. This not because of malice, but rather because of a lack of understanding.

Nonetheless, although Miguel stated that the administrative staff in the school in charge of organising welcoming receptions for Cape Verdean students ‘lack understanding’ about the linguistic proximity between Galician and Kriolu, this may not necessarily be correct. Most of the teachers with whom I spoke, including the teacher in the after

school classes organised by the council, made reference to the linguistic proximity between Galician and Kriolu. Thus, although the staff are aware of the closeness of the two languages, it could be that the diglossic ideologies into which the local community are socialised continue to orient them towards using Spanish in official domains.

The linguistic proximity between Galician and Portuguese that Miguel makes reference to was acknowledged by many Cape Verdean students too. As seen in Chapter 5.4.1, many Cape Verdean students reported that initial communication in As Rocas was greatly facilitated by their previous knowledge of Portuguese. Many said they felt that, in the first instance, Galician was easier for them to understand than Spanish. What Miguel highlights in the above comment is that despite the facility Cape Verdeans have for speaking and understanding Galician due to their knowledge of Portuguese, and the opportunity that this linguistic connection presents, the institutional practices of the school limit their prospects for utilizing their language repertoire. Because Spanish continues to be considered by some as the most suitable language for formal settings, Spanish is often the language used to conduct the welcome reception with immigrant students.

Notwithstanding, it is important to note that Miguel's comments are a reflection of his perception of the inadequacies of school policy. Furthermore, Miguel's experience relates to IES Primavera, as that is where he teaches. When speaking to Veronica, the guidance teacher in IES Margarita, she discussed the school's use of educational materials in Kriolu to facilitate the integration of Cape Verdean children in the school. These materials were sourced by Elvira, a teacher in IES Margarita who had visited Cape Verde and who had conducted research on the Cape Verdean education system. Elvira collected education materials during her time in Cape Verde and brought them back with her to be used in IES Margarita. While the efforts being made by staff in IES Margarita to acknowledge the existing linguistic resources of Cape Verdean students shows an awareness of and sensitivity to issues of language, it is still important to highlight that these efforts are based on personal initiative of certain members of staff.

The issues raised by Miguel in the above commentary also feed into previous discussions on the 'decapitalisation' of immigrant students. As seen in chapter 6, 'decapitalisation' is defined as 'acts of subtracting capital, such as the lack of valuation of students' previous schooling, languages and knowledge' (Martín Rojo, 2013, p.138).

In this context, while Cape Verdean students have a facility for understanding Galician due to the similarities it shares with Portuguese and Kriolu, the host community's diglossic practices prevent them from capitalising on their existing knowledge. Moreover, the school's decision to conduct welcoming receptions in Spanish impacts on the perceptions of the newly arrived immigrants: from the first instance the school presents Spanish as the language of prestige.

However, counter to this argument, it could be posited that in choosing to speak Spanish instead of Galician, the Cape Verdean students are exercising their own agency, and are capitalising by shedding themselves of varieties they perceive to have low prestige (such as Kriolu and Galician) and adopting Spanish, a language perceived to have more value on the national and international linguistic market which may allow them the opportunity to gain more capital in the future.

#### ***8.4.5 Comparisons with Cape Verde***

As discussed previously in this chapter, language planning initiatives have gone a long way in attempting to change the low prestige status of the Galician language. However, my interview data shows that dominant ideologies about the prestige of Spanish are still prominent amongst members of the host and immigrant community in As Rocas. In the example below, Elvira, a Spanish teacher in As Rocas, discusses the diglossia she perceives within the community. In this extract, I ask Elvira specifically whether she perceives there to be diglossic practices in the community. Therefore, the fact that this topic arose in the conversation was led by me as a researcher. However, my reasons for broaching this topic stemmed from the fact that I heard many teachers make reference to diglossia when discussing the sociolinguistic situation in As Rocas. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, diglossia is a term that appears frequently in academic sociolinguistic discussions about Galicia.

