

**(Re)-Creating, Interpreting and Appropriating Portuguese
Language Policies in the UK**

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Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that this work is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others this is clearly indicated.

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31 July 2021

To David and Bernardo

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I deeply value the encouragement and emotional strength I receive from my family. My parents, Orlando and São, and my brother, Pedro, are always there for me.

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Abstract

Situated as it is at the intersection of national and international educational policies and practices, state institutions and policy agents at various levels of social and institutional activity, the provision of Portuguese language in schools in England is a particularly interesting case of language policy research as it evidences many of the tensions in the field. The fate of the language provision complies with a particular legal framework which is centrally formulated in Portugal and is then (re)-created, interpreted and appropriated by a network of teachers and their administrator in their day-to-day interactions with head teachers, teachers, pupils and parents in the UK. With the context of language learning in England as a backdrop to the implementation of Portuguese language policies, this study sets out to understand the relationship between the discourses within the Portuguese legal framework – the macro-level of policy creation – and their interpretation and appropriation by a group of four Portuguese teachers and their administrator – the micro and meso levels of policy deployment. Shedding a brighter light on these relationships will help us understand how opportunities are created for Portuguese language learning. It is hoped that studying Portuguese language provision as a resource to schools in England will contribute to improving and incrementing its delivery as well as that of other less-commonly taught languages.

This is an ethnography of language policy (McCarty 2011). As such, it combines analysis of macro-level official policy texts with ethnographic collection and analysis of data from the meso and micro levels of policy enactment. The study is based on the theoretical assumption that language policies can be instruments of power and control (Tollefson 1991, Shohamy 2006), but they can also be instruments of empowerment (Hornberger 2006). They can set discursive and structural boundaries on what languages and language varieties can be learned, who can learn them and how. But they can also promote and protect language learning and linguistic diversity and empower minority language users. An official language policy is but one element in a complex, multi-layered and interactively constructed process of multi-levelled social and institutional activity. After detailed analysis of the Portuguese legal framework, the study reports on two years of ethnographic data collection involving the use of timelines (Adriansen 2012) and in-depth three-part interviews (Bagnoli 2009, McCarty 2015) with four Portuguese teachers and their senior administrator. The collection of data also included participant and non-participant observation of the work of these four teachers in their schools. It was all documented in field notes, audio-recordings and photographs.

The analysis of the legal framework evidenced significant discursive turning points and problematised the construction of Portuguese as “a great language of international communication” (Decree-Law nº 65-A/2016 of 25 October 2016), aimed at a diverse audience of learners. While the broadening policy discourses are a source of tension (Keating et al. 2014), the findings of the empirical study evidenced disparity in the interpretation and appropriation of the legal framework. For example, the teachers’ engagement with the official policy goals, which will be explored throughout this thesis, was found to be only partial and each teacher had their own individual take on the policy’s intentions and scope. It was also shown how different ideological and structural forces combined to facilitate or constrain opportunities for Portuguese language learning. Thus, the research emphasised the importance of considering the interaction between official language policy discourses and the individual, structural and ideological circumstances (Priestley et al. 2015, Liddicoat 2018) impacting their interpretation and appropriation by its agents (Johnson 2013a), namely teachers and their senior administrators. The conclusion contends for wider participation and collaboration between the Portuguese teachers and their senior administrators, both in England and Lisbon, engaging together in the process of language policy making.

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List of Abbreviations

CEFRL	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CPLP	Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa / Community of Countries with Portuguese as an Official Language
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education (England)
DL	Decree-Law
EC	European Council
EU	European Union
GCSE	General Certificate for Secondary Education
IT	Information Technology
JEN	Junta de Educação Nacional / National Education Board (Portugal)
LPP	Language Planning and Policy
MFL	Modern Foreign Languages
PALOP	Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa / African Countries with Portuguese as an Official Language
QuaREPE	Quadro de Referência para o Ensino Português no Estrangeiro / Framework of Reference for the Teaching of Portuguese Abroad

Chapter 1: Introduction

Language is something most of us take for granted most of the time; it is usually when we discover that our language (or language variety) is different from, and perhaps less valued than, the language of others, or that our options are somehow limited, either because we don't speak / understand a language or language variety, or use it inappropriately or ineffectively in a particular context, that we begin to pay attention to language.

Ricento (2006:21)

Genesis

I have always been a passionate learner of languages. I believe that languages allow us access to the hearts of other people and their cultures and to intercultural empathy. This dissertation study, like most dissertation studies for that matter, arises from personal and professional passions, experiences and concerns; therefore, and since this is a study about people and their relationship with languages, language teaching and education, it is prudent to start by disclosing my own relationship with these matters.

I am a native Portuguese speaker born in Portugal. In school, I studied English, French and German – they were the available foreign languages. I elected to carry on studying Portuguese and English at university – regrettably, these are the only languages I can work in. I have many times found myself learning a few words in a new language, as a preparation for or as a result of some intercultural encounter. I have attended many language night classes and purchased a fair sum of ‘teach yourself’ courses in Spanish, French, Italian, Polish, Greek and Bulgarian. I even met my husband in a French class, in Jersey. But it was not until I came to teach Portuguese to children of a Portuguese-speaking background living in Bournemouth, England, that I began to *pay attention* to language in the ‘Ricentian’ sense (opening quotation).

I came to Bournemouth in 2001 and have since spent a total of twenty-one years living and teaching in England and Jersey. Teaching a Portuguese Language and Culture course to children in Bournemouth was my first job after qualifying to be a teacher in a Portuguese University. My first ever students’ life stories were shaded by strong emotions of sadness due to separation from family members and friends, frustration with the need to adjust to the

realities of life and schooling in a new country, but also excitement about the present and hope for a better future (these stories were not specific to my students, see Abreu & Lambert, 2003:40). Many lived in poor housing conditions and their parents worked long hours. Their schooling experience was shaped by their relationship with language: Portuguese, their heritage language, anchored their identity to an often misunderstood and *perhaps less valued* culture of origin; and English, the language of vehicular education, promised access to a brighter future. The Portuguese Language and Culture courses offered by the Portuguese Government afforded them solace and a dearly cherished link to their country of origin.

The courses were centrally funded and organised by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. They were regionally managed by a coordinator whose office was set up in London. This office was referred to as *Coordenação de Ensino Português no Reino Unido e Ilhas do Canal* (Portuguese Education Department in the United Kingdom and Channel Islands) and managed a network of around 30 teachers. Courses took place after school hours, in classrooms or libraries of mainstream public schools and included children of different ages and proficiencies from various schools in the area. During that school year, it became clear to me that, apart from the shared premises, there was no connection between those classes and the school. Most mainstream teachers were not aware that these children were formally learning their home language. In fact, this part of their lives was candidly ignored in the context of mainstream education. I realised then that *community languages*, meaning whatever language(s) may be that children carry in their young repertoires, were to be kept for weekends and for after school hours only. The picture below is illustrative of this with the arrow pointing to a back door.

Figure 1: Photograph taken during a visit to a school.



My teaching experiences in Bournemouth were the starting point of my interest in issues around bi/multilingualism and intercultural understanding. Inspired by the principles and policies of Kymlicka's (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship*, I reflected about the challenges of multiculturalism for education (Verguete 2007) and argued for the need to develop intercultural awareness in pedagogical practices (Council of Europe have published widely on this subject, see for e.g. Byram et al. 2002). A perspective that would help students develop an 'overarching set of values' and allow them to forge their individual identity (Appiah 1994) and function in the national culture and community, in cultural communities other than their own, and in the global community (Banks 2004).

In 2008, I came back to the UK to teach Portuguese Language and Culture courses once again, only this time on the island of Jersey. At first, I worked for the Portuguese Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; later the Camões Institute took over the management of the courses. This time I stayed for seven years on Jersey, teaching Portuguese from Key Stage 3 through to Further Education, both in curricular and extracurricular contexts. At one point, I also became involved with marking and setting the Portuguese GCSE and A Level national exams. Mainly, I divided my time between four schools: three of the four mainstream secondary schools on the island and a college. The school that I got to know better and felt more part of was the one where I spent more time. I would go to this school most mornings to give learning support for recently arrived pupils and stayed until my extracurricular after school classes. In the process, I got to know everyone, from the head teacher to the caretakers, and I grew increasingly attached to the school. I went to the possible and relevant MFL meetings, open days, assemblies, proms, dinner dos, the usual school routines. In collaboration with other colleagues, we developed linguistic and cultural activities that brought the Portuguese community and the school closer together. I remember opening ceremonies for Portuguese courses in the beginning of the school year, Christmas gastronomic contests with sponsorship from local businesses, a project called Successful Portuguese, bringing into school young, qualified members of the community to act as role models, I even got to advertise and market Portuguese in the local radio & TV. Time and time again, I found myself involved in negotiating better links between my classes and the school, in developing closer collaboration with my mainstream colleagues, and even in negotiating Portuguese into the school's curriculum. In fact, I still consider it one of my major professional achievements to have contributed to the integration of a Portuguese GCSE course into the curriculum of one school and introducing Portuguese A Level into one of the colleges. This experience in Jersey really helped me understand the vital role of the Portuguese teacher as a

micro-level language policymaker – a notion which I will keep coming back to in the body of this thesis.

On leaving Jersey, I moved to Southampton and got a position as a Teaching Fellow of Portuguese at the University. In this context, it felt as if I were teaching a different language – a widely spoken, international one. My students of Portuguese as a foreign language saw Portuguese as a world language and the Portuguese-speaking countries as an appealing prospect, whether to explore during the year abroad or as an investment for an international career. The number of students enrolled for Portuguese was however generally small and the courses were occasionally at risk. Portuguese was under the umbrella of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies and assumed a minor role. Most students learnt Portuguese *ab initio* and they did not pursue a career in teaching languages.

When my son's first words came out in English, I felt the need to aid his bilingual development. As there were no Portuguese classes on offer, I turned to social media to target members of the Portuguese community in Southampton and founded a community school for Portuguese children living in the area. This was again a very different reality – language was the bedrock for community interaction, socialising, support and playful learning.

As I pondered about these experiences and concerns and sought to find answers in literature reviews, I found out that research about learning and teaching Portuguese language outside Portugal had been focused predominantly on the poor linguistic and academic attainment of particular groups of disadvantaged Portuguese students within the British educational system and on the subject of Portuguese as a community or heritage language set in extracurricular contexts (e.g. Abreu et al. 2003; Abreu and Lambert, 2003). Abreu and Lambert's (2003) collection of studies offered a comprehensive insight into the education of Portuguese children outside Portugal. Joint contributions from professionals working in Britain and in countries with a longer tradition of Portuguese migrants, like France and Canada, allowed for a better understanding of the situation across differing settings. Overall survey results showed a deeply concerning finding of educational underachievement of Portuguese students at mainstream schools in Britain (Barradas 2003; Thompson, 2003), in Canada (Nunes 2003; Januário 2003) and in France (Barreno 2003). Crucially, key findings from the various papers indicated a need for a more sophisticated analysis of that phenomenon. For example, Thomson (2003:195) argued that the equation of measuring the educational achievement of Portuguese children should include a more systematic assessment and monitoring of mother tongue development and its impact on the learning of the second/vehicular language.

One strand of research presented a harsh criticism of Portuguese language policies for overseas (Keating et al. 2014). It argued that the provision was being transformed from an educational mission for the emigrant communities into a highly regulated activity focused on standardisation and obstructive of alternative and flexible teaching pedagogies. Yet there was no mapping of Portuguese provision and no known research that fully assessed how opportunities and incentives for learning Portuguese were being created, identifying good practice and making recommendations for providers and decision makers, taking into account existing policies and practice. These observations aligned with those of Souza and Barradas (2013), who also claimed that research has fallen short of accounting for the interaction between the national, institutional and interpersonal levels of language planning and policy related to the learning and teaching of Portuguese in England. This made me realise that there was a critical gap in the available literature with regard to the linguistic and academic attainment of the Portuguese emigrant community more broadly and, significantly, that there was a major lacuna in relation to the implementation of Portuguese official language policies for overseas.

Purpose

Official language policies have traditionally been addressed as deterministic instruments of power and control (Tollefson 1991, Shohamy 2006). Ample research has also demonstrated that they can be instruments of empowerment (Hornberger 2006, Johnson 2013). They have the power to set discursive and structural boundaries on what languages and language varieties can be learned, who can learn them and how. But they can also promote and protect language learning and linguistic diversity and empower minority language users. Current research has tended to adopt ecological perspectives which illustrate the interaction between official language policy discourses and the individual, structural and ideological circumstances (Priestley et al 2015, Liddicoat 2018) that shape the interpretation and appropriation of language policy by its agents at various levels of social and institutional activity (Johnson 2013). This wider perspective has given researchers a much broader view of the field and has emphasised the need to draw on research methodologies that address the process of language policymaking (Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018). In order to trace this process, it is helpful to question: how do national and international ideologies, discourses and policies impact local policy decisions and pedagogical practices? How do local educators perceive and implement official policies and legal frameworks while engaging with the local educational policies and

practices? How does their interpretation of macro-level policy open implementational and ideological spaces (Hornberger 2005) for multilingual education and how does it close them? In sum, how are language policies being (re)created, interpreted and enacted?

The purpose of this research is to answer these questions by focusing on a group of four teachers and their administrator working for the Portuguese government to deliver Portuguese language in schools in England. The overarching goal is to examine how Portuguese language policies are (re)-created, interpreted and appropriated across the multiple levels and layers of policy development and deployment. To take account of these interrelated policy processes, the study traced the legal framework for Portuguese language provision to school-aged children in England, from its national formulation to its transnational implementation. In its exploratory nature, the study set out to answer the three following overarching research questions:

1. How and why has the formulation of Portuguese language policy changed over time?
2. How is Portuguese language policy interpreted by teachers and administrators involved in the provision of Portuguese in England?
3. How is the language policy put into action at the local level?

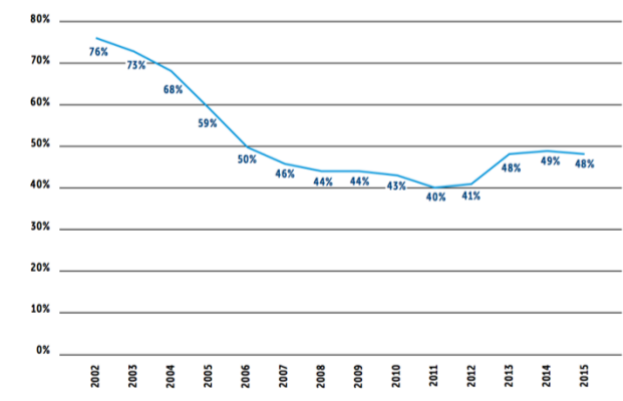
To answer these questions, I conducted an ethnography of language policy (Johnson 2009, Hornberger and Johnson 2011). That is, a descriptive account theoretically underpinned by a multi-layered language planning and policy framework that connects macro-level policy to meso-level institutional practices and micro-level language ideologies and practices (Ricento 2006, Hornberger 2006, Johnson 2013). Chapters 2 and 3 provide the details of this methodological and theoretical framework, which entailed compiling and analysing official policy texts (Chapter 4), collecting and examining focused life stories (Chapter 5), recording and scrutinising the interviews and observations (Chapters 6 and 7) of four key teachers and their administrator in their daily practice. Before presenting an overview of this dissertation, which consists of 8 chapters, the following section presents some significant features of the backdrop in which the implementation of the policies under scrutiny takes place.

Backdrop

Various reports – *Languages for the Future* 2013 (Board and Tinsley 2013), *Lost for Words* 2013 (Chen and Breivick 2013), *Value of Languages* 2015 (Sausman 2015), *Born Global* 2015 (Mansell 2015) – emphasise the need for a national strategy that addresses the shortage of proficient speakers in strategically important languages and the undervaluing of community

and heritage languages¹ spoken in England. This is believed to impact on fundamental social and economic matters of “prosperity and well-being; international relations, diplomacy, security and defence; education and training; identity and social cohesion” (Sausman 2015:3). It is agreed that government, business and education must collaborate in the development of attuned language education policies, and schools and schools’ curricula must include more languages by exploiting the linguistic and cultural resources and partnerships available. Languages are however not a compulsory subject throughout all levels of education in England. Government policies, based on a national languages strategy initiated in 2002, introduced a requirement for pupils to learn a language in primary education, between the ages 7-14, and amended the previous statutory requirement to take a language through to the end of compulsory education, ages 14-16. The argument was that pupils would naturally choose to carry on studying languages post-14, but in practice the decision to make languages optional at GCSE resulted in an abrupt decline in language learning. Figure 2 (below) illustrates how the proportion of students taking a language exam at the end of compulsory education declined from 76% in 2002 to 40% in 2011 and has remained under 50% since (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Proportion of students taking language exams



(Language Trends Survey, 2016)

¹ The distinction between *heritage language* and *community language* has been conceptualized recently in Souza’s (2016) article discussing these notions in the context of the Brazilian Portuguese schools in the UK. For the purpose of this study, these terms are sometimes used synonymously. Other significant references in the field of heritage and bilingual language education are Brinton et al. (2009) or Baker and Hornberger (2001).

Then, the practice of segregating between ‘community’, ‘minority’, ‘less-commonly spoken’, ‘lesser-taught’ languages and ‘modern foreign languages’ can be traced back to the publication of the Swann Report (DES 1985), which expressly declared that the learning and teaching of the languages spoken by Britain’s minority communities was not a concern for national educational bodies or the wider society, but solely for the families and linguistic communities. Since then, the divide between languages has been the norm, both ideologically and in practice, and there seems to be a lack of space for (a certain type of) multilingualism within formal education². For example, McPake and Tinsley (2007) have criticised the disparity in the development of policy and practice for ‘modern foreign languages’, ‘regional/minority languages’ and other kinds of languages. In their analysis of language policies and practices in the European context, they demonstrate how the turn from monolingual and separatist discourses to more plurilingual and all-inclusive ones, is far from resulting in a balanced offer of a wide range of languages in schools. According to them, the current provision continues to reflect the earlier ‘separatist’ policies, as most languages are marginalised from the mainstream curriculum. They also point out the misnomer of using ‘minority’ to identify languages such as Arabic, Turkish or Mandarin; and the same can be said about Portuguese. Conteh (2010:160) further states that “we need to move beyond ideologically framed and loaded terminology such as ‘Modern Foreign Language’, ‘Community language’, ‘English as an additional language’ and the rest.”

Ofsted, the Office for Standards in Education, is the independent, national inspection and regulatory service for education, and they report directly to the UK Parliament. The results of their inspections and visits to schools are public and available online. Their recent reports on the quality of provision and levels of achievement in languages have raised a number of concerns. A 2011 report (Ofsted 2011) showed that between 2007 and 2010 primary schools were starting to introduce the teaching of languages and they were facing difficulties in terms of assessment, monitoring and evaluation of the provision. In secondary schools, opportunities for students to use the target languages were limited by the teachers’ lack of proficiency, most schools had not yet modified the curriculum or adapted to the inclusion of languages in primary schools and there was low take-up in Key Stage 4, where teaching was focused on achieving

² This phenomenon is identified by Zelasko (1991) as the “bilingual double standard” (quoted by Lo Bianco 2009:54). Lo Bianco (2009:54) writes: “Heritage language-based bilingualism (...) is often devalued by comparison with majority-community bilingualism that attracts celebration”.

good examination results. Another report (Ofsted 2015) focused on Key Stage 3 and revealed that motivation to learn and achievement in modern foreign languages was low. Some pupils considered learning languages difficult and not enjoyable, and thus decided not to take them through to GCSE.

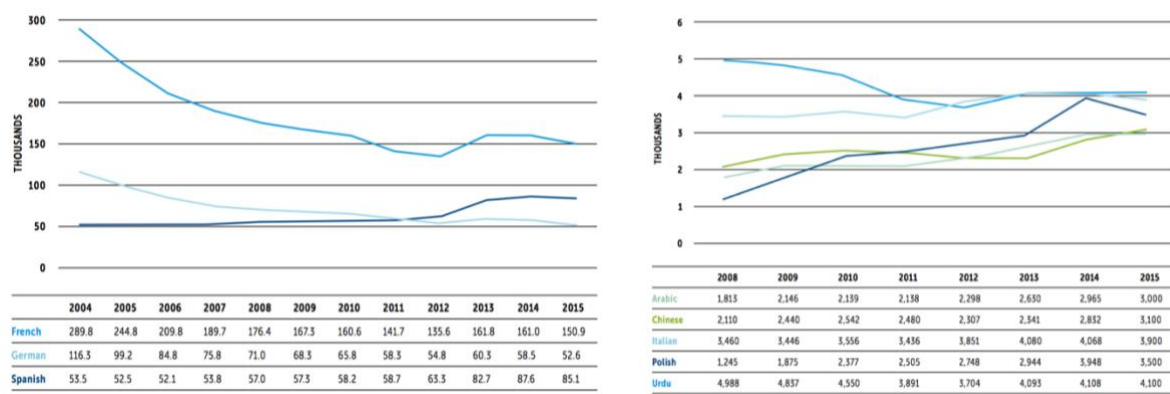
In 2010, the government introduced a new performance measure for schools in England – the English Baccalaureate (EBacc). The EBacc discloses how many pupils get grade C or above in five core academic subjects at Key Stage 4 (GCSE): English, Mathematics, History or Geography, Sciences, a Language. In 2015, it was the Education Secretary’s intention that 90% of pupils in mainstream schools would be entered for the EBacc subjects and that this would become a headline measure used to hold schools to account through Ofsted. Following the introduction of the EBacc there was an auspicious rise in the number of entries to language GCSEs between 2011-2014 – illustrated in figure 2 (above). But figures are showing no further improvement and have in fact slightly dropped in 2015-2016 (see Language Trends Survey 2016). The implementation of the governmental policy of “EBacc for all” is also raising a number of concerns in schools. The Language Trends Survey (2016) revealed some important findings: i) although primary schools are increasing and improving the provision of languages and government proposes a compulsory EBacc, secondary schools are not yet making changes to accommodate increasing numbers of pupils taking languages at GCSEs; ii) reforms to exams are perceived to have resulted in more rigorous and harder papers, and there is a general dissatisfaction with both content and assessment; iii) marking of language exams is considered severe and inconsistent; iv) there is interest in studying of a wide range of languages as long as there are exams that recognise achievement. These add to the lingering concerns about the teacher supply in languages, the time for languages within the curriculum, the transition procedures and consistency in outcomes and assessment standards throughout key stages, brought by and unresolved since the introduction of languages in primary education.

The Language Trends Survey (2016) also revealed an enduring perception from the pupils in the UK that the exams in languages are harder and the marking system less reliable than in other subjects. Languages are not considered relevant to everyday life and are perceived as peripheral to success in terms of a university application or a future career. Overall current results in exams effectively show fewer A/A* grades in languages than in other subjects (see Joint Council for Qualifications). The deficit in language learning and proficiency is evident throughout all levels of education, with language departments in the higher education sector facing imminent closure. When compared with other countries – including Scotland and Wales

– the decline and low level of achievement in foreign language learning is more prominent in England (Burge et al. 2013).

Analysis of exam entries per subject reveals that the alarming decline in language learning is occurring mainly in the most-commonly taught languages – French and German. As for Spanish and other languages, mainly those spoken by large immigrant communities in the UK, there is evidence of considerable growth (Figure 3). This growth does not make up for the downward trend observed since 2002.

Figure 3: GCSE entries per language in England 2004-2015 (Language Trends Survey 2016)



In another study (Smithers 2014), analysis of trends in GCSE take-up between 1988-2014 showed that enrolment in French and German had declined by 50%, Spanish had risen by 155% and ‘other languages’, including Portuguese, had risen by 362%. From 2014, analysis of information published online by the Joint Council for Qualifications (2014-2016) shows that the number of pupils in England enrolling for French GCSEs has continued to decline by 14% (157.1k – 135.4k), German declined by 17% (57.5k – 47.9k), Spanish slipped down 3% between 2014-2015 (87.8k – 85.2k) but recovered between 2015-2016 to 87.5 thousand pupils. Entries for other languages show a mixed picture, but generally there is a slow rise year on year, with an increase of 6% between 2014-2016. If it is a reality that this upsurge in take-up of less commonly taught languages does not make up for the shortfall in the traditional ones, it is however a good indicator of the rising interest from pupils in taking qualifications in a wider variety of languages. It also mirrors the world-wide growth in the number of people speaking and transacting in a variety of languages and the growing awareness of the value of languages for access to global and interconnected trade.

A significant point to make here is that there is no formal directive determining the specific languages to be studied – schools have the autonomy to decide what languages they offer. Language offer is usually dependent on the school’s policy and on the demand from the surrounding community. The National Curriculum states that students are required to learn ‘any ancient or foreign language’ between the ages 7-11 and a ‘modern foreign language’ between 11-14 years old. After the age of 14, students are ‘entitled’ to continue studying ‘a modern foreign language’ (DfE 2013). Exam boards produce, distribute and mark GCSEs and A Levels for a range of languages, including the less-commonly taught Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Dutch, Gujarati, Italian, Japanese, Modern Greek, Modern Hebrew, Panjabi, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Turkish and Urdu.

Traditionally, schools offer one or more languages, with a choice between French, German and Spanish; other languages are less commonly offered by state schools (Tinsley and Board 2016). Less commonly taught languages are broadly offered as extracurricular subjects and their provision is secured by minority communities, as established since the Swann Report (DES 1985). Their vulnerability in the British educational system is exacerbated by a profound lack of basic resourcing, a difficulty in securing funding and financial assistance, inexistence of relevant initial and continuous professional development and generalised neglect from mainstream education (Conteh et al. 2007, Issa and Williams 2009, Lytra and Martin 2010, Kenner and Ruby 2012). In these conditions, they are mainly learnt by students whose parents are to some extent connected to a particular community and their language(s).

In an attempt to increase the rigour of GCSE and A Level qualifications, the government announced a major reform in 2010, to be implemented by September 2016. It introduced changes to the content and assessment objectives of all subject specifications and exams. In response to this reform and to the low number of enrolments, the exam boards announced the discontinuance of qualifications in less commonly taught languages. Following intense debate between government, public, education bodies and exam boards, most exams in less commonly taught languages were retained. But the debates and uncertainties surrounding these subjects highlighted the preponderance at a formal level of the three traditionally taught languages and the vulnerability of other languages in the British educational system.

The aim of this section is to present the current backdrop in which the implementation of the Portuguese policies takes place. Further discussion of the local policy context is presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6 as part of my analysis of the historical and socio-political context in which policies are created and implemented. This analysis is a fundamental aspect of the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. For example, the introduction of a requirement to learn a

language in primary education in England was mentioned in the interviews and its impact for the Portuguese provision is discussed in Chapter 5. Then, the introduction of the National Curriculum for England in the late 1980s and the process of its implementation in schools was also mentioned by one of the participants as a factor impacting the development of her after-school classes. This is discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to its interface with the Portuguese provision. The following section presents an overview of this dissertation.

Overview

Chapter 1 explains the genesis of this research and its purpose. This will aid to situate the reader within the researcher's ideological, theoretical and methodological orientations. A section of this chapter will be dedicated to presenting the context of language learning in England, as it provides the backdrop to the implementation of Portuguese policies.

Chapter 2 lays down the conceptual orientation of the study which presents itself as an ethnography of language policy. It further draws on language policy and planning frameworks to help elucidate foundational concepts and models. The chapter explores critical, ecological and ethnographic approaches and ends with a presentation of the components and processes that will be drawn upon throughout the analysis.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological approach, where the ontological and epistemological orientation of the study are discussed along with reflexivity and researcher positionality. Then the research design is put forward with a discussion of the focus, aims and research questions. The data collection and analysis methods are discussed before proceeding to the ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 examines the language policies that are central to the provision of Portuguese language outside Portugal. It attempts to elucidate the political and socio-cultural contexts surrounding the creation and development of the legal framework for teaching Portuguese overseas. For each policy text, the goals, agents, processes and discourses are scrutinised in an attempt to determine what language activities are aimed at and what is allowed, prohibited or promoted. This chapter answers the first research question.

Chapter 5 introduces the individual life trajectories of the key participants in the study in relation to their work in the provision of Portuguese in England. A timeline is displayed for each participant and a crafted profile illustrating the most important moments and events from their perspective. The analysis of the timelines and profiles aims to give the participants a voice and to provide the research a fundamental narrative and humanistic dimension.

Chapter 6 analyses the interpretations of the key participants in relation to the broadening goals of the official Portuguese language policies. In accordance with the research design and heuristic proposed, it explores the beliefs and discourses of the educators about languages and language learning and teaching. The chapter is organised around the four core areas of language planning: status, corpus, acquisition and prestige planning.

Chapter 7 examines how Portuguese language policy is put into action. It throws light on some of the most significant structural factors mediating opportunities for Portuguese language learning in England. The chapter is divided into five sections of analysis. The first section presents the types of language provision offered and how they relate to local educational structures. The second analyses how decisions are made, both within the provision and in the schools where the provision takes place. The third section looks at how time and timetabling are organised and how they can be highly constraining structural factors. The fourth section examines the importance of social and professional relationships. The fifth discusses the planning and monitoring structures of the network.

Chapter 8 brings together the findings of the study and a reflection about its limitations. Some theoretical and methodological contributions are presented along with recommendations and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

Introduction

Deliberate attempts at managing languages and language use have been taking place for centuries (Hornberger 2006), for a diversity of purposes (Cooper 1989), in a variety of political, social and ethical dimensions (Wright 2004) and domains (Spolsky 2004), in implicit and explicit ways (Shohamy 2006). Yet, the foundational research about those endeavours emerged from the early 1960s, which makes language planning and policy a relatively young field of study. This chapter aims to provide a review of the major studies in this young field of study, as doing so will set the conceptual framework for the thesis. First, a discussion on language policy and planning perspectives, which will help elucidate important foundational concepts and models. Then, the critical and empirical paradigms are considered, which will conceptually pave the way for the methodological toolkit selected.

Language Policy and Planning Perspectives

Early Sociolinguistic Research

Early research related to language policy and language planning is set in the broader socio-historical context of decolonisation and the rise of newly formed nations in the early 1960s. Prompted to create the means for utilising the languages of new nations, early scholars

laboured to codify, standardise and disseminate a single language for the group, which could then be presented as part of the evidence for its claim to a separate polity. (Wright 2004:8).

In an era of nation-building, language was at the heart of nationalism and the scholars' work was thought to be an important contribution. But the concept of "one language, one people, one state" was problematic from the outset. In the post-colonial world, frontiers negotiated and drawn by European colonisers separated major ethnic groups and brought together others whose interests were far from a shared nationhood (Wright 2004). Attempting to make sense of such puzzling linguistic contexts, specialists seemed to share the unanimous view that it

would be advantageous to use the ex-colonial language in official domains. As the provider of wider access and of that vital national unifying bond, ex-colonial languages became prominent in the political and educational sectors and local languages were relegated to functions of a lower status (Ricento 2006:13). Moreover, the early language planning frameworks revealed an idea of the field of language planning as an objective science, distinct from any ideologies or socio-political realities of effective language use. Researchers of those times were said to exhibit “a degree of optimism that ‘language problems’ could be solved” (Wright 2004:9). Criticism to this early work include the fact that it was focused uniquely on macro-level, governmental language planning, ignoring the social and political context for which languages were being planned and that this work was based on a positivist epistemology, which

involved the use of large-scale surveys (e.g., of language attitudes) and quantitative analysis of the data generated by such research methods. (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral 2018:72)

Nevertheless, threads of this early work, also referred to as “neoclassical language planning” (Tollefson 1991:26) or “classical language planning” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), continue to be fundamental to understanding the development of language policy and language planning research. The term “language planning” was first defined by Haugen in 1959, in an article about language standardisation in Norway. Haugen defined it as

the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. (Haugen 1959:8)

It has become conventional in the field to associate the creation of orthographic norms, using mechanisms such as grammatical descriptions and dictionaries, to *corpus planning*.

While Haugen focused on the form of the language, Ferguson (1959), was focusing on studying diglossia – a context in which

two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions. (Ferguson 1959:232)

This is likely to be the first attempt at studying the use of more than one form of the same language, each serving different functions. This interest in the social functions of languages has become known in the field as *status planning*, a distinction that was introduced by Kloss (1969).

Researching in multilingual sociocultural settings, whilst previous linguists were focusing on describing individual standard languages and their internal structure, scholars such as Haugen, Fergusson or Kloss started to reposition language research between theory and practice by looking at both the *form* and the *function* of languages in contact. Since then, scholars in the field

have attempted to differentiate two distinct kinds of activities – those that are concerned specifically with attempts to modify language itself, and those that are concerned with attempts to modify the environment in which a language is used. (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:28)

Stewart (1968) for example produced a typology for describing how languages were used in the multilingual nations. Starting out from the standpoint that official governmental policies of “direct language manipulation” (Stewart 1968:532) often resulted in unforeseen responses he set out to analyse the relationships between languages or language varieties, and their different roles within multilingual societies. From his study resulted the definition of an important set of key categories, which remain in use and will be mentioned throughout the chapters of this study, for example: official language, language of wider communication, international language, educational language, language as a school subject, language of a group.

Within the language policy and planning literature, the term *official language* continues to refer broadly to languages that have been declared or promulgated as such by governments. This usually means that they are used as a medium of day-to-day activity in administration, justice, education, international relations and the different sectors of public life (Stern 1991) and that they serve a symbolic purpose (Cooper 1989) as the language of state. The term *language of wider communication* indicates that it is a language which is used across communities who speak mutually unintelligible languages (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Similarly, the term *international language* refers to a language that is used as a medium of communication for diplomatic relations, foreign trade or tourism (Cooper 1989:106). These so-called languages of *wider communication* or *international* languages are likely to be taught in schools as *foreign languages*. The term *educational language* refers broadly to languages that are used within the educational system as a medium of instruction, i.e. used to teach the different subjects in the curriculum. Then, *language as a school subject* refers to the language being taught in schools as a distinct area of knowledge. And, finally, the *language of a group* serves as a medium of communication among the members of a cultural or ethnic group.

Stewart's (1968) typology merely initiated a discussion that is extremely complex and has been approached from many different perspectives. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:14-27), for example, have pointed out the tensions with this terminology and how important it is to be aware of these different perspectives, which they explain may arise from the political, social, educational or popular arenas. According to the different context of language use and to the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the language, the same language can be described using a variety of these terms, each bearing a different perspective. For example, the Portuguese language is the *official language* of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe. It is often addressed, in the political arena, as the language of *international communication* in the diplomatic relations between these countries. It is also an *educational language* taught within the educational systems of those countries, albeit under different educational definitions – it can be a *mother tongue*, a *foreign language*, a *second language* –, each entailing different educational, social and popular relationships. In England, Portuguese is also often addressed as the *language of an ethnic group* or as a *community language*. It is also important to note here that these different social and political contexts of language use and the different relationships of the speakers with each language have implications for language policies and language planning. Many of these definitions and their implications will be discussed throughout the chapters. For example, the discussion about the portrayal of Portuguese as a community language or as a language of international communication in the Portuguese official policy is a main theme of analysis in Chapter 4, whereas in Chapter 6, the perceptions of the key participants about these matters are also scrutinised.

Another relevant thread from early studies is Stewart's (1968) concern with unforeseen outcomes of language policy and planning. Perhaps this is best explained by the sole focus of early research on planning the selection, codification, implementation and elaboration (Haugen 1983:275) of languages from a macro-level organisational perspective. Yet, concomitant with this early work in language policy and language planning was Dell Hymes' linguistic micro-level research taking place in the classrooms of multilingual schools. Rooted in linguistic anthropology, this work introduced an epistemological shift in the field of sociolinguistics, from which language policy and planning were also a branch. With language being theorized as socio-culturally embedded knowledge, the previous mainly positivist outlook falling out of an objectivist knowledge-building approach was no longer adequate. Thus, Hymes' (1972) proposal of the *ethnography of communication* becomes a fundamental tool for sociolinguistics

broadly and for language policy and planning in particular. This way of studying language entailed

long-term participant observation with a particular (speech) community, a commitment to inductive discovery, and [a focus] on the patterns in communicative behaviour. (Johnson 2013a)

Such ethnographic research taking place within situated social and cultural contexts, in schools and communities, has been extremely useful in illuminating language policy and planning processes. One such example is Hornberger's (1988) seminal ethnographic dissertation about Peru's education reform. Her methodological and theoretical framework positioned the study within ethnography, sociology of language and educational policy. She defined the sociology of language as the study of the relationship between language and society and proceeded to discuss the early language planning frameworks for the study of bilingualism, multilingualism and diglossia as part of this discipline. Drawing from early sociolinguists such as Haugen, Kloss, Ferguson, Fishman and others, she incorporated previous research on language planning and policy into what she later denominated as an integrative framework (Hornberger 2006:27-30). Her model synthesised language planning into types (status and corpus), steps (broadly selection, codification, implementation, evaluation, iteration) and aims (for the particular language and its speakers). Educational policy study was then approached as research about a particular problem that policy sought to address.

Innovatively, Hornberger traced the education policy from the phase of formulation through to its implementation as a project in the Department of Puno, and then to the final realization of the project in the community (Hornberger 1988), seeking to understand the relationships between the statements at the policy level and the patterns of language use in the community. Amongst other things, this approach allowed her to shed light on how a policy, which was intended to revitalise a minority language, was met with resistance by those who would be expected to embrace it. Whilst they used the language in the home and in daily community life, the members of the Quechua-speaking community of South Peru were reluctant to accept the integration of their home language as a medium of instruction in mainstream schools; instead, they demanded their children's instruction to be in the majority language – the language of social mobility and power. Inside the classroom, however, observation showed children thriving “from the greater participation in oral classroom interaction which receptive and productive use of their first language afforded them” (Hornberger 2002:23). The community's

deep-rooted language ideologies that favoured Spanish – the language of mainstream education – deemed the policy to failure.

Hornberger's early multi-layered analysis of the stages of language planning and policy creation, implementation and enactment, illustrated the need to involve in this process not only the speakers of a particular language within the community but also the overall societal context (Hornberger 1988). Following Hornberger's footsteps, my research traces the Portuguese language policy from the stage of creation through to its implementation and enactment in England. These stages are later used and refined by Johnson (2007, 2013a), whose work also deeply influences my framework for analysing language policy and to which I will come back to later on in this review.

Orientations in Language Policy and Planning: Problem, Right and Resource

That previously mentioned optimism of early studies that “language problems” could be solved (Wright 2004:9) has been conceptualised as a language-as-problem orientation (Ruiz 1984). It is an ideological orientation that started to shift in the studies that appeared in the 1980s. Ruiz (1984) observed that language planning efforts in any particular context could be analysed in terms of three different ideological orientations. One orientation was towards problem-solving which was characteristic of the early studies set in developing countries. At that point national language standardisation was the main focus. Dissemination of a single, unifying language meant linguistic and cultural assimilation and eradication of any minority languages. A second orientation was towards viewing language as a right. This orientation was linked with the protection of minority groups and the emergence of their linguistic rights. The concept of language-as-right was that minority languages were codified and standardised and their maintenance was encouraged, with the national language being learnt as a second language. And a third orientation was towards viewing language as a resource for all native and non-native speakers. This entailed preserving, developing and facilitating the learning of minority languages, allowing educational access to a wide range of languages to all pupils. In his view, research had been mainly oriented towards addressing language as a problem or language as a right and he claimed that more attention should be paid to the language-as-resource orientation. Ruiz (1984) believed that these ideological orientations were on the basis of all language planning efforts, delimiting “the ways we talk about language and language uses [and determining] what is thinkable about language in society” (1984:2). The analysis carried out in Chapter 4 will illustrate how the Portuguese policies for overseas might have leaned towards

each one of these orientations at different historical times. Then, in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, language-as-resource is illustrated in the practices of the Portuguese teachers, for example, as they promote Portuguese-speaking pupils – the speakers of a minority language in the school and the community – to “a source of specialized linguistic expertise” (Hult and Hornberger 2016:38).

The ideological orientation to language as a resource devised by Ruiz (1984) drew attention to the possibilities and to the value of individual and societal multilingualism (Hult and Hornberger 2016). That is, linguistic diversity and multilingual education are envisioned as a resource for both native and non-native speakers of dominant languages (Johnson 2007). As such, this orientation is said to offer an analytical lens for language planning and policy activity in multilingual educational contexts (Hult and Hornberger 2016).

The vision of such policy orientation is that individuals can develop their linguistic repertoires in the national language, in foreign languages and in minority languages through education (Ruiz 1984:27). In this way, education encourages a model of multilingualism that envisions both the acquisition of new languages and the maintenance and development of those languages that are already part of the children’s repertoires. In this sense, language is both a personal resource and a national resource and linguistic and cultural diversity are a source of national unity and cohesion, rather than conflict (Hult and Hornberger 2016).