In her comments (in example 8.6 below), Elvira makes reference to the diglossic practices she perceives both amongst members of teaching staff in the school and amongst the immigrant community. She explains how, if a conversation is taking place in Galician, and one person begins speaking Spanish, then the other speakers will immediately switch to speaking Spanish. Elvira, in line with Miguel's comments



discussed previously, attributes this process to people's desire to appear 'courteous'. The historical status of Spanish, where it was traditionally the language spoken by the dominant, educated classes, could be an influencing factor in people gravitating to the use of Spanish instead of Galician when wanting to seem courteous. Elvira also argues that beliefs about the value and prestige of Spanish are also apparent in the language practices of the immigrant community. It could be posited that the situation of diglossia in Cape Verde, an issue that will be discussed further in this chapter, could be an influencing factor in their preconceptions about the value of languages, as during their time in Cape Verde they may have been socialised into the norms of diglossia, where two co-existing language varieties hold different levels of prestige.

### **Example 8.6 - Diglossic practices**

E: e *tú* ves que hai diglosia aquí no instituto? que: hai prácticas diglósicas?

L: eu creo que si [...] e: hai prácticas na: diglósicas por exemplo: cos compañeiros *cuando* falamos eu son / creo que son das poucas das que manteño o galego cando falo: sempre que hai e: entre dúas persoas un diálogo acaba predominando se o outro fala castelán o outro por esa razóns que sempre falamos de educación: de cortesía [...] acaba falando tamén o castelán [...] eu creo que si que hai algunha práctica que ao mellor aínda que pareza que oficialmente hai coma unha especie de idealización da situación de aquí [...] e: vese por exemplo no alumnado inmigrante como: chega aquí y: sobre todo o alumnado caboverdiano: aca o o alumnado *brasileño* que vías o outro día na clase *no?* [...] acaban tendo unha tendencia polo castellan [...] e iso non é: gratuíto [...] iso é *bueno* porque hai unha información no ambiente na televisión: fóra

E: si si entón *crees* que é máis polas ideoloxías que atopan aquí:

L: eu creo *bueno* como todos si percíbeno aínda que non sexa explícito

I: do you think diglossia exists in this school, that there are diglossic practices?

E: I think so, yes. There are diglossic practices. For example, when I speak to my colleagues in Galician I'm one of the few that continues speaking Galician regardless of who is present. Whenever there are two people speaking, if one of them speaks Spanish then that is the language that dominates. It's for the reasons we talked about, seeming educated, courteous [...] they always end up speaking Spanish [...] I think that there are still diglossic practices here even though

officially it might seem like there is some sort of idealisation of the situation here [...] this is seen for example in the way the immigrant students who arrive here, especially the Cape Verdean students or the Brazilian student you met in class the other day [...] they end up being more inclined towards Spanish [...] and that doesn't come from nowhere [...] that because there is a message communicated on the television, in their environment...

I: so you think that it's because of the ideologies they perceive here?

E: I think that they perceive, it even if it's not explicit

In her comments, Elvira is critical of what she feels is the “*idealización da situación de aquí*” (idealisation of the situation here). By the ‘idealisation’ Elvira is referring to the fact that As Rocas is often presented in the local media as a ‘sociolinguistic paradise’ where Galician is resisting the shift to Spanish that has been seen in other parts of Galician. Notwithstanding, it is true that the level of Galician used in As Rocas is higher than in most other Galician towns, and that the use of Galician has been maintained both by the geographic isolation of the town and most recently by the revitalisation and maintenance initiatives conducted by members of the local community. Irrefutably, As Rocas is a town where much effort has been dedicated to the promotion of Galician. However, what Elvira points out, is that the diglossic ideologies that characterised 20<sup>th</sup> century Galician society are still evident in As Rocas today. Elvira explains that the Cape Verdean students, and other immigrant students, demonstrate an ‘inclination’ for learning Spanish. Alluding to the issue of diglossia, in relation to immigrants’ preference for speaking Spanish, Elvira says that ‘*iso no é gratuito*’ (it doesn't come from nowhere), implying that immigrant students are picking up on the prejudices about language that already exist in the society in As Rocas.

It could indeed be argued that immigrants’ perception about the value of language is influenced by the practices of the community. In the Catalan context it has been argued that a reluctance on the part of the local community to speak Catalan to immigrants transmits ideas about the communicative value and accessibility of Catalan (Pujolar, 2010). However, what is further salient when examining the case of Cape Verdean students in As Rocas is the existing linguistic profile of Cape Verdeans. Cape Verde is a country that also has a history of language hierarchies. As a former Portuguese colony, Cape Verde has Portuguese as its official language.