Ricento (2005:361-363) has criticized the tendency to use the language as resource discourse to foreground the extrinsic value of languages for a diversity of complex social, political and economic purposes, such as national security, public relations, business and others. His view is that this perpetuates power imbalances between minority and majority groups as the value of the minority group ends up being interlaced with and dependent on strategic national interests. The value of minority languages should not rest upon the greater interests of society, rather, he argues, it should be sufficiently important that they are of value to the linguistic minority community.

In Ruiz’s framework however both extrinsic and intrinsic value were equally important, with the intrinsic value relating to self-esteem, identity and community building. Hult and Hornberger (2016) note that

[t]empering extrinsic rationales with intrinsic ones [...] can mean raising awareness about linguistic minority communities among members of the dominant majority. [...]

In this way, dominant majority language speakers may gain a deeper appreciation of

how minority languages serve important functions for identity construction, community relations, and cultural continuity. [...] At the very least, greater awareness about different languages and cultures has the potential to reduce ethnocentrism and xenophobia as well as to enhance intercultural understanding. (Hult and Hornberger 2016:40)

Ruiz's heuristic continues to be an extremely useful tool for analysing the ideologies within language policy texts and the discourses therein. It is a lens through which to investigate policies and practices that use, develop and value the linguistic repertoires of their multilingual pupils to the benefit of all. As will be illustrated in the subsequent data analysis chapters, for the Portuguese provision overseas and in England, it highlights the relevance of planning language learning opportunities that 1) position the minority language learner as a language expert who is able to contribute to the multilingual development of others around them; 2) encourage lifelong bi-/multilingualism; and 3) allow all pupils in schools to partake in language learning activities through complementary programmes tailored to the school context and community.

Acquisition Planning and the Dynamics of Language Education Policies

A growing interest in the ideological contours of language policy and planning and an attention to the micro-level of educational settings is at the heart of Cooper's (1989) theorisation of language planning as a form of social change and his introduction of a third focal point in the field, namely *acquisition planning*. Cooper's analysis diverted the focus of the field from the activities at the macro-sociological level to a wider range of contexts and actors beyond official entities. It also sparked a new interest in language planning for education.

He noted that the number of users of a language or language variety affects its *function/form* and *status/corpus*. Not only are new users affected by new uses of the language, but they are also responsible for change and for introducing more new uses. He expands the definition of language planning and conceptualises it as

the deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes. (Cooper 1989:45)

Acquisition planning is defined as the "organized efforts to promote the learning of a language" (Cooper 1989:157). These efforts can include the activities promoted by entities such as: the British Council, the Alliance Française, or the Goethe Institute for the study of English, French

or German, respectively; the communities and municipalities that aid the integration of immigrants with language classes both in the host and the community languages; the schools and universities offering courses and programs that include a variety of language learning possibilities. In his view, the efforts promoted by these entities and their social actors can be analysed according to:

- 1) their overt language planning *goals*;
- 2) the *methods* they used to achieve the goals.

He defined as overt goals: the reacquisition/revival of the language by the community, the maintenance of the language by the next generation and the acquisition of a second or foreign language by new users. Then, he classified three types of methods to achieve these goals:

- i) those conceived to create or improve the *opportunity* to learn;
- ii) those conceived to create or improve the *incentive* to learn;
- iii) and those that embraced both *opportunity* and *incentive* to learn.

Examples of *opportunities* to learn would include language classes, provision of resources for learning, literature, newspapers, radio and television programs. Examples of *incentives* to learn would include providing the language as a subject in schools, certification and language prerequisites for employment. Where both *opportunity* and *incentive* were created, the target language became a medium of interaction for contexts in which the learner had a particular interest (Cooper 1989:157-163).

Cooper's framework is of particular interest to my analysis of the overt goals of the Portuguese language policy and the methods engendered to achieve those goals. As the aims and scope of the Portuguese language provision expand to including a wider and more diverse audience of learners (see Chapter 4), it seems vital to examine what overt goals are evidenced in the macro-level policy language created in Lisbon and what methods are favoured to achieve these goals in the research context of England. Is there a discursive shift from language reacquisition and maintenance by the community to acquisition of a second or foreign language by new users? If there is, how is this discursive shift interpreted and recreated at an institutional meso-level in London? What methods are used to achieve these goals? How are these goals and methods interpreted and put into action at the micro level by Portuguese teachers in English schools? How are *opportunities* and *incentives*, or both, being created to learn Portuguese in England? García and Menken (2010:251) criticize Cooper's theoretical contribution for leaving the role of the educator undertheorized. Their collection of reports on the role of the educator as a

policymaker in a diversity of classroom contexts all over the world is an influential contribution to a strand of work that celebrates the role of individual teachers and their agentic capacity to appropriate and interpret policies on the local level (Johnson and Freeman 2010:13-31; Valdiviezo 2010:72-87), to resist policies (Shohamy 2010:182-197) or even to be a “cog in the policy wheel” (Mohanty, Panda and Pal 2010:211-231). For example, Zhang and Hu’s (2010) research in the context of a pedagogical reform in mainland China examined how three teachers interpreted, negotiated and enacted the formal introduction of the communicative task-based language teaching approach. They found that the teachers’ understanding of the language policy varied as much as their differing perceptions about the students’ learning needs. This led them to negotiate and enact the reform in very different ways. They report that there was little access to professional development and no accountability system at the school level and that teachers were left to make pedagogical decisions individually. They concluded that policymaking should not be merely about applying general universal knowledge to local problems. Instead, it “should recognize the valid contributions to pedagogical practice that local knowledge is capable of making and enable us to construct contextually relevant knowledge.” (Zhang and Hu 2010:138)

Therefore, drawing on Ricento and Hornberger’s (1996) influential article, which positions the classroom practitioner at the heart of language policy – or at the centre of a much-cited metaphorical onion whose slices represent a multi-layered construct –, Menken and García (2010) propose “stirring the onion”. Their argument is that language education policies³ are dynamic, interactive and plurally constructed and performed, which concurs with and adds to previous studies. Yet, their argument is that the role of the educator has not been seriously accounted for. They propose zooming into the actions of individual educators in their classrooms in order to fully understand language education policies in action. In their words,

[i]t is educators who “cook” and stir the onion. The ingredients might be given at times, and even a recipe might be provided, but as all good cooks know, it is the educators themselves who make the policies – each distinct and according to the conditions in

³ García and Menken (2010) use language education policies in the plural – they believe this emphasises the dynamism of the concept. Other terms used are “language-in-education planning” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), “language-in-education policy” (Corson 1999), or “language education policy” (Shohamy 2006).

which they are cooked, and thus always evolving in the process. (García and Menken 2010:250)

If we were to apply Menken and García's (2010) culinary analogy to the provision of Portuguese in England (incurring the risk of adding to an exaggerated list of culinary terms), I would argue that if the Portuguese legislation or policy text were the recipe, exams, curricular guidelines and resources the ingredients, schools the pots and pans and teachers the sous-chefs who "stir the onion", then where is the cooking method? No matter how excellent a cook you are and expert at improvisation, a method is required to effect a satisfactory outcome.

Linking back to Cooper's framework, where he asserts that there are three types of methods to achieve the goals of a language policy (opportunity, incentive and a combination of both), it seems that subsequent academic research has left the method by which the overt goal is achieved largely untouched. Hornberger's (2006) integrative framework, for example, which reviews a large body of early research on language planning and policy, focuses only on policy goals. Then, one question worth answering in the analysis of data in this study is thus: what methods are engendered by the Portuguese policies and how are they perceived and appropriated locally?

Prestige and the Levels of Language Policy and Planning

Shortly after Cooper's (1989) proposal of *acquisition planning* as a third focal point in the field, adding to *status* and *corpus planning*, Haarmann (1990) suggests *prestige planning* as another focal point or core area of language planning activity. Ager (2003) explains that this core area relates to "manipulating the image of a language, its users, or others, have towards it" (2003:6). And Haarmann claims that

prestige planning is a receptive or value function which influences how corpus and status planning activities are acted upon by *actors* and received by *people*. (in Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:50)

He also identifies four levels of efficiency in terms of the impact of language policy and planning activities. Level 1 has the lowest level of efficiency and is associated with the language planning activities carried out by individuals. Level 2 is considered more efficient than the previous and is related to the activities of groups. Level 3 is more efficient than the previous two levels and relates to the activities of institutions. Level 4 has the highest efficiency and is concerned with the planning activities of governments. Figure 4 below illustrates this typology.

Figure 4: Haarmann’s (1990) typology of language planning

	<i>Activities of government</i>	<i>Activities of agencies</i>	<i>Activities of groups</i>	<i>Activities of individuals</i>
Status planning	4.1	3.1	2.1	1.1
	↑	↑	↑	↑
Prestige planning	official promotion	institutional promotion	pressure group promotion	individual promotion
	↓	↓	↓	↓
Corpus planning	4.2	3.2	2.2	1.2
	Level 4	Level 3	Level 2	Level 1
← Maximum	Efficiency in terms of the organisational impact			Minimum →

(in Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:50)

Haarmann’s (1990) typology is a useful reminder that language policy and planning efforts take place at multiple levels, which is easily relatable to Johnson’s (2013a:193) explanation of the multiple unfolding levels of language planning and policy – generally referred to in the field as macro, meso and micro. Johnson further explains that within any of these levels, more levels unfold and cascade (see Johnson 2013a:193). For example, while the regional administrator in charge of the Portuguese Department in London works at a meso-level context in relation to the headquarters in Lisbon, they are a macro-level policy agent locally, and the Portuguese teachers the micro-level agents. Thus, the meaning of these levels is relative to one’s positioning in the process, which in turn highlights the relative value of language prestige levels. As Kaplan and Baldauf Jr (1997) point out

[b]oth large- and small-scale activities may be prestigious (or not) and may have (or fail to have) the desired impact on their particular language planning situation. (Kaplan and Baldauf Jr 1997:52)

These observations indicate that more attention needs to be paid to the meso and micro-level contexts as potentially rich spaces for developing language prestige planning efforts which are closer and, as such, more relevant to the local communities.

Critical and Ethnographic Research

The Emergence of Critical Approaches

As Castles and Miller (1993) were classifying the late twentieth century as ‘the age of migration’, issues of linguistic assimilation among migrant groups began to become a focus of concern and vivid debate arose centring on multiculturalism and the new politics of recognition. Likewise, language policy and planning research became increasingly concerned with issues of social justice and equality.

One contribution to this debate was Taylor’s (1994) essentially political essay on the “Politics of Recognition” in which he argued that “our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others” (Taylor 1994: 25) and that a common politics of universal rights is blind to differences. The diverse identities brought together in a multicultural society are suppressed unless they are formally recognised through a politics of difference. His thesis assumed that the politics of universal individual rights runs counter to the politics of consideration for cultural differences, just as the assertion of equal individual rights runs counter to the claim for collective identities.

Critics of Taylor’s essay argued that the political recognition of collective identities, such as class, race, gender or ethnicity, tied individuals to predefined categories of belonging, such as a fixed cultural identity against which to shape their lives, and that this was another form of tyranny (Appiah 1994). In Appiah’s words, such a model “requir[es] that one’s skin color, one’s sexual body, should be acknowledged politically in ways that make it hard for those who want to treat their skin and their sexual body as personal dimensions of the self” (Appiah 1994:163).

Then, Habermas provided further criticism in maintaining that equal rights of coexistence, free association and non-discrimination were a guarantee of respect for the range of cultural identities in a multicultural society. He considered it to be the role of a fair and equitable society to ensure respect for the diversity of cultural identities, not to guarantee their survival. “For to guarantee survival would necessarily rob the members of the very freedom to say yes or no that is necessary if they were to appropriate and preserve their cultural heritage” (Habermas 1994:130).

In support of Taylor’s position, another prominent political theorist, Will Kymlicka, further emphasised the importance of complementing traditional human rights with minority rights,

adding that a theory of justice in a multicultural state must explain “how minority rights coexist with human rights, and how minority rights are limited by principles of individual liberty, democracy, and social justice” (Kymlicka 1995:6).

This debate influenced the field of language policy and planning broadly. Ricento observed that there was

a growing body of research in LP that [was] concerned with the role of language – materially and discursively – in the production, exercise, and contestation of power at all levels of society, and the effects of power on language practices, from the daily interactions of ordinary people to the official policies of governments. (Ricento 2006:17)

These rising critical approaches understood language shift as a “manifestation of asymmetrical power relations based on social structures and ideologies that position groups – and their languages – hierarchically within a society” (Ricento 2006:15). The “nature and operation of power through and by language” (p.17) was the cornerstone of the debate.

Tollefson’s (1991) historical-structural approach to language policy research was a precursor to this shift. This approach, which was later known as critical language policy (CLP) research (Tollefson 2006), was shaped by two assumptions: that structural categories, such as class, race, and gender, are central aspects in all social life; and that research could not be divorced from ethical and political considerations. His approach incorporated a set of fundamental ideas from critical theory: power, struggle, colonization, hegemony and ideology, resistance (1991, 2006). Tollefson viewed policies

as mechanisms for creating and sustaining systems of inequality that benefit[ed] wealthy and powerful individuals, groups, institutions, and nation-states, as well as for resisting systems of inequality. (Tollefson 2013:27)

In this line of research, Shohamy (2006) has argued that language policies are mechanisms or devices which serve the interests of national, political and economic agendas by imposing and perpetuating certain language behaviours. These imposed behaviours force individuals into group memberships and fixed identities and hierarchies and serve the purpose of differentiating people and controlling personal freedom. She claims that the true language policy is not in overt, declared and official documents but rather in these covert imposing and perpetuating mechanisms and devices, which in her view turn ideologies into practices.

The implication is that formal contexts of education become a privileged site for the imposition of language education policies and there is a need to reflect upon the ways in which those ideological mechanisms and devices link to effective pedagogical practice. For Shohamy, this analysis needs to consider both the intentions of those who conceive the policies and the perceptions of those affected by them, i.e. teachers, parents, students and the public at large.

The historical-structural approach is a relevant tool for elucidating the relationship between the political and socio-cultural context and the creation and development of the legal framework for teaching Portuguese abroad. After all, it is a language policy text created by a dominant group to serve the presumed interests of the nation and its members who live abroad. However, this approach has been criticised for its focus on the “grand macro national language planning schemes” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:82) rather than on the individuals and oppressed minorities whose linguistic rights it seeks to safeguard. If the historical-structural analysis can elucidate the ways in which policies serve the interest of the dominant group and reproduce social inequalities, it fails to consider how all those other levels, layers and diverse actors of policy implementation might influence the process. Therefore, the analysis of Portuguese official policies will need to be balanced with other analytical lenses, namely the ecological and the ethnographic lenses which will be discussed in the following sections.

The term ‘critical’ in relation to language policy research has become widely used and polysemic. Its evolution has been well illustrated by Ricento (2000) and further discussed by Johnson (2017). Its early conceptualization appears with Tollefson (1991) and his previously mentioned historical-structural approach focusing on the economic, social and political factors responsible for privileging particular languages and their speakers, while marginalizing others. Contrary to previous approaches, such as Chomsky’s (1965) abstract linguistic theory of an ideal listener-speaker, the critical approach considers the social context in which language is used and the ways in which, in a Foucauldian (1978) perspective, sociocultural and sociolinguistic discourses engender relationships between language, power and inequality.

Tollefson (2002) teased out the relationships between critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis and critical language policy. When attached to language policy research, critical means (1) distanced from earlier generative, structuralist, positivist, technocratic approaches, (2) influenced by critical theory, (3) aware of the relationships between language, power and inequality as foundational to an understanding of language and society and (4) committed to social activism and social justice.

When attached to ethnography, the term ‘critical’ points to an emphasis on epistemology, reflexivity and researcher positionality (Johnson 2017, Lin 2015), all of these entailing greater collaboration, reflection and directions for change (Martin-Jones and Martin 2017). It is the emphasis on those characteristics that makes my study ‘critical’ in nature. In the methodological section (Chapter 3), I discuss further my alignment with the ethnography of language policy approach (Hornberger and Johnson 2011), my ontological and epistemological orientations and my researcher positionality. I also expand on the reasons for bringing to the frontstage the participants’ individual life trajectories (Chapter 5), how these interact with their interpretations and enactment of policies, in their interface with local, national and international discourses, policies and practices.

The Ecological Approaches

Concomitant to the rise of critical approaches in the macro-level research, research at the micro-level was also effervescent. The ecological paradigm gained prominence and empirical studies of a longitudinal nature collected data from multilingual schools and classrooms and combined observation and experience with critical thought to reflect about the construction of social inequalities.

Rediscovering Haugen’s (1972) ecological conceptualization of languages from the 1970s propelled a renovated focus on the interaction of languages with their environment and with the societies that use them. Language was viewed as part of an ecosystem in which the relations between languages in the world resembled the different levels of life as a series of entrenchments (Calvet 1999). The implication for research in the field was that language planning activity in one language impacted all other languages in the system (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). In order to bring about sustained language change, the formulation of language policy needed to involve the concerned communities as well as the larger community, emphasising the importance of representations and attitudes for the linguistic ecosystem.

Exploring threads of the ecological metaphor, Hornberger (2002), too, emphasised the value of all languages and the importance of the multitude of actors involved in the process of implementing language policies. She argued that multilingual language policies were increasingly in evidence throughout the world and that the ‘one nation-one language’ ideology was becoming obsolete, both for nation building and for language policymaking. It was all about “opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many

languages as possible” (Hornberger 2002:7). Whereas the established and expected norm in schools universally was the use of convergent, standard language varieties as media of instruction, she claimed that

multilingual language policies offer a stunning contrast to these expectations, opening up a space where minority, vernacular, contextualised contents and identities can be introduced and a range of media – including dissimilar, divergent, nonstandard varieties as well as visual and other communicative modes – can be employed simultaneously in instruction. (Hornberger 2002:24).

Spolsky’s (2004) theorisation of language policy further substantiated that tenet. He used the ecology metaphor to support the view that any changes in languages and language variables are frequently associated with non-linguistic phenomena and that the maintenance of linguistic diversity was more affected by social policy than by language policy per se. Language policy is concerned not only with the study of all individual elements that make up a language or language variety; but also, with all manifold sociolinguistic contexts or domains of language use, be it the family unit, the school, the workplace, up to the national and supra-national domains. Thus language policy referred to “all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity” (Spolsky 2004:9). It referred to what people actually did with language, what they thought they did with language and their explicit or undeclared efforts to control language choices and use in a range of private, public, national and supra-national domains. In short, language planning, language practices and language ideologies or beliefs *were* language policy. Language planning and policy research thus turned its focus increasingly to the language practices and ideologies of individuals in local contexts.

The appropriateness of the ecological metaphor has been criticised on the basis that

biological evolution ensures the survival of the fittest and any ecosystem is populated by both predators and prey and, therefore, while the metaphor suggests reasons for why we would want to save endangered languages (so as to not disrupt the equilibrium in the language ecology), portraying some languages as better suited to survive evolution, or as predators, would not be welcome in this approach. (Johnson 2007:52)

Still, the metaphor is useful here in that it emphasises an awareness about relationships and interaction. For example, Priestley et al. (2015) have recently used an ecological approach to reflect about “the interplay of individuals’ capacities and environment conditions”, emphasising the “cultures, structures and relationships that shape the particular ‘ecologies’

within which teachers work” (2015:3). This recent work brings a much-needed articulation between the tendency of some research in the field to perhaps overemphasise the capacities of individuals as a contrast to other strands of research which emphasise the incapacitating power of structural institutional forces (Tollefson 2013a) in what has been termed a macro/micro divide (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral 2018). The articulation between the macro and micro level research had long been missing in the field of language policy and planning.

The Ethnography of Language Policy

The ethnography of language policy (Hornberger and Johnson 2007) has the potential to give a fuller account of the ways in which language policies are enacted across the macro, meso and micro levels of social interaction. As such, it counters the traditional separation between critical work focusing on the power of macro-level structures and on ethnographic work emphasising the agency of individuals and communities. Its focus is specifically on language policy types, components and processes. Language policies are generated and exist across many different contexts and layers of activity, from government policies or laws that come from on high to the language policy within a family household. They can be the result of official regulations or unofficial principles and cultural constructs. They can be found in the texts and discourses circulating across different contexts of social and institutional activity. They can use overt/covert, de jure/de facto, explicit/implicit⁴ means to reach their goals. They may be subject to adoption or rejection, depending on how they are interpreted.

In all those contexts, the connections between ideologies, practices and policies are extremely close. Johnson (2013a) explains that “a policy can emerge from particular language ideologies, a policy can engender language ideologies, or a policy can be interpreted and appropriated in ways that depend on language ideologies” (2013a:7), also that “language practices are influenced by, products of, producers of, and instantiations of language policies” (2013a:8).

⁴ Shohamy (2006) uses the term *covert* to reflect about the hidden agendas embedded in language policies, whereas Shiffman (1996) uses overt/covert as synonyms of explicit/implicit. The latter distinction refers to whether the goals of the policy are officially documented in written or spoken form or whether they occur without this form of documentation or even in spite of it. Then, the de jure/de facto dichotomy refers more specifically to what is regulated by law (*de jure*) and what takes place in practice (*de facto*).

However, the distinguishing element, as McCarty (2011:8) has argued, is their language-regulating power. It is the fact that “policies” can legitimate or invalidate the form and functions of languages or language varieties and of what can be learnt and taught.

Foucault’s (1991) poststructuralist notion of *governmentality* has had an important impact on the way in which power is understood to operate in society. The main idea being that there is no one single locus of power and that government finds its definition in the point of equilibrium where the individual self-governs and is driven by others. In the same way, language policy power must be conceived as circulating across multiple contexts, discourses and practices. A recognition of the power of macro, meso and micro levels of activity then is vital to the protection of multiple languages and language varieties and, by implication, of educational rights and opportunities.

Ethnographies of language policy acknowledge that language policies may have the power to marginalise certain languages and language varieties and their users – historically, examples abound. They also acknowledge that some language policies are designed to protect, develop and promote languages and language varieties. As such, they defend that

critical conceptualizations need to be balanced with the recognition that language policies can be an important, indeed integral, part of the promotion, maintenance, and revitalization of minority and indigenous languages around the world. (Johnson 2013a:8)

It is the nature of these interactions in the process of creating and implementing Portuguese overseas language policies in England that need to be meticulously scrutinised in the analytical chapters ahead. Before that, it is relevant to introduce some of the components and processes that will be part of the discussion.

Components and Processes of Language Policies

Multiple frameworks and typologies have been produced which attempt to outline the categories one must consider when analysing language policy and planning efforts. This review has examined many of the elements within some of these frameworks, for example Haugen’s (1983) fourfold framework, Cooper’s (1989) accounting scheme, Hornberger’s (2006) integrative framework or Johnson’s (2013a) heuristic. Cooper (1989) states that frameworks help us describe, predict, explain and theorize; more than that, they help us evaluate our success

in those tasks. Johnson's (2013a) heuristic is comprehensive and it shall be used here as scaffolding for a discussion that will integrate relevant aspects of the other mentioned frameworks. He posits that

for any language policy, one must consider the **agents, goals, processes, and discourses** which engender and perpetuate the policy, and the dynamic social and historical **contexts** in which the policy exists, keeping in mind that these categories are neither static nor mutually exclusive. (Johnson 2013a:239, my emphasis)

A discussion about the role of the **agents**, their scope of agency, collaboration and interaction is fundamental. As early language policy and planning scholars conceptualized policy as the regulating activities undertaken by governments, this was called a top-down approach (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). The traditional agents of language policy would be individuals with the power and authority to take legal or executive decisions with regards to the different core areas of language planning (status, corpus, acquisition). Other researchers (Cooper 1989, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997) have pointed out that this approach is restrictive as it leaves out a number of other agents who also have been shown to have an impact in language policy and planning activity, such as teachers, civic organizations and different types of communities. Cooper (1989), for example, substantiates this with the campaign for non-sexist use of language in the USA, which surged unexpectedly from the grassroots level. This has been addressed as "bottom-up policy formation" (Johnson 2013a) and it refers to the micro-level activities of individuals. Mohanty et al. (2010) introduced the term *arbiter* when defending that the teachers were the final decision-makers of language policies in schools. Johnson (2013a) prefers a definition of language policy actors that includes the creators of policy as well as those responsible for interpreting and enacting it. He expanded the notion of *arbiter* to include all individuals exerting power at different levels and layers of the language policy process. For Johnson the top-down/bottom-up distinction "obfuscate[s] the varied and unpredictable ways that policy agents interact with the policy process" (2013a:108). *Agent* foregrounds *agency* and *arbiter* foregrounds *authority*. The language policy *agent* is responsible for the creation, interpretation or appropriation of language policies and the language policy *arbiter* is the individual with the decision-making power. These concepts will need to be interrogated at various points throughout the dissertation, specifically in the section about decision-making, in Chapter 7.

It is also crucial to examine the **goals** of the Portuguese policies as stated in the policy text and as understood and enacted by the policy agents. Hornberger's (2006) integrative framework is useful for reflecting upon the goals of language policy and planning as it integrates the major contributions in the field. The vertical axis of her framework comprises language policy and planning types (status, acquisition and corpus). The horizontal axis distinguishes between policy and cultivation approaches; the first of these "attending to matters of society and nation, at the macroscopic level, emphasising the distribution of languages/literacies, and mainly concerned with the standard language; the second, "attending to matters of language/literacy, at the microscopic level, emphasising ways of speaking/writing, and their distribution, and mainly concerned with literary language" (see Hornberger 2006:28). Within the cells, the different goals are assigned to each type and approach. She claims that "beyond identifying possible goals for development of a particular language/literacy, the framework might also provide a reminder that, no matter what the goal, language/literacy planning proceeds best if goals are pursued along several dimensions at once" (Hornberger 2006:32). It is useful to analyse the goals of a language policy as they are said to determine "the direction of change envisioned" (Hornberger 2006:32). It is also useful to remember that an analysis of the goals expressed within policy documents is not enough. In line with what has been written above, policy goals may be implicit or covert, they may be vague or contradictory and they may also be understood in a multiplicity of ways by those creating and/or implementing the policy.

The **processes** refer to the creation, interpretation and appropriation of language policies. Language policy *creation* can take place at a macro, meso or micro social level, as Haarmaan's framework demonstrated (1990). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:4-13) provide the following list of areas of policy creation:

1. governmental agencies involved at the highest level
2. education agencies, sometimes acting under the impetus/in lieu of higher-level structure
3. quasi/non-governmental organisations acting according to their own beliefs
4. all sorts of other groups or in some cases influential individuals creating language policies as an accidental (or sometimes purposeful) part of their normal activity

Peering into the process of creation means questioning how and why policies are created and for what purposes. An important question to keep in mind is whether the process is both inclusive of a multiplicity of contributors and informed by research and in-depth contextual know-how.

Language policy *interpretation* is a creative enterprise (Johnson 2013a) and the same policy text – written and spoken, or even unwritten and unspoken, for that matter – can be understood in many different ways. One useful example here is the interpretation of the Title III of No Child Left Behind, a United States Act of Congress, which has been reported in various studies (Johnson 2013a, Wiley and Wright 2004, Menken 2008) as being anything but unanimous at the various levels and areas of its implementation. Both the creators and those implementing the policy may have different interpretations.

Language policy *appropriation* takes place when a policy is enacted or put into action at the local level. The appropriation of policy may include its explicit or implicit rejection and its full or partial adoption (Johnson 2013a:237).

It will be central to this study to interrogate the **discourses** circulating within policy texts and how they are interpreted and appropriated by the various agents. This category intends to illuminate how and why these discourses are engendered, how they connect to past discourses, and which discursive trends prevail in social and educational practices. Johnson writes that

[s]ometimes local policy discourses, which provide implementational space for minority language use, are not enough to overcome societal discourses; on the other hand, local policy discourses may create ideological space not present in societal discourses for the incorporation of minority languages. (2013a:249)

Finally, policies can be seen as the products (or processes) of the social, political and historical **context** in which they (re-)created, interpreted and appropriated. Each one of these contexts – whether at a local, national or supranational level – is said to “carry its own set of dominant and alternative ideologies about language education and language policy” (Johnson 2013a:250). This category is meant to capture these dynamic layers and levels of activity and how they impact upon the creation and implementation of policies.

Table 1 (below) incorporates the components and processes proposed by Johnson (2013a) and presents some of the main contributors to their development and discussion. Each of these notions and contributions will be relevant for the reflection and analysis that ensues.

Table 1: Processes and components of language policy and planning

Processes:	Creation	Interpretation	Appropriation
Components:			
Agents Scope of agency Collaboration and engagement	Who creates the policy? Policymakers Teachers, educators Community members References: Johnson 2013a Hornberger 1988 Ruiz 1984	Who is an agent/arbiter? Policymakers Teachers, educators Community members References: Johnson 2013b Mohanty et al. 2010 Cooper 1989	How is it put into practice? Rejection Resistance Adoption Transformation References: Johnson 2017, 2008 Liddicoat 2018 Menken and García 2010
Goals Synchronic and diachronic view	What goals are engendered ? Maintenance Reacquisition Acquisition References: Johnson 2013a Stewart 1968 Haugen 1983	How are the goals interpreted ? Maintenance Reacquisition Acquisition References: Johnson Hornberger 2006	How are goals appropriated ? Maintenance Reacquisition Acquisition References: Johnson and Freeman 2010 Kaplan and Baldauf 1997
Discourses Intertextual, interdiscursive, local and societal	What discourses are engendered? Intertextuality Interdiscursivity References: Johnson 2015 Ruiz 1984	What discourses circulate? Recontextualization References: Johnson 2013a, 2015 Ruiz 1984	What discourses prevail? Instantiation References: Johnson 2015 Ruiz 1984
Context Socio-political, historical and physical	What contexts led to the creation of the LP? Macro Meso Micro References: Tollefson 1991, 2013 Shohamy 2006	How does the context affect the interpretation of the LP? Macro Meso Micro References: Johnson 2013a	How does the context affect the appropriation of the LP? Macro Meso Micro References: Johnson 2013 Menken and García 2010

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to set out a conceptual framework that would enable an understanding of how Portuguese official language policy is (re-)created, interpreted and put into action in England. It began by reviewing threads of early sociolinguistic research that continue to be fundamental to an in-depth understanding of the field of language policy and

planning, such as the distinction between status/corpus/acquisition. Using various examples from empirical research, I showed how these theoretical and methodological threads were updated and modified to accommodate dominant ontological and epistemological shifts.

The early positivist research frameworks, which conceptualised the field of language planning as an objective science and were ideologically oriented to solving language problems, branched into either assuming language policies as monolithic mechanisms of power serving only the interests of the majority, which meant researching language policy from the governmental institutional macro-sociological level (top-down), or assuming language policies as encompassing all the practices and beliefs around language, which meant that only researching ethnographically from the micro-sociological level (bottom-up) would fully rationalise language change.

Recent studies have introduced yet another paradigmatic shift which entails understanding language policy as a complex process involving the interrelation between a series of components – agents, goals, discourses, context – and the interaction between agents in the processes of (re-)creating, interpreting and appropriating language policies at a multiplicity of levels. This latest shift entails harmonising critical and ethnographic paradigms in order to illuminate as many of those components and relationships as possible, but also in order to contribute to changing social inequalities and the need to educate students towards what Stroud (2018) has denominated *multilingual citizenship*.

The conceptual framework here proposed combines a socio-political and historical analysis of the Portuguese policies for overseas – its goals, agents and the discourses therein – with ethnographic scrutiny of the interactions taking place along the multiple levels of policy interpretation and appropriation. The methodological chapter ahead offers some innovations in terms of the methods and tools used to go about doing this. It is hoped that these theoretical and methodological innovations contribute to a better understanding of policy processes and their negotiation at the interface of social structures and human agency. Furthermore, in the concluding chapter of my study, a fifth core area of language planning and policy will be offered and referred to as Engagement Planning.

Chapter 3: Methodology

What is the nature of knowledge? How do we ask questions about what we do know, and how do we answer those questions? How can we be sure that what we know is accurate or real or valid?

(Johnson 2018:52)

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approach and the research design adopted for the study. The methodological approach presents the ontological and epistemological viewpoint of the study and elucidates the rationale for conducting an ethnography of language policy, its gains and limitations. It is also in this section that reflexivity and researcher positionality are addressed. Then, the section on research design details the research focus, aims and questions as well as the tools for data collection and analysis, before finishing with a presentation of the settings and participants.

Methodological Approach: Ethnography of Language Policy

The answer to Johnson's questions (above) relates to the tradition or paradigm upon which the research is grounded. Lin states that

[h]aving a reflexive understanding of the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying one's research tradition helps reveal where one stands in relation to other research traditions and why one chooses such a position in a research project. (Lin 2015:22)

Drawing on Habermas (1979, 1987), she defines these research paradigms as sets of "beliefs, theories, empirical methodologies, and communication practices shared by a community of researchers" (Lin 2015:24) and she identifies three types: the positivist, the interpretive and the critical research tradition. In the positivist paradigm, the objective of research is to verify empirical data through experimental methods and/or surveys and the researcher is an external

“*subject of knowing*”. This can be related to the early studies in the field of LPP, when research was “problem-oriented” (see Chapter 2). In the interpretive paradigm, the aim of research is to understand phenomena from the perspectives of the participants, which positions the researcher as a participant-observer and the researched often an object of description and analysis. Then, in the critical paradigm, the emphasis is on self-reflection and on considering the ways in which one’s own trajectory shapes our understanding and sense-making process.

Insights gained through critical self-reflection are emancipatory in the sense that researchers can be aware of the sources of their current values, taken-for-granted worldviews, or ways of being, which position them (with their tacit consent) in established societal or institutional hierarchies. (Lin 2015:24)

In this paradigm, the purpose of doing research is also to promote change and to empower those subordinated groups in society – such as emigrant groups or even teachers – who may be regarded as less important or subservient. Recent conceptualizations of language policy have tended to espouse these epistemological orientations. They have done this by focusing on understanding the connections between the agents, contexts, goals and discourses involved in the processes of language policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation across multiple levels and layers of social and institutional activity (McCarty 2011, Hult and Johnson 2015, Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018). It is an exercise that requires the “textual and historical analysis of policy texts” to be balanced with “an ethnographic understanding of some local context” (Hornberger and Johnson 2007). It is a line of research that informs what has lately been addressed as ethnography of language policy.

In the following lines, I draw on McCarty’s (2015) representation of the relationship between language planning and policy research and the three facets of ethnography – a way of seeing, a way of looking and a way of being – as scaffolding for addressing the methodological approach and philosophical orientations of my study.

A Way of Seeing: the Ontological Dimension

As a way of *seeing*, ethnography relates to the ontological dimension of social and institutional practice. McCarty (2015:81) explains that for ethnographers of LPP this means observing the practices, ideologies, attitudes and mechanisms that influence language choices. Moreover, it means seeing

the interplay between, on the one hand, the locally situated language practices of particular social actors, in particular social spaces and at particular points in time, and, on the other hand, dominant discourses, ideologies and conventionalised and institutional structures. (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral 2018:81)

This involves an understanding of policy declarations, regulations, laws, but also the ways in which these artefacts are interpreted and put into practice. It is related to Johnson's view that

[h]istorical and intertextual analyses of policy texts provide insight into the confluence of histories, attitudes, and ideologies which engender a language policy text but, alone, cannot account for how the creation is interpreted and implemented in the various contextual layers through which a language policy must pass. (Johnson's 2007:33)

In each of these layers, policy arbiters – or mediators through *whom* policies must pass – are responsible for interpreting and appropriating the policy text. Johnson draws on Ball's (1993) conceptualisation of policy as *text* and policy as *discourse* to explain that the many meanings and interpretations that derive from a policy *text* must always be confronted with the boundaries set for what is educationally feasible by the powerful *discourses* produced and perpetuated around them. In other words, “the language policy text means very little without the human agents who act as interpretive conduits” (Johnson 2013a:145). Therefore, to answer my research questions and the purposes of this study, as enunciated in Chapter 1, my research design comprises a multi-layered and multi-sited project steered by the following overarching lines of interrogation:

How is Portuguese language policy (re)-created, interpreted and appropriated in England?

For each policy process studied – creation, interpretation and appropriation – a set of sub-questions unfolds which focus on illuminating the goals, methods, context, discourses, agents and the intersections between them. Questions about the creation of Portuguese macro-level language policy focus on an understanding of: the goals overtly expressed in the policy language in relation to the socio-political and historical context in which the policy is formulated; the methods favoured to achieve those goals; the broader societal discourses drawn upon within the policy text and their development over time; the social actors involved. In turn, questions about the interpretation and appropriation of the language policy relate to a local context, including meso institutional and micro educational levels of activity, and focus on an

understanding of: the teachers' and administrators' perceptions about the language policy goals in relation to the sociocultural and physical contexts in which the policy is instantiated; the methods actually in place to achieve these goals; the circulating local and societal discourses; the arbiters – who they are and what is their scope of agency, collaboration and engagement in the policy process.

A Way of Looking: the Epistemological Orientation

As a way of *looking*, ethnography relates to our epistemologies and to how as ethnographers we approach knowledge-building and meaning making. Drawing on Wolcott (2008), McCarty (2015:85-89) lists three ways of looking, which this study adopts: *experiencing*, which involves taking part in the activities of participants, engaging in their day-to-day, observing and recording systematically; *enquiring*, which involves interviewing formally or informally; and *examining*, which involves analysing what has been experienced and what has been the object of enquiry. The three ways of looking – experiencing, enquiring, examining – are particularly well suited to the ethnographic study of language policy and I relate them with the methods of data collection and analysis used in the pursuit of my three main research aims (see next section, Table 2).

In the pursuit of the first aim – analysis of the Portuguese language policy – I gathered the official policy documents that are central to the provision of Portuguese outside Portugal, including the multiple versions of the policy text produced throughout the years (see next section, Table 3). I also participated in two conferences (see next section, Table 7) where I met and had the opportunity to converse with a variety of people linked with the provision at different levels, from the Portuguese Secretary of State for Education to the teachers and lecturers of Portuguese all over England and the community of researchers, parents and pupils.

In the pursuit of the second aim – examining the interpretation of the Portuguese language policies – I interviewed four teachers and two administrators. I chose to carry out a series of encounters and interviews with my key participants – these proved to be a privileged way of both *experiencing* and *enquiring*. The process of interviewing is addressed in the next section, here just a note to emphasise that they involved meeting the participants on three different occasions, separated by one to two months, each occasion zooming deeper into their interpretations of the relevant language policies.

In the pursuit of the third aim – investigating the appropriation of the Portuguese language policy in England – I visited the coordinator of the Portuguese provision in her office in London and the teachers in their schools. These visits allowed me to experience the teachers’ daily routines (many times I accompanied them from their homes to the school, other times we travelled together between schools) and to engage with their practices (I stayed with the teachers in the school, taking part in some of their classes and chatting to school staff, pupils and parents). They also allowed me to gather and examine a wealth of documents, such as teaching and learning materials or self-assessment reports, and to capture it all with the handy camera of my smartphone.

Thus, this ethnographic approach allowed me to use of a blend of methods for data collection, which generated multiple types of data – policy documents, transcripts of interviews, timelines, pictures, teaching materials, fieldnotes. Johnson claims that,

[e]thnographies of language policy are nontraditional in at least two important ways. First the object of study is not a culture or a people, as would traditionally be the case, but a policy or policies. Second, traditional ethnographies are built on long-term participant observation among a particular community or within a particular context, but ethnographies of language policy often require data collection across diverse contexts and communities of individuals. (Johnson 2018:60)

My research involved collection of data in different schools and at the head office, it involved participant observation and engagement with the participants over an extended period of time. More than that, it involved a particular technique of interviewing which allowed for reflecting back on what had been said before and zooming deeper into its meanings (see next section for details of this process). It also allowed researcher and researched to build an understanding of their life trajectories together and of how these trajectories related to wider discourses and social and historical processes.

While this “bottom-up” approach is typically used in ethnographic research on educational policy, “top-down” approaches are very much a characteristic of traditional LPP research. Yet it is the combination of these two techniques that is said to illuminate both the linguistic and extra-linguistic variables that influence the language policy cycle. Therefore, it was vital for the purpose of this research to trace the history of the legal framework for the provision of Portuguese and its impact in England, trying to understand the socio-political forces and grand historical and cultural events at the time and place of their creation and deployment. It was also

vital to delve deeper into the language of the policy texts, focusing on particular themes and linguistic constructions and on intertextual connections to past and present discourses about language and language learning. By examining these formulations of Portuguese language policies and also how they are experienced and enacted in English schools by Portuguese teachers, in their day-to-day interactions with local head teachers, teachers, pupils and parents, the study contributes to illuminating the interconnections between the multiple layers and levels of language planning and policy.

A Way of Being: Reflexivity and Researcher Positionality

As a way of *being*, an ethnography of language policy involves thoughtful consideration about the research process and about the role of the researcher in this process. In fact, Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral (2018:84) write about the fundamental “turn, across the social sciences, to greater reflexivity in the design and conduct of research projects.” This means that the researcher needs to be aware of how their own subjectivity – their different identities, their ethnicity, their gender or their social and institutional position – shapes the research process and the collection and analysis of data. It is vital for the researcher to reflect upon how these personal characteristics might influence access both to the physical and ideological spaces shared with and by the participants. Moreover, current research is concerned with building rapport between researcher and researched in order to create dialogical perspectives on the conduct of the research and its findings. Hornberger (1988:4) claims that it is the ethnographer’s role “to participate with the community without judging it, and to be part of the community without forgetting to observe it” and Johnson (2013a:47) alerts to the dangers of researching from the inside, as being so close may hinder critical analysis.

In the introduction to this dissertation (Chapter 1) it was made very clear that my personal and professional interests were the genesis of this research project. I am a Portuguese person living in England, which makes me an insider in the emigrant community. I am a mother of a bilingual seven-year-old boy who has attended Portuguese classes for some three years, which makes me an insider as a parent benefitting from the Portuguese provision. I am a former teacher of Portuguese language in every context of Portuguese language learning and teaching analysed for the purposes of this study, which makes me an insider in the profession at the micro level. After finishing the ethnographic collection of data for the study, which took place between June 2017 and April 2019, I took on the role of deputy director for Camões in the UK and the

Channel Islands. This position reports directly to the director of Camões in the UK and Channel Islands. This makes me an insider at the meso level of policy development too. Operating as a Portuguese, as a parent, as a former teacher and, for the last 18 months of my study, as a meso level administrator for Camões gives me a unique multidimensional viewpoint of the provision. As Johnson (2007:71) puts it, it is a “unique vantage point for observing language policy and program development at different levels and from different perspectives”.

During the process of data collection, I was regarded by the teachers as a former colleague and by the administrator as a former employee. There was a natural affinity with the participants, and it never felt like they were suppressing their views. According to Aguilar (1981) participants are less likely to suppress their views when the researcher is an ethnic insider. It felt even more so, being an insider in the job as well. Indeed, the process of data collection took me back into schools and included spending time with fellow teachers and staff, being in the classrooms and meandering around the school spaces. It included engaging with pupils and even giving them a hand in some learning activities or exchanging a few words with parents at the school gate. This often meant going in and out of my teacher-researcher roles and I believe this is what McCarty (2015:84) refers to when she writes about the blurring lines of “emic-etic and insider-outsider negotiations of research settings”. Some researchers alert to the dangers of ‘insider’s dilemma’ (Gregory and Ruby 2011) which manifests when the researcher’s assumptions constrain their vision and interpretations. In my study, this was mitigated by the long-term engagement with the participants afforded by the three-part interviews, each occurring at least two months apart from each other (see next section for a description of this process).

I relate my research technique to the concept of cooperative ethnographic monitoring, which was proposed by Dell Hymes in 1980 as a paradigm of research that had the potential to create more equitable forms of knowledge-building (Van der Aa and Blommaert 2017, Korne and Hornberger 2017). Within this concept it is acknowledged that the participants’ life trajectories influence their values and beliefs and must be understood as interlaced with the broader social, historical and ideological context. In turn, the ethnographer’s knowledge trajectory becomes an “epistemic resource”, and the ethnographer is integral part of the fieldwork (Van der Aa and Blommaert 2017:269). The fundamental tenets of ethnographic monitoring are that research supports social justice, the researcher is a social actor and social change is “a collective process that emerges from ground-level realities and aspirations” (Korne and Hornberger 2017:247). Ethnographic monitoring in my study is achieved by adopting both an interpretive and critical

paradigm (Lin 2015) in what has been and continues to be a long-term involvement of the researcher in the provision. The interpretive paradigm is achieved in the research's aim to take the viewpoint of the Portuguese educators, through both observing them and listening to their stories, and then describing their actions and analysing their accounts. However, the study goes further than that and also adopts a critical stance in that this knowledge is fed back to the participants, who are able to reflect on their accounts after each interview and to co-produce knowledge in a "dialogue of equal footings" (Lin 2015:26) between the researcher and the researched. In this way, the research methodology also ensures that there is a balance in the relationship between researcher and researched. This was clear on the many occasions when the key participants stated that the conduct of the three-part interviews, with its spaced visits to schools and browsing together through materials and documents, made them reflect about their ideas and practices in what felt like a collaborative meaning-making process (see Chapter 5). The analysis of the interviews, in Chapters 5 to 7, evidences these moments of collaborative reflection. I come back to these moments in the next section, when presenting the steps of the process of interviewing and discuss the research design adopted. It is as a result of this dialogue that the study intends to produce knowledge about the impact that the Portuguese policies have on the practices of the teachers and their administrator and about how this affects the lives of the students and the Portuguese emigrant community. Carrying out an ethnography of language policy entails capturing the behaviours and representations of the participants (emic approach) while reflecting upon the theories and frameworks around the language policy subject of study (etic approach). The research findings (Chapter 8) will be shared and operationalised in keeping with the research interests of the researcher who sees herself as both a "long-term academic consultant" (Van der Aa, J. and Blommaert, J. 2017) and a social actor within the field.

Research Design

The data for this research study was collected between the months of June 2017 and April 2019. The reason why this study is an ethnography of language policy is that it combines analysis of the historical development of policies and analysis of policy texts with ethnographic collection of data including participant observation, interviews, attendance of meetings and conferences and interdiscursive analysis (Johnson 2007). It is multi-layered and multi-sited in nature. This section gives a detailed account of the research focus, aims and questions in their relation to the elected forms of data collection and analysis, which are also thoroughly described. Table 2 (below) synthesises this information.

Table 2: Research design

<i>Ethnography of Language Policy: Seeing</i>		<i>Looking</i>			<i>Being</i>
Focus	Aims	Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis	Ethical Considerations
Creation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ analyse the creation of Portuguese language policy for classes abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How has the formulation of Portuguese language policy changed over time? <i>With a focus on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ expressed goals ▪ methods favoured ▪ contexts leading to policy creation ▪ discourses engendered ▪ Agents of creation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gathering of official documents, including multiple versions of the policy text Participant observation in events, conferences, meetings (where possible) Field notes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnographic analysis (McCarty 2015) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Areas considered throughout the empirical work:
Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ examine the interpretation of the Portuguese language policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How is Portuguese language policy interpreted by teachers and administrators involved in the provision of Portuguese in England? <i>With a focus on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ interpretation of goals ▪ perceptions about methods, context and discourses ▪ perceived scope of agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with teachers and administrators Timeline interviews with key participants Gathering of a variety of documents: official and unofficial meso-level policy documents, teaching and learning materials, self-assessment reports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative content analysis (Burnham 2008; Roach 2001) Intertextual and interdiscursive (Johnson 2007, 2013a, 2015; Seidman 2006) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What interests motivate the research? • Who are you to the participants and how does your identity affect the research? • How are you representing and giving voice to the “researched”?
Appropriation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ investigate the appropriation of the Portuguese language policy in England 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How is the language policy put into action at the local level? <i>With a focus on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ appropriation of goals ▪ methods in place ▪ impact of local context ▪ prevailing discourses ▪ <i>de facto</i> arbiter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviews with key participants Participant observation in classrooms, <u>schools</u> and the Portuguese Department Annotated photography Field notes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narrative analysis (Goodson 2010) 	

Focus, Aims and Research Questions

There is a tripartite focus to the research design that is inspired by Johnson’s (2013a) conceptualization of the three interlinked policy processes of creation, interpretation and appropriation. The research aims encompass each of these foci and develop into three overarching research questions.

The first question deals with the macro level of policy creation and attempts to bring to the fore the expressed goals of the official policies over the years and the methods engendered to achieve these goals. In the process of answering this question, mainly in Chapter 4, the

contexts, discourses and agents involved in or leading to the process of creation of the policies are analysed and questioned:

1. How and why has the formulation of Portuguese language policy changed over time?

The second question focuses on the meso and micro level of language policy interpretation and its aim is to give voice to the key participants. It attempts to characterise the teachers' individual trajectories and to draw out the circulating discourses, ideologies and beliefs about languages and language learning which might influence the agents of Portuguese language policy in England.

2. How is Portuguese language policy interpreted by teachers and administrators involved in the provision of Portuguese in England?

The third question intends to zoom in on the practices of the educators in their interaction with the local context. The focus here is on identifying and discussing the most significant factors and tensions that might be mediating the implementation of the Portuguese policies:

3. How is the language policy put into action at the local level?

Data Collection

Data collection took place across the macro, meso and micro levels of language policy activity.

In order to answer the first research question, which aimed to understand the process of official policy creation for the Portuguese language provision overseas, the methodological tool used was a database of Portuguese legislation. Then, to answer the second and third research questions, which relate to the processes of interpretation and appropriation, the research entered its ethnographic phase. At this stage, the data collection involved interviews and participant observation, as well as keeping fieldnotes, photographic and documentary data. Each of these ethnographic research tools contributed to the analysis of the contextual factors that re-create the language policy as it is put into action. The following lines provide the details of this collection.

Database of Portuguese Legislation

A database of Portuguese legislation was created for the purpose of this study, and it is made up of all the relevant legal acts between the years 1969 and 2016. From the full suite of Portuguese laws, decrees, directives, dispatches and ministerial orders available in the official journal *Diário da República Eletrónico* (at www.dre.pt), I gathered all the official texts that have regulated the Portuguese language provision overseas. Then, I selected the documents that were relevant for understanding the turning points in the language policies that impacted the provision of Portuguese language for school-aged children in England. Each of these official documents was catalogued and organised in a Microsoft Word document according to the following information:

- 1) Type of act
- 2) Number of act
- 3) Identification of the official journal
- 4) Issuing agency
- 5) Summary of the act
- 6) Summary of components
- 7) Excerpts of the act

While my selection may not include all the legislation related to the Portuguese language provision overseas, it allows for a comprehensive understanding of the turning points in the process of official language policy creation. Thus, the analysis is qualitative in nature and focuses on a set of interlinked constituent components, specifically: the language policy goals, methods, agents, context and discourses. Table 3 (overleaf) presents the selection of documents from my own database of Portuguese legislation which are analysed in-depth as they are believed to constitute fundamental turning points in the development of the overseas provision.

Table 3: Selection of Policy Texts from Data Base of Portuguese Legislation

Data ID	Identification:
1	<p>Type: Decree-Law (Decreto-Lei) Number: 48944 Date: 28 March 1969 Source: <i>Diário do Governo</i>, no. 74/1969, Série I Issuing Agency: Ministry of National Education: Directorate-General of Primary Education Description: Creates first official Primary Education schools outside Portugal.</p>
2	<p>Type: Law (Lei) Number: 74/77 Date: 28 September 1977 Source: <i>Diário da República</i>, no. 225/1977, Série I Issuing Agency: National Assembly (Assembleia da República) Description: Establishes the arrangements relating to Portuguese language and culture abroad.</p>
3	<p>Type: Constitutional Law Number: 1/82 Date: 30 September 1982 Source: <i>Diário da República</i>, no. 227/1982, Série I Issuing Agency: National Assembly (Assembleia da República) Description: First revision to the Portuguese Constitution of 1976.</p>
4	<p>Type: Law (Legal Framework for National Education – <i>Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo</i>) Number: 46/86 Date: 14 October 1986 Source: <i>Diário da República</i>, no. 237/1986, Série I Issuing Agency: National Assembly (Assembleia da República) Description: Establishes the framework for the Portuguese National Educational System. It includes as a special form of education the teaching of Portuguese in countries where there are Portuguese communities.</p>
5	<p>Type: Decree-Law Number: 165/2006 Date: 11 August 2006 Source: <i>Diário da República</i>, 1.^a série – n.º 155 Issuing Agency: Ministry of Education Description: Creates the legal regime for Portuguese education abroad.</p>
6	<p>Type: Decree-Law Number: 165-C/2009 Date: 28 July 2009 Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Issuing Agency: Description: First revision to the legal regime for Portuguese education abroad.</p>
7	<p>Type: Decree-Law Number: 234/2012 Date: 30 October 2012 Source: Issuing Agency: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Description: Second revision to the legal regime for Portuguese education abroad.</p>
8	<p>Type: Decree-Law Number: 65-A/2016 Date: 25 October 2016 Source: Issuing Agency: Foreign Affairs Description: Third revision to the legal regime for Portuguese education abroad.</p>

These documents were selected on the basis that they have been the basic official instruments regulating the procedures and conditions for the provision of Portuguese education overseas. As Johnson (20013a:228) points out

[l]anguage policies are often the product of earlier versions of the same policy, especially those created by governments as laws. (Johnson 20013a:228)

Consistent with legislative drafting techniques, within each policy text references are made to previous versions or to related policies. Therefore, the method used to search for relevant policy texts was to skim read each text for intra-textual references to previous or related texts. Starting with the latest legislation – Decree-Law no. 65-A/2016 of 25 October 2016 – where references are made to previous versions – Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of August 2006 and Decree-Law no. 234/2012 of 30 October 2012 – one is able to trace the antecedents of the current legislation and map it back to prior and related versions. This is evidenced in the example below:

O presente decreto-lei procede à terceira alteração ao Decreto-Lei n.º 165/2006, de 11 de agosto, alterado e republicado pelo Decreto-Lei n.º 234/2012, de 30 de outubro, que estabelece o regime jurídico do ensino português no estrangeiro.

This decree-law is the third alteration to Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of 11 August, which was altered and republished by Decree-Law no. 234/2012 of 30 October, which establishes the legal framework for Portuguese teaching overseas.

(Article 1, Decree-Law no. 65-A/2016)

In cataloguing the legislation, it is noted in the above example that from article 1 of Decree-Law no. 65-A/2016 one can trace two previous versions of the policy text. Interestingly, these are not sequential as Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 is not referenced. The omission highlighted here is significant and relates to Johnson's (2013a) claim that "the edits and revisions between re-authorizations can tell you something about the political climate in which it was authorized and re-authorized". In the 2009 decree, references to the language provision as supporting emigrant communities are almost completely removed in favour of those relating to the international diffusion of the language (see discussion in chapter 4).

The search was carried out until the first version of the policy text was found – Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969 (Figure 5). This is the only legislative text where there are no references to previous versions. The only reference to other texts is to article no. 109 of the Portuguese Constitution, which empowers the legislator to promulgate the law.

Figure 5: First version of legislative text for Portuguese teaching overseas

gerais — Imposto profissional», do orçamento da receita ordinária para aquele ano económico.

Ministério do Ultramar, 28 de Março de 1969. — O Ministro do Ultramar, *Joaquim Moreira da Silva Cunha*.

Para ser publicada no *Boletim Oficial de Moçambique*. — *J. da Silva Cunha*.

MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO NACIONAL

Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário

Decreto-Lei n.º 48 944

Considerando ser da maior conveniência, dentro do espírito da comunidade cultural portuguesa, proporcionar aos portugueses e luso-descendentes residentes no estrangeiro meios de manterem e intensificarem os seus laços espirituais com a Pátria Portuguesa;

Considerando ser de toda a vantagem facilitar e generalizar as iniciativas que dentro desse espírito têm vindo a ser tomadas no campo do ensino primário;

Usando da faculdade conferida pela 1.ª parte do n.º 2.º do artigo 109.º da Constituição, o Governo decreta e eu promulgo, para valer como lei, o seguinte:

Artigo 1.º — 1. A criação de escolas do ensino primário oficial no estrangeiro far-se-á mediante portaria conjunta dos Ministros dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Educação Nacional, sob proposta do Instituto de Alta Cultura e da Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário, consultada a Direcção-Geral dos Negócios Políticos, do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

2. A escolha de professores para as escolas criadas nos termos do n.º 1 deve recair em diplomados para o magistério primário oficial e a nomeação será feita nas condições a estabelecer em despacho ministerial.

Art. 2.º — 1. Nas escolas criadas nos termos do artigo 1.º seguir-se-ão, obrigatoriamente, quanto à língua portuguesa, à história e geografia de Portugal, os programas do ensino primário oficial e, quanto às outras matérias, ou esses programas ou os dos países em que as escolas funcionam.

2. Salvo o disposto no número anterior, aquelas escolas regular-se pela legislação do ensino primário oficial no que lhes for aplicável, cabendo à Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário as funções nela atribuídas às direcções escolares.

3. O arquivo destas escolas, no caso de serem extintas ou suspensas, passará à guarda do consulado de Portugal na respectiva área.

Art. 3.º Os portugueses e luso-descendentes aos quais em nação estrangeira tenha sido ministrado, em regime de ensino particular, subsidiado ou não pelo Estado português, o ensino primário com os programas previstos no n.º 1 do artigo 2.º, poderão, sob proposta do Instituto de Alta Cultura, ser admitidos a exame, independentemente de matrícula, perante júri designado pelo Ministro da Educação Nacional, que funcionará segundo normas a aprovar para cada caso por despacho ministerial, sob proposta da Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário.

Art. 4.º O Ministro da Educação Nacional estabelecerá por despacho a forma como se deve processar a colaboração entre o Instituto de Alta Cultura e a Direcção-Geral do Ensino Primário para a execução do presente diploma legal.

Visto e aprovado em Conselho de Ministros. — *Marcello Caetano* — *Alberto Marciano Gorjão Franco Nogueira* — *José Hermano Saraiva*.

Promulgado em 19 de Março de 1969.

Publique-se.

Presidência da República, 28 de Março de 1969. — AMÉRICO DEUS RODRIGUES THOMAZ.

Key Settings and Key Participants

Having gathered the Database of Portuguese Legislation, as described above, the research entered its ethnographic phase. This meant approaching the research settings and selecting the participants. As was shown in the contextualisation section of Chapter 1, the official provision of Portuguese in schools in England started with the promulgation of Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969. Since then, one central administration office set up in London oversees the management of the Portuguese provision for the UK and the Channel Islands. Irrespective of the governmental ministry or institution responsible for the development and implementation of the legal framework for overseas, these offices have been known as *Coordenações de Ensino Português no Estrangeiro*, which has been translated as Departments of Portuguese Education Overseas (other studies have used this nomenclature, for example Estrela 2003). Each Department assumes the name of the country where it is set up – *Coordenação do Ensino Português no Reino Unido e Ilhas do Canal* (Department of Portuguese Education in the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands). The emic short name for the London office is *a Coordenação* (the Coordination) – henceforth, the Department or the Portuguese Department.

The Portuguese Department

According to the database of the Portuguese Department, in the academic year of 2016/2017, when the fieldwork started, there were 59 partnerships with schools all over the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands. Some schools (28) were offering Portuguese exclusively as an extracurricular subject, others (29) provided a mixed offer of parallel and integrated courses. In addition, two schools offered Portuguese exclusively as a curricular subject – one a primary and one a secondary school.

As tables 4 to 6 (below) demonstrate, the courses offered consisted of extracurricular and curricular classes. Most pupils (72%) were learning Portuguese as an extracurricular subject either after school or at weekends and a smaller number (28%) were learning it within the curriculum of their mainstream school. The number of students enrolled for classes was greater in pre-school and elementary education (80%) than in secondary education (20%).

Table 4: Provision of extracurricular courses in 2017 (UK and Jersey)

extracurricular pre-school		extracurricular elementary		extracurricular secondary		Total Extracurricular	
pupils	courses	pupils	courses	pupils	courses	pupils	courses
921	57	996	55	369	50	2286	162

Table 5: Provision of curricular courses in 2017 (UK and Jersey)

curricular pre-school		curricular elementary		curricular secondary		Total in Curriculum	
pupils	courses	pupils	courses	pupils	courses	pupils	courses
254	23	350	23	300	20	904	66

Table 6: Portuguese provision totals in 2017 (UK and Jersey)

Grand Total	
pupils	courses
3190	228

In total, there were 3,190 children and youngsters learning Portuguese through this network. They were distributed over 228 courses which were being taught by 24 teachers, working across the United Kingdom and Jersey.

Participants

The key participants selected for the purpose of this study assume a preeminent position as the main characters of their life stories (Chapter 5) and, for this reason and to avoid repetition, this section is not so much about who they are, but more about how they got to be part of the study – this includes me.

The Researcher

My work for the Portuguese Department in the UK started with a teaching position in Bournemouth, in 2001. Since then, my professional and academic paths have been in one way or another intertwined with the provision of Portuguese in the UK (see Chapter 1 and also the previous section of this chapter, which provides a more detailed reflection on my positionality as a researcher). When I began this research in 2016, I was back in the UK and had just left a position as a Portuguese Teaching Fellow at the University of Southampton. My interest in carrying on studying the provision kept me in contact with the Portuguese Department and my good relationship with the coordinator meant that we met informally at the Department on a few occasions before our first formal interview and we chatted about my research intentions. I conducted the last interview for this research in April 2019 and, in December of the same year, I accepted a position as Deputy Director of the Portuguese Department in the UK and the Channel Islands.

The Director or Coordinator

Margarida⁵ was the Director of the Portuguese Department in the UK and the Channel Islands during this study and indeed for the last three years of my role as a teacher in Jersey. Margarida facilitated the introductions to the four Portuguese teacher participants below. All were known

⁵ Margarida and Nancy (overleaf) are pseudonyms – see section on Ethical Considerations.

to me as former colleagues who I had met while attending meetings and CPD courses during my employment in the Portuguese Department.

The Teachers

Nuno, Maria, Natália and Ângela responded positively to my requests and welcomed the opportunity and the demands of taking part in three interviews, visits to their schools and a considerable amount of browsing through their work and attending their classes. This generosity and openness continued throughout the two years. Chapter 5 presents each of their stories in relation to the provision and working in the Department.

Nancy

Nancy was the head of EAL during the time that I was a Portuguese teacher on Jersey, in the Channel Islands. She worked closely with the Portuguese teachers on the island and, for many years, she was the Jersey Education Committee Liaison Officer, liaising between the Portuguese Department and the Jersey Education Department. In April 2018, after I had left Jersey and had started my PhD, I called Nancy out of the blue and told her about my research project. I explained that I was interested in understanding the tensions of implementing the language learning opportunities offered by the Portuguese Department into schools from her own perspective and that of a headteacher. She was happy to be interviewed and gave me permission to record our conversation. It was an informal discussion which offered some important insight into how the provision may be externally perceived by headteachers. She is not a key participant, but her testimony allows for some relevant data triangulation.

Interviews and Participant Observation

Johnson (2013a) writes that “[t]he best methods for understanding the actions of language policy agents include interviews with those who are involved with, or impacted by, language policy processes, and participant-observation”. The interviews in this study allowed me to understand the teachers’ interpretation of Portuguese policies and how they relate to their beliefs and actions. Participant observation was an important complementary approach to the interviews as they helped “reveal other interpretations not expressed in the interviews” (Johnson 2013a:248). Moreover, the visits to the schools and classrooms were fundamental in

understanding the relationships developed between the teachers and the schools, staff, children and parents.

The first interview conducted took place on 19 June 2017, when I visited the director at the Portuguese Department in London. Before the interview was carried out, the methodology and details of the research were clarified and our conversation paved the way for the rest of the data collection. I was granted access to the multiple research settings and the Director informed her teachers of the existence of my study and the possibility of being contacted by me to participate. I was given all the support needed for selecting and contacting teachers to ask them to take part in the research. This type of request is something that the Department is very used to and indeed that was part of the difficulty in recruiting participants – some had been recently (or were) involved in other research projects and were unwilling to participate in yet another study, which is completely understandable. The four teachers finally selected – Nuno, Maria, Natália and Ângela⁶ – all had considerable experience of teaching Portuguese courses across diverse key stages, in extracurricular settings after school hours and in classes integrated into the mainstream curricula. Their working experience in these settings ranged between 8 and 30+ years, which meant that they had collectively witnessed changes in the administration, rules and regulations that frame the teaching and learning of Portuguese in England and they had worked under the supervision of, at least, three different regional directors.

I elected to carry out a three-part phenomenological interview with each of my five key participants (McCarty 2015:86-88), which proved to be a privileged way of both *experiencing* and *enquiring* (see previous section). Phenomenology is the philosophical study of human experience from a first-person point of view and a phenomenological approach to interviewing means that there is a focus on “understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Seidman 2006:9). The three-part phenomenological interviewing technique became of great interest as it combined life-history interviewing with meaning-making through reconstructing and reflecting about the experiences lived in relation to a specific topic. In this study, this involved meeting the participants on multiple occasions, each occasion separated by intervals of at least one to two months. For our first encounter, and the first part of the interview, I carried out a ‘focused life history’, which means that they were asked to describe their personal story in relation to their teaching journey in England. For our

⁶ These four names are pseudonyms – see section on Ethical Considerations.

second meeting, we went into the details of their experience and explored concrete aspects of their practice and how they interpreted the policies. For these, we met at schools, but also cafes, their homes, or via Skype. For our third interview, I asked to visit them at one school of their choice. One where they worked and that they could and/or would like to show me. Here the idea was that they showed me their spaces for teaching, talked about their practice, shared and browsed through materials with me. With McCarty (2015:89), it was found that three separate interviews of 90 minutes each was at times a heavy burden for the participants, whose time is precious and busy. Hence, the in-depth interviews with the regional director and with participant number 4, for example, took place on two (rather than three) occasions but the structure of interviewing was collapsed and fully carried out in those two moments. Then, opportunities were found over the visits and over the phone to discuss any details that came up along the way. The main point was that I wanted to observe their interaction with the space, the teaching staff and the students, but also to understand their viewpoints and what they considered important. The major concern throughout was to hear their voices and to incorporate their voices and reflections into my analysis.

The timeline method (Adriansen 2012) was employed to elicit and annotate important biographical events and turning points. This method involves asking the participants to draw along a timeline the most important personal events and turning points related to the main topic (language policy), aspects of the broader social context, their personal interests and relations. In social research, drawings are often used to engage children and adults in activities that involve *drawing and talking* or *drawing and writing*. This is said to facilitate a richer exploration of individual memories, perceptions and reflections on multiple subjects and experiences (Mitchell et al. 2011). Claudia Mitchell et al. (2011) write that drawing, as a participatory research method, encourages “collaborative meaning-making that allows the drawer to give voice to what the drawing was intended to convey” (2011:19). Anna Bagnoli (2009) borrowing from Marrow (1998) reiterates that “it is not the drawings as such that constitute the data, but the whole process of their production”, i.e., the participants’ own meanings. Also, she says (and I agree), drawings work well as ‘openers’ and ‘ice breakers’ for the interview. The timeline method, specifically, is said to enhance interviewer-participant rapport, mutual understanding and reflexivity through interactive and supportive engagement; it also works as a “memory aid and a visual guide or map” for the interview (Kolar et al. 2015:27-28). This technique was used as an attempt to link the individual dimension (Bagnoli 2009) of the teachers’ lives and their practice with the meso and macro level of institutional

practices and policies. Moreover, my long-term engagement with the participants allowed me to gather many other sources of data, which are fundamental for methodological triangulation, amongst them teaching and learning materials and teachers' self-assessment reports.

The conversations and drawings carried out felt to me like the result of open collaboration and interaction around a topic that had considerable significance for both of us – researcher and researched. Negotiating the production of the timelines worked well as an opener for the first interview and drawing it together functioned both as a memory aid and as a basis for improving mutual understanding throughout the interviews. The visual nature of the task allowed us to easily come back to them in our second interview and sometimes in the third interview. The three-part aspect of the interviews gave us (again, researcher and researched) time to reflect upon the preceding conversations and to come back and add to them. Allowing the time between interviews to span for the length of the academic year, although different from Seidman's proposal of ideally two to three weeks between interviews, was advantageous in this context as it meant that the participants taught nearly a full school year while being interviewed. Therefore, they experienced a full professional cycle of activities and were able to reflect upon them before and after the interviews, which got them involved in the analytical process. The passage of time also contributed to developing a much closer relationship and to building rapport, as there were many phone calls and emails exchanged to discuss the details of the encounters, such as times, dates and places for meeting or how to get to the meeting points.

For the first of these interviews, the idea was to elicit a narration of the events in the past that placed their experience of the Portuguese language provision within the context of their lives leading up to the present time (Seidman 2006). I started each first interview by showing the participants a blank sheet of paper where we would construct their timeline together. Some participants took the lead and drew everything themselves, others allowed for collaboration and one participant relied on me do all the drawing. Their different reactions were interesting and telling in themselves – they are discussed in Chapter 5.

Then, I elicited the story of how they ended up teaching in England. According to Seidman (2006), asking “how?” to start with is essential as it leads the participant to narrate and reconstruct a series of events. Effectively, my question took them back in time, to different times, to the times that mattered to them. Natália's first annotation on her timeline, for example, was the year she got married to someone who lived in the UK. Ângela's story started with a family decision to emigrate. Within each story, they would start another story, which led to yet another, and then to the meaningful event that connected it to the topic. Throughout the

interviews, they often resorted to this same timeless and universal structure of “beginning, muddle, and resolution with many repetitions of this pattern” characteristic of most life story narratives (Atkinson 2002:121). My commitment to informality and my novice interviewing skills often allowed our conversation to drift away from their personal experiences to their concerns about specific sub-topics, such as the introduction of new programmes and curricula or the ever-decreasing length of class time. I am convinced that the minimization of my guiding role gave them more control over the interviewing process, which was a positive outcome. On the other hand, it often hindered a sense of unity and a chronological sequence of events.

The following exchange represents my introspective epiphanic moment right at the end of the third and last interview with Natália and demonstrates her control over the interview process:

Cátia: *[Digo estas palavras num tom quase sussurrado, a falar de mim para mim] Eu tenho interesse em perceber de que forma é que estas datas [as de promulgação dos decretos] afetam a tua prática, as tuas aulas, mas vou retirar isso de todas as coisas que tu me disseste.*

Natália: *Uma outra coisa que tem a ver com aquilo de que a gente falou é que...*

Cátia: [The following words are almost muttered, as if I was talking to myself]
I am interested in understanding how these dates [the promulgation of the decrees] affect your practices, your classes, but I will get that from all the things that you have told me.

Natália: Something else that is related to what we were talking about is that...

This excerpt highlights how, despite my realisation and muttered comments, Natália takes over and leads the conversation in a different direction as she often did throughout the three interviews, where there were several similar examples. Another strategy she frequently used to legitimate her narrative and establish her power over it was by emphasising her long-term experience of the provision. In this case, a striking comment was perhaps when she told me that she was “the last dinosaur” and that there were no colleagues left from those early times (*Eu sou o último dinossauro. [risos] Já não há colegas dessa altura...*). Her narration had an interesting characteristic that was saliently different from the other participants who were of a different generation from her. Not long after the first interview had started, her narration swayed between past and present in a bifocal temporal framework which is evident in the annotations on her timeline. In the narration, this is evidenced through her recurrent use of

contrasting past and present time expressions. In the excerpt below, this technique is used to put forward an argument related to her concerns about the lack of time and the pressures of what she describes as a restrictive curriculum:

Natália: Há 20 anos atrás era possível fazer isso. Hoje em dia nós temos duas horas por semana, temos um currículo que estabelece, prescreve o que vai ser ensinado e limita a ênfase à língua, não tens tempo para mais.

Natália: Twenty years ago it was possible to do this. **Nowadays** we have two hours per week, we have a curriculum that establishes, prescribes what is to be taught and restricts [us] to an emphasis on the language, you have no time for anything else.

The content of this first interview paved the way for further interviewing, and the longitudinal framework of the research allowed me to ask participants about the relevance of the events drawn in the timeline again in the second and third interviews. For the second round of interviews, the idea was to dig deeper into the details of the key participants' experiences and to explore concrete aspects of their practice which might illustrate their interpretation of the language policies. Having listened to our first conversation, having transcribed, annotated and translated a lot of it, I wanted to return to the theme of change in the policy texts and to their role and their practice throughout change. My tentative line of questioning achieved several insights into what they actually did in their job, how they did it and why. Some of our conversations were about administrative matters related to their contractual terms and how they affected their personal and professional life. Some complained about the instability and lack of definition of being a Portuguese teacher abroad and about the absence of opportunities for career development. In the end, their reminiscences of the work done with the children offered some truly powerful accounts of their worth and significance. There were many relevant themes emerging from the interviews, some brought much clarity to the categories in my analytical framework, some brought new insights into the ideological and structural circumstances of the Portuguese provision in England.

In the third interview, I wanted the participants to reflect on the meanings of their experience, on the intellectual and emotional connections between their work and their lives. Seidman (2006) advocates that, although this tends to happen throughout the three interviews, meaning making should be the centre of attention at this point (2006:18-19). The plan for the day was

to visit a school of their choice, to get to meet and interact with people in the school, to understand how they used the mainstream space in order to promote and facilitate their classes, to browse through their teaching and learning materials. Then, at some quiet and private point, we would sit down and record our third interview. Some excerpts of my fieldnotes give a good account of how we arranged the details for one of the interviews with Natália and how we ended up recording part of the interview in a loud and public environment instead.

Meet Monday, 21 May, [Name] Junction, top waiting room, 1pm. Grab a bite to eat, walk to school. [Ipsis verbis annotation in my journal].

Acabei de telefonar à Natália para combinar o terceiro e último encontro. Ela disse-me que até 15 de maio está a preparar alunos para GCSE e A Level e o tempo é pouco. Pedi-lhe que escolhesse uma escola para nos encontrarmos e sugeri que me mostrasse uma escola de que gostasse especialmente, em que tivesse uma boa relação e em que se sentisse integrada. Ela disse-me que não tem um espaço desses e que “ao fim de todo este tempo, continua a não haver um espaço para nós, continuamos a ser invisíveis”. Eu pedi-lhe que então me mostrasse isso mesmo. [...]

I have just called Natália to arrange our third and final encounter. She told me that until the 15 May she will be preparing students for GCSE and A Level and time is scarce. I asked her to choose a school for us to meet at and I suggested that she showed me a school she particularly liked, with which she had a good relationship and felt integrated. She told me that she didn't have a space like that and that “after all this time, there is still no space for us, we are still invisible”. I asked her to show me that instead. [...]

[Fieldnotes, 3 May 2018]

Cheguei cedo à estação de [Nome] e esperei pela Natália numa sala de espera como combinado. Dali, seguimos juntas em direção à escola. A conversa foi sempre animada pelo caminho. Falávamos sobre coisas mundanas, sobre o dia-a-dia, sobre a família. Entrámos num restaurante para almoçar e a conversa continuou animada, com os temas da língua e das aulas de português inevitavelmente entrelaçados nas nossas conversas. De tal forma que os comentários da Natália se foram tornando cada vez mais relevantes para a minha investigação e senti receio de me esquecer de detalhes importantes da conversa. Quando começou a falar sobre ‘ensino desintegrado’, pedi-lhe

autorização para gravar a conversa e ela aceitou. O nosso almoço, com direito a sobremesa e café, ficou gravado e faz parte do conjunto de entrevistas.

I arrived early at [Name] station and waited for Natália in a waiting room as arranged. From there, we carried on together towards the school. Our conversation was lively along the way. We spoke about mundane things, about our daily lives, about family. We entered a restaurant to grab some lunch and the conversation carried on in a lively manner, with the themes of language and the Portuguese courses inevitably entangled in most things we talked about. In this way, her comments became more and more relevant to my research and I was fearful that I would forget important details of our conversation. When she started talking about ‘disintegrated education’, I asked her permission to record our conversation and she accepted. Our lunch, including apple crumble pudding and coffee, is recorded and it is part of the interview data.

[Fieldnotes, 21 May 2018]

After this unexpected start to the recordings and a rather pleasant lunch, we proceeded to school and the rest of the visit carried on as planned. I recorded the rest of the interview in the classroom where the children then gradually joined us for class and my thoughts of the day I wrote them in my field note book on the train on the way home. This type of unexpected circumstances, as I came to learn by experience, is part and parcel of ethnographic research.

Each of these visits to the participants resulted in the collection of a battery of data, some of which was planned and some of which was unplanned – for example, attending a teacher organised roundtable in London and a conference in Lancaster were unplanned. Soon after my visits to the participants, usually on the way back home as I travelled in the train, I made notes of what I saw and heard. I also took photographs of outside areas, school settings, inside classrooms, and also of materials or displays of student work. With each visit, I also collected a variety of documentary data, such as teachers’ self-assessment reports or handouts that the teachers used in their classes, but also information about the provision, such as presentations with information about numbers of students and their profile year on year. All this data were classified, and the relevant data analysed and brought into light. These materials offered me a comprehensive understanding of the provision and, ultimately, helped me answer my research questions. Table 7 (overleaf) lists the data collected for triangulation purposes and the event of its collection.

Table 7: Data collected for triangulation

Data ID	Data generated	Collection event	Data description
DT 1	Observations and field notes	Collected throughout study.	Fieldwork notebook with descriptions of my visits to schools and thoughts about these visits.
DT 2	Observations and field notes, annotations from various speeches	Conference: <i>Futuro Português: o futuro da língua portuguesa na Europa</i> . Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Lancaster University. (08/04/2017) http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/futuro-portugues/	Notes from the presentations of the Secretary of State for Education, the Coordinator of Portuguese in London, lecturers and teachers.
DT 3	Observations and field notes	Round table: <i>O Ensino do Português no Reino Unido</i> , Instituto Cañada Blanch. (20/06/2017) http://plataforma9.com/congressos/mesa-redonda-o-ensino-de-portugues-no-reino-unido.htm	Notes from the presentations of the Coordinator of Portuguese in London, lecturers and teachers.
DT 4	Self-assessment reports	During visits to participants or sent via email.	In these reports, teachers write about their schools, classes and about their curricular and extracurricular activities.
DT5	Photographs	During visits to schools.	Collection of photographs of schools, classrooms, teaching and learning materials

Data Analysis

As demonstrated above, a combination of data sources were used to deliver and substantiate data to answer the proposed research questions. Aiming to “situate LPP processes within the larger sociocultural contexts of which they are part” (McCarty 2015:90), data analysis also took more than one form. The aim of the analysis was to illuminate as many policy layers (Ricento and Hornberger 1996) as possible, including the processes – creation, interpretation and appropriation – and the components – goals, methods, contexts, discourses and agents – (Johnson 2013a) of Portuguese overseas language policy in the context of the Portuguese provision in England. In order to do this, official documents were gathered, including multiple versions of policy texts, interviews were held with teachers and administrators, participant observation was carried out in conferences and classrooms and a variety of documents were collected, including teaching and learning materials, self-assessment reports, photographs and field notes.

The first steps in the analytical process involved scrutinising the official Portuguese policy texts internally, identifying and colour coding the goals, methods, agents and discourses, in a first stage, and taking these components as my initial codes. For Saldaña (2016:4-5), coding is an interpretive act and a code is a word or short phrase that attributes a particular meaning to a portion of language-based or visual data. In order to move the analysis on from coding into the categorising phase, the policy texts were inserted into a grid and the components – goals, methods, agents, discourses – were categorised using the concepts discussed in my theoretical framework (Chapter 2). Next to each component, the relevant excerpts from the policy text were inserted with their ideological orientations (Ruiz 1984) and types of policy goals (Hornberger 1988, Cooper 1989, Johnson 2013a) appended.

I also investigated the “dynamic social, historical, and physical contexts” (Johnson 2013a:250) in which the various policies were created (Portugal) and implemented (England). In order to make connections between these different layers and components of language policy activity, this analysis borrowed mainly from qualitative content analysis (Burnham et al. 2008). Burnham et al. offer the following definition of content analysis:

Content analysis is a technique for analysing the content of communications. Whenever somebody reads, or listens to, the content of a body of communication and then summarizes it and interprets what is there, then content analysis can be said to have taken place. (Burnham et al. 2008:259)

The next cycle of coding and categorizing (Saldaña 2016) involved inserting the texts into another type of chart, this time with the aim of comparing and contrasting the texts. Here, I borrowed from Johnson (2007, 2013a, 2015) who proposes intertextual and interdiscursive analysis as useful techniques. He writes that

[p]olicies, by nature, are intertextual because they draw on a diversity of present-day policy makers/influencers as well as policies from the past. (Johnson 2007:55)

His method focuses on finding the intertextual connections to past and present policy texts and interdiscursive connections to past and present discourses about language, language users, and/or language education. The intertextual analysis allowed me to compare the use of lexicogrammatical features between the multiple versions and even to quantify the percentage of text being altered in each new redraft (see Chapter 4). The interdiscursive analysis involved tracing the discourses from policy text to policy text. For example, in the first policy text analysed (DL 48944, March 1969) there was clear evidence of a language-as-problem ideology and discourses attuned with one language-one nation, which could be said to be shaping the pedagogical approaches at the time, with Portuguese as a mother tongue textbooks and didactic methodologies being favoured. Then, as the national and international political and socio-cultural context change, there is an evident change in the ideological orientation of the policies, with language being seen as a right of the Portuguese emigrant community, which will have influenced the emergent need to integrate the language and culture into the curricula of the host countries (see Chapter 4 for full discussion of these aspects).