However, a Portuguese Creole known as Kriolu is the language spoken by most of the population. (See chapter 4 for more information on the sociolinguistic situation in Cape Verde). In Cape Verde, Portuguese is the high (H) language, and Kriolu is the low (L) language. Similar to the revitalisation process that took place in Galicia, language planners in Cape Verde are working towards the standardisation of Kriolu as part of Cape Verdean nation building. Nevertheless, it may be that the situation of diglossia in Cape Verde is influential on the language choices made by Cape Verdean students in Galicia. In the example below, Ana, a Cape Verdean student, discusses her perceptions of the dynamics between Portuguese and Kriolu in Cape Verde. She explains that Kriolu is what *'todo o mundo'* (everybody) speaks, although Portuguese is the official language. Ana explains that Portuguese is seen as a favourable asset in the education system and is acknowledged as being valuable as a second language. Kriolu, on the other hand, according to Ana *'queda un pouco'* (come across a bit...). At this point in the interview Ana made a gesture as if to imply that using Kriolu might come across as less prestigious than Portuguese, which she says is valued in the education system.

**Example 8.7 - Portuguese comes across better**

A: o portugués é o idioma oficial de Cabo Verde pero aínda: se fala o criol que: o o fala todo o mundo pero queda un pouco {chisca} e: o portugués queda máis así para cando van a escola e tal para ter un segundo idioma [que non

A: Portuguese is the official language of Cape Verde but Kriolu is what is spoken. Everyone speaks Kriolu but it's a bit... Portuguese comes across better when people go to school and to have a second language

The idea introduced here by Ana, where one language variety is perceived as prestigious and valuable in official settings such as education, and the other variety is seen as uncouth, taps into diglossic ideologies. Ana, although noting that Kriolu is what 'everyone' speaks, believes that it lacks value in educational settings, when compared to Portuguese. For her, Portuguese, a standardised language which is endorsed by the government, 'comes across better'. Here we see how, for Ana, the state acts as a legitimising authority for language.

Ana's comments about the value of languages in Cape Verde indicate many similarities with the situation in Galicia. Although efforts to promote Kriolu are still in their initial stages in Cape Verde, both sociolinguistic contexts have commonalities. It could be posited that Cape Verdeans, who already perceive themselves as speakers of a stigmatised language (Kriolu), and who may view the linguistic situation in As Rocas along a traditional H/L dichotomy, are not interested in learning another language, which they perceive as lacking in value. Furthermore, Ana mentions the value that is attributed to Portuguese as a 'second language' and language of the school. This comment is indicative of an awareness of the value of multilingualism. For Cape Verdeans, it could be that Spanish takes the place of the valuable asset in a multilingual repertoire and therefore the language that Cape Verdean students are most motivated to speak.

## **8.5 Conclusion**

Drawing on previous theoretical discussions of diglossia, this chapter has examined the complexities of language hierarchies in the community of As Rocas. It has explored how, although the day-to-day language practices of the community in As Rocas are characterised by fluidity, the ideologies of the people who were interviewed reflected views of languages as separate 'parallel' entities. This chapter showed how, despite top-down and grassroots efforts to improve the status of Galician, the devaluation of Galician that was maintained during the Franco dictatorship (which lasted more than thirty years), are still present in the ideologies of some members of the teaching community in As Rocas. Consequently, the ideologies held by the local community, which at times privilege Spanish and devalue Galician, are transmitted to the Cape Verdean community. This creates an environment where diglossic ideologies are reproduced and maintained by the immigrant community, despite them not having first hand experience of Galician society under Franco's rule.