As the analysis of official policy text progressed, it became noticeable that there was a structure to the texts under scrutiny. According to Portuguese legislative drafting techniques (Bernardo 2020), the structure of a legal text comprises of the title, preamble and enacting terms. The title includes all the information that identifies the act and helps to locate it. The preamble sets the ideological orientation of the act and its motivations. Roach (2001) explains that the preambles “can be important vehicles for the expressive purposes of legislation” (2001:147) and that “they express the diversity of conflicting values often at stake in legislation” (2001:148). What the preamble explains, the enacting terms command. The enacting terms are the statutory part of the text – they are presented as articles and, depending on the length of the act, they can be organised into parts, chapters and sections (see Chapter 4 for in depth analysis). This meant going back to the first and second cycle of analysis, coding and categorizing, this time zooming in on the preamble of each text and looking for topics that were particularly important. Namely, looking for evidence of the discursive shift of the policy from language maintenance by the community to its acquisition as a foreign language by new users; identifying and labelling the

opportunities and incentives that were being engendered and/or privileged; categorizing the roles of the various policy agents – the teachers and the administrators; detecting and reflecting upon the discourses being privileged in the light of my theoretical and methodological framework.

Having carried out these first stages of analysis, it was crucial to gauge the impact of these texts and discourses locally, by examining their interpretation and appropriation amongst the relevant policy actors. Ultimately, the goal was to understand and raise awareness about dominant policy discourses and ideologies, shedding light on the way these discourses and ideologies play out in daily practice and the way in which they can contribute to power asymmetries between language policy agents (the Portuguese teachers, the dominant teachers and the administrators) and social inequalities between groups of individuals (the Portuguese emigrant community and the dominant majority). Following Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral, it was about

building an account of the institutional trajectories and networks through which these documents circulate, along with the discourses associated with them. [Including] ... an analysis of how actors who are positioned at different points within these trajectories and networks ... interpret these discourses and make institutional decisions on the basis of their interpretations. (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral 2018:83)

This took me to the next phase of data analysis. The focus was now on understanding the connections between the Portuguese official policy texts and discourses and the local ideologies around languages and language learning and teaching practice.

Having elected to carry out three-part phenomenological interviews (see previous section for detailed description of how this was collected), it was decided early on that these would be presented and analysed following Seidman's (2006) proposal to craft individual profiles of individual participants and to study the thematic and interdiscursive connections within and among them. These profiles are meant to be first-person testimonies resulting from a selection of passages from the three-part interview transcript. The assembled passages are presented as personal narratives, which means transforming the interview material into storytelling (see Mishler 1986). Seidman's rationale for sharing and analysing interview data in this way is that the profile speaks powerfully for itself and that it can bring the testimony of a participant alive and place it into a broader social and institutional context. By telling the stories of the teachers and the regional director in their own words (Chapter 5), the text invited the readers to both learn about the whole experience of delivering the Portuguese provision in England and to

begin to understand the complex circumstances impacting language policy processes within and around the provision.

Following Seidman (2006:123), I chose to eliminate hesitations and repetitions in the participant's speech, whilst being careful enough to respect the content and intended meaning. Over the course of the crafting process, I shared the profiles with the participants and asked them to evidence their agreement to them. This is called 'respondent validation' (McCarty 2015:91) and it entails bringing the researchers preliminary analysis back to the participants to ask them for confirmation of the interpretations proposed. I thought this was important in ethical terms and in terms of their ownership and collaborative and reflexive role within the research process. It becomes particularly important when considering that the selection of what is significant to include in the crafted profile is itself the beginning of data analysis, interpreting and meaning-making (Seidman 2006:118). Figure 6 (below) shows the main stages of the complex and lengthy process of this preliminary form of analysis which is the crafting of the participant's profiles. I use Natália's profile as an example.

Figure 6: Stages of the Crafting Process

Stage 1: Raw interview transcript

Cátia Antes, o que é que te levou a, como é que foi a preparação, o que é que te levou a vir?

Natália Olha, é muito simples, o que me levou a vir para cá foi que eu me casei com uma pessoa que morava cá. Foi simples. Portanto, eu casei em 84, casei em 84, tive que dar aulas um ano em Portugal, para criar o vínculo à função pública, portanto... e porque na altura tínhamos que fazer isto. A pessoa tinha que criar um vínculo à função pública, trabalhando um ano numa escola do Estado em Portugal.

Cátia Hum, hum, era um ano.

Natália Era um ano. Então eu trabalhei até 1985, em Portugal, numa escolinha do interior, e digo escolinha conscientemente, porque era uma escola que não chegava sequer à categoria de aldeia, era um sítio.

Cátia Ok.

Natália E foi o meu primeiro contacto, em termos profissionais com crianças imigrantes, porque havia lá um menino vindo da Alemanha, que não sabia falar português, ou se falava português muito mal, então ele tinha que aprender a falar português e a adaptar-se a um meio completamente diferente daquele de onde tinha vindo. Conhecia lá a família dele, que tinha ido lá de férias umas vezes, mas, pronto, era um meio completamente

diferente. Isto foi até 85. De 85 para 86, eu não trabalhei para o sistema português, trabalhei na BBC, na altura havia uma secção portuguesa que estava ligada à secção de África, ao português de África e, e eu trabalhei aí também. Depois, em 1986, concorri para o EPE e fiquei colocada.

Stage 2: First version of crafted profile

Olha, é muito simples, o que me levou a vir para cá foi que eu me casei com uma pessoa que morava cá. Foi simples. Portanto, eu casei em 1984. Tive que dar aulas um ano em Portugal para criar o vínculo à função pública. Então, trabalhei numa escolinha do interior. Foi o meu primeiro contacto com crianças imigrantes, porque havia lá um menino vindo da Alemanha que não sabia falar português. Em 1985, eu vim viver para cá. Eu vinha com a ideia de continuar a trabalhar no ensino e queria continuar a estudar. De 85 para 86, trabalhei na BBC. Estava ligada à secção de português de África. Nesse ano, não houve concurso para o Ensino Português no Estrangeiro. Tentei através de concursos locais, mas não foi possível. Depois, em 1986, houve um concurso, concorria-se a nível internacional e fiquei colocada.

Stage 3: Crafted profile as presented

It's very simple - I got married in 1984 to someone who lived here. I taught for a year in Portugal to qualify to teach abroad and came to live here in 1985. In 1986, I applied for and eventually got a placement to teach Portuguese in the UK. I travelled to Portugal for three or four days for my initial professional training – that course bore little relationship to reality. Students came in a whole spectrum of colours and shapes. Some understood a few words, others spoke Portuguese fluently and were developing their literacy, more than oracy. Their range of abilities made teaching Portuguese extremely difficult.

As evidenced in the figure above, from the raw transcript of the interview to the final crafted profile as presented in the body of the dissertation (Chapter 5), there were three main stages of preliminary data organisation, selection and analysis. The first stage was to transcribe all the interviews, and this was done straight after each interview took place. All texts were transcribed in Portuguese taking great care to use punctuation and annotations regarding specific aspects of how the text was actually said, such as any voice inflections and hesitations. The second stage was to bring to the fore the voice of the participants and here started the selection and the analysis of what data was important to keep. The selection included everything that was

relevant in terms of the participants' understanding of the Portuguese language policies – the goals and methods, the role of the different agents, the circulating discourses about languages and language learning and teaching. From this analysis, the narratives for each key participant were crafted.

It was decided that the selection and analysis should reflect to an extent the *narrative quality* (Goodson et al. 2010:12-14). This entailed identifying characteristics in the form and structure of the stories that could be revealing of how the narrators' position themselves in relation to the broader social settings and to the interview itself. Goodson et al. (2010) offer five dimensions for characterising *narrative quality*, which were of interest in the analysis carried out in Chapter 5:

- i. *intensity* – length and detail of the account;
- ii. *descriptive / analytical* – whether it describes life, or attempts to interpret it;
- iii. *plot and emplotment* – coming to an understanding of one's life story;
- iv. *chronological or thematic* – about how the story is organised;
- v. *theorised / vernacular* – whether there is a theory of life or rather an everyday articulation of one's own story.

This second stage was lengthy as it involved reading the interviews many times and then reading each version of the profile with careful attention to detail. The profiles were written in the first person as it was considered that this would give a stronger and more compelling voice to the views of the participants. With the authors, it was found that not all dimensions had the same relevance for each of the life stories; each dimension offered pointers in characterising the stories, their narrators and the differences and similarities between them.

The third stage was to translate the profiles into English. I dealt with the translations as I deal with translations in my quality as a certified Portuguese/English translator. By the time the texts were translated into English, I had a profound knowledge of their content and of all the nuances of how they were communicated in Portuguese. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the translations were made to reflect faithfully and correctly the content and meaning of the original texts. These abridged and translated versions of the interviews are presented in the body of the text (each about 1,500 words, followed by analysis) while two other versions (extended and abridged) of the profiles in Portuguese have been kept out for practical and ethical reasons.

In the course of crafting and analysing the five focused life story interviews, the answers to my research questions on (i) how Portuguese policy was being interpreted (Chapters 5 and 6) and (ii) how it was being appropriated and (re-)created (Chapter 7) in England started to emerge. I went back to my conceptual framework to make sense of how the data collected related to the LPP literature and how it contributed to new ways of ‘looking and building knowledge’ (Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral 2018). Going back to the data, it was possible to relate the content of my different data sources to a number of key issues from my readings on the foundational frameworks of language planning through to the current critical and empirical understandings of language policy and planning. Thus, interpretations of policy were examined in the light of the four core areas of language policy and planning – status, corpus, acquisition and prestige, with reference to the work of Haugen (1959), Ferguson (1959), Stewart (1968), Kloss (1969), Cooper (1989), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) and Hornberger (2006). Then, my exploration of policy appropriation was consistent with Johnson’s (2013a) conceptual directions and borrowed some of its analytical categories from Liddicoat (2018) and Priestley et al.’s (2015) institutional and social structures. The idiosyncrasy of my data selection – in its situated, multi-sited and transnational nature – allowed me to develop my own additional categories and to suggest a new core area and future directions for language planning and policy frameworks (Chapter 8).

Ethical Considerations

In the previous section, I discussed my positionality as a researcher and, in doing so, hope to have clarified the main principles guiding this research project. Inspired by Canagarajah and Stanley’s (2015:33-44) article ‘Ethical Considerations in Language Policy Research’, I formulated these principles as questions and annotated them in the right-hand side column of my research design diagram (Table 2), so that they remained visible and accessible throughout all stages of my research. These considerations included the interests and purpose motivating this research, my identity and how I negotiated my insider/outsider position throughout all stages of the research, but also, and very importantly, how this research intends to represent the voices of a group of Portuguese teachers who teach mainly in the complementary education sector, which is often a misunderstood and less valued teaching position.

Having discussed these concerns in the previous section, I return here to my ethics *checklist* to emphasise a few very important considerations. Firstly, that this research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Educational Studies at Goldsmiths (Annex 1). Before conducting the study, I reviewed the ‘Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004)’ and ‘Good Practice in Educational Research Writing’ published by the British Educational Research Association. I then reviewed these guidelines as they were redrafted, in 2018⁷, and I also reviewed ‘Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics’, from the British Association of Applied Linguistics. The ethical aspects of this research also received special attention throughout the meetings with my supervisors.

In accordance with the research guidelines mentioned above, a participant information sheet was provided (Annex 2), in both English and Portuguese, to each participant to ensure that they understood the nature of the research, how it was going to be conducted and how the data would be used and shared in the future. The participants were also made aware that they could withdraw at any point in the process. Shortly after the interviews, interview transcripts were sent to each participant and they were asked if there was anything that they would like to change or correct.

Then, anonymity and confidentiality were another important consideration which was addressed before and throughout their participation in the research project. Anonymity relates to the removal of names, locations and specific information in the data that might identify the key participants or other individuals mentioned in the study, while confidentiality is broader and relates to ensuring the security of the data collected (Saunders et al. 2015). Following the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) principle of data minimisation, all background data related to particular schools and pupils mentioned in this study was fully concealed, and this had no implication for the purposes of the investigation.

The anonymisation of the participants is a more complex task. Internal and external confidentiality were discussed with the participants as there was the possibility of participants identifying each other (internal) as well as the possibility of their identification by members of the intended audience for my research findings (external), including the leading policymakers both in Portugal and in the UK. Having considered these aspects as part of my initial discussion

⁷ Available here: <https://www.bera.ac.uk/publication/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2018-online#consent> (Retrieved March 2021).

with each participant, they all gave their full consent to be involved in the study (Annex 2). It was collaboratively decided that their names would be changed and each participant chose their own pseudonym. It was also established that the final report would be made accessible to all participants.

Conclusion

This study is an ethnography of language policy. It combines analysis of macro-level policy texts with ethnographic collection and analysis of data from the meso and micro levels of Portuguese language policy (re)creation, interpretation and appropriation in England. Combining the analysis of the multiple components (goals, methods, discourses, contexts, agents) and levels (macro, meso, micro) of language policy will hopefully afford an in-depth description of the interrelationship between these layers of policy in this specific context.

The following chapters trace the policy texts from their formulation (at the macro-level) to their enactment (from the meso to the micro-level), in an attempt to answer the three principal research questions guiding this study. In the next chapter, I draw on my methodological and theoretical framework to begin to answer the first of these research questions: *How and why has the formulation of Portuguese language policy changed over time?* This paves the way for the following chapters of data analysis.

Chapter 4: The Macro Level of Policy Creation

Introduction

Portuguese language policies are articulated in a number of laws, decrees, directives, dispatches and ministerial orders. This legal framework is documented in the official journal of the Portuguese Republic – *Diário da República*⁸. This journal is published online and accessing it is free and open to all. A simple online search opens the door to the full database of legislation that underpins the promotion of Portuguese language and culture overseas. In this respect, the database goes at least as far back as 1918, when the Portuguese government offered an annual grant to support the creation of the “Cathedra Camões” (*Cadeira Camões*) for a group of distinguished British scholars⁹. At that point, the dissemination of Portuguese language and culture relied mainly upon supporting and financing the presence of Portuguese academics in foreign universities, offering grants and scholarships – the goals were the strengthening of intellectual and commercial relations. The story of these initiatives is linked with the birth of the organizations that preceded the Camões Institute, whose legal structures, missions and aims are documented in the same database and stretch back to 1929 (see Rollo 2012).

In turn, the official efforts to make the Portuguese language and culture available to a non-academic audience started a lot later and were stimulated by the Portuguese emigration flow of the post-1960s (see Brettell 2003). The first of these efforts was the promulgation of Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969, which mandated the creation of Portuguese primary schools abroad. This first decree would then be revoked not long after the 1974 military coup by Law no. 74/77, of 28 September 1977. From then onwards, it is noticeable that there was growing concern with securing a network of Portuguese language and culture courses aimed at children and youngsters attending pre-school, primary and secondary education. This concern was materialised in the promulgation of a large number of legislating documents emanating from various institutional sources and focusing on various areas of language planning activity. The mid-1980s saw Portuguese language classes aimed at the children of emigrants enshrined in the Constitution and in the national Educational Law and, only in 2006, would all the dispersed

⁸ Between 1869-1976 it was designated *Diário do Governo*.

⁹ Decree 5026, 3 December 1918.

legislation around this overseas language provision be gathered in one single document, Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of 11 August 2006. This document would then be revised on three occasions, with the latest version being promulgated in 2016. The discussion presented in the following sections focusses on these fundamental documents, namely:

- Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969
- Law no. 74/77, of 28 September 1977
- Constitutional Law (1982) and Educational Law (1986)
- Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of 11 August 2006
- Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 of 28 July
- Decree-law no. 234/2012 of 30 October
- Decree-Law n. 65-A/2016 of 25 October

Consistent with the theoretical and methodological framework proposed, for each policy text, in each of the sections below, there is an overview of the **goals** engendered and the **methods** favoured to achieve them, followed by an analysis of the **discourses** within the policy text, including the intertextual links to other (policy) texts and the interdiscursive connections to past and present discourses, and a discussion of the roles of the language policy **agents**. The historical and socio-political **context** in which the policies exist will also be considered. In this way, the chapter addresses the first research question of the study:

- *How and why has the formulation of Portuguese language policy changed over time?*

Decree-Law no. 48944: Preserving Connections to the Homeland

Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969, is the first official initiative regarding the education of the Portuguese emigrant community. It promulgated the creation of official Portuguese primary schools outside Portugal and its sole overtly stated goal was to enable the maintenance and intensification of connections to the homeland. The methods favoured to achieve these goals were to offer classes that followed the Portuguese National Curriculum for Language, History and Geography of Portugal. The text does not mention a specific physical context for the delivery of classes. Instead, it proposes to facilitate and generalise the educational initiatives taking place at grassroots level, which seems to imply that the plan was to use the

spaces previously carved out by the communities themselves. The decree also offered as an incentive the possibility of admission to the Portuguese national exam for completion of elementary education. The designated implementers of this policy were to be fully qualified professionals, trained to teach Primary Education in mainstream Portuguese schools. The Portuguese government finally mandated the creation of the first courses in the city of London¹⁰ four years after the promulgation of this decree, in 1973.

The broader political and socio-cultural context in which this policy was created is that of a dictatorial, pre-democratic regime undergoing a colonial war, with numbers of emigrants reaching unprecedented heights (see Brettell 2003). Masses of people were emigrating to France and many others emigrated to other northern European countries, such as the UK, but political positions in Portugal towards emigration were ambivalent. There were restrictions on free movement, which materialised in limiting access to passports and preventing families from travelling together. Yet, there was also evidence of support for Portuguese associations and for the initiatives of people living abroad. Brettell (2003:107) claims that under Salazar this support was a way to supervise the communities abroad and to preserve their connection to the homeland which in turn guaranteed their economic remittances. Also of note is the strong political propaganda aimed at enforcing national values internally while promoting a harmonious image of Portugal and the Portuguese to the other nations. The regime was said to encourage popular festivals and popular culture in order to cultivate an enjoyment of Portuguese traditions, which in turn kept the population busy and distracted in their free time (see Santos 2008). Its politics of cultural diffusion became known as “politics of the spirit”, vindicating an opposition between spirit (soul, beauty, heaven, greater Good) and matter (reality, dirt, Evil). Arts and cultural activity were controlled by the government and focussed only on the harmonious universe, not on the sad social reality of the country (Santos 2008:62). Thus, the politics of external cultural diffusion served the broad purposes of the regime in a conspicuous manner (Rollo et al. 2012:215).

The creation of official Portuguese primary courses abroad, with Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969, served as a manifestation of the commitment of the Portuguese State towards the emigrant population. The promulgation of the policy was perceived as a form of the recognition for the work initiated at the grassroots and as the response of the Portuguese government to the

¹⁰ Portaria no. 784/73.

educational needs of the community living abroad (Barradas 2004:29). At the same time, the regime in Lisbon clearly had broader political and economic motivations.

At the time of the deployment of Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969, the Portuguese community had already organised groups and associations in the London area. An example of one of these groups was *Liga do Ensino e da Cultura Portuguesa*¹¹, which, amongst other activities, helped recently arrived families with free English classes, free translations and interpreting services and also organised a library with Portuguese books, celebrated Portuguese festive dates, organised parties and concerts with popular Portuguese artists. *Liga* is in fact said to have been decisive in the establishment of a sense of community amongst the Portuguese emigrants living in London at that time (Estrela 2003:94-95). Looking to perpetuate bonds of friendship through an allegiance to a shared imagined homeland¹² the association promoted solidarity and mutual support within the host community.

Grassroots initiatives like these took place at a time when schooling in England was being challenged by a rising culturally and linguistically diverse population to which the normative school culture of the early 1960s responded primarily with explicit segregationist measures. The national norm was to disperse migrant pupils across schools, disregarding family preferences, in an attempt to dilute their different values and absorb them into the British culture (Jones 2016:66-68). This resulted in discontent, protest and a proliferation of supplementary schools of which the birth of the first Portuguese grassroots initiatives of this kind are an example (often missed out in research about complementary education in the UK). Broadly, these schools were set up by particular linguistic, cultural or religious groups (Lytra and Martin 2010: xi) and, from their genesis, they aimed at doing more than perpetuating the language and culture or an ethnic identity. They aimed at providing the children of the different communities with additional educational support, with help in integrating into the host school and in accessing the mainstream curriculum, making up for the inadequacy of the mainstream school system (see Issa and Williams 2009:1-14). With migrant communities becoming increasingly louder in their campaigns for social inclusion, English educational policies in the

¹¹ Portuguese Teaching and Culture League (my translation).

¹² I use *imagined homeland* here in the same sense that Anderson (2016:6-7) defines nation as an imagined community: “It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. [...] it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”

late 1960s started to be punctuated by a more pluralistic discourse and these grassroots movements slowly started to gain state-sponsored support. For example, the Plowden Report (1967) recommended increased availability of resources and training for teaching ethnic minority pupils. It is important to underline that the Portuguese grassroots initiatives, like most grassroots initiatives of this kind, encompassed both maintenance of the home language and acquisition of the vehicular language of society and mainstream education.

A closer look at this first policy text offers insights into some tensions between the goals and methods engendered by the macro-level policy and those of the emigrant communities. It also reveals pointers in terms of circulating discourses and distribution of power. For example, one notable feature of Decree-Law no. 48944 is the repeated use of the words “*espírito*” (spirit) and “*espirituais*” (spiritual). The use of these words provides a strong interdiscursive link to the powerful political discourse that conditioned cultural diffusion and controlled what could be learnt and appreciated by the Portuguese population. The introductory paragraphs of the policy illustrate this:

Considerando ser da maior conveniência, dentro do espírito da comunidade portuguesa, proporcionar aos portugueses e lusodescendentes residentes no estrangeiro meios de manterem e intensificarem os seus laços espirituais com a Pátria Portuguesa;

Considerando ser de toda a vantagem facilitar e generalizar as iniciativas que dentro desse espírito têm vindo a ser tomadas no campo do ensino primário;

Considering it of the utmost convenience, within the **spirit** of the Portuguese community, to ensure that the Portuguese and their descendants living abroad have the means to maintain and intensify their **spiritual** ties with the Portuguese Homeland;

Considering that it is fully advantageous to facilitate and generalise the initiatives that within this **spirit** have been taking place in the field of primary education;

[Decree-Law no. 48944, Paragraphs 1 and 2, my emphasis]

Moreover, in this excerpt, the promise to build upon the educational initiatives taking place at grassroots level construes the nation as fully engaged with the interests of the emigrant community. Yet, there were at least two differences between the transnational governmental enterprise and the local grassroots initiatives. First, as we have seen, the community’s language

learning goals were both to maintain the home language and to support the acquisition of the vehicular language of mainstream schooling. To a certain extent, this entailed an experimental form of multilingual education. Instead, the ministry mandated the maintenance of Portuguese as a mother tongue and the study of the history and geography of Portugal, following the Portuguese official primary school programs, as this excerpt illustrates:

Nas escolas criadas nos termos do artigo 1 seguir-se-ão, obrigatoriamente, quanto à língua portuguesa, à história e geografia de Portugal, os programas do ensino primário oficial [...].

In the schools created by article 1 it is mandatory to follow, regarding the language, history and geography of Portugal, the official primary school syllabi.

[Decree-Law no. 48944, Article 2]

Second, the methods used by the community to achieve their linguistic goals relied on the spontaneous collaboration between the Portuguese community and the local society and mainstream educational system. These Portuguese classes were taught by community members and, in the Greater London Council, although still paid for by the parents, they were starting to take place in mainstream school premises after school hours (Keating et al. 2014:15). In contrast, in order to create an official Portuguese course, the inventory of legal procedures involved: a joint proposal by the Institute of High Culture (*Instituto de Alta Cultura*) and the Directorate-General of Primary Education, after consultation with the Directorate-General of Political Affairs, by means of a ministerial order produced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education (Article 1-1). Furthermore, the assignment of a teacher for one of the courses required nomination of a fully qualified Portuguese professional by means of a ministerial decree. Essentially, the courses started in the academic year of 1974/75 and, ignoring the community's plea for teachers to be assigned locally from within their members (Barradas 2004:30), five teachers were brought from Portugal to deliver ten courses. They were reported to be totally unaware of the linguistic situation of the migrant children (Estrela 2003).

Ultimately, it seems that the enactment of this language policy would have stripped away agency from the hands of the community members. Their emerging struggle for a fairer mainstream education, with its tentative multilingual initiatives, was replaced by a top-down hegemonic mechanism (Shohamy 2006; Tollefson 2013) that disseminated a monolingual and nation-centred language policy.

Law no. 74/77: Protection of Educational Rights

Law no. 74/77, of 28 September 1977, revoked Decree-Law no. 48944, of 28 March 1969 and laid down provisions for Portuguese language and culture abroad. This text continued to target the Portuguese emigrant communities, but the goals were now the protection of their educational and linguistic rights, namely the right to equality of opportunities and to maintain their language and national culture. Compared to its predecessor, which focused only on primary education, the promulgation of Law no. 74/77 broadened the strategy of language diffusion to other levels of education. This included developing initiatives at the levels of elementary, secondary and professional education, plus the inclusion of Portuguese in foreign universities and the training of teachers for work in these different sectors of education. In this policy text, the methods favoured to achieve the new set of goals became the integration of Portuguese language, culture, geography and history into the host educational systems. Where this was unattainable, then the State would create or officialise schools, courses and other forms of educational support. In line with the previous legislation, this policy text continues to offer Portuguese citizens the opportunity to complete the minimum of compulsory education. The educational programmes, pedagogical methodologies and assessment of knowledge were to be defined by the Portuguese government, which would establish the norms for equivalence of qualifications in relation to the Portuguese educational system.

The promulgation of Law no. 74/77 followed the earlier creation of the position of Coordinator-General of Portuguese Teaching Abroad in the Portuguese Embassies of France and Germany (Decree-Law no. 587/76, of 22 July 1976), which, a year later, was extended to other diplomatic missions, including the United Kingdom (Decree-Law no. 264/77, 1 July). The Coordinator became an important meso-level policy agent, responsible for organising educational activities locally and for promoting all necessary efforts to facilitate the study of Portuguese language and culture by children and adults of Portuguese nationality. This policy also refined aspects of what would start to look like the beginning of a teaching career abroad. It established that the teachers would be selected by public tender and would receive a salary equivalent to that of a civil servant in the host country, plus any benefits or privileges that they had previously been entitled to; and, for all legal effects, teaching abroad would count as if they had been working in Portugal, including the right to register with the Civil Servant Pension Fund. In addition to these developments, it was set as a responsibility of the Government to

promote diplomatic initiatives (article 1) and the establishment or renovation of international agreements (article 3) in order to facilitate policy implementation.

The political and socio-cultural context in which this policy is created is that of a post-1974 military coup which caused the transition from dictatorship to democracy. This historical moment was characterised by a long revolutionary process and would produce indelible marks in society at all levels (see Mattoso 1993). In Education, the newly approved Constitution of the Portuguese Republic¹³ guaranteed free access to intellectual, artistic and scientific creation and to the highest levels of education equally to all citizens. In alignment with these new ideals of free access to culture and democratisation of schooling, all references to a cultural ‘politics of the spirit’ are eliminated from the new legislation and replaced by discourses of equality and the protection of educational rights, as evidenced below:

1 – O Estado Português promoverá a protecção dos direitos educacionais dos cidadãos portugueses e seus descendentes que vivam e trabalhem no estrangeiro, nomeadamente o direito ao ensino e à igualdade de oportunidades na formação escolar obrigatória, de acordo com os órgãos de soberania dos países de imigração.

2 – Ao Estado Português compete ainda desenvolver junto dos governos dos países de imigração iniciativas diplomáticas tendentes à protecção dos direitos educacionais dos cidadãos portugueses e seus descendentes, nomeadamente no seu direito à conservação da língua e da cultura nacionais e ao reconhecimento das habilitações escolares adquiridas em Portugal.

1 – The Portuguese State will promote the protection of educational rights of the Portuguese citizens and their descendants who live and work abroad, namely their right to education and equality of opportunities throughout compulsory education, in agreement with the sovereign bodies of the countries of immigration.

2 – The Portuguese State is also responsible for the development of diplomatic initiatives with the governments of the countries of immigration that aim to protect the educational rights of the Portuguese citizens and their descendants,

¹³ *Diário da Assembleia Constituinte*, Sessão n. 131, em 2 de Abril de 1976.

namely the right to preserve the national language and culture and to have their Portuguese schooling qualifications recognised.

[Law no. 74/77, of 28 September 1977, Article 1]

The transition between Decree-Law no. 48944 and Law no. 74/77 exemplifies Johnson's assertion that a policy is "often re-authorized to suit the aims/needs of a new set of politicians" and that the revisions carried out "can tell you something about the political climate in which it was authorized" (2013:228). Indeed, the formulations above strongly emphasise the responsibilities of the State towards the Portuguese people, who are now referred to as 'cidadãos portugueses' (Portuguese citizens). Thus, the first paragraph affirms the need to protect the educational rights of the Portuguese citizens who live and work abroad and constructs this as a duty of the Portuguese State. The second paragraph deems the State responsible for negotiating the citizen's right to maintain their language and national culture.

Throughout the policy, the Portuguese language, history, geography and culture are constructed as something that is relevant only for the Portuguese community. The target audience continues to be the Portuguese emigrant population and the implementers of the policy continue to be the Portuguese qualified teachers. There continues to be a strong Portuguese-centred discourse and language is represented as a vehicle of communication amongst the Portuguese adults and children living abroad. There is no reference to either the linguistic diverse situation of the target language learners or the possibility of disseminating the language to learners outside the community.

It is also pertinent to note that after the 1974 revolution many emigrants returned to Portugal and this meant a change in the fabric of the school population which started to include the descendants of former emigrants for whom Portuguese was no longer a dominant language (Feytor Pinto 2008:72)¹⁴. These new schooling realities in Portugal can help to explain the concern with the equivalence of qualifications in relation to the Portuguese educational system and the need for language maintenance programmes abroad.

¹⁴ According to Feytor Pinto (2008), in 1985, 5,1% of pupils in preparatory and secondary education in Continental Portugal were former emigrants with French, German, English, Spanish or African languages as their dominant language. This was a new reality in a historically monolingual country, to which added the return of large numbers of people from the African colonies.

Up until the mid-1980s, political discourses in England continued to advocate greater recognition for the languages spoken by minority communities and for bilingualism. For example, the Bullock Report (1975) recommended increased support for the languages and cultures of minorities in mainstream schools and the Department for Education and Science funded the *Linguistic Minorities Project* (1979-1983) – an investigation into the ‘other’ languages of England. These initiatives seemed to result from the European Economic Community’s push for member states to offer mother tongue and culture classes to the children of migrant workers, with Directive 4861 of July 1977 (Ager 2003:100). While in practice little seems to have been achieved in terms of a mainstream offer of bi/multilingual education for plurilingual learners, these discourses meant that Portuguese classes were now taking place mainly in classrooms, albeit still after regular school hours.

Maria Amélia Estrela coordinated the Portuguese Education Department in the United Kingdom between 1992-2002. She reports that the service was originally set up in 1976 “for the purpose of helping [Portuguese] children to benefit from all the educational possibilities offered by British primary and secondary schools and to maintain their language and cultural identity” (Estrela 2003:200). She understood the official creation of this service in the 1970s as aiming at “supporting the bilingual education of migrant children in the UK” (2003a:201). In this sense, Maria Amélia Estrela seemed to be actively promoting a bilingual educational approach for the Portuguese children that had as goals the academic and linguistic proficiency in both the students’ mother tongue and the host language and culture. Her interpretation of the Portuguese macro-level policy was closer to the community’s previously mentioned ‘tentative multilingual educational initiatives’ and to the discourses circulating in England. Marques, further substantiates these views when he highlights that the 1977 decree

opened up the possibility of creating customised curricula and learning materials, which suggested a willingness to acknowledge the different sociocultural circumstances of specific communities. (Marques 2017:211)

Constitutional Law, Educational Law and Dispersed Legislation

Following the promulgation of Law no. 74/77, many language related policy documents were produced emanating from many different official structures. In a study about Portuguese language policy in the first thirty years of the democratic regime, Feytor Pinto (2008) identified 3,636 legal documents dedicated to regulating language between 1974 and 2004. Amongst this

legislation, he detected 592 norms regarding the diffusion of Portuguese language abroad of which 35% related to education¹⁵. They emanated from nine different legislating bodies, including the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and the Assembly of the Republic. Thus, the large number of policy documents results in part from the frequent changes to the attributions and tutelage of the official bodies and it indicates a rather short-term perspective on language planning efforts.

A closer look at this dispersed legislation reveals some relevant pointers in terms of goals, agents and contexts. Firstly, the overt transversal goal of these policies continued to be the education of the Portuguese community and their access to their home language and culture. An example was the creation of an office within the Ministry of Education (DL541/79) whose aims were to give pedagogical support to the Portuguese community, including access to their language and culture as well as access to acquiring literacy in their home language and to education throughout life when living abroad. Secondly, the policy texts created focused mainly on redefining and fine-tuning the organisation of the courses and the rights and duties of the teachers. They established the role of these teachers as the official implementing agents of the Portuguese language policy. In order to be recognised, the courses had to comply with the programs defined by the Ministry of Education and to be taught by fully qualified Portuguese teachers. A number of policies further regulated the qualifications of these professionals (D765/77), establishing their salary, social benefits (DL336/78, D31/79) and contractual formalities (D31/79, P104/80). There was a manifest concern with securing the “dignity and professional safety of the Portuguese teacher abroad” (DL519-E/79).

Then, for the first time in September 1982, the Constitutional Law enshrined official language teaching and access to the shared culture as educational duties of the Portuguese State towards the emigrant communities:

Artigo 74.º [Ensino]

3. Na realização da política de Ensino incumbe ao Estado: [...]

h) Assegurar aos filhos dos emigrantes o ensino da língua portuguesa e o acesso à cultura portuguesa.

¹⁵ Other sociolinguistic domains analysed were public administration (37%), culture (17%) and technology and social media (11%).

In the conduct of the Education policies the State is charged with ensuring to the children of emigrants the teaching of Portuguese language and the access to the Portuguese culture.

In accordance, the Portuguese Educational Law (Law 46/86, 14 October 1986) established the teaching of Portuguese abroad as a special dimension of national education with its own legal dispositions.

Artigo 22.º [Ensino português no estrangeiro] [...]

3 – O ensino da língua e da cultura portuguesas aos trabalhadores emigrantes e seus filhos será assegurado através de cursos e actividades promovidos nos países de imigração em regime de integração ou de complementaridade relativamente aos respetivos sistemas educativos.

Article 22 [Portuguese education abroad]

3 – The teaching of Portuguese language and culture to the emigrant workers and their children will be ensured through courses and activities promoted in the countries of immigration either integrated or in complementarity to the educational systems of the respective host countries.

In this way, the right to access the educational system even when living outside the geographic borders of the nation was formally consolidated and safeguarded. This is further emphasised in the legislation promulgated throughout the 1990s, which continued to focus on valuing the language and culture amongst the Portuguese communities. Appearing in this decade were new rules about entering into a contract for teaching abroad (P818/90) and then a whole new legal framework including rules about recruitment, professional assessment, remunerations, installation abroad fees, travelling expenses, timetabling, holidays and social security (DL13/98), for both teaching roles and their coordinating structures (D4-A/98; DL30/99).

Within the context of this decade, Estrela (2003:200-201) discusses the expectation of the Portuguese policies in terms of the integration of Portuguese into the mainstream curriculum in England. She considered it an “enormous task to embark upon” and added that “no additional supporting body was introduced”. She reported the task to have been extremely difficult as, in her own words, “it was unusual for a head-teacher to choose to offer a foreign language other than French, German or Spanish” (2003a:201).

In the academic year of 2000/2001, the Portuguese Education Department provided 151 courses of Portuguese Mother Tongue and Culture, which were attended by 2,725 children. The majority (60%) of these courses were taught at primary school level, a smaller portion (26%) were taught at secondary school and the rest were further education, where students were being prepared for their Portuguese GCE examinations. The Department worked in 45 schools of which 23 were in London and 22 were scattered across England (mainly in the South) and Jersey. In terms of the integration of the courses into the mainstream, the vast majority were taught after-school, between 4pm and 7 or 8pm; with just 12 courses already being integrated into the mainstream timetable. All classes were free of charge and all children from a Portuguese-speaking background were welcome; they were mainly from mainland Portugal and the islands of Madeira and Azores, but also from Angola, Brazil and Mozambique. According to Estrela (2003), a very small proportion (6%) of these children required the use of materials and methods akin to the study of Portuguese as a foreign language as they had been born in this country and belonged to the second generation. Then, the great majority of the courses were being taught as a first language, using generally the same methods and materials as those used in Portugal.

Decree-Law no. 165/2006: *A Language of International Communication*

Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of 11 August 2006¹⁶, created by the Ministry of Education, brings together within a single legislative document a series of dispersed acts and sets out the legal framework for Portuguese education abroad, excluding higher education, to supplement the requirements of article 19 of the Portuguese Educational Law¹⁷ regarding this particular form of education. In a Platonic¹⁸ style, the preamble to this policy text is long and substantive. Its fourteen paragraphs make claims about the origins, purposes and aspirations of the act. Then, Chapter I lays down the general provisions of the policy: subject and scope of application (article 1), objectives and principles (articles 2-3), responsibilities and forms of intervention of

¹⁶ DL165/2006 (ME)

¹⁷ Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo, Law n. 46/86, 14 October 1986, altered by Law n. 115/97 of 17 September 1997 and the by Law no. 49/2005 of 30 August 2005.

¹⁸ Plato. *Laws*. London: William Heinemann. In Book IV, the function of a preambular text in legislative acts is discussed and said to have the potential to educate the citizen and to persuade him to obey the law (p. 317).

the State (articles 4-5), modes of organisation of the network and procedures for its approval (articles 6-7). Chapter II is divided in two sections and defines the structures of the Departments of Portuguese Education Abroad¹⁹: the roles of the Coordinator-General and supporting staff (articles 8-11, in Section I); the rules for their functions, recruitment and pay (articles 14-18, Section II). Chapter III lays down the terms related to the teaching roles, namely: their contractual regime (article 20-22), teacher assessment (article 23), allocation of teaching and PPA time (articles 24-26), holidays (article 27), disciplinary procedures (article 29), recruitment and selection (articles 31-33), remuneration and social protection (articles 34-36). Chapter IV describes the Final and Transitional Arrangements (articles 37-45).

The preambular text begins with references to the responsibilities of the Portuguese State which are enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution and in the National Education Framework. These references reiterate the duties of the State in terms of:

Assegurar o ensino e a valorização permanente da língua portuguesa, defender o seu uso e fomentar a sua difusão internacional (...). (...) facultar aos filhos dos portugueses residentes no estrangeiro o acesso a essa cultura, bem como ao ensino da língua materna.

ensuring teaching and permanent valuing of the Portuguese language, defending its use and promoting its international diffusion (...). (...) offering the children of Portuguese residents abroad access to the culture, as well as teaching of their mother tongue.

Hence, the discourses here have changed from the protection of rights to a discourse about ‘access’ and ‘protection’ (*defesa*) in terms of the use of Portuguese as a ‘mother tongue’ whilst abroad. Then, the text reaffirms the Portuguese language provision abroad as a special form of education to be enabled by the Portuguese State in collaboration with the host educational systems, where language and culture courses should be either integrated into the school day or offered in a complementary form. The text moves on and summarises a series of previous policy documents which have regulated the provision for courses and activities, the allocation of fully qualified teachers to these courses and activities and the organisation of local coordinating structures. The rationale put forward in the preamble for the successive adjustments and redrafting of the legal framework is the determination of the State to fulfil the

¹⁹ In Portuguese: Coordenações de ensino português no estrangeiro.

constitutional objectives and the responsibility of safeguarding the Portuguese communities living abroad access to their language and culture.

At a first glance, this introduction to the policy seems congratulatory of the great achievements of the Portuguese State in its work with the Portuguese communities living abroad. However, that first shine is buried in the fourth paragraph of the preamble with the concessive clause “Embora seja de reconhecer o esforço desenvolvido pelo Estado e pelos seus agentes, ...” (While we must acknowledge the efforts developed by the State and its agents, ...). It is here that the discursive move away from the construction of Portuguese as a community language starts to take place. That is, the main clause that follows moves on to claim that the provision has not been delivered in conditions of equity and quality. Then, the legislators present two reasons for this failure:

A diversidade de contextos e de experiências do ensino português no estrangeiro reproduz-se numa pluralidade de práticas e de objectivos pedagógicos e culturais, que gerou uma ampla disparidade da qualidade das aprendizagens. Apesar do esforço de acompanhamento e do investimento realizado, estas aprendizagens não são certificadas e são mesmo, em alguns casos, inconsistentes e até insusceptíveis de certificação, o que pode pôr em causa a sua própria relevância.

The diversity of contexts and experiences of Portuguese language teaching abroad has resulted in a plurality of practices and of cultural and pedagogical objectives; this has generated great disparity in the quality of learning. Despite all efforts and the investment made in order to accompany these initiatives, learning is not certified, and it is, in some cases, inconsistent and not worthy of being certified, which may question its relevance.

[DL 165/2006, paragraph 5]

The first rationale for the inadequacy of the provision, then, relates to the multiplicity of contexts and experiences of language teaching. It is suggested that this diversity has produced a range of teaching practices and affected the quality of learning. There are cases of such extremely poor quality of learning that certifying it is inconceivable and its relevance is questionable. This means that there is a concern with the quality of the provision and that this may be addressed by standardising teaching and assessment practices.

The second rationale, as evidenced in the fragment below, is that the communities for whom these courses were initially developed have changed. Integration into the European Union, a diversity of migration fluxes (return, long-stay, seasonal) and acquisition of new rights mean that the language learning goals that were once set, in previous legislatures, are no longer valid. Not only are there children for whom Portuguese is no longer the mother tongue, but also the communities have become increasingly mobile and fluid.

O crescimento no seio das comunidades do número de jovens para quem o português não é já verdadeiramente a língua materna e, simetricamente, a constituição de comunidades mais instáveis e a conservação de fluxos de migração sazonal colocam novos desafios que é necessário assumir.

The growing number of young people within the communities for whom Portuguese is no longer truly the mother tongue and, symmetrically, the instability of the new communities and the seasonal character of their migration fluxes, all bring new challenges.

[DL 165/2006, paragraph 6]

Adding to these failures is the realisation that Portuguese language policies are not sufficiently ambitious. Hence, the text moves on to stressing the importance of adopting a strategy for disseminating the learning of Portuguese language worldwide, not only aimed at the Portuguese communities but at everyone who wishes to study it, irrespective of their nationality or mother tongue.

The legislator invokes the large number of speakers of Portuguese as a first language to construe the language as an object of inherent and immeasurable value and a vehicle for asserting the position of Portugal in the world. Except, the text overlooks the existence of other Portuguese-speaking nations and the fact that around 190 million of the mentioned 200 million speakers of Portuguese as a first language are from those other nations. The broader community of Portuguese speaking countries is mentioned in a nonessential subordinate clause that relegates sharing the strategy to promote Portuguese worldwide with the other Portuguese-speaking member States only to “*tanto quanto possível*” (as far as possible).

[...]a língua portuguesa, como grande língua de comunicação internacional, falada por mais de 200 milhões de pessoas, constitui um património de valor inestimável, que deve ser mobilizado para a afirmação de Portugal no mundo.

Para tanto, será indispensável adoptar uma estratégia, tanto quanto possível partilhada com os outros Estados membros da Comunidade de Países da Língua Portuguesa, para fomentar e difundir a aprendizagem do português em todo o mundo, de modo não só a satisfazer as obrigações para com as comunidades portuguesas, mas também a proporcionar o seu estudo aos que, independentemente da sua nacionalidade ou língua materna, manifestem interesse em prosseguir-lo.

[...] the Portuguese language, as a great language of international communication, spoken by more than 200 million people, constitutes an invaluable legacy that must be mobilised for the affirmation of Portugal in the world. For that, it is imperative to adopt a strategy, as far as possible shared with other member States of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, for encouraging and disseminating the learning of Portuguese around the world, in order to fulfil the commitment to the Portuguese communities, but also to allow its study by any learners who wish to do so, regardless of their nationality or mother tongue.

[DL 165/2006, paragraph 7]

Throughout the document, as in the preambular paragraph above, the discursive focus of the policy has shifted to bolstering the international prestige of the Portuguese language and of Portugal rather than being focussed on the language learner. This is particularly revealing in the enunciation of the two overt goals of the policy:

1 — O ensino português no estrangeiro destina-se a afirmar e difundir a língua portuguesa no mundo como grande língua de comunicação internacional e a divulgar a cultura portuguesa.

2—O ensino português no estrangeiro destina-se também a proporcionar a aprendizagem da língua, da história, da geografia e da cultura nacionais, em particular às comunidades portuguesas.

1 – Portuguese teaching abroad aims to affirm and disseminate the Portuguese language in the world as a great language of international communication and at divulging the Portuguese culture.

2 – Portuguese teaching abroad also aims to provide learning about the national language, history, geography and culture, in particular to the Portuguese communities.

[DL 165/2006, Article 2, Objectives]

The first goal of Portuguese teaching abroad, as seen in this legal document, is to assert the international value of the Portuguese language and the prestige of Portuguese culture. The construction of the sentence in the simple present (which is generally used to enunciate universal truths) leaves no space for questioning that this is the primordial goal of the language policy. The second goal, a position that is corroborated by the use of the adverb ‘*também*’ (also, or in addition to the essential), is then to ensure learning of the national language, history, geography and culture within the Portuguese communities. Accordingly, the responsibilities of the Portuguese State have been broadened to delivering Portuguese as a mother tongue, as ‘a non-mother tongue’²⁰ and Portuguese as a foreign language (article 4). These added responsibilities convey a need to deal with the goals of language maintenance and acquisition of the language as a second or foreign language by new learners. Therefore, there is now a broader agenda of linguistic and cultural promotion of which the goal of language maintenance aimed at the emigrant learner is only one element.

However, with the Portuguese language now primarily represented as a vehicle of international communication, rather than a language of the community, the discourses about equality also shift their focus to the *language*, rather than to the language *user* or *learner*. That is, while the integration into the curriculum will be a factor adding to the prestige of the language, the concern with the protection of educational rights and equality of opportunities for Portuguese children is replaced with the rationale that integration will be a determinant factor in dignifying *the language*:

²⁰ In Portugal, educational language policy uses the comprehensive expression “Português língua não materna” [Portuguese as a non-mother tongue] to refer to the teaching of Portuguese to speakers of other languages in schools. Portuguese as a non-mother tongue is both a subject in the curriculum and a conceptual definition used to identify the broad community of speakers for whom Portuguese is neither a mother tongue nor a foreign language, but a language of “primary socialization” (Grosso 2005:608).

A sua integração em currículos de países estrangeiros muito contribuirá para a sua dignificação.

Its integration into the curricula of foreign countries will greatly contribute to dignifying it.

[DL 165/2006, paragraph 9]

Another factor contributing to the representation of Portuguese as a language of international communication was seen to be a consolidated system of certification. The preambular text reveals that the Government has underway a framework of reference for the creation of programmes, curricular guidelines, pedagogical materials and a certificate of language proficiency. This documentation is said to align with the best international practices of language teaching, specifically the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Thus, the drive to dignify the language and to give recognition to what is learnt has resulted in bundling together many different forms of language learning within the same policy provisions. Although the policy presents a multiplicity of goals, it proposes standardised pedagogical practices and assessment procedures. Ultimately, this policy seems to be proposing the development of undifferentiated provision of Portuguese language for a wide range of different types of learners and learning contexts – a sort of one size fits all.

Within a political and socio-cultural context of recession, another theme that comes through in the preamble is that of efficient use of public resources. The preambular text ends with an assertion that the policy intends to improve the quality and efficiency of this educational activity, specifically by suppressing unjustifiable privileges and situations of manifest inequality. The paragraph is vague, but it seems to be referring here to the roles of the policy implementers.

The organisational arrangements for the delivery of the courses and activities – described in article 6 – continued to suggest offering the language as a complementary activity to be developed in spaces carved out in host schools or in community associations. In order to implement these arrangements, the responsibilities of the Coordinator-General were enhanced and two new supporting positions were created. The role of the Coordinator-General now officially included the promotion and coordination of the dissemination of Portuguese language and culture through collaboration and negotiations for the integration of the language into the

curricular plans of the host educational system (article 9). The job role and responsibilities were categorised as being equivalent to that of a secretary in the Portuguese Embassy – the third rank below the Ambassador (DL 40-A/98). In countries where there was a sizeable network of students, the coordinator would be supported by ‘Adjuntos de Coordenação’ (coordinator-general deputies) and ‘Docentes de Apoio Pedagógico’ (pedagogical support teachers).

This text also further refined and regulated the teaching career abroad. As part of their teaching component, Portuguese teachers were expected to: teach Portuguese language and culture courses; teach literacy courses for young people and adults (adult education); support students enrolled in distance learning or those preparing for Portuguese examinations; support the integration of recently arrived pupils into their new host schools. Additionally, as part of their planning, preparation and assessment time (PPA), the teachers were expected to: plan their classes and educational activities; assess the learning process; collaborate in activities that supported the integration of the pupils in the community; liaise with the schools and associations and with the parents or carers; participate in staff meetings at the schools and/or in their local coordination headquarters; participate or organise professional training, conferences, seminars related with their teaching activity; and covering for colleagues. Thus, the status and responsibilities of these meso and micro level policy agents were being strictly defined and structured.

Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009: Portuguese as a Second/ Foreign Language

Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 of 28 July was the first revision to decree-law no. 165/2006. The political and socio-cultural climate in which this policy was created is that of the financial crisis with austerity and disciplinary policies being pursued at a national level. In line with Central Government orientations for administrative modernisation and efficiency of public structures, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reorganised (DL 204/2006, 27 October) and the Organic Law of the Camões Institute reviewed (DL 119/2007, 27 April). This administrative redefinition broadened the scope of action of the institute from promoting Portuguese in foreign universities to managing the network of Portuguese teachers and coordinators responsible for the diffusion of Portuguese to primary and secondary education abroad. Consequently, this version of the policy text, which was put forward by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rather than by the Ministry of Education, made alterations to 33 out of the 45 articles (70%) that comprise the policy text. Compared to its earlier version, this new policy presents a much shorter

preambular text composed of six paragraphs which completely avoid any direct references to the Portuguese community. Although the Constitutional text and the National Educational Framework are still an opening statement, very much chunked and lifted from the former text, the discursive focus has completely shifted to the duty of international diffusion of the language.

Hence, this new legal framework is said to align with a governmental global strategy that involves rationalising the Portuguese teaching network abroad. Bringing together all levels and forms of education – pre-school through to tertiary education – under the same legal umbrella, the language used in the preamble to the policy text ties language learning to the study of Portuguese as a second or foreign language. Reinforcing the ideological focus of the previous text, the symbolic value of Portuguese is now linked to its cultural, geostrategic and economic global importance. This is evident in the following excerpt of the first paragraph:

O Governo incumbiu o Instituto Camões, I. P., [...], de promover a racionalização da rede do ensino português no estrangeiro, redefinindo a sua missão e promovendo a integração dos leitorados, procurando adequar o regime do ensino português no estrangeiro à estratégia global para a língua portuguesa que aprovou, visando o reconhecimento da importância cultural, geoestratégica e económica da língua portuguesa no mundo e tendo como um dos princípios orientadores a sua aprendizagem como língua segunda ou língua estrangeira e o desenvolvimento do estudo da cultura portuguesa.

The Government has tasked the Camões Institute [...] with rationalising the network of Portuguese teaching abroad, redefining its mission and promoting the integration of lectureships, looking to adjust it to the approved global strategy for the Portuguese language, aiming for the recognition of its cultural, geostrategic and economic importance in the world and assuming as one of its guiding principles its study as a second or foreign language and the development of Portuguese culture studies.

[DL 165-C/2009, paragraph 1, excerpt]

Despite this redefined discourse, there are no alterations to the articulation of objectives and principles of language promotion, which appear further on in the text, in articles 2 and 3. The broad goals of the policy continue to be the international diffusion of the language and the promotion of the national history geography and culture, aimed particularly at the Portuguese

communities (article 2). The principles are the “relevance, quality and recognition” of what is learnt, namely its certification and standardisation, and its integration into the host educational systems (article 3). Therefore, although not mentioned in the preamble, the broad goals of the policy continue to target the Portuguese communities, only now alongside a wider learning audience.

Broadening the target audience to include all levels of education, including the university public, has accordingly meant an extension of the methods engendered. These are added to article 6, which describes the organisational arrangements of the provision and now includes offering language courses in universities and international organisations, but also in institutes and cultural centres, as well as in embassies and consulates. The article also makes clear that the creation of Portuguese schools in countries where Portuguese is an official language are under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and are regulated by their own specific legal arrangements (article 6, number 2), which implies that they are a different project from that put forward by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The previous redaction of article 6 was focused on offering the language within the curricular or extracurricular activities developed by schools and host educational systems. In contrast, offering the language in international organisations, embassies and consulates, seems to enhance opportunities for learning Portuguese as a foreign language outside school and contributes to the image of the language as an “external additional activity that is part of the private world of leisure time rather than as a core element of public education” (Liddicoat 2013:82). In Liddicoat’s view this supports an ideological construction of diversity and its maintenance as a personal issue, in this case not posing a challenge to British national linguistic hegemonies. In this sense, the policy can be seen to be contributing to dominant discourses that disregard the place of home languages in the education of emigrant children, and in their development of literacy and oracy.

The 2009 policy text tasks the State with the responsibility of offering Portuguese as a second language, as a mother tongue, a ‘non-mother tongue’ and as a foreign language (article 4) in order to cater for the needs of the diverse range of learners who form part of the Portuguese teaching network abroad. Yet, the common basis for the development of programmes, curricular guidelines and selection of didactic and pedagogical materials, which was underway at the time of decree-law no.165/2006, has now been promulgated²¹ and its use established (article 5). This new document is entitled ‘Framework of Reference for Portuguese as a Foreign

²¹ Ministerial Order no. 914/2009, of 17 August

Language’ (QuaREPE: Quadro de Referência para o Ensino do Português como Língua Estrangeira) (Grosso et al. 2011). Its indiscriminate use throughout the network implies that a mother tongue learner, a heritage language learner, a second or foreign language learner are all engaged in an identical learning process that standardises the study and certification of Portuguese language.

The promulgation of Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 had profound implications for the role of the teachers, whose functions are now defined alongside those of university lecturers. One main change in this policy is precisely the inclusion under the same policy provisions of the role of the teacher and the university lecturer. The teacher is now said to contribute to:

...a concretização dos objetivos da política cultural externa portuguesa, através da promoção, divulgação e docência da língua e cultura portuguesas, da história e da geografia, e do apoio e participação activa nas iniciativas de índole cultural dos serviços de representação externa do Estado.

...the execution of the objectives of the Portuguese external cultural policies, through the promotion, dissemination and teaching of the Portuguese language and culture, its history and geography, and through the support and active participation in the cultural initiatives of the of the services of external representation of the State.

[DL 165-C/2009, Chapter III, Article 19, number 3, excerpt]

Associating the role of the teacher to “the execution of the objectives of the Portuguese external cultural policies” and to the “external representation of the State” is symbolic and seems to accentuate the ambassadorial duty of the teachers rather than the educational one.

Decree-Law no. 234/2012: New Certification and the Introduction of Fees

Decree-law no. 234/2012 of 30 October was the second revision to the legal regime for Portuguese language teaching abroad. At this point, governmental plans to further reduce public expenditure continued to demand the rationalisation of all State structures. Specifically, this resulted in a merger of the diffusion of language and culture with international cooperation activities, creating the institute as we know it today: *Camões – Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P.* (2012-to date). Remaining under the umbrella of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the institute is now tasked with a political agenda that reinstates the duties of the Portuguese State towards the children of the Portuguese citizens residing abroad and places Portuguese

language teaching and access to the Portuguese culture back at the heart of its emigration policies.

O XIX Governo Constitucional eleger o ensino do português como âncora da política da diáspora, cabendo fundamentalmente ao [...] Camões, I. P., concretizar os objetivos do Governo neste domínio. Incumbe, em particular, ao Estado assegurar aos filhos dos cidadãos portugueses que se encontrem ou residam no estrangeiro o ensino da língua portuguesa e o acesso à cultura portuguesa...

The XIX Constitutional Government has elected the teaching of Portuguese as an anchor of the diaspora policies, fundamentally charging [...] Camões, I.P. with the task of pursuing these objectives. It is a duty of the State to ensure for the children of the Portuguese citizens living abroad the teaching of Portuguese language and the access to the Portuguese culture...

[DL 234/2012, paragraph 1, excerpt]

A close-textual analysis of a few small but significant modifications to the body of the policy text assists in understanding how this new and updated version aligns its discourse to the governmental requirement of reinvigorating the relationship with the community, while it proceeds in its quest for language internationalisation and the provision of Portuguese language for all comers.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble reiterates the need to make the network more efficient and to align it to the governmental global strategy for the Portuguese language. While the language used here is mainly lifted from the previous version (relevant excerpt of DL 165-C/2009, paragraph 1, presented in the section above), there are a few small but meaningful alterations:

Neste contexto, mantém-se o pressuposto de promover a racionalização da rede do ensino português no estrangeiro, procurando adequar o seu regime à estratégia global para a língua portuguesa, visando o reconhecimento da importância cultural, geoestratégica e económica da nossa língua no mundo, tendo como princípios orientadores a sua aprendizagem como língua materna ou como língua estrangeira e o desenvolvimento do estudo da cultura portuguesa.

In this context, maintaining the prerequisite of rationalising the network of Portuguese teaching abroad, looking to adapt its regime to the global strategy for the Portuguese language, aiming for the recognition of the cultural, geostrategic and economic importance of our language in the world, assuming as one of its guiding principles its study as a mother tongue or as a foreign language and the development of Portuguese culture studies.

[DL 234/2012, paragraph 4, excerpt]

One small but effective alteration is the choice of “a nossa língua” (our language), rather than “a língua portuguesa” (the Portuguese language) – a discursive mechanism that suggests a closer partnership between the legislature and the community of speakers. Then, where the guiding principle of the policy was “its study as a second or foreign language”, this was replaced by “its study as a mother tongue or as a foreign language”. Further on, where the previous text alluded to QuaREPE as the Framework of Reference for Portuguese as a Foreign Language, this was replaced by an allusion to the Framework of Reference for Portuguese Education Abroad. In Portuguese, the acronym by which the framework became known – QuaREPE – matches both allusions. This awkward rewording of the text and the manipulation of terminology around language learning blurs the distinction between different types of language learning. An important point to clarify here is that the content of the said framework of reference remained unchanged and so did the programmes, curricular guidelines and style of certification that it entailed.

Then, the most striking alterations made by this second revision to the legal regime are:

- the strengthening of the articulation between the Educational Departments and the local diplomatic structures (paragraph 6)
- an increase in the duration of the teachers’ and lecturers’ contracts from one to two years, to a maximum limit of six years, with the objective of bringing more stability to the teachers and efficiency in organising the network (paragraph 7)
- the introduction of fees (“*cobrança de taxas*”) for attendance and certification with the justification that this will help improve the network in terms of teacher training and in promoting good reading habits amongst the students (paragraph 9)

The introduction of fees is further detailed in two supporting documents. The first of these diplomas (Portaria n° 232/2012, of 6 August) established the institutional attributions, the rules

and procedures for the certification of the Portuguese language and culture courses taught overseas. The second diploma (Portaria nº 102/2013, of 11 March), promulgated in 2013, established the payment of an annual fee of €100 (euros) and indicated that the payment of this value conferred the pupil the right to a textbook and the right to be enrolled for certification. These payments applied only to learners enrolled in the after-school or complementary model of education, which are under the full responsibility of the Portuguese State.

Decree-Law no. 65-A/2016: Reinforcing Language Status and Prestige

Decree-Law n. 65-A/2016 of 25 October is the third revision to the legal regime for Portuguese language teaching abroad and its latest version. It modifies 11 articles out of 45 (23%). With a Governmental Programme (2015-2019) that stands for the development of a “Lusophone citizenship” and for strengthened links with the Portuguese communities residing abroad, at a time when the Portuguese emigrant population amounts to more than 22% of the population living in Portugal (OI, 2016), the preamble to the policy text turns its discursive focus to promoting the Portuguese language around the world as a:

fator de identidade e, sobretudo, como uma mais-valia cultural, científica, política e económica;

factor of identity and, above all, as a cultural, scientific, political and economic added value;

[DL 65-A/2016, paragraph 1, excerpt]

It is a discourse that is attuned to the promotion of language status and prestige and in which the affirmation of Portugal and its culture in the world seem to be the predominant goal. This is evidenced further when the initial paragraph establishes the governmental objectives of:

assegurar a unidade da língua portuguesa no espaço da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP); e reconhecer a língua portuguesa como um fator de unidade estratégica nas políticas externas no quadro da Lusofonia e na afirmação de Portugal no Mundo.

ensuring the unity of the Portuguese language within the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP); and recognising the language as a factor of strategic unity

in external policy within a Lusophone framework and for the affirmation of Portugal in the World.

[DL 65-A/2016, paragraph 1, excerpt]

It is a rhetoric that is very much related to Liddicoat's (2013:174) argument that, in such cases,

“language-in-education work cannot clearly be distinguished from prestige planning, as the teaching of the language is undertaken to enhance the prestige of the language and its associated culture and society rather than for purely educational objectives. The preservation of a language in the education system of other polities is associated with the maintenance of national pride and national self-image”.

Although in the following paragraph (below) the policy text acknowledges Portuguese as a pluricentric language, the discursive focus is still on securing a place for Portugal internationally.

O português é uma das grandes línguas plurinacionais com mais de 260 milhões de falantes, em Portugal, nas comunidades portuguesas espalhadas pelo mundo e no espaço da CPLP.

Portuguese is one of the great plurinational languages with more than 260 million speakers, in Portugal, in the communities spread all around the world and in the spaces of the CPLP.

[DL 65-A/2016, paragraph 2, excerpt]

This preambular text hence reinforces the need for unity in the construction of the Portuguese language as this will ensure a positive image of Portugal and of its relationship with other Portuguese speaking countries. The text has been stripped of any references to ‘access to language’ or ‘protection of language use’; instead, the text reinforces the need for *consolidation* and *unity* (paragraph 1) and for an *integrated vision* of the network (paragraph 2) at a time that is characterized by the

novas realidades da diáspora portuguesa, pelos novos perfis de estudantes, pelos novos recursos pedagógicos e pelas exigências da certificação das aprendizagens e do conhecimento,

new realities of the Portuguese diaspora, by new student profiles, new pedagogical resources and by the demand of certifying learning and knowledge,

[DL 65-A/2016, paragraph 2, excerpt]

Hence, it proposes, for these manifold realities, what looks more and more like a centralised model of provision in which Portugal is the sole operator and promotor of the Portuguese language. The changes proposed in this review continue to reinforce the integration of Portuguese in the mainstream curricula, albeit taught by Portuguese teachers, whose role is further established by the removal of a time limit to the contracts.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the formulation of the legal framework surrounding the provision of Portuguese language learning overseas from 1969 to today. Its aim was to provide an understanding of the changes in policy discourse over time whilst observing the historical and socio-political context of policy creation. In order to illuminate the ideological orientation of each policy document under scrutiny, the analysis considered the goals engendered and the methods favored to achieve these goals, the agents and how their role is envisioned and, finally, the discourses and interdiscursive relations within and around language and language learning. From this analysis, it can be concluded that the broad orientation of the first policy text for this provision was to promote language maintenance and the intensification of connections to the homeland. The implementation of this policy would replace the initiatives being developed by the communities. It was interesting to note that the grassroots initiatives encompassed both Portuguese language maintenance and English language learning and that this was then replaced by a highly qualified monolingual offer.

The transition to Law 74 in 1977 was profoundly influenced by the change in the Portuguese political regime. The discourses in this policy text became about the protection of educational and language related rights. These rights were soon enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution and in the Portuguese Education Law, which further emphasized that the language on offer was a “language of the community” and the right of Portuguese citizens to access the Portuguese educational system even when living outside the geographic borders of the nation. At this point, the integration of aspects of the Portuguese language, culture, history and geography in the curriculum of the host systems was constructed as a form of ensuring equal rights between the Portuguese emigrant community and the citizens of the host countries.

When, in 2006, Decree-Law no. 165/2006 unified all the dispersed legislation into a single document, it was clear that the policy discourse had changed to centring on “access” to a language of international communication. It was a discourse that started to denote the ambition to project the language on a global scale. There was still a concern in this policy text in terms of defining a learning audience, as there were references within the body of the text to both “the Portuguese communities” and “everyone who wishes to study” the language. It was unquestionable that the target audience had been broadened.

Then, by 2009, under the auspices of a difficult economic crisis, together with strong discourses of rationalisation and efficiency of the State’s structures, Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 was fully focussed on international language diffusion and on second and foreign language learning. The references to the Portuguese emigrant communities vanished from the preamble of the text. The teachers and lecturers of Portuguese abroad, now under the same legal framework, were referred to as “agents of external cultural policy” and their overseas role became more unstable and transitional, with their contractual time reduced.

Then, in 2012, a renovated focus on the Portuguese citizens residing abroad brought back the discourses around “access” to their home language and culture. *Access* however now required the payment of a fee for those attending courses which were not integrated into the mainstream school day of the host educational systems. Still, this was justified by the need to invest in the overall quality of teaching and learning processes, namely in the process of certification, in teacher training and in the development of good reading habits amongst the children and youngsters.

Finally, in 2016, the sole orientation of the third revision of the policy text was that of reinforcing the status and prestige of the language. The discourse about “access” to the language was replaced by a discourse of “consolidation” and “strategic unity”, reflecting a stronger focus on the internationalisation of the language and its view as a valuable asset for the “affirmation of Portugal”. Discourses around Lusophony and pluri-centricity appear within the preamble of the text, but there is no further development of what these concepts actually mean for the language learners, namely in terms of the language varieties spoken in different countries.

There is a discursive trend in the latest policy texts that positions the Portuguese language as part of a larger project of improving the global prestige and significance of Portugal – its soft power. The question then is how does this macro-level trend play out on the micro level? Is the internationalisation of the language done at the expense of a focus on the community’s language learning needs? How do the teachers and their administrator perceive this tendency?

How are they briefed about it? One thing that is noticeable in the Portuguese language policies is that they are very susceptible to political influence and migratory fluxes. The goals of the policies have broadened, and they no longer clearly define the target language learner. There is a certain abstraction surrounding the methods favoured to achieve the goals of the policy. Also, the role and the involvement of the different agents in the policy process is not evident. As the language policy discourse becomes broader in scope, there seems to be increasing space for interpretation and creative appropriation, and the next chapters will explore this further.

Chapter 5: Individual Life Trajectories

Introduction

If researchers want to understand language loss and language shift, the development of bi/multilingualism, and the complex sociolinguistic systems of daily life, then they must explore the interface between individuals' life trajectories and the culture and practices of the classroom, the street, the playground, or the home, and how these are linked with national and international ideologies, discourses, and policies.

(Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018:7)

My conceptual framework (Chapter 2) demonstrated how the field of language policy research gradually developed from studies which were primarily focused on exploring the governmental and institutional macro-sociological level (top-down) of official language policymaking to a preponderance of studies ethnographically peering into the micro-sociological level (bottom-up) of language policies in practice. Tollefson's (2013) collection of studies alerted us to an important tension in the field: a paradigmatic split between a strand of research that emphasises the incapacitating power of the state and other macro-level institutions and a growing body of studies that celebrate the power of individual educators to creatively interpret and appropriate language policies in their local context. My dissertation responds to this tension by focusing on the processes of language policy creation, interpretation and appropriation (Johnson 2013), rather than on any single one of its layers – micro, meso or macro.

While the previous data analysis chapter (chapter 4) focused on the process of creation of the official policy for the provision of Portuguese language abroad, this chapter focuses on the individual life trajectories of five key educators working in the provision of Portuguese language in England. The main purpose of the chapter is to introduce the participants as complete beings, and their individual histories in relation to the provision. Through their narratives, we can begin to understand how they speak about their trajectory and their experiences and can gauge how their personal traits and individual nature might impinge on their account and representations of the Portuguese language policy process. The analysis is rooted in a humanistic paradigm (Ros i Solé 2016) whereby attitudes and emotions impinge on

sense-making and influence actions and agency in the face of wider structural and ideological circumstances. Hence, the emphasis of this chapter will be on the “*how*” of the second research question, which is:

- *How is Portuguese language policy interpreted by Portuguese educators in England?*

It is in the following chapter that the focus will be on *interpretation*, specifically, on the diverse ways in which the participants understand the language policy and make “*critical decisions about language structure, use and acquisition*” (opening quotation). Before that, each participant’s timeline and crafted profile shall be presented in the order that they were first interviewed. The timelines illustrate the most important turning points and events from the perspective of the participant (Bagnoli 2009) and provide a concrete “visual guide or map” (Kolar et al. 2015:27-28) of their lives. The crafted profiles result from a careful selection of passages from each of their three-part interview transcripts, effectively transforming the interview material into storytelling (Mishler, 1986) and bringing the testimonies of these educators powerfully alive (Seidman 2006).

Margarida

Figure 7: Margarida's timeline



When we met for our first interview, Margarida was coming to the end of her sixth year as the Coordinator of the Portuguese Education Department in the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands. We then formally met a second time, nearly two years later, after I had collected all the other interviews. Margarida and I developed a good relationship and she warmly welcomed me on each occasion and made herself available to support my project. Our interviews took place in her office, which felt personal with heaps of books of current Portuguese authors and a picture of her amongst a group of people in an official gathering hanging on the wall. When I explained that we were using a timeline to register her story in relation to the provision of Portuguese, she produced pen and paper, and the timeline above (Figure 7). Margarida's timeline and personal profile (below) provide some insight into the experiences of an educator with managerial responsibilities within the provision.

Right, there was a selection process for three coordinating roles. I was finishing my doctorate and I was trying to understand what I wanted to do. My husband was very dissatisfied professionally – the family context is important. Also, my two children were

about to start primary school. This had to be a project that made sense for all at home and not just for me.

I arrived on 1st of October – the school year was already underway. I didn't even have time to plan. It was about getting to know people, seeing the opportunities, thinking of solutions and planning for the following year. It was a difficult context – different working habits, no uniformity and no common goals. Above all, I thought that there were very few explicit rules in terms of procedures, organising timetables, organising class groups. I had to bring some structure and coherence, to create some form of organisation. Always, discussing this with the people, obviously. In that first year, I realised, for example, that the teachers' timetables were incoherent. There were people teaching everywhere at random spending time travelling and its expenses were huge.

In May 2012, I organised the first celebration of the 5th of May. We have kept it going every year – it is the only moment during the year in which pupils from various schools meet, their parents included, and that they feel part of a normal school. It is a very important moment for us as a team. That day the parents are happy with us (no complaints) and are very proud of their children being on stage and thank us a lot. It is a highpoint. The ambassador always comes along. Three years ago, I challenged the Embassy of Brazil and the other CPLP embassies to celebrate the Day of the Portuguese Language together. We did it for the first time in 2016 and we have carried it on. This year, we are doing it with the King's College - it's the 100th anniversary of the Portuguese language at King's. This collaboration has positive consequences in terms of the general public and for the provision of teaching too.

In 2013, I started on the bilingual school. It took a long time to develop and is now about to open. I thought 'Well, that's just what we need, we want a school that serves the needs of the Portuguese speaking community'. In 2016, it was approved. From then I got the support of Camões and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Portugal. It was my idea and, until then, I had worked pretty much on my own. Now we are working on it – we have a building, which we found in 2018, an architectural project. We predict opening in 2020. The school will be free for parents. The curriculum will be in Portuguese and in English and the school answers to Ofsted rules and procedures.

In 2014, we opened at [name of school] – this was the first time that a primary school accepted our offer to teach Portuguese as a foreign language. I visited the director to

'sell' Portuguese as a curricular language and she said 'Why not?' The attraction is that they are offered a paid for member of staff. There is an agreement – she sends me an annual report with the results. Then, whenever there is a special project that we want to carry out there or that they want to carry out and want help from the teacher who works there, this is discussed between us. For example, the Portuguese teacher taught an art class in Portuguese. This went really well. The Portuguese teacher worked with the school's English teacher to assist students who were having some difficulty in learning English grammar content. This went really well as well. So, there is collaboration within the school.

Today, we work with 60 schools. What we do now, really, is to answer to needs. For example, there are now many Portuguese in the East End of London; they are recent arrivals. In Newham, we were told 'We have more than 30 children here ready to enrol if you just send us a teacher'. So, that's what I did. I organised things so that I could allocate a teacher to go there one afternoon, for two classes. So, this also allows us to adjust, because these populations are not static. We solve these needs on an individual basis as this gives us more flexibility to respond to the changing pattern of needs.

In this country we will never be able to promote Portuguese by generating a broad agreement with the State to offer Portuguese as a foreign language. All these decisions are taken at a school level. UK schools are very autonomous, even in terms of how they organise their school day. Almost each school is different. An agreement was made with the Lambeth Council that hiring fees were not to be charged for Portuguese classes. The Council gave the schools more money in return. The Councils have been losing financing and they have stopped giving that money to schools. Curiously, the Lambeth school hasn't asked us for money yet.

In the Secondary education sector, there are two schools where the people are there full-time liaising with the language department. For example, one director wanted a plan to improve the students' GCSE results. Most head teachers look at Portuguese as a minority language and when I try to convince them by offering Portuguese classes taught by a teacher paid by me, the answer is 'We don't teach minority languages and if we did teach Portuguese we would have to teach Polish as well'. So, this vision that we have that Portuguese is an international language is not one that they share. So, promoting Portuguese in the UK has to be done on a school by school basis.

[Name of teacher] decided to offer an integrated A Level, which the school didn't have. She used to go there only after-school. So, the teachers have this role of creating a good relationship, showing that they are professional and that all the schools' students can benefit from this offer. And many do that, some are more successful than others, but this is not attributable to them.

In the last two years, we changed many things internally. Now we have established a protocol which starts with a first conversation [with the new teachers] in which I explain some of our principles and our relationship with the schools, with the parents and the community. What our objectives are and what kind of relationship we should have. They think that they are going to teach Portuguese here as they did in Portugal. During the first week of September, there is an induction week. They meet their colleagues, work with them, organise the students into classes and we write the introductory e-mails to parents. In this first week, there is always one day in which we all work together sharing things and discussing ideas. I have also introduced a closing week at the end of the school year with individual meetings with the teachers. Two years ago, I got a leadership coach as this was a requirement for the bilingual school; not something that the Portuguese State requires. This training helped me a lot and the tools from it I introduced to my people – the general trimestral meeting and the monthly team meetings.

For the future, the challenge is to persuade more schools to offer Portuguese as a foreign language. This in the context of a very liberalised system where schools compete with each other. Some opt for the safe and traditional approach of teaching French and Spanish. Some people recognise the importance of foreign languages for the communities that they work with but these are isolated cases. This also creates a tension within the schools – the local language teachers feel threatened by our teachers as we are taking students away from them.

Then, the Portuguese governmental budget does not allow investments in advertising. Other institutes invest a lot in communication but we have no money to project the image of the institute here. In 2018, we created a new digital format for the Newsletter and we have a Facebook page - it is an easy way of divulging and getting information to groups of Portuguese people.

Margarida begins her narrative with the events weighing on her decision to apply for the senior position of Coordinator of Portuguese in London. This is illustrated on her timeline with a list of those events, namely: the ending stage of her doctoral studies (*final DT*), the family context (*contexto familiar*) and the selection process for the role (*concurso*), with the year 2011 annotated underneath. In her rendering of these events there is a sense of disenfranchisement with the career and a desire to progress, which was felt unlikely to materialise in Portugal. She was finishing her doctoral studies and was struggling with the idea of going back to her previous position. But, moving to the United Kingdom had to be '*a family project*', she asserted (Interview 1, June 2017). With her husband's dissatisfaction with his own career as a researcher and her two children being only little and easy to uproot, she felt confident that this was the right time for her and for the family to go through that change and that challenge.

After accepting her new role, Margarida had to wait to take up the appointment until the publication of her official nomination in the Diary of the Republic had been completed. This forced her to enrol and send her children to school in Portugal and to go through the diverse emotional and monetary burdens that this involves, only to then have to go through it all again in England a few weeks later. Margarida also spoke at length about her experience of finding a home for the family and a school for the children. She told me how everything was so unfamiliar. She recalls these as exciting and fun times, but she also confesses that '*this part of people's lives could do with a bit more support*' (Interview 1, June 2017).

Margarida then talked about her arrival at the London office. The bureaucracy surrounding her nomination for the role delayed her arrival until the October – the school year being well underway by then. She arrived in London without a plan (*I didn't even have time to plan*) and she told me that the first year was '*more about understanding how things worked*' (Interview 1, June 2017). Her first actions in role were largely administrative, involving reorganising the teachers' timetables and rotas and making them more cost effective and geographically logical. But, the list of initiatives framing the temporal organization of her timeline is long and not purely administrative. The need to rationalise human resources seemed to reflect some of the outside pressures and expectations, specifically from headquarters in Lisbon. She was convinced that she had been offered the position mainly due to her extensive experience of managing people. She described the environment as '*challenging*' as there were '*no common goals*' amongst the teachers '*everyone did what they were used to, without thinking of the big picture*'. She felt that she had '*to bring some structure and coherence, to create some form of*

organisation' (Interview 1, June 2017) but that the attitudes of the local teachers and their level of professionalism were no different from any other Portuguese teachers elsewhere.

In 2012, besides the reorganisation of teachers' timetables and workloads, Margarida created a periodic newsletter with contributions from the teachers, students, researchers and members of the wider Portuguese community. She also organised the celebrations of the Day of Portuguese Language for the first time in May that same year. This is an initiative that involves the full network of teachers and students, who all get together to sing, present their work or recite poetry in Portuguese, with parents and family watching. Each year, the Portuguese Department invites musicians, writers and actors, and the Portuguese ambassador comes along, speaks to the community and offers a reception with Portuguese food and beverages. Recently, Margarida has also involved other Portuguese-speaking embassies in the celebrations (see timeline: 2016 – *Embaixada CPLP*). She described this event as being an important turning point and a crucial moment for everyone. She said that it is the one occasion when parents get to see the whole community of pupils and teachers in one place, a moment when they are touched and proud and very thankful. For the teachers, it is a rare event when they feel part of a team.

The creation of the first bilingual school is a momentous and fascinating initiative. Margarida said that the project was her response to requests from parents who, when planning to move to the UK, were looking for such a school for their children. The first steps were taken in 2013, but initially the project did not benefit from the support of Camões in Lisbon and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (i.e. the macro-level). Margarida perceived from the start that it would be impossible to get financial support from Portugal just at the peak of economic crisis and, indeed, their support only came later once the school had been approved and financially endorsed by UK educational authorities. Margarida recalled the beginning as an exciting, passionate and emotional venture, as she worked with a small group of friends who volunteered to help, but also had little experience of the local educational context. Whilst the first draft of the project was considered an amateur version with great potential, it was refused under the caveat that it required the review of a professional governing body. After two years of researching and establishing connections, Margarida succeeded in mobilising the specialised team who finally helped her deliver the project. By the time of our second interview, not only had the project been approved, it had a site with an architectural project underway and a predicted opening date of 2020. In retrospect, Margarida judged it an ambitious and difficult enterprise which she was not '*commissioned to do*' and she felt '*quite isolated*' (Interview 2,

April 2019). Indeed, the sense of isolation and lack of institutional support permeated her account of events. Margarida's account of this project gives a good sense of her personal determination to achieve goals and her resilience when faced with exceptional challenges.

The 2012 changes in the legal framework (Decree-law no. 234/2012) were felt in the Department in 2014, when Margarida announced the introduction of fees (*propina*) for the students in after-school courses. This was considered advantageous, as it committed the parents to bringing the children to classes and raised the levels of attendance, and the cost was merely symbolic. Margarida then explained that the introduction of fees and the centralisation of the students' enrolments in a digital platform involved major organisational changes which took two years to fully implement and put into practice, with teachers having to assume an additional administrative role. The database created contains the personal and academic information of all the students enrolled in after-school classes, but no information about the students whose classes are integrated into the mainstream; the management of the latter is left to the mainstream school.