Furthermore, the linguistic situation in Cape Verde, and its relevance for understanding the linguistic integration of Cape Verdeans in Galicia was discussed. Cape Verde too has experienced struggles regarding the status of its languages. Portuguese has been the dominant and official language, whilst Kriolu is the language of the community, used primarily for oral communication. It could be posited that, as speakers of a stigmatised

language (Kriolu), Cape Verdeans approach language learning in Galicia with their own set of ideologies about the value of multilingualism, showing a preference for Spanish as the dominant language of the community. Thus, as seen in this chapter, the pressures that orient Cape Verdean students towards Spanish are two fold: the language ideologies of the community indicate to them the superiority of Spanish, and their own experience with language hierarchies in Cape Verde appear to confirm this for them.

The following and final chapter is dedicated to discussing the findings of this research and situating them within the wider field of research. It will present a recapitulation of the aims and objectives of the research and restate the research questions. Following this, the final chapter will discuss how this research project contributes to current academic scholarship in the field of sociolinguistics. Drawing on the findings of the study, the final chapter will make specific recommendations for teachers and policy makers. Finally, the limitations of the study will be presented and linked to possible directions for future research.

## **Chapter 9- Conclusion**

### **9.1 Recapitulation of aims, research questions and findings**

The purpose of this research was to examine the language practices and ideologies of teachers and Cape Verdean students in two Galician secondary schools. This study explored the challenges that immigrant ‘new speakers’, who are in the process of acquiring new linguistic resources and negotiating their identity, face in daily life. It looked at how ideologies of linguistic authority (Woolard, 2008, 2016) impact new speakers’ position as ‘legitimate’ speakers (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover, it examined how questions of legitimacy and authenticity can impact immigrant new speakers’ access to certain linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1991; Pujolar, 2007).

In line with this, and as presented in chapter 1, the research questions this thesis addressed were as follows:

- What are the challenges that are faced by immigrants who are in the process of acquiring new linguistic resources and negotiating their identity?
- How do language ideologies of linguistic authority impact immigrants’ position as ‘legitimate’ speakers?
- How can acceptance as a legitimate speaker (or indeed having access to the legitimate language) impact access to social capital?

The first question that the thesis sought to explore related to the challenges that Cape Verdean immigrants, as ‘new speakers’, face in As Rocas. As discussed in detail in chapters 5-8, there were challenges born out of inadequate or oppressive language policies (for example the Order of 20th February 2004 and the Welcome Plan of 2005); challenges presented by deep-rooted ideologies about the prestige and value of language; and challenges due to institutionalised processes that ‘decapitalise’ immigrant students.

The second research question dealt with the issue of ideologies of linguistic authority, and how they impacted Cape Verdean students' position as legitimate speakers. One of the themes to emerge from my ethnographic analysis of the schools in As Rocas was the impact that ideologies of linguistic authority have on the way in which linguistic ideologies are promoted within the official school curriculum. I found that Cape Verdeans themselves - who at times positioned themselves as not-legitimate speakers - were often deterred from speaking Galician or capitalising on their knowledge of the Portuguese language. Moreover, I found that the long engrained ideologies of diglossia that Cape Verdeans and Galicians are socialised into in As Rocas contributed to feelings that Galician is not as valuable as Spanish.

The final research question was concerned with immigrants' access to social capital, and the challenges immigrants face in being accepted as legitimate speakers. Indeed, the academic achievement of immigrant students, when compared to their Galician counterparts is lower. Moreover, the immigrant community continue to occupy lower paid and more precarious employment. However, the findings suggest that community engagement and the development of the Plan As Rocas has meant that, although there is a documented disparity in academic achievement between locals and immigrants, this is something that the education community in As Rocas wish to address, and is an issue that they have at the forefront of their planning initiatives. Through various initiatives that promote intercultural recognition, the Plan As Rocas has made great efforts to overcome the institutionalised challenges presented to the immigrant community. They have also engaged in the promotion of linguistic diversity in order to challenge hierarchised views of language.