Under the auspices of the new legislation, which proceeded in its quest for language internationalisation (see Chapter 4), and of a recent local educational requirement for primary schools to offer a foreign language (see Chapter 1), Margarida negotiated the integration of the first course of Portuguese as a Foreign Language into a mainstream primary school in London. Negotiations took place on an individual basis with the head teacher of the school and the proposal included a fully qualified Portuguese teacher to deliver classes of Portuguese as a Foreign Language to all the students and to give bilingual support throughout the school day to the children of a Portuguese-speaking background, assisting also with any necessary translations or interpretations in the home-school communication. According to Margarida, there has been a very positive collaboration between the school and the institute. By the time of our second interview, Margarida had succeeded in negotiating this model of integration with *one* other school in London. Even though she told me that '*each single school is a personal victory*' (Interview 1, June 2017), I denoted some frustration for not being able to achieve a broader agreement.

Between 2016 and 2018, Margarida's timeline registers a proliferating number of activities being initiated or developed. Among them, the approval of the bilingual school, the creation of a Facebook page for the Department, an activity involving video-books which are created by the students, a new writing activity, a celebration of the Day of Poetry, a periodic publication on critical thinking with contributions from the teachers and, most notably, the implementation

of an organisational protocol that includes an introductory week for the Portuguese teachers, with training for all and an induction for newcomers, trimestral meetings and a closing week at the end of the school year. The momentum on the timeline gives a sense of growing individual agentic engagement, influence of experience and confidence, and a clear indication of the importance of starting new projects. She is an innovative coordinator, with lots of new ideas, who has actively attempted to create more opportunities for the development of formal channels for communication inside and outside the Department.

When we last spoke, Margarida told me that the interviews had made her reflect about the first years in role. She highlighted the learning that one can only get from experience and the importance of the relationships developed over time. She spoke of a “relationship of trust [with] people in the ministry of education or in local educational authorities. People who know me and know that I am trustworthy and my work is consistent. This is a relationship that takes a long time to build” (Interview 2, April 2019).

I stayed in a small hotel for the first few days. Then I found accommodation in a kind of students hall of residence in the centre of London, a 'friendship house'. I was there for three, maybe four years and moved four or five times.

When I arrived, there was a meeting with colleagues in the London office to find out more details about work. I had a general idea that I was here to teach Portuguese, but not exclusively to emigrant children. I got given a list of students. The school year had already commenced so I had to start the classes without a plan – not dissimilar to Portugal. It was only when I met [name of teacher] that I knew what to do with that list of students' names and when to start and how to organise the classes, etc.

In my first classes, communication with the students was not that easy - I probably spoke too quickly. I felt that I couldn't speak with them the same way that I spoke with the kids in Portugal - they are not foreign language learners but they also haven't got the fluency that the mother tongue learners would have.

At that time, contracts could last up to six years and so I lingered on. There have been ups and downs for teachers. After two years, I got a full timetable, which changed a lot in practical terms. Also, there were salary cuts in Portugal and, over three years, our salary was cut by 30 to 40%. In professional terms, I got more and more interested in the Portuguese education here in the UK and in Europe. I developed a better understanding of it, of who the students are and what the issues are. As time went on, I felt that I had some sort of personal life here.

The legal framework has changed over the years. Originally, Camões (and its predecessor the Institute of High Culture) was concerned with promoting Portuguese in universities around the world. From one decree to the next, the provision of Portuguese for schools became a larger part of their activity. There was a stronger emphasis on integrating Portuguese into the host systems, as a foreign language, fitting it into the European Framework of Reference, through the QuaREPE.

It is written in these decrees that Portuguese is to be a foreign language along with others in the educational systems of the host countries. I think that there is a certain degree of ignorance regarding how things work in other countries. Here each school is autonomous, so this idea of implementing Portuguese as a foreign language would never work. There are a few examples of schools where it is part of the students' curricula. For most students, it is not a foreign but a heritage language.

In reality, in the classes, we have to adapt to the students' needs, most of whom are heritage language learners. The way I see it, Portuguese is part of these kids' lives – they were born into a Portuguese speaking family. I find it cruel to refuse an education in Portuguese to kids

whose family lives in another country. I think that Portugal has embraced that responsibility and that this is laudable.

Certification has been introduced but here in the UK the GCSE and A Levels are more important – they are the key to a student’s academic life. They sit a GCSE because a good result helps them to get into their preferred secondary school and the A Level gives them UCAS points. Our certification is worthless in terms of accessing the universities. I have reservations regarding our certification – the labels A1 or B1 are meaningless and the exam recordings rather unsuitable for the level of the students.

In after-school classes, the school is merely a hired space and often there is no contact with the school. In this school it is a bit different because I am here during the school day teaching the A Level classes. Still, although I teach a subject that is part of the curriculum, I am not part of normal school life. In this school, the idea to start Portuguese classes came from the EAL coordinator, who is Portuguese. She contacted the head office. At first, there were after-school classes and then she successfully negotiated classes in the curriculum for those interested in sitting the A Level. Her daughter is now enrolled in the after-school courses on a Wednesday.

There have been years when I have taken part in International Day. My pupils sang a version of ‘É sexta-feira’ - some students passing by me in the school corridors recognised me as the Portuguese teacher and would start singing ‘É sexta-feira’ [Nuno sings with an English accent]. I also take part in the Language Show, offering language tasters, which is organised by the Portuguese Department.

Schools here want to offer French or Spanish as there are lots of trained teachers. These languages have an established cultural brand which Portuguese doesn’t have. In primary schools, they want the pupils to develop an interest in languages and to introduce them to languages. Some schools introduce a different language or more than one language each year.

We need to promote what we have to offer – classes. Classes though are very expensive to maintain and it is not what the schools want [deep sigh]. I think that we need two distinct approaches being supporting the community (for those who are interested and have Portuguese as part of their lives) and promoting Portuguese as a foreign language in schools for the other children. These are two very different things.

The latest Coordinator is more ambitious than her predecessors but like them doesn’t have a two to three-year plan. For example: the number of students. Is it increasing or decreasing? If it is decreasing, what should we do with the ones we’ve got? Shall we change the way we work? I think the plan is missing. I feel that we can say anything we like in our meetings but there’s no time dedicated to discussing strategy. There is no common goal and I think that the teachers are a bit lost in that sense.

The future depends on political and social events, including Brexit. In this school, it seems to be to carry on offering Portuguese courses for students in Year 12 and 13 (they may want to sit the Portuguese A Level) and using the premises for after-school classes. I don't see any great revolutions here. Portuguese will not replace the foreign languages that are taught here in schools and, if it did, this would divide the already reduced number of students.

Nuno has a first degree in Modern Languages and Literatures, as part of which he trained to be a teacher of Portuguese and English in mainstream Portuguese Secondary Education and taught there for 7 years. He also completed a Master's degree in Portuguese Culture while still in Portugal and, later on, a Master's degree in Foreign Languages at King's College London. He has published articles in specialized journals and his research interests revolve around literature and language learning and teaching.

Governance of the Portuguese mainstream education system is centralised. Each year there is a national program that allocates teachers to schools. The end result often leaves schools without enough teachers, teachers without schools or sent far away from home. Today, a teacher with more than fifteen-years' experience, such as Nuno, would still only be on an annual contract and a permanent contract is virtually unattainable. Before he came to England, Nuno had taught in seven different schools, each for a year, as allocated by the central system – not even being sure if he was going to be allocated a job – as represented on his timeline.

The instability was an important driver in his decision to move away. He emphasised this by quoting his mother: *'You wanted a change of scenery'* (*querias mudar de ares*) (Interview 1, June 2017). Nuno was also dissatisfied with the constant changes and was keen to move on. In 2006, he looked with interest at the amendments to the legislation for teaching abroad – it was now open to all qualified teachers rather than just those with a permanent job. Nuno was one of a new wave of relatively young and unattached teachers who went abroad that year.

The story of his acceptance and starting a new role in London is marked by a number of incidents of poor communication and disorganisation. For instance, after finding out through an officially published list that he had been selected to teach abroad, he found it rather difficult to establish a first contact with the London office. He only got through at the start of September, when the office reopened after the summer holidays. Until then, he did not have even the basic details of his role, including when he was expected to start. Nuno mentions that he had about a week to relocate to London and started teaching immediately. He told me that he arrived with a vague idea that he was going to be teaching Portuguese courses mainly to Portuguese

emigrant children and that he initiated his classes without a plan or any clear indication of exactly what he was going to teach, to whom, where and when.

At the year start meeting, he met a few colleagues, many of whom were also newcomers and the then regional coordinator. He was given details about the location of the courses, lists of pupils for each class and a suggestion to contact one of the older colleagues with whom he was going to share one location for teaching. It was this colleague who in her own time supported him in starting the school year in a completely unfamiliar social and educational environment. Unsurprisingly, he felt disorientated (*alguma desorientação*).

Nuno's timeline shows that his living and housing conditions are very important to him; each of his house moves is represented in drawings underneath his timeline with the distance shown to central London. On arrival, he lived in a hotel for a week until he found his first lodgings, staying there for four years. At the peak of what he labels as '*financial well-being*' (*folga financeira*) in 2012, he moved to an apartment with a river view. He represents this by drawing the shape of the river Thames in the corner of the page with an arrow indicating its location. Whilst he uses a blue coloured pen to draw the timeline and most of the information around it, he uses a green coloured pen to highlight some events along the way, namely: his involvement with a theatre in London, his travels abroad for leisure and the completion of his second master's degree at King's College. Thus, he seems to want to emphasise his successes and achievements, rather than any negative events and emotions.

Overall, Nuno's rendering of his story had an optimistic but somewhat conforming tone. For example, when he told me about the rush to go to England, he ameliorated his family reaction to this sudden news using expressions as '*it was a small shock... it wasn't exactly the end of the world*' (*foi meio um choque... não foi propriamente o fim do mundo*). Then, when talking about his experience of moving from one accommodation to another, he emphasised that his story is one of the better ones (*a minha história é uma das mais calmas*) and that other people had moved more than he had. Later, after telling me about how disorganised the start of the school year had been, he told me that it had been no different from what he was used to in Portugal and that it had not really affected him. Also, he often uses expressions such as '*it was nothing special, nothing too intense*' (*não foi nada de especial, nada de muito intenso*). I relate these aspects because they demonstrate *how* Nuno *talks* about his professional and personal experiences. Observing *how* he talks and how the talk 'flows and functions' reveals just how he makes sense of the situations (Priestly et al. 2015:20).

Between 2006-2009, his contract was only part-time. He told me that he arrived in England at a time when teachers were very unhappy about their timetables. It was a time when there was

suspicion in Lisbon about how hard the teachers were effectively working and there were claims that the teachers were being deceitful about their teaching hours. There was a generalised perception of lack of professionalism amongst the teachers which resulted in many timetables being reduced. Indeed, this is attuned with my analysis of the preambular text of Decree-law no. 165/2006, where a reference to “*the need to suppress unjustifiable privileges*” (see Chapter 4), although vague, seems very much directed at the teachers working abroad.

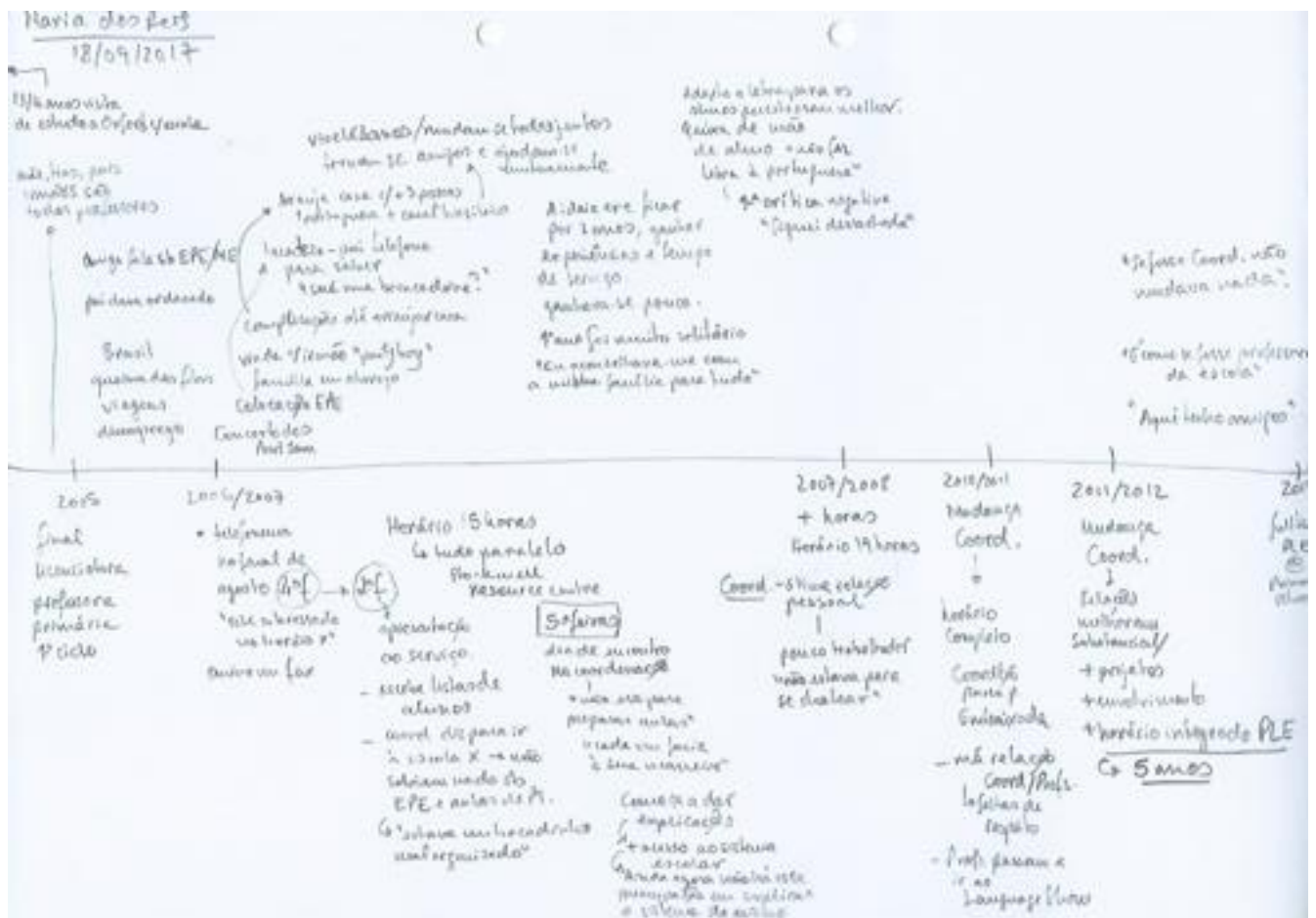
In 2009, when Camões took over the management of the network and a new Coordinator was appointed, Nuno was pleased to finally be given a full timetable. This is registered and well highlighted in the middle of his timeline (*Horário completo!*).

Professionally, some of these changes have at times had very tangible effects on his life. Austerity measures in the Portuguese economy have meant that Nuno has seen an overall 30 to 40% salary cut and has seen his job reduced to part time. His salary is fixed in euros and is therefore also affected by exchange rate movements. With each legislative amendment, there have been changes to the terms of his contract. There have been times when his contract was said by his employer to be a four-year contract, other times a two-year contract and now it is permanent, but it depends on an annual assessment carried out by the Coordinator. In his mind, these circumstances cause a great deal of instability and uncertainty about his career and his future. Still, he feels that the sum of his experiences has led him to develop a better understanding of the issues surrounding Portuguese education in England and that has greatly increased his interest in living and working here.

Nuno is profoundly knowledgeable about the legal framework and about its ideological and structural sways. He has deeply reflected upon and studied the teaching and learning reality of Portuguese in England and that is clear in his discourse. His account is full of reflection and interpretation. This insight may be the greatest source of disparity between Nuno’s narrative and that of Maria, who is portrayed next.

Maria

Figure 9: Maria's timeline



"Don't you know," she said pityingly, "that everybody's got a Fairyland of their own?"

P.L. Travers, *Mary Poppins* (1934:22)

One of my respondents first chose 'Mary Poppins' as her pseudonym. She then changed it to 'Maria', for credibility, and added 'dos Reis', for no particular reason. Like Mary Poppins, Maria dos Reis is young and ever so slightly eccentric in nature. She certainly works her magic with her young charges, who thoroughly enjoy her classes, and she also has an extensive number of relatives whom she often mentions in her amusing stories. But, above all, she resembles Mary Poppins in that 'She is the Great Exception' (P.L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*,

1934:110). That is, at the time of writing, she was the only teacher delivering Portuguese as a Foreign Language in a mainstream primary school in London. An excerpt from my fieldnotes provides evidence of her playful character:

Walking around the school after 5.30pm, we saw many busy teachers preparing the classrooms for the next day, perched on chairs or stepladders. Everyone had a smile and a few words to exchange with Maria, who told everyone she was being interviewed by a TV reporter (me!) – she is very playful, and they know it.

[Fieldnotes, 18 September 2017]

While we met only on two occasions, our interview transcripts spread over three hours. Maria's lively and jovial character gave an informal and pleasant flow to our conversations, which were punctuated by anecdotes, funny remarks and giggles. Having provided her with a long explanation about the timeline tool and how she could use different colours and annotations, I ended up drawing it and noting down all the information myself. Like I did with Nuno, I sent her a copy of the timeline afterwards and asked her to revise it and add any annotations she might want. She confirmed the content was correct and made no additions. I have some issues however about the ownership of this timeline (having fully drawn it myself). Yet, the full collection of interviews and observations gave me a clear sense of how she develops her practice. Here is her profile.

Maria dos Reis, 18 September, 2017 [giggles]. I finished the degree in 2005, aged 21, my dad paid me a salary and I went travelling for a year [laughter]. Then, I met a friend who was teaching in France and she told me about Portuguese abroad. I was excited and decided to apply for everywhere in the world, basically. I was young and I knew that I wouldn't get a teaching placement anywhere soon. There I was in Lisbon, attending the second day of Pearl Jam's concerts, when I got the call, 'Hello, you have a placement to teach in London. Are you interested?' They called on Wednesday and asked me to show up on Monday for a meeting in London. After that, there were no more contacts. I called back, but there was no answer. My father said 'You are not going, this could be a joke'. He went to his school and got confirmation I really had a placement. It was a relief [laughs], it was true. It was a moment of uncertainty in my diaspora [laughter]. We booked the trips – very expensive – my mother was crying.

I had the said meeting in which I was given lists of students. I dressed up nicely [risos] and went to the one I thought was my main school. When I got there, no one knew about Portuguese courses. Let's just say it wasn't very well organised then.

The majority of my timetable was in Stockwell, in the resource centre. I had many different levels. The kids enjoyed the classes. I used books that I chose. I taught in rented rooms. I thought it was great. I had a 15 hour a week timetable.

We used to meet in the office every Thursday. I don't know why we all went there on Thursdays. We didn't prepare classes, we didn't do anything. We just had lunch together. It was just something different every Thursday.

We all did things differently. I taught mainly Portuguese as a mother tongue, kids used to speak and write well then. There were no integrated courses. I didn't feel like a real teacher. I felt isolated, like that was just something I would go and do at the end of the day without great... well, it had an impact, the kids liked it and so did the parents. But, as a professional, it wasn't what I imagined. Everyone just got on with their own business.

New technologies have helped a lot. Everything is easier. There is also the embassy, there is always someone there. It is more official now and they direct people better. I had no one. I called my family for everything. My mother sent me her folder with her worksheets that she used in her own classes.

It would have been useful for me to know the English school system. Perhaps people are more informed now. They come over better prepared, perhaps.

I started to go to a school, but just after normal classes, so I couldn't really see anything anyway. I was given a key, 'here is the rented room'. I taught from four until eight o'clock. We did the usual Christmas celebrations, to which the parents came, but it wasn't the same as here, it was just about the Portuguese community.

I only got a full timetable when the previous Coordinator came. She changed the timetables and completed them. After the holidays, it came as a surprise to everyone, she had gone. One time, before she left, I had to go to a school in Finchley. I had a really hard time finding the school, so only arrived at four o'clock and had to go straight into the classroom. I didn't have time to introduce myself to the head teacher or anything, but I met the parents. She called me afterwards, 'Hello Maria, have you been to the school in Finchley? Did it go well?' I said 'Yes, I had a meeting with the parents.' 'Really? Well, the school say you haven't been there. You are lying to me.' I said I wasn't lying, but she wouldn't listen and was really rude. She came here

convinced that we didn't do anything. But, I don't know even one teacher who didn't do their work. The timetables became better with the previous Coordinator, but the relationships worst. The current Coordinator gets on well with us. She knows how to deal with people. There are more projects and more involvement. I started my integrated timetable with her.

I have been here for eleven years and this is the fifth year in this school. Tomorrow there is a staff meeting until eight o'clock. Many times, colleagues who are teaching maths call me to explain things to Portuguese or Spanish speaking kids. This sort of thing happens frequently. I am completely part of the staff. They treat me like their own teacher. Only difference is that they don't have to pay me.

But, when there were doubts about the renewal of my service commission with Camões, because of the changes regarding the period of renewal, the head teacher told me 'Let me know and we will contract you'. There is no need, but they would contract me. I prefer to be the way I am because my teaching time counts in Portugal. I am connected to my country, do all my discounts there. I feel more protected, especially now with Brexit.

I start at 8:40 – I read a book with the Portuguese children in Reception. During morning assembly, I support a group of Portuguese children with grammar that they learn during the day. These children were born here but speak Portuguese at home. Their first language is Portuguese and their second language is English. They are at a crossroads. English language will be their first language and Portuguese their second language. For example, I had one kid who spoke Portuguese really well and loved the classes in Year 3 and by the time he got to Year 6, he had completely transitioned to English and didn't like the classes anymore. In Year 6, I focus more on the Portuguese children again to help them with the grammar as they need that for the SATs, we do what we call 'interventions'.

Last year, I did a grammar project, instead of those boring didactic units that we are required to do, I had the English Year 2 plan and I taught all the grammar content to the children in Portuguese. Then, they feel more confident and they progress a lot faster. I also did a CLIL project with my Year 3 colleague, where we did the Art classes in Portuguese. They learnt geometric forms. This was for the whole class, because CLIL is for learning Portuguese as a Foreign Language.

I plan my Portuguese classes according to the language curriculum here. The objective is not that they carry on learning Portuguese, it's just about language awareness. It's

about going through the mental process of learning a language, about being more prepared to learn, whether it is Spanish or French that they learn later. They'll learn any language faster.

Portuguese children are my TAs in class, if they are not shy. Sometimes it's hard. I am not going to differentiate as we sing songs or play games, I am not going to say to the Portuguese kids, 'You're not going to play because you know the language, go to that corner and write a text' [laughter]. So, I use them as TAs, they are by my side. They maintain a contact with the language. They mainly acquire self-confidence.

I look at the legal framework only to know about absences or holidays. I've never read the whole document in one go. I don't because we are informed by the network. Let me see [Maria examines one of the policy documents]. Ah, yes, yes, diffusion of the Portuguese language, community, helping the community, yes, and the culture, yes, too. A great part of my classes are about culture. I promote the language to a completely foreign audience, international, I teach them not only about Portugal but about all Portuguese speaking countries. It's intuitive – I've never read the whole document, honestly.

Generally, I don't reuse the same materials. There are always new ideas, new things to do. The difficult part of my job is to produce classes that are very active and to teach them all day long – I am always talking, always repeating words, speaking loudly, being cheerful, let's sing this song, it's your turn now, now you there, keep them at their best performance [laughter]. I am a clown [laughter]. They love it. I know all the kids in school and they all greet me in Portuguese. I am an agent, here in the school, I represent Portugal.

Maria's narrative begins in 2005, but it does not always follow a consistent chronological order. Instead, she seemed more interested in narrating selected episodes in which a great part of the thematic thread was the self-perception of being young and carefree. She told me little about her degree, for example, but a lot about her travels afterwards. Then, in the story of her application to teach abroad, the main plot is her attendance of the Pearl Jam concerts in Lisbon. The episodes about moving to London and finding accommodation are at times hilariously funny and they are interspersed with flashbacks to a school visit to Oxford and Cambridge, for example, or to her father taking charge and making sure that the job was real and not just a prank. These episodes were lengthy, detailed and intricately told, providing a high level of

narrative intensity (Goodson 2010) and great entertainment. While it was considered important to present the material in the order in which it appeared in the interviews (Seidman 2006), in this case it made sense to transpose some of the material into a chronological order, being careful not to distort the meaning of the experiences. It also proved challenging at times to reduce Maria's account into a personal profile that offered insights into the complexities of the language policy process without getting overly distracted by those fascinating personal and experiential intricacies.

Whereas her stories were richly detailed and descriptive, they were not explicitly reflective and it was difficult to get a sense of her interpretation and meaning-making regarding her experiences in relation to the shifts in the discourse of the official policy. Although she arrived in the same wave as Nuno, in 2006, after the first amendments to the legislation, she was younger than him and had no teaching experience – her career effectively started in the provision of Portuguese language in London. Her idea was to come over for a couple of years, to gain experience in teaching plus in life more broadly, and then to move back to Portugal and carry on teaching there. This would enable her to accumulate teaching time which would place her ahead of her peers in the national tender that allocates teachers to schools in Portugal.

Her account of arriving in London – finding accommodation and starting her new role – was very similar to Nuno's. She was misdirected – sent to a school where no one was expecting her – and there was a general absence of guidance, pedagogical or otherwise, from her administrators. While Nuno found the support of a local experienced colleague, the first and foremost influencers of Maria's practice with her pupils abroad were her parents who, being experienced educators in Portugal, provided her with a battery of resources and advice. These resources were the same that her mother '*used in her own classes*' in Portugal.

What was very noticeable in Maria's account of her journey was that the more integrated she was into a mainstream school the more she felt like a 'real teacher' and the more engaged and agentive she became. In the beginning of her narrative, she taught only after school and mainly in resource centres or church halls. She had no contact with or knowledge about the local educational system. As a professional, she felt that she was '*isolated*' and '*didn't feel like a real teacher*'. She told me that having knowledge about what went on in schools locally would have been important for her practice. She affirmed that this had not improved throughout the years and that the training and professional development provided had continued to develop '*in a bubble*' (Interview 1, September 2017); that is, revolving specifically around how to teach oral and written skills in Portuguese. Then, she started to teach in schools, but it was still '*after normal classes*', in rented classrooms, and there was '*no link with the school*' (Interview 2,

October 2017); all activities and initiatives that she organised only reached the Portuguese community. When she became integrated into the primary school, as part of the agreement negotiated by Margarida, according to which she was to deliver Portuguese as a foreign language to all three-hundred students in the school and to provide bilingual support to Portuguese-speaking children, she started to be involved in all mainstream school activities, from parent's evenings to staff meetings, from open days to any and all special days, and so on. This has allowed her to engage more meaningfully with her learning audience and she has felt confident to propose, both to the mainstream school and to the Coordination, a wide range of initiatives. Her personal profile gives evidence of some of these initiatives and how she feels about them, for example, *'I did a grammar project, instead of those boring didactic units that we are required to do'*. Her personal profile is also laden with expressions that evidence her level of integration: *'I am completely part of the staff'*, *'They treat me like their own teacher'*; her use of the pronouns 'we' and 'my' in: *'We are an outstanding school!'*, when referring to the quality of the work exhibited by the teachers all around the school (see fieldnote in Chapter 7) and *'my colleague in Year 3'*, when referring to someone from the primary school. Hence, the circumstances of this model of integration have on one hand legitimized her work as a teacher and on the other increased her capacity of formulating more meaningful educational activities. Her story bears little overlap with Natália's – the next participant – who was in the autumn of her career and looking forward to retiring.

It's very simple - I got married in 1984 to someone who lived here. I taught for a year in Portugal to qualify to teach abroad and came to live here in 1985. In 1986, I applied for and eventually got a placement to teach Portuguese in the UK. I travelled to Portugal for three or four days for my initial professional training – that course bore little relationship to reality. Students came in a whole spectrum of colours and shapes, a complete hybrid. Some understood a few words, others spoke Portuguese fluently and were developing their literacy, more than oracy. Their range of abilities made teaching Portuguese extremely difficult.

Thirty years ago, to speak a second language at home was viewed negatively. Parents were told 'If you want to help your child, don't speak Portuguese at home'. Later it got better – multiculturalism, multilingualism. Today it has turned full circle - 'It might be better not to attend Portuguese - let's focus on the language that they use in school for SATS and exam papers.' I think this is related to teacher training here.

Functionally, little has changed in the last thirty years. Like now, we had no space on the walls to exhibit our work. Back then, we had a cupboard, as we do now, in most schools. Today, I have the advantage of having moved from a library to a classroom. Much depends on the school – the attitude of the headteacher and teachers – whether they let you use their classroom or not. For Portuguese classes to take place, the caretaker is as important as the headteacher. If he says 'No, I am not doing extra hours', the headteacher cannot make him. They have the power. This gives you an idea, in terms of power, where we are. Newcomers do not know this. I do not advertise to schools the fact that I have a doctorate – generally the perception is that after-school teachers, like teaching assistants are not qualified.

I used to find out what the students were learning in their mainstream classes and explore those topics in my class. This gave the students a different critical perspective. Learning about literature and Portuguese history also strengthened their personal self-esteem – a whole emotional area is explored and developed, not just the language. For me, Camões is a complementary school. The introduction of the National Curriculum placed a brutal curricular weight on the mainstream teachers. The complementary work that I was able to develop before couldn't be done anymore.

That document [the legal framework], I use it to check the rules about absences. In pedagogical terms, it doesn't tell you anything. With QuaREPE, you can do what you like. Contrastingly, we are asked to follow the new Camões syllabi (which has never been officially approved). I do not believe that it is realistic but our teaching plans are verified against it. The younger children need to be able to speak, to be able to explore different topics, things that they like and are interested in. The older children need to be prepared for the Portuguese GCSE and A Level papers. It all depends on the school, on the population. It has to be something so flexible and

light that allows for advanced learning for those who are more able and for Portuguese for beginners. Think of the audience that come to the courses – they are the children and grandchildren of Portuguese emigrants. Yet, reading the Camões’ policies, you realise that they are about expanding Portuguese as a foreign language. That does not necessarily represent the spectrum – it’s a round peg for a square policy. So you adapt – that’s how I see things. There should be clear and well-defined local policies – yes, general guidelines from Lisbon but Lisbon cannot dictate what is done at the local level. I am sure that Lisbon asks for a plan of action – but I think teachers should be encouraged to participate actively in that plan, as a team. I have been asking for many years who assesses how successful the Coordination has been and by what criteria?

Thirty years ago, each group had four weekly hours of tuition. Class time is important. Today, there is a limitation of a minimum of 12 students per class. So, I have a group of AS and A2 students. Well, a student who is being prepared for a language A2 paper here is entitled to 4 or 5 weekly hours. I have two hours to teach a group of AS and A2 students. This is called ‘disintegrated learning’, which is characterised by learning inside school hours, with a number of conditions and little return. How can I prepare students and develop their Portuguese seriously in two hours per week, especially given the diverse language abilities in the classroom? I cannot make miracles [laughter]. We need more time for the students. Within the school day in one Primary school, I also support Portuguese speaking students who are finding it difficult to follow classes in English. Whenever I can, I try to go into a classroom and say ‘Hello!’ with a wide smile. This is also a way of letting the mainstream teacher know who I am and that the student is Portuguese. After 30 years of teaching, I am proud of having grand-students – students whose parents I taught. It is immensely satisfying that they chose me to educate their children. I do all of this because I love working with bilingual and multi-lingual children.

We need numbers - we need more students. If there are students, there is a placement and vice versa. Yet, there isn’t a policy of publicising the courses. After much pressure, we got a note to appear in the consulate’s website about the Portuguese classes. Every March, Nuno and I would go around shouting ‘Attention! Enrolments for Portuguese classes are open!’ It’s shameful that we have to do this!

There has always been emigration, but it is different now. It’s not about the untrained person who goes away to clean rooms and serve. Now, it’s highly skilled people who have been trained for years and whom the country desperately needs but has no economic means to keep. People apply for jobs internationally. An anaesthetist does not move to England because of a cousin who lives here; they do so because they applied for a job at the hospital and got the job. I think

that the financial value of the language is very important – I never hear about the emigrants' remittances that for years have been vital for the national balance of payments.

The community here is changing too and people are spreading out. Traditionally, people migrated relying on family relationships and clustered and the myth of return prevailed. People don't cluster like they used to, so there needs to be a different form of education abroad. In the last two to three years, we have started to hear again about the heritage language. To what extent could this be a strategy to maintain the link between emigrants and the country? It's essential to maintain that link and that's why we are back to education for the community. Except, this time around the focus is on distance learning. There is a connection with Porto Editora editors to create the means to learn Portuguese as a first language. But why this connection to Porto Editora? Why not develop a local form of distance learning? Why centralize it in Lisbon? [long pause] Questions that I have no answer to.

We have training organised by the institute (distance learning) and some organised by the coordinator. If you want anything more, you choose and pay for whatever you want.

My individual objectives are defined by what I can do with the public that I have in front of me. Today, the Museum of London does sessions in which they work with the children, in English, which I then explore in Portuguese. This is a way to encourage the children to go to the museum with their parents. When there are new exhibitions in the British Museum, sometimes, they offer tickets to the community before the exhibition opens to the general public. If it's free, I am there!

Another thing that I started to do with Nuno was to ask colleagues to tell us the results of their students in the GCSE, AS and A2 exams. The idea is that there is some form of recognition of the positive effect that the classes have and of the good results that our students get. Our classes show us that national identity is valued - we value what we are. There should be more investment in terms of teacher training, investment in the network and investment in terms of materials.

Natália's narrative begins in 1984, the date when she got married to someone who lived and worked in England. While her story begins with such personal circumstances, Natália reveals little else about her family relationships. Therefore, I can only assume that she got married to a Portuguese man and that her migration to the UK in the 1980s resembles other journeys of Portuguese migration, of people moving to particular places reliant on kinship networks in search for opportunities and a better life (Brettell 2003:42). For example, she told me that one important factor in her decision to move was that she felt deprived of opportunities to study in

her hometown. This sense of deprivation and a drive for upward social mobility are typical features of Portuguese emigration of that time (Brettell 2003).

Natália's account of her journey to becoming a teacher for the Portuguese language provision in England in the early 1980s demonstrates some of its bureaucratic and centralised model of governance. Natália explained right at the beginning of her narration that in order to become a teacher of Portuguese abroad she had to teach in Portugal for the minimum period of one year, which gave her a required legal attachment to the Portuguese public service. This in turn guaranteed her a permanent position in a school in Portugal, which would be resumed once she returned home after completing the initially allocated years abroad. But, as reported in chapter 4, in the first thirty years of the democratic regime (1974-2004), Portuguese language planning efforts were characterised by a rather short-term perspective and this meant frequent changes to the legal formalities of the provision. For example, the rules and duration of the teachers' contracts changed on a frequent basis. The constant changes to contractual terms kept teachers like Natália permanently on their toes, always insecure of their whereabouts in the following school year. Yet, over the years, each policy change also meant a brand new start of contractual terms for everyone already in post and this allowed many Portuguese teachers to develop long lasting careers abroad. Such is Natália's case, who has accumulated 31 years of experience in teaching the Portuguese emigrant community in England.

When she moved to England in 1985, having taught the required year in Portugal, she tried to apply locally to teach the Portuguese courses but was not successful. Initially, she got a job in the Portuguese section of the BBC, but kept a look out and when the national tender procedure took place, she applied internationally. After what sounded like a rather complex process of application, which included annually accumulated points (*pontuação*) and being married to a person residing in the local area, she finally got a position in London in 1986.

The successful application meant that she was required to travel to Lisbon for a week of professional training before the start of the school year. This training was meant to work as an induction into teaching Portuguese to the emigrant communities living abroad. She told me that a large part of the course was about administrative aspects, such as legislation about absences. As for the pedagogical aspect of the training, Natália felt that it was out of kilter with the reality of teaching abroad. All the teaching resources and techniques at that time were those used to teach Portuguese as a mother tongue, just as those used for children who lived in Portugal. Thus, for Natália, the language learning goals and the teaching methods centrally engendered did not correspond to the educational needs at the local level.

She described her first learning audience as a “*a range of all colours and shapes, a complete hybrid*” (*um leque de todas as cores e feitios, um híbrido completo*). That is, she said, each of her after-school classes assembled together children who were able to speak and write fluently in Portuguese with children who had no more than an emotional connection to the language and culture. The latter were children who understood but a few words in the language and had not developed literacy, they were fewer than those who could speak more fluently. For these students, she explained, Portuguese would have been a heritage language and integration into a Portuguese course was very hard. She reports that those initial times were an extremely difficult process of adaptation for both the learners and herself.

She talks about the circulating ideologies about “speaking a second language at home”, how they have shifted over the years and how they impinge on the community’s own perceptions around the worth of carrying on learning. She remembers how her first classes took place in school libraries and only a few years later did they move into classrooms, still after normal school hours. She told me how she was usually allowed to leave her teaching and learning resources in a cupboard in the classroom, but there was no space for exhibiting the work done in Portuguese classes. On reflection, she felt that these circumstances depended mainly on the mainstream teachers and head teachers’ individual attitudes and that this was as valid in the early days as it was at the time of our interview (*nessa altura, tal como agora*).

Her narrative is very much marked by this frequent leaping between “now” and “then”, with the past being preferred in relation to the present, with a degree of Portuguese nostalgia (*saudade*). This can easily relate to the fact that she is from a different generation in relation to the other participants. While the other three teachers have taught for 10-12 years overall, she has been teaching for over 30 years and refers to herself as the “last dinosaur”. This accumulated baggage of experience is indexed in her representations about the context of Portuguese language learning and about the community, and her views provide many moments of insightful reflection. These will deserve further exploration in the next chapters.

A final note worth making here concerns the nature of Natália’s account. Whilst Nuno used a lot of euphemism, Natália was primarily prone to dysphemism. For example, when describing her learning audience, she uses the expression “hybrid” – an awkward choice of word. It is mostly associated with biology and the offspring of two plants or animals of different species, such as mules; more recently, it is also associated to cars, where a petrol combustion engine is combined with an electric motor, such as a Prius. When talking about curriculum, she refers to it as a “brutal curricular weight” and as a “*camisa de sete varas*” (which can be loosely translated as a straightjacket). She also emphasised how “extremely difficult” teaching

Portuguese was due to the surrounding ideological and structural circumstances. Also, whilst Ângela, my next participant, did not allow me to take photographs of any of her pedagogical materials before she had neatly organised them for the picture, Natália directed my camera to the battered cupboard and to the very old box (Figure 11) where Portuguese resources were stowed.

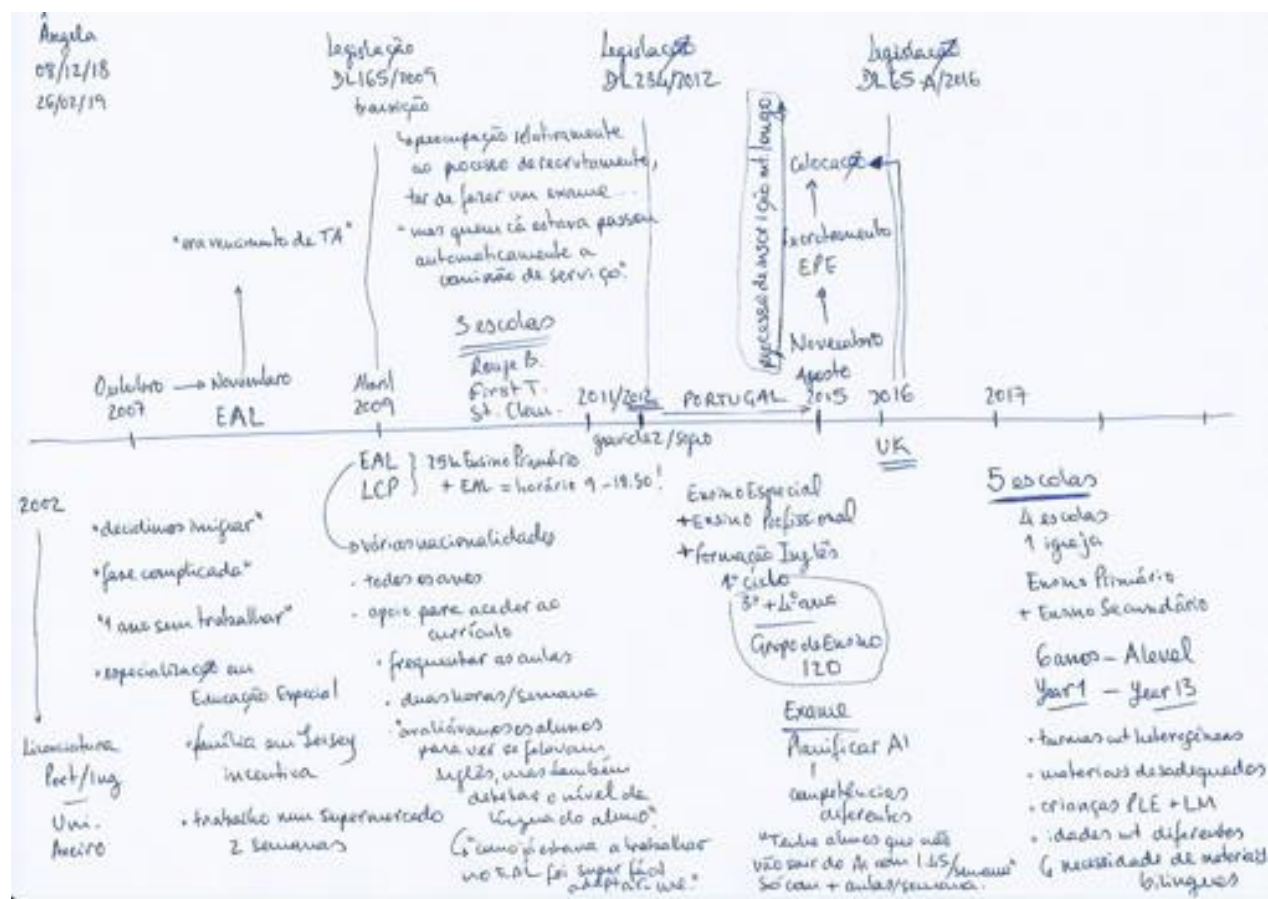
Figure 11: Box used to keep Portuguese resources at one of Natália's schools



It was an emotional account – she expressed frustration, disappointment and sadness. Her long-term battles for a more just education for her pupils may have spurred pessimism as a personal trait. Still, it is important to note that, ultimately, she did not feel recognised, valued or heard by either the Portuguese or the English decisionmakers. Like Natália, Ângela joined the Portuguese provision after having lived and worked in the UK for nearly two years. As the next section will show, their stories are similar in more than one way, but not in their tone.

Ângela

Figure 12: Ângela's timeline



Our first interview, lasting nearly two hours, took place in Ângela's home, and the second in one of the five schools that she visits each week. In December 2018, she was in her late thirties and was living in a small house in the outskirts of London. She was married to a Portuguese man who worked as a decorator in the construction industry. There were two children in the family, a girl aged twelve and a boy aged five. She was coming to the end of the first term in her second year of teaching Portuguese in London.

Ângela grew up and studied in Aveiro, in the north of Portugal, where she completed a degree in Modern Languages and Literatures – Portuguese and English, in 2002. After teaching for two years in Leiria, she found herself unemployed and decided to get a degree in Special Education. She finished her second degree in 2007 and this would very likely have guaranteed

her a teaching position. Her cousins who lived in Jersey influenced their decision to emigrate. Here is her profile:

When I went to Jersey, I did not plan to work for Camões. In 2007, when we emigrated, things weren't favourable in Portugal. Sometimes, I got jobs teaching part time, sometimes I was unemployed. So, my family in Jersey encouraged us to join them. We travelled in the car, just like proper emigrants of twenty years ago. When we arrived, our family took us in and we stayed with them initially.

I started working in a supermarket to earn money. When the opportunity came, I applied to join the EAL team and got offered the job. The salary was nothing much, but I was in a school – I was happy. That is when I met the Portuguese teachers. When [name of teacher] left, I applied locally and got the job. I stayed in that role from 2009 to 2012.

It was very easy for me to adapt to the support element of my new job with Camões – it was identical to my role in EAL, i.e. helping students to access the curriculum. One year I did something that I really, really enjoyed, which was supporting children in Nursery – this is that time when they start school and can't speak [English] because they were with their parents or with a Portuguese nanny. I read stories, organised games, songs and different activities just like they would have had at Nursery in Portugal. The objective was to improve their Portuguese, it was not even to help them with English. I think that in Jersey home languages are valued, more than here.

Meanwhile, I got pregnant – my little boy was born in September 2012. We returned to Portugal that year for family reasons. To be honest, by then, I had stronger connections to Jersey than to Portugal – it's a bit strange to say this, but it's how I feel. We were integrated, we had English and Portuguese friends, we were happy. Anyway, we returned to Portugal.

My husband was working and I had a teaching placement. The year they opened applications for service commissions abroad, which are more secure and stable, I applied again. It was a very long procedure – it started in November 2015 and then, in August 2016, I was offered a placement.

Now I have four schools and a church in my timetable. In the morning, I prepare classes, write summaries, update the absence record on the platform. On Monday, I start at 4pm and finish at 7. The first class has ten students – only one does not speak Portuguese. The second class is small and they are preparing for GCSE. On Tuesday,

the first group has twelve children, from years 1 to 5, one girl does not speak Portuguese and the rest speak it and understand. The second class has five students, from Year 7 to Year 9, with various levels of proficiency – all understand Portuguese, apart from one.

On Wednesday, I am at a new school in Epsom, where I wanted to start a course. For many years, parents had been calling the Portuguese Department and trying to open it without success. This year, it was a bit hard, but we finally made it. It was a lot about the parents really wanting it and I helped a bit. I sent some emails around to schools, which came to nothing. Then, one mum started working as a Teaching Assistant in a school and spoke with the premises' manager. I then spoke with our Assistant Coordinator – I told her that there was space at this school, there were enough students, some wanting to do the Portuguese GCSE, and finally classes started in November. If I don't have students, I don't have work. It's a bit selfish, but, on the other hand, it's also to help these parents. In fact, I feel proud of myself, it's something that I created from scratch.

In this school, I have students ranging from Year 1 to Year 8. It works well, they are all competent apart from one student who has just started and does not speak Portuguese. Then, on Thursday, I am in Balham – there is a large Portuguese community there. There is integrated learning in the school and [name of teacher] is there practically full-time. The after-school students come from other schools to have classes there. I teach two groups – 4-year-olds to children in Year 6. The age gap makes it very complicated. On Friday, I am at the parish hall – I end the week in church, it's a holy week [we both laugh]. I have lots of students there, but the conditions are poor and there isn't an interactive board like in schools. We haven't yet found a school that would accommodate the classes.

With such a variety of students, it is not as much about teaching them Portuguese, it's more about giving them experiences in Portuguese in a more formal environment. Let's be honest, some children have been enrolled in level A1 for five years, they will never move from there. Sometimes, their only contact with Portuguese is in our after-school class and it's not enough in such a heterogeneous class. They would need a lot more time per week.

Others find the Portuguese books too easy. I have to bring books from Portugal – they like these. Then, those who don't speak Portuguese get lost. There should be bilingual books for these kids, with the instructions in English.

Parents enrol the children because they want them to maintain the family language, but, deep down, they want them to sit the GCSE. It's something their kids can achieve and get a good grade in. They also want them to do the Camões' exam. I tell students and parents that our exam is an official document that shows their proficiency in Portuguese to an employer in France or in America. No one told me to say this, no one tells us what to say, but I say that to motivate them to enrol.

Last year, I was requested to supervise the Camões exam and that's when I first saw it – imagine that! I had also never taught GCSE and A Level before – a colleague gave me some pointers, but even then I was almost clueless. I quickly realised that the GCSE is quite accessible, but I was concerned about the A Level, where you have to prepare specific themes for study. In my opinion, there should be a mini training course, so that you are not thrown into the deep end. It's a bit like that with everything – you're on your own.

The last training that I did was online, through Camões, about heritage languages. I learnt a lot. I like my integrated class, I also learn a lot with them. There is a student that gives me some feedback from what he does in his Spanish classes and that helps me prepare my work.

If we have any ideas for a different activity, we can suggest them. But the big activities, the milestones, I have no say in those. The Day of the Portuguese Language is where children recite poems and do other activities. Then there is the Best Student of the Year competition, where we suggest students with a selection of their work. I think these activities have the greatest impact, mostly in the community. Parents are very proud of their children and of being Portuguese.

I have never suggested anything for the English students. There are schools where that happens. I know of one where this was not well received by the French teachers.

In terms of legislation, well, I know the practical stuff, about applying, holidays, our rights and duties. The introduction to these texts is always the same. It's about valuing the language, passing it from generation to generation, also about maintaining the culture, all to do with Camões' objectives, I think that's good.

Ângela's first annotation on her timeline relates to her family's decision to emigrate, in October 2007, which preceded her decision to apply to work for the Portuguese provision. When she joined, in 2009, she had previous experience of teaching Portuguese in a variety of contexts.

She also had experience of working outside of teaching – carrying out unskilled work not commensurate with her qualifications – in order to earn a living. She told me that this wide experience was an important part of who she was, both as a person and as a professional. Interestingly, this chimes with recent research (see Priestley et al. 2015) which suggests that working experiences outside education afford teachers a broader range of answers in their daily practice.

Her story was compelling and I was impressed by her level of commitment both to her family and to the children that she teaches. Her family was the organising principle and the driving force behind her narrative. A great part of the story was told in the first-person plural: “we emigrated” (*emigrámos*), “we travelled” (*viajámos*), “we had friends” (*tínhamos amigos*), “we were happy” (*estávamos felizes*), “we returned to Portugal” (*voltámos para Portugal*). Following this, her teaching and her learners are a central feature in her life and she seems to find solace and great pleasure in teaching – “I was in a school, I was happy”.

All the way through the narrative, her account was very positive, even when narrating times that were hard. Her story was full of examples of optimism: “I was content, extremely content” (*estava contente, contentíssima*), “I was extremely happy” (*estava felicíssima*), “I liked it a lot” (*gostei muito*), “it gives me great satisfaction” (*dá uma satisfação muito grande*). This emotional resilience is a personal strength (Priestley et al. 2013) that has allowed her to thrive and to open implementational spaces (Hornberger 2002), even when structural circumstances are unfavourable. This was the case when she collaborated with the emigrant community to open a Portuguese language course in Epsom, where parents “had been trying to open [a course] without success”, and she did indeed succeed.

At the time of the interviews, she was teaching in five different places around London, some quite far from where she lived with her husband and two children. The interviews gave us the opportunity to discuss her concerns and concrete aspects of her practice. Our visit to one of her schools revealed her approach to language teaching and how she appropriated the policies in the micro context of her classroom. Some of her main concerns were annotated in the bottom right hand corner of her timeline and related to the difficulties of managing teaching and learning in the extreme circumstances in which she was required to teach – one single class per week, at the end of the school day, not always in fully equipped classrooms, targeting a variety of age groups, needs and language competences, without suitable bilingual materials. Observing her classes however uncovered the use of a range of well-founded language teaching techniques and methodologies and was a powerful reminder that the after-school provision is

about much more than language learning and proficiency – it’s much more “about giving them experiences”, as she also had realised through her practice.

Ângela’s views on the legal framework seemed partial. Looking at her timeline, which we constructed together, it is possible to distinguish annotations about the legislation in the period before she started teaching. These annotations related to the process of her application for teaching, in 2009, then to the time when she left the provision, in 2012, and finally to her new application and return to the provision in 2015/2016. Her comments about the legislation related “to the practical stuff, about applying, holidays, our rights and duties”. There was no evidence of engagement in reflection about the policies and her view was that the text was “always the same”. She perceived the policies as promoting the maintenance of language and culture by the Portuguese community.

Conclusion

The timelines and personal profiles were well suited to exploring the story and life experiences of individual educators involved in delivering the provision of Portuguese language in England. The biographical dimension of the chapter gives a good sense of who the participants are and of how their life trajectories were bound up with wider institutional practices and policies. The biographical dimension also illustrated how they give meaning to their actions and how they relate to the world around them. Considering that they present such distinct life trajectories and sense-making strategies, some of the common emotional reactions found were remarkable. They all felt isolated and lacking support and involvement in planning and collaboratively making decisions. Their stories revealed a history of poor organization in the deployment of human resources overseas. By exploring their narratives and this human dimension, it was possible to characterise the ways in which they spoke about these experiences, the factors that impinged on their discourse and how this affected their ability to make decisions and to exercise agency.

The findings chime with the *iterational* dimension of Priestley et al.’s (2013) ecological framework for understanding teacher agency, according to which teachers’ beliefs and values as well as their skills and knowledge constitute a personal capacity that impacts on how teachers act and make choices. Similarly, Liddicoat (2018:150) argues that teachers act “within an ideological field that gives meaning to their actions”. This ideological element comprises

one's beliefs, values and ways of thinking and speaking and its discursive nature shapes social cognition. Yet, the collection of narratives presented goes further in the sense that it captures the agents of language policies as concrete human beings with feelings, and emotions, and needs, and a personal trajectory that impinges on their decisions. This contributes to Tollefson and Pérez-Milans recent appeal:

[t]he challenge for future research is therefore to sort through and make explicit the underlying ontological, epistemological, and personal/social underpinnings for researcher's claims. This effort may involve engagements with approaches that no longer privilege discourse in the study of social change, but instead focus more explicitly on the material realities of people understood not merely as disembodied life forms embedded in discursive systems, but rather as concrete human beings with substantial and inescapable material needs. (Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018:731)

Johnson (2013b) writes that language policy discourses are influenced by context-bound language ideologies and that it is vital to examine both the discursive power of the language policies as that of the language policy agents. Therefore, the following chapter zooms in on the participants' expressed beliefs and discourses about languages and language learning, each section examining their interpretation of Portuguese policy and its shifts in light of the core areas of language planning (Cooper 1989, Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. 1997, Johnson 2013a) – specifically, status, prestige, structure and acquisition.

Chapter 6: Interpreting Portuguese Language Policy in England

The language ideologies, beliefs, attitudes, and discourses circulating in a particular context will impact how a language policy is interpreted, appropriated, and recontextualized for that context, and this unique meaning, the recontextualized meaning, is worthy of analysis as well.

(Johnson 2013a:139)

Introduction

Johnson (2013) writes that the interpretation of language policy is a creative enterprise and examining it can reveal elements of the policy process that have not been predicted by the policy documents alone. In Chapter 2, the literature review demonstrated how the same policy text can be interpreted both as facilitating and as restricting access to bilingual education and to the students' home languages (Johnson 2007). A significant body of research (see Menken and García 2010) has shown how policies are interpreted and negotiated by educators in very different ways, often indicating that policymaking needs to encompass local knowledge and the contributions of teachers as policymakers themselves.

This chapter gives voice to the interpretations of the key participants in relation to the broadening goals of the Portuguese legal framework, while exploring their ideologies, beliefs attitudes and discourses around languages and language learning and teaching. In doing so, the chapter responds to the second research question of the study:

- *How is Portuguese language policy **interpreted** by Portuguese educators in England?*

In order to address this question, the chapter is organised into four sections. Each section presents the interpretations of the five key participants in relation to one core area of language policy activity. The first section investigates their interpretations in terms of the core area of language status, which relates to the functional allocations or uses of the Portuguese language in England. The second section examines circulating beliefs and discourses about the form of language and how its variation is considered in pedagogical practice. The third section

discusses matters related to the interpretations of how acquisition is planned, particularly in relation to who can access language learning, who can teach the language, who is responsible for funding it, what can be taught and through what means and, finally, how success is measured. Then, the fourth section focuses on the receptive core area of language prestige. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main points discussed, whilst introducing the themes that will be subject to further analysis in the following chapter.

Interpreting the Status and Prestige of the Portuguese Language

Interpreting Language Status

It is useful to refresh and develop here the definition of language status planning (see Chapter 2). Kloss (1969) connected status planning to the official recognition of a language in relation to others. Thus, the original referent was that of language importance or standing in society. However, the term was extended to refer to the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions within multilingual societies, which Stewart (1968) categorised. Cooper (1989) further defined these functions as targets of status planning, which is nonetheless a highly ideologically driven effort. According to Cooper, international status planning aims at positioning the language as a “major medium of communication which is international in scope” (1989:106), a good indicator is whether the language is studied as a foreign language in schools. School subject status planning involves decisions around which languages are taught within the curriculum. The introduction of Portuguese as a foreign language into Maria’s primary school can be classified as an example of such status planning efforts. Then, educational status planning refers to using the language as medium of instruction. The creation of the Anglo-Portuguese bilingual school can be seen as such an effort; and, so can the learning support that is given to pupils to help them access the mainstream curriculum through Portuguese. Finally, group status planning involves promoting the language as a medium of everyday life communication amongst the members of a group, for example amongst the Portuguese emigrant community. In sum, according to Cooper (1989), status planning deals with the functional allocations of a language. Its efforts are directed at regulating the demand for a given language or language variety for certain domains of sociocultural activity. Ultimately, the more functions a language serves, the higher its evaluation.

Margarida’s time in the role of coordinator (see her timeline in Chapter 5) provided plenty of evidence of her efforts to promote all the above forms of status planning. Echoing the broader

goals of the official policy, she developed activities that promoted the international status of Portuguese and its study as a foreign language in schools. She also promoted a range of activities that strengthened the social status of Portuguese as the language of one of England's minority communities. Her discourse throughout the interviews and her expressed vision for the future dissemination of the Portuguese language in the UK and the Channel Islands was however strongly attached to the development of the first of these goals – the goal of internationalisation through the offer of Portuguese as a modern foreign language in mainstream education.

Portanto, um desafio que eu acho que tem que continuar para o futuro é nós conseguirmos convencer mais escolas a oferecer o português como língua estrangeira
One challenge that I believe needs to be followed for the future is to persuade more schools to offer Portuguese as a foreign language. (Margarida)

She related language internationalisation with the dissemination of knowledge about Portugal, the Portuguese language and Lusophony:

nós aos poucos vamos conseguindo que cada vez mais pessoas saibam o que é a língua portuguesa, onde é Portugal, (...) que há muitas pessoas que falam português pelo mundo (...) A visão tem de ser essa. É de facto internacionalizar.

slowly we succeed in getting more people to know what the Portuguese language is, where Portugal is, (...) that there are many people who speak Portuguese around the world. (...) That needs to be the vision; it is in fact to internationalise. (Margarida)

The discourse of assertion of Portugal and the Portuguese language in the world, as a language spoken by “millions of people globally” is one that aligns with the underlying ideology of the policy text when it constructs Portuguese as a mediator of communication among over 200 million people (in Decree-Law no. 165/2006 and Decree-Law n. 65-A/2016). It is a view that is contested by those who believe that such official discourse does not account for large numbers of people for whom Portuguese is merely an official language – i.e., a language in which they may not be fully proficient (Figueira 2013). Still, Margarida was convinced that achieving the goal of language internationalisation is mainly challenged by the generalised perceptions of local headteachers in relation to the Portuguese language.

Esta visão que nós temos de que o português é uma língua internacional (...) não é a visão que eles têm e, portanto, temos de continuar a investir muito nesta promoção do português.

This vision that we have of Portuguese as an international language is not a vision that they have, so we need to continue to invest in this promotion. (Margarida)

The reported responses of headteachers to her proposals of including Portuguese as a curricular language led her to conclude that “most people have no notion of the number of speakers of Portuguese worldwide”. According to Margarida, most headteachers saw Portuguese as a language that is spoken only by a minority community and their response to any attempts at negotiation is: “we don’t teach minority languages”. This lack of awareness among local headteachers about the status of Portuguese as an international language was creating an ideological space where Portuguese seemed to be misapprehended as having less educational value than other European Languages. Margarida was preoccupied by this low evaluation of the language. Echoing Cooper’s (1989:120) arguments, she took the view that her efforts to assign the language to school subject status or to mainstream educational status were likely to raise the social evaluation of the language. The ideological circumstances in the UK at the time created considerable contradictions for those in the Portuguese Department in London, and for those engaged in promoting Portuguese across the country. Its promotion as a community language actually hindered its promotion as a language with considerable global status. One particular occasion when these ideas were articulated by various delegates of Portuguese language promotion in England was the *Conference on The Future of Portuguese in England*, at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Lancaster, in 2017. Some participants were in favour of suppressing the status of Portuguese as a community language in favour of its more prestigious international status:

A visão que as escolas têm do português é um dos nossos desafios porque veem o Português como uma ‘língua comunitária’ e não exatamente como uma ‘língua internacional’. Veem o português como uma língua de uma comunidade e não como uma língua de um certo peso.

The vision of English schools about Portuguese is one of our challenges because they see Portuguese as a ‘community language’ and not exactly as an international language. They see Portuguese as a language of one community and not as a language of a certain weight. (Portuguese teacher presenter, Lancaster University Conference, 2017)

Another participant, a lecturer from one of the English Universities where Portuguese was being taught, provided the following comments:

Aqui o português é uma língua ‘comunitária’, uma ‘língua de herança’, uma língua menos ensinada, ou seja, o português é associado às comunidades imigrantes (...). Mas no relatório do British Council de 2013, o português é a sexta língua mais importante para o futuro económico, social e cultural do país (...). Precisamos de saber passar

essa mensagem, para dissipar esta dicotomia e promovermos o português como uma língua global.

Here Portuguese is seen as a ‘community language’, a ‘heritage language’, a ‘less-widely taught language’, that is, Portuguese is associated with the immigrant communities (...). Yet, in the British Council report of 2013, Portuguese is the sixth most important language for the economic, social and cultural future of the country (...). We need to be capable of spreading this message, so that we dissipate this dichotomy and promote Portuguese as a global language. (Lecturer, Lancaster University Conference, 2017)

Both excerpts seem to align with discourses that associate the low value of the language with “the immigrant communities” who speak it at home. There is an implication in this discourse that in order to empower the speakers of the language, it is essential to disseminate the status of Portuguese as a “global language” at the expense of its status as a language of a community group. It is a discourse that aligns in its essence with the mainstream tendencies to marginalise Portuguese as a community language and its heritage speakers in favour of the goal of promoting of Portuguese as a modern foreign language. Cooper (1989:120-121) notices the paradox of intending to alter the *status quo* while sharing the evaluations that one seeks to change in the first place. The parallel here is that while attempting to raise the evaluation of Portuguese language in English society by promoting its status as school subject and a main foreign language, the Portuguese educators may end up denying the Portuguese emigrant community the anchorage point that community language classes represent for them.

As evidenced in his profile, Nuno was aware that the “legal framework has changed over the years”. He associated this change to the handing over of the network to the Camões Institute, remembering how it was previously designated as Institute of High Culture and traditionally “concerned with promoting Portuguese in universities around the world”. He interpreted the recent policies as emphasising the integration of Portuguese into the host educational systems as a school subject, specifically as a modern foreign language alongside other mainstream languages. He was critical of these intentions and believed that “this idea of implementing Portuguese as a foreign language would never work”. Nuno emphasised the importance of distinguishing the promotion of Portuguese language and culture aimed at the community from its promotion as a main foreign language aimed at a wider public:

... há aqui que separar claramente, não é a mesma coisa, pode haver momentos de contacto, mas não é a mesma coisa que é o apoio à comunidade, em que há uma educação em língua portuguesa, para quem está interessado, porque faz parte da vida

deles, o português, e outra coisa é a promoção do português como língua estrangeira, cultura portuguesa, que, pode haver momentos de contacto, mas são duas coisas completamente diferentes.

... we need to separate this clearly, it is not the same thing, there may be moments of contact, but it is not the same thing to support the community, in which there is education in Portuguese language, for those who are interested, because it is part of their lives, Portuguese, and another thing is the promotion of Portuguese as a foreign language, Portuguese culture, there may be moments of contact, but they're two completely different things. (Nuno)

Nuno's views were akin to Cooper's (1989) distinction of the multiple functions of languages in society and of the multiple targets of language status planning. He was clearly identifying the need to distinguish school subject status planning from group status planning for Portuguese in England. He pinpointed a number of interacting meso and micro-level tensions in terms of the integration of Portuguese as a main foreign language in the mainstream curricula in England. Like Margarida, he recognised the lack of "an established cultural brand" for Portuguese as one constraining factor for its dissemination as a main school language, but then he also discussed issues like teacher supply, curricular objectives, learning outcomes or resourcing, about which he had many questions and concerns. These will be addressed in the section about language acquisition ahead.

Hence, in terms of Portuguese language status planning, his efforts seemed to be focused on promoting the language *as a medium of everyday life communication among the members of a group*. As stated in the introduction to this section, this is very much within the core area of group status planning. Knowing that his learners tend to use the language mainly within the personal domain of family relations and individual social practices (CEFR 2001:14-15), Nuno focused his teaching on widening the learners' scope of uses of the language:

...dar-lhes a noção de que podem usar o português, não é só por causa da família, podem usar o português em qualquer coisa. Isso acho que é divulgar o português. (...) Já tive queixas que a minha aula de português parece que é História, parece que é Sociologia, parece que é Ciência. Mas vocês podem usar o português para tudo e para mais alguma coisa!

... giving them the notion that they can use Portuguese, not only because of their family, they can use it for anything. That, I think is to disseminate Portuguese. I have had complaints that my Portuguese class seems more like History, seems more like

Sociology, seems more like Science. But you can use Portuguese for everything and anything! (Nuno)

His view on disseminating Portuguese was attached to widening the students' uses of the language to all domains – the public, the educational and the occupational – as this offers them access to important disciplinary knowledge – History, Sociology, Science – in their home language. Hence, his take on “language dissemination” and “language of culture” related to bringing awareness to his students of the wealth and breadth of their home language, which in their context may be perceived by others as a less-commonly taught (perhaps less important) language. In doing so, he helps his learners to develop a range of linguistic, sociolinguistic and intercultural competences and ensures that they learn to value their legacy and break away from preconceived images. Reviving these domains of language use among the emigrant population is a form of “status planning for the group function” (Cooper 1989:107).

Like Nuno, Natália had engaged in deep reflection about the changes in the policies over the years and she readily pointed out the shifts in discourse and what she thought were the hidden agendas within them. She perceived the recent policy discourse to be about “expanding Portuguese as a foreign language”, but she also recognised, “in the last two to three years”, a (re)turn to the discourse about “education for the community”, with a new emphasis on “heritage language” learning. She related this to the changes in migration flows – to the “highly skilled people” who are “spreading out”, and she questioned the motives behind the change – “could this be a strategy to maintain the link between emigrants and the country?” It was very clear however from her profile and interviews that her efforts were fully focused on promoting Portuguese within the community as a medium of instruction (through learning support) and as a medium of everyday life communication (through after-school classes).

Her view of the Portuguese provision in England was very much attached to the traditional model of serving the emigrant community. This could be subsumed in her statement: “For me, Camões is a complementary school”. As was discussed in Chapter 4, complementary schools aim at doing more than perpetuating the language and culture or an ethnic identity. Their aim is to provide children with additional educational support to help them integrate into the host school and access the mainstream curriculum. In doing so, they provide invaluable links between “language learning and processes of social identity construction” (Souza 2010). She said on more than one occasion “look at the audience who come to the courses – [they are] the children and grandchildren of Portuguese emigrants”. She did not provide evidence at any point of having considered broadening the offer of Portuguese to children outside the emigrant community.

Ângela perceived her role as promoting language maintenance within the emigrant community only. As evidenced in her profile, she went out of her way to disseminate the Portuguese classes to the growing Portuguese community around the South of England. Yet, it never occurred to her to open the language offer to other children attending the schools. She explained that the classes offered by Camões were about:

...valorizar a língua (...), que é esse o objetivo do Camões (...) ...é fazer com que a língua vá avançando de geração em geração, não se perca, não só a língua mas a cultura também.

...valuing the language (...), that's the objective of Camões (...) to pass the language from generation to generation, not to lose it, not only the language but the culture too.
(Ângela)

Contrasting with Nuno's and Natália's accounts, the interviews with Maria did not evidence awareness of ideological changes in the policy discourse. Maria's discourse tended to be more dependent on the discourses circulating both in the primary school and in the Portuguese Department. In the primary school, she taught Portuguese as a main foreign language to all the children, including those who already spoke Portuguese at home. She explained how the purpose of language education in school was to promote "language awareness" and to provide the students with the "mental structures" that will allow them to learn any other language. Then, in terms of the Portuguese legal framework, she relied on the "the network" to inform her about it and she claimed to "never [have] read the whole [policy] document". Here "the network" would have been the meso level head office, i.e. the Portuguese Department set in London. These relationships and the ways in which they influence the pedagogical practices of these teachers will be further discussed in Chapter 7. Further on in this chapter, it will be demonstrated how they were nonetheless active micro-level agents of language policy decisions within their classroom, the schools and the community.

Interpreting Language Prestige

Influencing the ways in which a language is perceived is within the core area of prestige planning. As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, prestige language planning includes individual, group, institutional and governmental activities that impact upon the other core areas of language policy and planning, namely status, corpus and acquisition. Haarmann's (1990) framework indicates that the impact of promotional activity on any core area is higher the more

official and wide-ranging its organisation. Moreover, language prestige is further cultivated by its use in the professions, science, high culture and diplomacy (Baldauf 2005). It was observed that more attention needs to be paid to developing language prestige in the meso and micro-level contexts. The data collected and analysed revealed more than one ideological construct relating to the value of learning Portuguese and to the ways in which to maintain and develop the prestige of the Portuguese language in England.

Margarida referred to the large number of speakers of Portuguese worldwide as evidence to support its promotion and for defending the interests of the Portuguese learners locally. One very concrete example was the time when she needed to negotiate the continuation of the Portuguese GCSE and Advanced Level qualifications, in 2017, after the exam boards declared that small-entry languages would be discontinued. She was convinced then that the collaborative effort of the Portuguese and the Brazilian embassies in attending the relevant meetings “made a difference” as it evidenced the “weight” of the language in basic numerical terms. Her view was however more pessimistic and possibly influenced by the number of doors closed in response to her attempts to promote the language to a wider audience. She related the difficulties for wider language promotion to a shortage of cultural and economic “weight”:

(...) nós na verdade temos número de falantes, mas depois não temos nem poder económico, nem prestígio internacional em termos de produção cultural. (...) Temos um prémio Nobel, temos um. Se nós tivéssemos dez, se calhar as pessoas olhavam para o português de outra forma. Temos um Ronaldo. Temos um António Guterres. Vamos tendo um de cada. São muito bons, mas é só um. Estas coisas todas fazem com que uma língua tenha prestígio.

(...) in reality we have the number of speakers, but then we have no economic power or international prestige in terms of cultural production. (...) We have one Nobel prize. If we had ten, maybe people would look at Portuguese language in a different way. We have one Ronaldo. We have one António Guterres. We have one of each. They are very good, but it is just one of each. All these things give a language prestige. (Margarida)

For Margarida, it would be important to invest more in cultural production at this high-level and in a broad sense. This also lined up with her view that the prestige of languages and their status as lingua franca throughout the years has always been associated with forms of high culture – “Latin, first” then “French, in the time of the Sun King”, and “Italian, in the Renaissance”. Regarding the state of affairs in terms of language learning in England, Margarida took the view that:

O francês continua cá, sobretudo nas classes mais altas, a ter esse prestígio. Que é, as pessoas mais cultas, mais educadas, sabem francês. Continuam a ter essa preferência. French continues to hold that prestige here, mainly in the upper classes. The idea that the cultured, more educated people, can speak French. There is still that preference here. (Margarida)

Then, she connected the recent rise of Spanish, at the expense of German (see Collen 2020, Tinsley 2019, Tinsley & Doležal 2018), to more recent economic dynamics:

Agora, o espanhol está a tirar imensos alunos ao alemão, por exemplo. O alemão que sempre foi uma língua de mercado, uma língua de poder, está a perder muitos alunos para o espanhol. Porque o espanhol tem um mercado em crescimento internacional, Nowadays, Spanish is taking many students away from German, for example. German, which has always been a marketplace language, a language of power, is losing many students to Spanish. This is because the Spanish market is growing internationally. (Margarida)

Margarida's idea was that Portuguese would always be at a loss here due to its low attraction value in terms of economic influence and cultural symbols. Concurring with Liddicoat (2013:196), "cultural products provide the language with a basis for developing the image and prestige of the language itself and in turn the acquisition of the language enhances the prestige of the culture and nation to which it is attached".

Natália presented different views in relation to the economic and cultural value of the language. Her perception was that the image and nature of the emigrant community itself had changed and that this had an impact on the prestige of the language too, which concurs with the need, signalled in Chapter 2, to pay more attention to the community:

A nova imigração é diferente e tem tido grande influência. E, neste momento, pelo menos os alunos com quem eu trabalho, (...) enquanto que há trinta anos os alunos tinham vergonha de dizer que em casa se falava português, isso já não acontece, os alunos não têm vergonha de dizer que os pais e os avós e os tios falam português. (...) The new immigration is different and that has had a great influence. And, currently, at least with the students that I work with (...), whereas thirty years ago the students were ashamed to say that Portuguese was spoken at home, today that does not happen. The students are not ashamed to say that their parents, their grandparents and their aunties and uncles speak Portuguese. (Natália)

She brought up the economic dimension of language learning in terms of employability and mobility, mentioning the many Portuguese doctors and nurses who apply for positions

internationally and come over on their own to try their luck. She spoke of the recently qualified young individuals, some with no families, others with young families but with different approaches to the education of their offspring. This was a discussion that aligned well with the current topic in sociolinguistic research about the internal diversity of diasporic communities (Li Wei 2018) – a theme which will be picked up in the concluding chapter. Furthermore, Natália questioned the choices of these families who are so privileged that are able to find alternative ways to keep in touch with the home language and culture, through frequent travelling back and forth, full home libraries of Portuguese books and other educational resources, everyday online contact with family and friends or even accessing the new offers of online courses directly from the homeland. She was also very critical about the lack of attention to remittances that these Portuguese families continue to send to Portugal:

O português vale dinheiro, tem valor financeiro, em termos de receitas e como produto global. Mas quando o valor do português é mencionado, no negócio de ensinar português, eu nunca oiço falar dos envios de dinheiro dos residentes no estrangeiro. Contudo, esse dinheiro afeta a balança nacional de pagamentos. Afinal, quem são os aprendentes de português? São os filhos dos portugueses ou são aqueles que estão a aprender a língua como língua estrangeira? Estes dados existem, estão nas fichas de inscrição.

Portuguese is worth money, it has financial value, in terms of revenue and as a global product. But, when the value of Portuguese is mentioned, in the business of teaching Portuguese, I never hear about the remittances of the residents abroad. Yet, that money affects the national balance of payments. After all, who are the learners of Portuguese? Is it the Portuguese offspring or those who are learning a foreign language? This data exists, it's in the enrolment forms. (Natália)

This leads her to question the goal of language internationalisation that focuses on integrating Portuguese as a foreign language in the mainstream school. For her, as was shown before, the heritage language learners deserve a different approach and a stronger focus of the policies on the idiosyncrasies of their relationship with the Portuguese language.

Nuno concurred with Margarida in that Spanish and French had an “established cultural brand which Portuguese hasn't”. He stressed, “schools do not want to teach Portuguese as a foreign language (...), they want to teach French or Spanish”. Also, he mentioned that primary schools needed a sustainable offer that allowed them to carry on offering the language awareness required by the language curriculum. He argued that it was more about introducing the pupils to languages, with many schools electing to offer a variety of languages throughout primary

education, rather than developing a high level of proficiency in just one language. Having a majority of pupils in his classroom for whom Portuguese was a home language, he associated the promotion of language prestige with giving these children more access to cultural and scientific knowledge in Portuguese. As we saw in the previous section, he focused on this in his classes and through his classes where the language became a vehicle for accessing these other valued products (Liddicoat 2013).

Ângela too related the promotion of the language image to activities aimed at the community. She considered the events organised by the Portuguese Department in London as important means of raising the community's self-image and in dignifying the language. This aligns well with Haarmann's (1990) proposal that the institutional promotion of prestige planning has a higher impact than that of an individual. She said:

Eu acho que estas coisas grandes dão bastante trabalho a organizar, mas são aquelas que têm mais impacto sobretudo junto das comunidades, junto dos pais. Eles gostam; e gostam de ver os meninos a lerem em português, (...) num contexto mais formal e uma coisa um bocadinho mais pomposa, eles ficam orgulhosos e vê-se mesmo aquela vaidade em ser português, eu acho que isso é importante nós continuarmos, pronto sobretudo, porque a imagem do nosso país ultimamente não é muito positiva, é bom se nós conseguirmos continuar a criar este gosto nos miúdos e nos pais também.

I think that these big things [the celebrations promoted by the Department] are quite hard to organise, but they have a greater impact for the community, for the parents. They like them; and they like to see the children reading in Portuguese [...] in a formal context [...]. You can really see the pride in being Portuguese. I think it is important to carry that on, mainly, because our country's image lately has not been very positive, and it's good if we are able to create that enjoyment for the children and for their parents. (Ângela)

Ângela's comment relates here to the development of language prestige to literacy in the home language. Watching the children read "in a formal context" is a form of intellectualisation that leverages the image of a language within a community context, and it raises their sense of pride and enjoyment vis-à-vis their collective identity (Appiah 1994). Like the other teachers, Ângela was predominantly concerned with constructing an attractive and prestigious image for the Portuguese language and for Portuguese culture, and with ensuring that it provided her heritage language pupils with a firm anchor. There is, of course, a fine line between the promotion of language prestige and the reinforcement of stereotypes, nationalism and exclusivity. The

striking of this balance should be a subject of discussion within the network and the Portuguese Department.

Interpretations Relating to the Polycentricity of Portuguese

As Baldauf (2010:152) has noted, however useful frameworks may be in terms of mapping the discipline of language planning and policy, the goals are not independent from each other and they can at times even seem to be contradictory. For example, the widespread dissemination of Portuguese as a single international language conflicts with the recognition and celebration of its national, regional or dialectal varieties. Whilst the promotion of the international status for Portuguese may require a degree of standardization of the corpus of the language – of its *graphisation* (a writing system), *grammatication* (grammatical rules), *lexication* (about words and how they are used) (reviewed in Kaplan and Baldauf 1997 and Cooper 1989) – planning its acquisition will require considering learning and teaching about or through the medium of its different varieties. The data collected and displayed below illustrate how some of these tensions are present from the macro to the micro level of the language policy cycle. In doing so, they provide insight into the beliefs and discourses surrounding the form of the language and instances of variation in usage.

One particular occasion that provided many relevant annotations for this section was the *Conference on The Future of Portuguese in Europe*, at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Lancaster, in 2017. Numerous language policy agents, involved in diverse layers of language policy-making, were present at the conference. In a speech that was marked by strong claims about the centrality of applied linguistics to the exercise of language planning and policy, the Portuguese Secretary of State for Education, João Costa, criticised the generalised lack of knowledge amongst important stakeholders, such as teachers and policymakers, about the normalcy of national, regional, dialectal and sociolectal linguistic variation.

Há muito pouca consciência da naturalidade da variação linguística. Uma língua como o português, que tem uma característica fundamental, que tem de ser tida em conta nas políticas do ensino da língua, o português é uma língua pluricêntrica, ou seja, é uma língua que é muitas línguas ao mesmo tempo, tem muitos sotaques, tem muita variação.

There is very little awareness that language variation is natural. The Portuguese language has a fundamental characteristic which needs to be taken into consideration in educational language policies, this is that Portuguese is a polycentric language, i.e., a language that is many languages at the same time, with many accents and much variation. (João Costa, Secretary of State for Education, Lancaster University, 2017)

Portuguese has indeed been characterized as a “polycentric standard language” (Stewart 1968, in Cooper 1989:139), meaning that there is more than one accepted standard variety. Cooper (1989) states that all standard languages are historical creations and that there is a historical process through which speakers of a particular society – a polity – accept the speech of a political and economic centre as a standard language. In his *History of the Portuguese Language*, Paul Teyssier (1997) provides a detailed description of the historical evolution of Portuguese from Latin, through Galician-Portuguese, to modern Portuguese, considering the linguistic development of the variants spoken in Brazil, Africa and Asia. He also examines the different historical, political, social and cultural circumstances of the Portuguese language or language varieties in each context. He considers how the vast territory of Brazil and the large number of people living in it contribute in a decisive way to making Portuguese a language of international importance (Teyssier 1997:75). He also explains how Brazilian writers and philologists post-Independence (1822) have come to terms with recognizing the linguistic originality of Brazilian Portuguese as a variant of the same standard language, thereby abandoning the Modernist claim that there should be an independent language for their independent country. He deemed this tension a “real national problem” (1997:88) and not just a mere controversy.