## **9.2 Relationship to previous research**

As Blommaert (2016, p.245) notes, increased migration has created 'highly complex' and 'messy' sociolinguistic contexts which have impacted contemporary societies. The 'hybrid' nature of language in Galicia, due to centuries of contact between Galician and Spanish (as discussed in chapter 3), coupled with the multilingual profile of Cape Verdeans who speak Portuguese and Kriolu, are an example of such 'messy' sociolinguistic phenomena. The theoretical approach taken in this research is in line with that proposed by researchers such as Blommaert, Pennycook and Makoni, and

García and Wei (discussed in chapter 2), who argue that there has been a shift in sociolinguistic theory, where language is no longer necessarily seen as ‘bounded’ and definable in relation to a speech community, but rather is seen as a fluid set of resources. This research, then, contributes to the scholarship that documents this shift in sociolinguistic theory. The way in which languages circulate in the community in As Rocas demonstrates that conceptualizing languages as separate and bounded entities does not accurately describe the complexity of language practices in context of language contact and migration. While this assertion is not new, the research conducted with Cape Verdean immigrant students in As Rocas builds on previous research that calls for new conceptualisations of language in the 21st century.

The findings of this study indicate that the sociolinguistic situation in As Rocas is dynamic, and is characterised by fluid ‘linguaging’ practices. However, despite this, the discourse presented by both teachers and Cape Verdean students in As Rocas was still in line with ideologies that view bilingualism as speaking two separate codes, free from interference. In academic discourse, such assumptions of bilingualism as ‘keeping two languages apart’ (Haugen, 1956, p.155) have gradually been rejected (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985; Romaine, 1995). Therefore, this research has found that the discourse of the people who are experiencing linguistic diversity in their daily lives in As Rocas, is at odds with discourses put forward by post-modern academic scholars, who argue for a ‘sociolinguistics of resources’ (Blommaert, 2010). The discourse of the teachers and students in As Rocas is more in line with previous academic discussions of multilingualism that is characterised by conceptualizing languages as separate entities and presents ‘interference’ between languages and problematic. Indeed, both Cape Verdeans students and Galician teachers often disparaged their linguistic abilities due to interference from the other languages in their repertoire.

By moving away from thinking of languages as distinct codes, scholars wish to highlight how drawing boundaries around languages is inherently related to questions of power (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015; García and Wei, 2014): Who gets to draw the boundary? Who is included? Who is excluded? As Blommaert (2010) notes, considering linguistic phenomena in contexts of globalisation also entails engaging with issues of power and social justice. Therefore, as García and Wei (2014) highlight, thinking about language in new ways, intersects with thinking about “the asymmetries of power” that language produces. This research, then, supports the theoretical



assumptions proposed by aforementioned scholars, and uses their conceptual frameworks to understand the interconnectedness of language and power in two schools in As Rocas. The findings of this research demonstrate how language is used as a tool to draw boundaries within the school, deciding what does or doesn't count as 'legitimate knowledge' (Patiño-Santos et al., 2015).

Power imbalances have also been central to criticisms of approaches to the integration of immigrants. Blommaert & Verschueren (1998a, p. 15) argue that in the 'management' of linguistic and cultural diversity, "the 'managed' have little say". Rather, the minority group are 'managed' by the dominant group, with assimilation as the main aim in integration. By exploring the social inequalities apparent in the schools in As Rocas, this research showed the perspective of the 'managed'. It looked at how mechanisms for 'managing' diversity directly impacted the immigrant community. The ideological motivations for the creating of policies for managing linguistic diversity have been prominent in academic debates (Hogan-Brun et al., 2009; Piller, 2001a; Blommaert, 1999). Blommaert and Verschueren introduce the term "dogma of homogeneity" to refer to ideologies that view "differences as dangerous" (1998b, p.194). This present study explored the ideological underpinnings of the Plan As Rocas grassroots language planning model. It found that the ideologies behind the Plan As Rocas were not aligned with "dogma of homogeneity". Rather, those who were involved in the planning and implementation of the Plan As Rocas aimed to challenge what they perceived as the domination of the Spanish language and carve out spaces that celebrated linguistic plurality.

Interestingly, the linguistic diversity that the Plan As Rocas aimed to promote was in many ways at odds with the ideologies purported in other context of minority language revitalisation. As O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013) point out, minority language revitalisation movements in 20th century Europe often drew on the ideologies about language and identity that led to their oppression in the first place. Moreover, O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013) note that in such revitalisation movements, 'saving' the native speaking community has been seen as key to saving the language. In this respect, the ideologies of the Plan As Rocas differ from other minority language revitalisation movements. The Plan As Rocas positions Cape Verdean students as potential 'new speakers' of Galician. It bolsters this position by arguing that the linguistic background

of Cape Verdean students (as speakers of Portuguese and Kriolu) presents a facility for this immigrant community to become ‘new speakers’ of Galician.

As discussed throughout the thesis, the ‘new speaker’ label marks a move away from thinking of languages as separate codes, and speakers of languages as either native or non-native. It breaks away from the ‘deficiency’ that is implicit in terms such as non-native. Moreover, the new speaker label has been developed to describe new profiles of speakers that have emerged in a society that is increasing mobile and linguistically diverse. This study contributes to these discussions by showing how migration and language intersect, creating contexts where previous conceptualisations of language, and previous categories of speakers, are no longer fitting. The ‘new speaker’ label challenges dominant ideologies and provides a new way to look at language in contemporary society (Puigdevall, 2014). Thus, the ‘new speaker’ concept provides a useful lens through which to explore the sociolinguistic dynamics in the schools in As Rocas, where the arrival of Cape Verdean immigrants has changed the linguistic climate of the schools.

As many researchers before have noted, failure in mastering the legitimate language variety that is promoted in the education system can lead to students being classed as ‘deficient’ (Gorski, 2011; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Martín Rojo, 2010; Allard et al., 2014). However, paradoxically, the school is positioned as an institution where the ‘legitimate’ language can be accessed by all (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Social inequalities are therefore justified by presenting the legitimate language as ‘democratically accessible’ through schooling (Heller and Duchêne, 2012, p.4). The findings of this research support these propositions - Cape Verdean students were at times positioned as ‘deficient’ and assigned to separate classes because of their lack of ‘competence’ in Spanish or Galician. Moreover, the discourses of some teachers pointed to ‘cultural differences’ as reasons to justify the poor academic outcomes of students.

### **9.3 Recommendations for teachers and policy makers**

In light of the above, the findings of this thesis present two key considerations for teachers and policy makers working in multilingual classrooms. From a theoretical perspective, the findings of this thesis suggest that a ‘reconceptualisation’ of language,

from seeing languages as bounded units to thinking of a ‘translanguaging’ repertoire could have positive implications and be helpful in understanding new linguistic phenomena in 21st century classrooms. This research supports the call from scholars such as García (2009) and García and Wei (2014) to fully employ students’ linguistic repertoire in the classroom in order to improve their learning outcomes. However, as García and Wei have concluded before me, there is still a long way to go as far as ‘reconceptualising’ language is concerned, and practical applications of these ideologies in classrooms are far from straightforward. My study offers suggestive evidence to support the use of new pedagogical methods in the classrooms in As Rocas. The work of scholars such as García (2009) and Creese & Blackledge (2010), who have applied ‘translanguaging’ pedagogy in their classrooms, could be drawn on.

This brings me to the second, and perhaps more practical recommendation that could be proposed in light of the findings of this present study. As mentioned throughout this thesis, the low academic achievement of immigrant students is an issue both in As Rocas and in other contexts of immigration. The measures in place for coping with linguistic diversity, such as the segregation of students, contribute to the decapitalisation process. Use of ‘adapted’ curricular materials in these segregated classrooms can lead to inconsistency between the capital provided in the classroom, and the capital needed to compete on the economic and linguistic market. The Plan As Rocas has made efforts to counter decapitalisation and to foster interculturality and multi-directional integration. However, lack of funding and resources has put a limit to the achievements that can be made. One of the most obvious resources that is lacking is material for teaching Galician as a second language. To date, most pedagogical materials for Galician language teaching are aimed at Galician students who are assumed to be proficient speakers of Spanish. A focus on developing Galician materials for non-Spanish speaking students would be a welcome measure in schools such as those in As Rocas that often rely on simplified primary school resources to teach Galician to Cape Verdean teenagers. While language has been a key issue in the development of the Plan As Rocas, and has also been addressed explicitly in policies developed by the Galician autonomous government, this study shows that there is scope for developing language teaching for immigrant students further, and dedicating resources to schools such as those in As Rocas who show an abundance of interest in developing, but are in many ways lacking in funding and institutional support.

#### **9.4 Limitations of the study and directions for future research**

The benefit of outlining the limitations of this research is that they, in turn, pave the way for potential future research. The first limitations that will be addressed are methodological ones. This study was carried out over three field trips. Although, increasingly, ethnography is done in new ways, the fragmented nature of my field trips must be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the opportunity to enter and exit the field allowed time for reflection on the data. Having some distance from the participants and from the research sites could have potentially improved my abilities to critically analyse situations when I was conducting the research. Another issue worth considering is the selection of participants. The selection was done through snowball sampling method. However, the members of the teaching staff with whom I spoke were those who had a friendly relationship with Miguel, the gatekeeper. Miguel was central to the development of the Plan As Rocas and a Galician language advocate. This could possibly indicate that the teachers with whom I spoke were sympathetic to Miguel's views, and therefore the data should be seen within this context.

This present study looked at a limited section of the population of As Rocas, that being Cape Verdean students and secondary school teachers. There is potential to widen the scope of the research by collecting more ethnographic data which encapsulates a broader section of the population. The language practices of teenagers take place at a period in their life that is characterised by change. Looking at the language practices of adult members of the community could give insight into how those outside the education context approach language learning in their new community.

The students who took part in this study were all nearing completion of their secondary education. Conducting a longitudinal study, and investigating their linguistic trajectories as they transition from school to employment or other endeavours, could shed light on how their language ideologies develop over time. It would also give a more complex picture of how the 'decapitalisation' process works - What type of employment sectors are Cape Verdeans accessing? Are they continuing to third level education? Moreover, what linguistic demands are placed on them in their working lives?

## 9.5 Concluding remarks

It has been noted that since the economic crisis of 2008, immigrants in Galicia have been in many ways overlooked at policy level (Recalde Fernández and Silva Domínguez, 2016) and provision for the social integration of migrants has been deemed to have been implemented in a rushed, reactive fashion (Silva Domínguez and Recalde, 2012). Although migration to Galicia has slowed down since the recession, it is likely that the many immigrants who are in Galicia will stay there for a long time, maybe even indefinitely (Recalde Fernández and Silva Domínguez, 2016). Therefore, the role that immigrants play in Galician society continues to be important. It is important to investigate their participation in social life; language plays a crucial role in this matter. As this study has shown, through its limited exploration of two Galician schools, having access to the ‘legitimate’ language in a community has implications for participation and success within the education system. The Plan As Rocas highlights the importance of language both in the school and in the broader community, and has engaged teachers and students in many activities that celebrate linguistic diversity. However, the linguistic *habitus* of the schools in As Rocas in many ways is dominated by ideologies of monolingualism. Dominant ideologies that are deeply engrained in society, and which those in As Rocas are socialised into, often lead to Cape Verdean students being categorised as ‘deficient’ due to not having access to what is considered ‘legitimate knowledge’ within the school system. This study presented the perspective of the Cape Verdean students in As Rocas. While the Plan As Rocas was developed by the majority group, this study presented the point of view of the minority. It demonstrated that, for Cape Verdean students, language was seen as an important factor in social mobility. To that end, many Cape Verdean students showed a preference for speaking Spanish, as they saw it as offering them more potential in future linguistic markets. Moreover, Galician was often positioned by Cape Verdeans as the language of the ‘other’, while Spanish was positioned as more universally accessible. This thesis drew strongly on Woolard’s (2008, 2016) contrasting concepts of authenticity and anonymity to make this point.

The education system plays just one part in the socialisation and language trajectory of students. The access that Cape Verdeans in As Rocas have to health and social services, the economic opportunity of immigrant students’ families, and their access to child care and afterschool programmes, for example, are also important factors to consider when

examining social inequality and academic achievement gaps within a community. As established by this study, Cape Verdean students continue to underperform academically when compared to their Galician classmates. This study has highlighted, specifically, how language (and language ideologies) in the school context can play a factor in such outcomes. Hopefully this thesis will benefit future research, and could lead to the amelioration of social situations for both immigrant and host communities alike. Immigration is at the forefront of many political debates in the present day; therefore, research such as this study highlights the complexities of language and migration not just in the small town of As Rocas, but can also be applied to other similar contexts of across contemporary European societies.

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