In Africa, for example, Portuguese is the official language of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe, where the language is used in administration, education, media and external relations, whilst a number of national languages are used in everyday communication. In these African countries, Teyssier explains, the Portuguese standard variety generally used follows the European norm, but the different language varieties are growing ever further apart from the European Portuguese standard variety.

Going back to the Portuguese Secretary of State’s intervention, it is relevant to highlight for our purpose here how he deemed it to be futile to argue about which Portuguese standard variety to teach, as in his view this was an ideological decision rather than a genuine educational matter.

E isto, por vezes, na definição de políticas de ensino da língua alimenta batalhas completamente estéreis sobre se se deve ensinar o português europeu ou o português brasileiro, mas nunca perguntam se se deve ensinar o português de Macau. Isto nunca entra na discussão, o que mostra bem que isto não é uma batalha sobre ensino da língua, é uma batalha sobre dominâncias na política da língua, de um país ou de outro. (...) Não precisamos de perder tempo e recursos a discutir o que não faz sentido, o que temos é de encontrar políticas de convergência e, aí sim, estamos a garantir o futuro da língua portuguesa nalgumas comunidades.

And this, at times, in the definition of educational language policies leads to completely sterile debates about whether to teach the European Portuguese or Brazilian Portuguese standard variety. Yet there is never a debate about whether to teach the variety of Portuguese that is spoken in Macau. This shows that this is not about language teaching, it is about dominance in language policy, from one country to another. [...] We do not need to waste time and resources debating something that makes no sense, what we need to do is to find language policies that converge and then we are truly guaranteeing the future of the Portuguese language across the communities. (João Costa, Secretary of State for Education, Lancaster University, 2018)

Whilst this discourse is attuned with an ideology of cultural and linguistic pluralism and with the representation of all varieties as educational resources, one does wonder what is meant by “language policies that converge”. It is indeed “futile to argue about which Portuguese standard variety to teach”. Yet it is vital to discuss and plan the pedagogical implications of learning and teaching about and through the different varieties.

For one lecturer at the same conference, *convergence* seemed to mean “branding Portuguese as a *global language*”. The lecturer approached the issue in the following way:

Outro grande desafio é esta coisa do Português Europeu (PE) e do Português do Brasil (PB). Então, nos Open Days, os alunos e os pais perguntam-me “Ensina PE ou PB?” e eu respondo “Aqui na Universidade de [nome] ensinamos português língua global”. Que é o português destes e destes países. Temos professores brasileiros, há colegas que investigam cinema de Moçambique, por exemplo, portanto, ensinamos uma língua global.

Another great challenge is this thing of European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP). So, at Open Days, students and parents ask me “Do you teach EP or BP?” and I answer “At [name concealed] University we teach Global Portuguese”. That is, the Portuguese of these and those countries. We have Brazilian lecturers, there are

colleagues who investigate Mozambican cinema, for example, so, we teach a global language. (Portuguese Lecturer, Lancaster Conference)

This same lecturer went on to explain that this was not how the matter was approached at other universities, where students were presented with a choice between classes in European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese. This was claimed to be one of the major challenges for the widespread promotion of the Portuguese language – this “failure to brand Portuguese as a global language”. However, as an ideological discourse, “branding” Portuguese in this way can be related to monolithic constructions of linguistic and cultural diversity with reminiscences of a colonial past. This also needs further reflection from Portuguese policy makers and arbiters. It is part of a broader debate of how to manage the conflict between promoting Portuguese as an international language and recognising and celebrating its national, regional or dialectal varieties.

As an example of these tensions, Nuno revealed in one of our conversations that he had been asked in a job interview once whether he would teach the European or the Brazilian variety of Portuguese. This would have been a lecturing job in a UK university where Portuguese was going to be taught as a foreign language. His answer was:

E eu disse, obviamente, que o português em que eu me sinto mais seguro e que eu posso afirmar isto está certo, isto está errado é o português de Portugal. Até certo ponto e em larga medida, posso também afirmar o mesmo do português do Brasil, mas há casos em que posso ter dúvidas sobre se uma coisa é admissível ou não. Aí vou procurar saber. Sinto-me mais seguro a fazer afirmações sobre se isto é gramatical ou agramatical em relação ao português de Portugal.

I said, obviously, that the [variety of] Portuguese in which I feel more secure and in which I can affirm confidently whether something is correct or incorrect is the Portuguese from Portugal. To a certain extent and broadly speaking, I can affirm the same about Brazilian Portuguese, but there are aspects in which I may find myself in doubt on whether something is acceptable or not. In those cases, I search and find out. I feel more confident in affirming whether something is grammatically correct or not in Portuguese from Portugal. (Nuno)

Thus, the pedagogical implication of his condition as a Portuguese speaker from Portugal would have been that his learners were likely to be more exposed to the European Portuguese variant. His own linguistic repertoire, his personal, academic and professional trajectory would have been the primary source of influence and input in the target language.

Another example of these tensions can be found in the context of setting the old Portuguese General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and General Certificate of Education (GCE) papers, by Oxford, Cambridge and Royal Society of Arts Examinations (OCR). Each year, as part of the quality assurance process, a series of checks used to take place to ensure that there was balance in terms of the varieties presented in the texts and exercises proposed so that they reflected the Portuguese speaking world. This was done by a team of examiners from different nationalities, including English, Portuguese, Brazilian and African. I took part in this exercise for many years. Balance was usually achieved in the texts but examiners were often troubled by which standard variety to use in the rubrics. It took some deliberate and careful selection of words and expressions to achieve some degree of ‘convergence’, still it was at times impossible to escape the inescapable burden of having to choose a particular variety. The mark schemes clearly reminded the exam markers that the Brazilian and European Portuguese standard varieties were both acceptable in the students’ answers and that higher marks were attributed for consistency. This can be seen as contradictory when students are being presented with texts consisting of different varieties.

Going back to the start of this section it was noted that the goals of language planning and policy are at times contradictory (Baldauf 2010:152). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:48) claim that corpus planning is not merely about linguistic issues, rather it operates “in real-world contexts in conjunction with social, historical, cultural and political forces” and it is primarily an ideological exercise. They also suggest that “a narrow preoccupation with linguistic skills is not, in and of itself, a sufficient basis for corpus planning.” It is even less so as language policy and planning are multidimensional and involve at least three other core areas of activity – *status*, *acquisition* and *prestige* – each requiring “the attention of a wide range of academic specialists as well as of the communities of speakers of all the languages and varieties involved” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:321). As such, language variety is indeed a challenge for educational policy. Mainly because, as will be discussed in the next section, education language policy includes taking decisions about who can access language classes and when, how teacher supply is recruited and trained, what can be learnt and how learning is assessed, with which pedagogical materials and with whose monies. The plurality and polycentricity of the Portuguese language need to be the focus of greater planning and reflection at the various levels and layers of the policymaking process. It is not enough to advocate for “policies that converge”, rather it is vital to continue to raise awareness of this richness among teachers, pupils and other educational partners, and to investigate and explore the manifestation of this

plurality in teaching and learning practices, outcomes and resources, such as syllabi, certification or textbooks.

Interpreting the Conditions and Mechanisms for Language Acquisition

This section explores the beliefs and discourses of the key educators with regards to language learning and teaching, which relates to the core area of planning language acquisition (Cooper 1989). It is the core area of language planning that relates more closely to the language users and to how they relate to and access the language. In the course of undertaking the interviews, there were clear insights into the participants' take on *access* (who can study Portuguese and at what moment in their education), *teacher supply* (relating to teacher recruitment and teacher training), *resourcing* (whose responsibility it is to fund provision), *curriculum* (what can be taught, learning outcomes and assessment instruments), *methods and materials* (what pedagogical tools can be deployed) and on *evaluation* (measuring the success of the programme). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), these are the six primary objectives for language-in-education planning. Liddicoat (2013:7) also writes that these categories are “the mechanisms of providing languages in schooling”.

Access

The question of *access* is a very pertinent one. As shown in the section about language status, the key participants all seemed to have different interpretations as to whom the Portuguese classes were aimed at and who was allowed to access them. These different interpretations were not only found within the Portuguese Department, amongst the Portuguese teachers and their administrator, but also outside of it, amongst headteachers in schools, for example. A glimpse of how access is perceived from the point of view of a headteacher is found in my informal discussion with Nancy, the Jersey Education Committee Liaison Officer, Head of EAL on the island. When asked about the goals of the provision, she answered:

As I understand it, the goals are to provide mother tongue tuition and Portuguese language and culture for Lusophone students; that's their first goal. And, I think they have a secondary goal of promoting the Portuguese language and culture to a wider audience than that, but their first goal is for Portuguese nationals. (Nancy)

Nancy here uses “Lusophone students” and “Portuguese nationals” synonymously and perceives these as the main target audience. She perceives the “wider audience” as a secondary target of the provision. When I asked her to develop her views about the “wider audience” aspect, she replied:

It depends on the individual teachers: some have engaged more with a broader audience and done things slightly outside their remit; others interpret it very strictly and only teach Portuguese to Portuguese children; (...) some have provided adult education, on top of their job, and some have accepted non-Lusophone children into their classes.
(Nancy)

From liaising with many Portuguese teachers on the island over the years, she had identified different interpretations with regard to the issue of who could access Portuguese classes. Her own interpretation was that the language learning opportunities offered by the Portuguese Department were aimed at “Lusophone children / Portuguese nationals” and at a “wider audience”. Yet, she referred to the activities offered to the “wider audience” as “outside their remit”. Although this may have been an unintentional slip of tongue, it links well with her view further on in the conversation that there was a generalised perception that classes were only for people who already spoke Portuguese and other children may have felt that they were not invited to take part.

Ângela, for example, was clear about never even having considered offering Portuguese classes to children outside the emigrant community. This was evident in more than one extract from our conversations:

Cátia: Já alguma vez pensaste em promover os cursos para outros alunos ou professores?

Ângela: Não, não. Bom, isso acontece em algumas escolas; pessoalmente, nunca sugeri isso. Não a alunos de fora, alunos ingleses, que é isso que me estás a perguntar, nunca sugeri isso.

Cátia: Have you ever thought about promoting the courses to other students or teachers? Do you think that could be part of the objectives?

Ângela: No, no. Well, there is some of that happening in schools; personally, I have never suggested that. Not to outside students, English students, if that’s what you are asking me, I’ve never suggested that.

Thus, while some teachers may have taken the shift in policy discourse to mean a broadening of opportunities for teaching Portuguese to all comers (see Chapter 1), others were not even considering this as a possibility.

Then, another important caveat in terms of *access* relates to the amount of available time in the curriculum for Portuguese. When Portuguese is taught as a subject within the school day, another subject is not being studied within the curriculum. This can be another language or indeed a different subject altogether. There are then a number of questions that need addressing, for example: at what grade or level should the subject be introduced? What level of proficiency are the pupils expected to reach? In the event that pupils are to be entered for national exams, how long does it take to prepare a student to take a Portuguese GCSE or an A Level exam? Can pupils take this as an extra subject or is Portuguese competing with another subject? Nuno shared some insights about these matters:

...os alunos que quiserem, que estejam no ano 12 ou 13 e quiserem fazer A Level de português, AS e A2, podem fazer, desde que tenham horário disponível e, como eles têm o horário mais flexível, com menos disciplinas, há sempre possibilidade de conseguir isso. Agora para aqueles alunos que andam no ano 10 ou 11 e que queiram fazer GCSE, o horário deles já está completamente ocupado, desde as 8:45 da manhã até ao final do dia e, portanto, não há aulas. (...) [Na escola,] não há nada contra oferecer-se português no A Level para aqueles alunos que quiserem que já sejam falantes de português. Agora, implementar o português para ensinar desde o início, (...) como língua estrangeira, isso já não existe a vontade de fazer.

...any pupils in Y12 or 13 who want to take Portuguese AS or A2 can do it. As long as they [the pupil] have available time in their curriculum. At this stage, they generally have a flexible timetable, with fewer subjects. (...) Students in Years 10 and 11 who want to take a GCSE have less time, their timetable is crowded with other subjects, from 8:45 until the end of the school day. So, classes are not integrated as such. (...) [In school,] there is nothing against offering an A Level to children who already speak Portuguese, but not to implement it as a modern foreign language.

Then, after my comment that the students attending his curricular classes were all Portuguese, he answered:

Sim, porque também não há a aprendizagem da língua desde mais cedo. Para fazerem um bom GCSE no ano 11, teriam de começar a aprender no ano 7. Um aluno que não saiba português, aparecer no ano 12 para fazer o A Level era praticamente impossível.

Yes, because there is no language learning from earlier. Sitting a GCSE exam would require students to start learning the language in Year 7. For a pupil who has no previous contact with Portuguese, showing up in Year 12 to sit an A Level exam would be practically impossible.

In other words, although Portuguese is being widely offered as a school subject, in practice access is being restricted in more than one way. All school pupils, Portuguese-speaking and otherwise, in Years 7 to 11 are not able to access the language within curricular time because the schools' timetable is already full of other subjects and Portuguese is not presented as an option to pupils. This means that Portuguese-speaking children are accessing the language as an extracurricular subject, after school hours. These courses are generally not even offered through the school publicity, rather they are divulged and communicated through the community itself and in Portuguese, which in reality restricts the wider audience from partaking. Then, in Years 12 and 13, students can have Portuguese classes within curricular time as a result of having a smaller range of subjects timetabled. Here, however, access is restricted as a direct consequence of the previous restriction between years 7-11, evidenced above. Certainly, this is the case for a pupil without a previous connection to Portuguese embarking upon the study of a new language aiming to take an A Level exam. Time and timetabling are amongst a number of significant structural circumstances shaping the appropriation of Portuguese language policies in England and will be further developed in Chapter 7.

Teacher Supply

Another area that needs to be addressed when planning language acquisition is *teacher supply*, including teacher recruitment and training. Currently, the pool of potential teachers for Portuguese in schools in England is drawn from overseas, mainly as part of the efforts of the Portuguese Government to disseminate the language. Kaplan and Baldauf raise a few concerns with regards to employing teachers from overseas as a strategy to introduce a new language into the curriculum, including how this approach may destabilise the employment of local teachers. Mainly, the authors refer to it as a “viable short-term strategy” (1997:131). In the long term, ideally, the overseas teachers would be replaced by local teachers from within the community.

As evidenced in Chapter 4, the Portuguese language teachers who are sourced from Portugal to teach overseas apply via a central recruitment process that is run from Lisbon. This follows a complex inventory of legal procedures demanded by the fact that these teachers are effectively public service employees, attached to the Portuguese Government. The teaching career of a Portuguese teacher overseas has been refined and further regulated with each revision of the policy text. The recruitment procedure of the four participant teachers in this study was handled by this central process. A common thread in their stories was the complexity and length of these overly bureaucratic processes. Natália was recruited in the 1980s and, by then, teachers needed to be legally attached to the Portuguese public service and to hold a permanent teaching position in a school in Portugal to be allowed to apply for a position overseas. When Nuno and Maria were recruited, in 2006, the recruitment procedure had changed, but it continued to be a complex process which left Maria, for example, unsure whether she had really got a position or not. Ângela, the last recruited, in 2016, described a process that took over 10 months to materialise in a position abroad. There is also a local recruitment procedure that takes place for the filling of casual vacancies, such as a maternity leave or long-term illness. Again, this process is complex and lengthy, with the ultimate approval still lying in Lisbon.

The complexity and time scales involved in these processes bear inevitable consequences. First, because it takes a long time to recruit a new teacher, many potential students of Portuguese often wait a long time for a new course. Second, in the same vein, because it takes a long time to recruit a supply teacher when someone is absent, many current students end up without classes for one or two months or even permanently.

Associated with these tensions, Nancy mentioned the fact that:

headteachers are not in control of these classes, so if anything goes wrong: anyone gets ill, or late, or somebody doesn't turn up after a holiday because the flight gets cancelled, all those things that happen, then immediately the headteacher feels out of control and starts clamping down.

In this case, because there is no national pool of trained teachers of Portuguese to draw from, the headteacher is dependent upon an external and unaccountable source of qualified teachers to guarantee the continuance of the course. Understandably, this is another significant reason precluding headteachers from choosing to offer the language. Therefore, the lack of locally qualified teachers is one major impediment for the dissemination of less-commonly taught languages in schools.

The teachers involved in this study had a good sense of these tensions. They all mentioned that the languages teachers in schools did not look favourably at the allocation of a fully paid for teacher of Portuguese to teach language classes within the school curriculum. Ângela observed that in one context that she knew about, *“this was not well received by the French teachers”*. Nuno’s perception was that *“schools want to offer French or Spanish as there are trained teachers”*, both within the school and as part of a national pool. Although here, findings from the Language Trends report indicate *“difficulties recruiting languages staff”* (Tinsley 2019:14) in general. Hence, linking back to the tensions raised by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), introducing a new language into the curriculum of a school by importing teachers from overseas is likely to unbalance the local ecology of teacher employment. Such circumstances raise two fundamental questions for the macro and meso-level management of the Portuguese Department in terms of planning the status of Portuguese as a school subject: 1) how can Camões UK support the training of Portuguese teachers locally? 2) how can the relationship between Camões UK, the Education Departments in universities and the schools expand? These matters will be addressed in Chapter 8.

Resourcing

An issue that is related to the above is the sustainability of such a model of provision. After all, how many teachers is the Portuguese Government willing or able to provide for a school subject to be widely taught in a foreign education system? This question brings the discussion to the related category of resourcing. This is the financial or cost/benefit dimension of planning language acquisition. Principally, it is about the cost of providing the teachers, the classroom resources, the certification processes and the premises wherein language-related activities take place. In terms of the Portuguese provision, monies to pay for these resources are dispatched from Lisbon as part of an annual budget submitted by an administrator at the meso level and approved or revised at the macro level. The ultimate approval for the overall level of expenditure lies with the Portuguese Ministry of Finance. As acknowledged by Margarida below, there is a finite level of funding available and, concurring with Kaplan and Baldauf, *“the budget is not endlessly permeable”* (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:116).

Cátia: Imagina que tinhas dez, vinte escolas, muitos pedidos desse género. Imagina que os diretores de outras áreas reconheciam que este é um excelente projeto e que também

queriam implementar na escola deles. Como é que gerias isso? É uma pergunta sobre recursos, no fundo.

Margarida: [...] se isso acontecesse, se houvesse muitas escolas, eu aí teria de fazer a proposta a Lisboa, sabendo sempre que, se me dessem mais horários, seria um número limitado. Porque isto não é uma decisão do Camões. Nós estamos a sair de um plano de austeridade, todas as contratações públicas continuam a ter de ser autorizadas pelo Ministério das Finanças. (...) estas pessoas são funcionárias públicas, são pagas pelo Estado português. Mas quer dizer, eu tentaria. Acho que é suficientemente importante para ser considerado.

Cátia: Imagine there were ten, twenty schools, with many similar requests. Imagine that the headteachers in other areas recognised this as an excellent project and they wanted to implement it in their schools. How would you manage this? It's a question about resources, really.

Margarida: [...] if that happened, if there were many schools, then I would have to make the proposal to Lisbon, knowing that, if they were to give me more timetables, it would always be a limited number. Since this is not a decision made by Camões. We are emerging from an austerity plan, and all public contracts still need to be authorised by the Ministry of Finances. (...) these people are public employees. They are paid by the Portuguese State. I mean, I would try. I think it is sufficiently important and it would be considered.

Offering a fully paid for member of staff and a bank of teaching resources to an English school, courtesy of the Portuguese Government, is an obvious attraction and a real incentive for implementing Portuguese as a main foreign language within the curriculum, and Margarida affirmed this. Considering that the offer is limited to available resources, one significant question becomes: who should benefit from it? Nuno and Ângela shared some insights about resourcing, responsibility and pride, which hint at who they think should benefit. Thinking out loud about community language provision, Nuno pondered on whose responsibility it was to fund these classes:

O português faz parte da vida destas crianças. Nasceram numa família que fala português. (...) Nós não iríamos recusar uma educação em português aos alunos que nascem em Portugal. Acho cruel, de alguma maneira, recusar uma educação em língua portuguesa aos alunos que por acaso nascem no seio de uma família que fala português num outro país. Agora de quem é a responsabilidade de concretizar essa fatia da vida desses alunos é que é mais difícil, porque é preciso dinheiro para fazer isso. Eu acho

que Portugal (...) assumiu essa responsabilidade de uma maneira bastante profunda durante estes anos todos.

Portuguese is a part of the lives of these children. They were born within a family that speaks Portuguese. (...) We wouldn't refuse an education in Portuguese to students who were born in Portugal. I think it's cruel, in a way, to refuse an education in Portuguese to students who happen to be born within a family who speaks Portuguese in a different country. Now, the question of whose responsibility it is to fulfil that part of these children's lives is more difficult to answer. It takes money to do that. I think that Portugal (...) has assumed the responsibility in a very profound way all these years. The issue of responsibility is complex and a source of pressing political controversy surrounding the challenges of multiculturalism and multicultural education – as was discussed in Chapter 2.

Here, it is relevant to note Nuno's positive tone of recognition, as he acknowledged the efforts made by the Portuguese government over time, and as he uttered the words "in a very profound way all these years". Ângela, for example, talked about a "sense of pride" in the fact that "Camões sponsors these classes". There is a manifest sense of respect and gratitude due to the fact that the Portuguese government, and now the Camões institute, are national institutions that are caring for their own people. In a way, this seems to explain these teachers' focus on serving the Portuguese community, rather than the wider audience of students in schools in England.

Curriculum

Tightly interwoven with this discussion was the theme of *curriculum*. Natália talked at length about the restrictive nature of various curricula. She mentioned the introduction of the National Curriculum for England in the late 1980s – see Ken Jones (2016) for an expanded discussion and analysis of this introduction and of the consequent divergence in the education systems of Britain's four nations. For Natália, this local change had a tangible constraining effect in terms of how she worked with her pupils. She referred to it as a "brutal weight" and as an extreme source of pressure on mainstream schoolteachers for results. She blamed its implementation for the change in how teachers related to her and her classes, for the lack of time to negotiate what she felt were essential links between the mainstream and the Portuguese classes. She remembered when, before its introduction, teachers gave her more opportunities to both

exchange ideas regarding what was happening in their classes and to work with the students outside the class. She happened to believe that one important learning goal of the Portuguese classes throughout the years had been to develop in her students a multifaceted worldview. She did this by identifying which projects the students were working on in their mainstream classes through informal conversations with the teachers. Then, she would plan her classes accordingly and she would explore the same themes through a different perspective. She was the only participant who mentioned the implementation of the National Curriculum for England and this may well be related to the fact that she is from a different professional generation in relation to the other participants. Priestley et al. (2015:65-66) have termed this the “age/experience effect”. She referred to herself as the “last dinosaur” of the Portuguese provision. There is no doubt that her rich individual biographical experiences had had an impact on her beliefs and discourse (Chapter 5). For example, her reflections also showed apprehension in relation to the shifting discourses over the years of mainstream schooling and teachers in relation to the students’ home languages. She linked these changes to the varying approaches to professional and academic training and to EAL provision structures in schools, with discourses that were at times celebratory of home languages and, at other times, more focused on “the language used in SATs” (Standard Assessment Tests). She came back to these themes in the second interview when we discussed whether she saw Portuguese provision as a complementary school.

...para mim, o Camões é uma escola complementar, sempre foi complementar. Há vinte ou vinte e cinco anos atrás, o que fazíamos era trabalho que dava uma perspetiva diferente aos alunos, para além de eles aprenderem a língua, para além de eles aprenderem a ler e a escrever, alguns a falar, aprendiam literatura portuguesa, aprendiam história de Portugal. (...) não é ser capaz de desbobinar uma quantidade de factos e datas, é ser capaz de ter uma perspetiva diferente do mundo. (...) Hoje em dia nós temos duas horas por semana e temos um currículo que prescreve o que vai ser ensinado e limita a ênfase à língua.

...for me, Camões is a complementary school, it’s always been complementary. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, the work we did gave the pupils a different perspective on the world, beyond the language, beyond reading and writing, some speaking, they learnt Portuguese literature, history of Portugal. It was not about learning a load of facts and dates, it was about learning to have a different perspective on the world. (...) Today we have merely two hours and a curriculum that prescribes what can be taught and is limited to an emphasis on the language. (Natália)

Her understanding of Portuguese provision as complementary to mainstream education meant that she attempted to use her classes to support the learners in acquiring knowledge of the English curriculum, which means using the language as an instrument for being successful in the mainstream too. She mentioned further on in the interview that being able to develop this kind of work had the added benefit of developing both the learners' self-esteem and their ability to think critically. More than developing a robust linguistic competence in Portuguese, she was concerned with supporting their bilingual development and overall academic success.

The promulgation of the Framework of Reference for Portuguese Language, with Ministerial Order no. 914/2009 of 17 August 2009 (see Chapter 4), was another curricular imposition that Natália felt strongly about. She perceived the document to be flexible but the programmes and schemes of work created as a result of it to be highly restrictive.

...é-nos pedido que sigamos os novos programas (...) as nossas planificações são verificadas em relação àquilo. (...) Em termos pedagógicos, os programas não são realistas. (...) Depende da escola, depende da população. Tem que ser uma coisa tão flexível que te permita dar um ensino aprofundado aos alunos que forem capazes de o receber. E tem de ser uma coisa tão leve que te permita dar um ensino de português como língua estrangeira para os alunos que precisarem.

...we are asked to follow the new programmes (...) and our schemes of work are verified against them. (...) In pedagogical terms, the programmes are not realistic. (...) Depending on the school, depending on the population, you need to have something that is so flexible that allows you to develop in-depth knowledge with those students who are prepared for that; and also, so light that it allows you to teach Portuguese as a foreign language to those who need this approach. (Natália)

She observed that the confluence of the two curricula – the National Curriculum and QuaREPE – was a “*camisa de sete varas*” (this is an idiomatic expression that denotes an uncomfortable or awkward situation; the closest translation would be a *straightjacket*) for the Portuguese classes. This was even more so when considering the heterogeneous nature of the after-school groups:

O português aqui é língua de herança, é segunda língua, é língua materna, para alguns é, para outros não é. Para alguns é língua materna e gradualmente durante a própria vida deixa de ser língua materna e passa a ser segunda língua ou língua de herança. São coisas híbridas, flexíveis, que flutuam. É tentar pôr etiquetas numa coisa que está constantemente a mudar.

Here, Portuguese is a heritage language, a second language, for some, a mother tongue. For others, it is a mother tongue and then gradually it becomes a second language or a heritage language. These are hybrid, flexible things that fluctuate. We're trying to label something that is constantly changing. (Natália)

In these circumstances, she believed that the learning objectives needed to be broader than the sole focus on linguistic competence and assessment of the new programmes. She revealed that one of her objectives each year was to motivate her students to take part in cultural activities, such as visits to museums, for example. On this subject, she reported her attempts at creating links with the community sections of the Museum of London and the British Museum and her constant look out for opportunities for the families to enjoy a day out together at the museum. Ângela shared similar thoughts with regards to the after-school provision. She said at one point that “it's more about giving them experiences in Portuguese in a more formal environment”.

The views of these teachers are a powerful reminder that language maintenance is intricately bound to community maintenance (Hornberger 1988) and that the after-school provision is about much more than standardised language learning and proficiency. The after-school classes are very much about socialisation and belonging (Lytra and Martin 2010).

Nuno's views were different from Natália's. Although he did recognise the emphasis of the policy on internationalisation and on the delivery of Portuguese as a foreign language, he did not feel that this sway in policy discourse “pressured the classes to change”.

Acho que houve nestes documentos uma certa promoção de uma ideia, de um português mais geral, língua estrangeira, que se encaixa no Quadro Europeu Comum, via QuaREPE, e que não tem muito a ver com as necessidades específicas das pessoas que vivem aqui e dos alunos que vivem aqui. E depois nas aulas é preciso uma pessoa adaptar-se às necessidades dos alunos, quando a maior parte dos nossos alunos são portugueses língua de herança. Portanto, que isso tenha feito uma grande pressão nas aulas, não.

There has been in these documents a certain promotion of an idea of a general Portuguese as a foreign language, fitting into the Common European Framework, via QuaREPE, which does not fully relate to the specific needs of our students. In the classes, we need to adapt to the needs of the students, and most of our students have Portuguese as a heritage language. So, I don't think that this has pressured the classes to change, no. (Nuno)

His practice was based on the language profile of the learners attending the classes, who mainly “have Portuguese as a heritage language”. His objective was to offer students the opportunity

to communicate more effectively in Portuguese and to attain a certification for this, both in the shape of a Camões exam and a GCSE/A Level paper.

Maria's work at the primary school provided other insights related to the theme of curriculum. In her case, Portuguese was the main foreign language offered in a school where there is a high number of pupils with English as an additional language, many of whom have Portuguese as a home language. Maria explained that the main objective of the language curriculum in the school was language awareness, rather than competence. Nuno also touched upon the issue of requirements for languages in primary education. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the National Curriculum sets out that languages are required to be taught at Key Stages 2 and 3. In Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11), the indication is that "a foreign language" is taught and that teaching should "focus on enabling pupils to make substantial progress in one language" (DfE, 2013:213). In Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14), the requirement narrows down to "a modern foreign language" and teaching should "build on the foundations of language learning laid at key stage 2, whether pupils continue with the same language or take up a new one" (DfE, 2013:215). According to Nuno, primary schools have taken this to mean that the objective of language teaching in these key stages is to "develop an interest in languages and to introduce [the pupils] to languages" with some schools introducing "a different language or more than one language each year". For Nuno, this meant that the Camões offer of a teacher to teach the same language all the way through the key stages was not adjusted to what most schools wanted in terms of language provision.

But Maria's school was "the great exception", as presented in Chapter 5. She reported having had to create all the work schemes, materials and resources for the classes herself from scratch to allow her to teach Portuguese as a Foreign Language mainly through play and singing. In addition to the classes, she prepared activities that supported the Portuguese-speaking children in learning the other curricular areas. For example:

No ano passado, fiz um projeto de gramática. Tinha mesmo o plano do segundo ano e ensinei em português a gramática que eles iam dar em inglês, por exemplo, nomes, adjetivos, verbos. Dava-lhes uma palavra e eles tinham que ler e que pôr na caixinha, pronto, eles iam fazer isso em inglês. Era antes da aula. Mas acho que também já é o reforço de ouvir pela segunda vez, pode não ser só o facto de ser só a língua materna.

Last year, I did a grammar project. I had the actual programme for Year 2 and I did in Portuguese all the grammar that they were going to study in English, for example the nouns, adjectives, verbs. I would give them a word and they had to put it in one of the boxes, they were going to do this in English. This was before their English class.

Perhaps it worked because they had the chance to hear it twice, it was a reinforcement, not just that it was their mother tongue. (Maria)

Working alongside the school as an educational partner allowed her to promote many opportunities for bilingual education. Certainly, by offering a less-commonly taught language to all the children, this primary school was also promoting positive attitudes towards less-commonly taught languages. With regards to her Portuguese-speaking pupils, Maria felt that by the time they reached secondary school they would have transitioned from Portuguese into English as a dominant language.

Estão no cruzamento. Porque depois a língua inglesa passa a ser a primeira e a portuguesa a segunda. Mas isso passa-se mais no secundário (...). Por exemplo, tinha um miúdo que falava muito bem, no terceiro ano, adorava, no sexto ano já nem gostava de falar português, esse já fez a transição.

They are at the crossroads. English will be their dominant language and Portuguese the second. That tends to happen in secondary school. (...) For example, there was one little boy in Year 3 who spoke Portuguese really well, loved it, by Year 6 he had transitioned into English and didn't like Portuguese anymore. (Maria)

This is evocative of a subtractive type of bilingualism which is “a transitional form of bilingual schooling, which usually lasts for only part of the early years of schooling, and then the majority tongue takes over as the means of instruction. It gradually replaces the minority language as the children's preferred language” (Corson 1999:175-176).

Maria's discourse was well aligned with the school's broader 'language awareness' discourse. She considered the experience of learning Portuguese an enriching experience for all as it facilitated the future learning of curricular foreign languages, such as Spanish or French, in secondary education.

A intenção não é que eles depois vão aprender português, é ter, como é que se diz em português, ter 'language awareness'. (...) Ou seja, é um processo mental em que eles consigam aperceber-se de que há outras línguas e ganhar, passar pelo tal processo de aprender uma língua, já vão preparados para aprender, seja o Espanhol ou o Francês, já sabem como é que se processa.

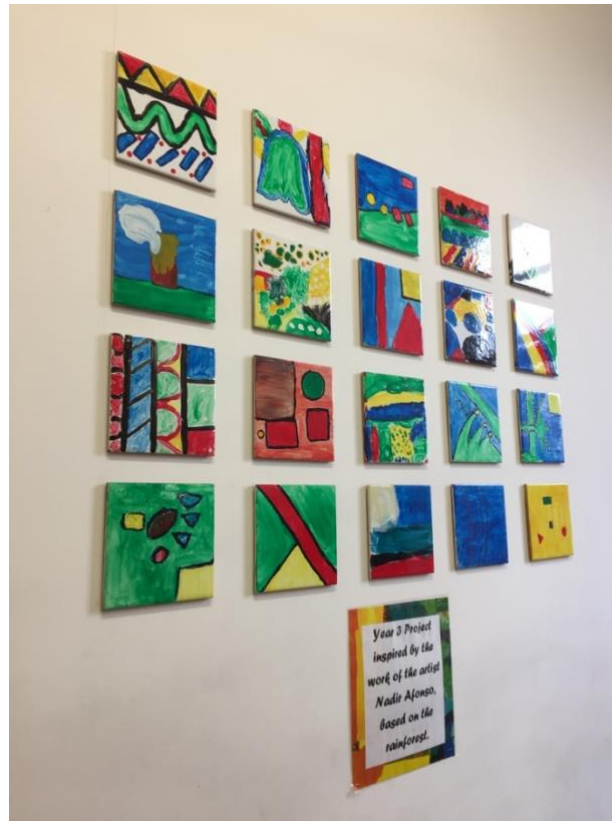
The intention is not that they carry on learning Portuguese, it's about, how do you say this in Portuguese, 'language awareness'. (...) It's a mental process that allows them to understand that there are other languages and to go through the process of learning a language, then they are more prepared, they will have created those mental structures, to learn either Spanish or French, they know how it works. (Maria)

In sum, language acquisition planning requires reflecting upon what can be taught, what learning outcomes may be achieved and how to approach the assessment of progression in language learning. An important point to keep in mind here is also that it would perhaps be relevant to follow and examine the transition procedure of those pupils into secondary education.

Methods and Materials

The pedagogical *methods and materials* for the Portuguese classes were often mentioned during the interviews along with the curricular issues discussed above. As discussed in Chapter 4, as late as the academic year 2000/2001, the great majority of courses were being taught with the same methods and materials used in Portugal to teach Portuguese as a first language. In the course of the last twenty years, pedagogical materials, such as textbooks, other learning materials and methods, have been designed to be used overseas. This Lisbon based initiative has produced a significant body of textbooks and methods but are still not completely appropriate for the differing local contexts. Accordingly, the four key teachers reported having to design most of the pedagogical materials used in their classes. In Maria's case, as discussed above, all work schemes and materials had to be produced from scratch as there were no existing materials for teaching Portuguese as a foreign language to a primary school audience. Then, any supplementary materials, such as movies, storybooks, magazines and any digital and audio-visual material were courtesy of the Portuguese Department. Her methodology with her very young pupils was to help them to learn through play, crafting, storytelling and singing, especially in Key Stage 1 (ages 5-7, Years 1-2). She explains in her profile that she did not "reuse the same materials" and that there were "always new ideas, new things to do". It was very clear that the senior team in the school, her colleagues and her pupils all thoroughly enjoyed and valued her methodological approach to teaching and learning. Figure 13 (below) depicts details of the project that Maria developed in collaboration with the Art teacher, which she mentioned in her profile. It was one of the results or products of a Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) module in which the pupils learnt about geometric shapes, colours and materials in Portuguese and then designed and painted their own tile. This was inspired by paintings about the rainforest by Portuguese geometric abstractionist painter, Nadir Afonso.

Figure 13: Detail of an Art project at Maria's school



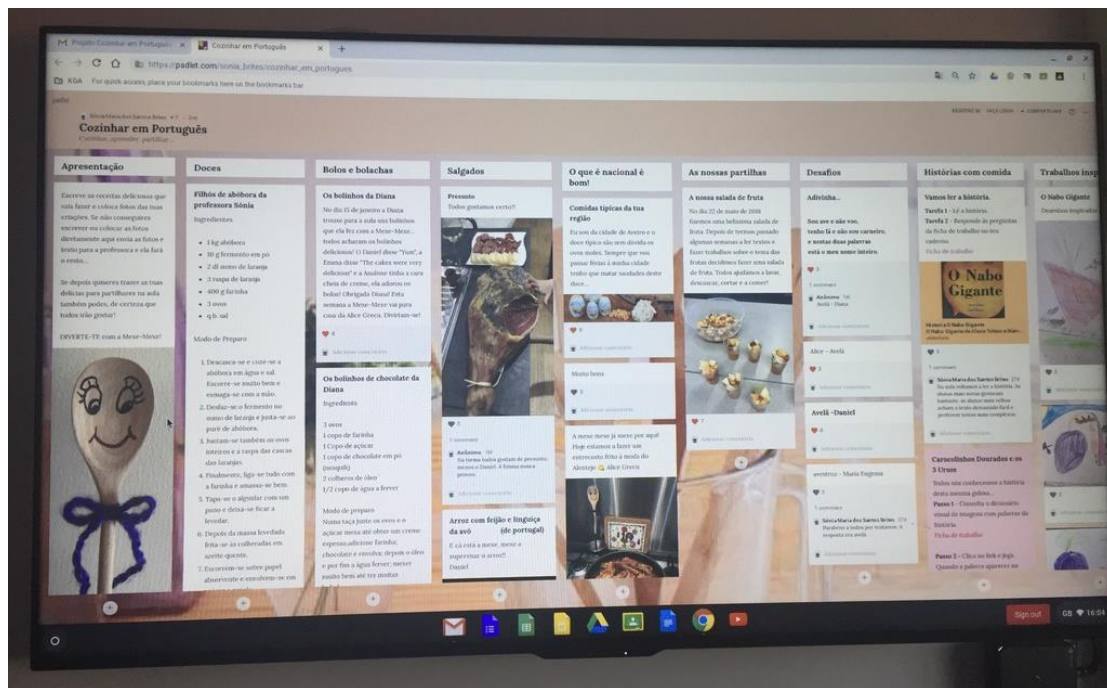
As with this project, which she developed in collaboration with other members of staff, there had been many other projects for which she was recognised by the whole school and which had earned her awards and appraisals for outstanding teaching. Then, in Key Stage 2 (ages 1-11, Years 3-6), she used a similar methodology, but introducing literacy and progressively more complex grammatical content. In addition to the Portuguese classes, she prepared activities that supported the Portuguese-speaking children in learning the other curricular areas in what she referred to as “interventions”. These were activities that Maria designed, having discussed with the class teacher which specific aspects of English grammar they would need to access for their Standardised Assessment Tests (SATs), which take place in Year 2 and in Year 6. Being integrated into the school in such a way meant that her methodologies needed to be chosen in terms of the objectives of the curriculum of the local primary school, rather than in terms of the curricular objectives set by the Portuguese Department, based on the Portuguese common framework of reference, QuaREPE (discussed above).

Despite the fact that her circumstances were so different from Maria's, Ângela also reported having to design most of the teaching and learning resources that she used in her classes. She explained that the textbooks that were acquired as part of the process of enrolment for the after-

school classes were unsuitable (*a maior parte dos materiais não são adequados*). For those children who spoke Portuguese at home, she felt that the language content was “too easy”, which was demotivating. For those very few who were beginning to learn the language and did not usually speak it at home, the books were impenetrable, as all the instructions were in Portuguese.

The visit to Ângela’s school allowed me the opportunity to browse through the materials that she actually used and to observe how she was using them in the context of her class. She was teaching primary school-aged children in a hired space that happened to be in a secondary school. The classroom was bare and clinically white, with only tables and chairs facing a whiteboard and a rather large screen hanging on the wall. She turned on the computer as the children came in, greeted her (mainly) in Portuguese and sat down ready for the class. All of a sudden, the room seemed to be lit up when the enormous interactive screen projected an image of the class Padlet – an online board or canvas that can be used to display and share information – which Ângela had created with the pupils throughout the year (see Figure 14).

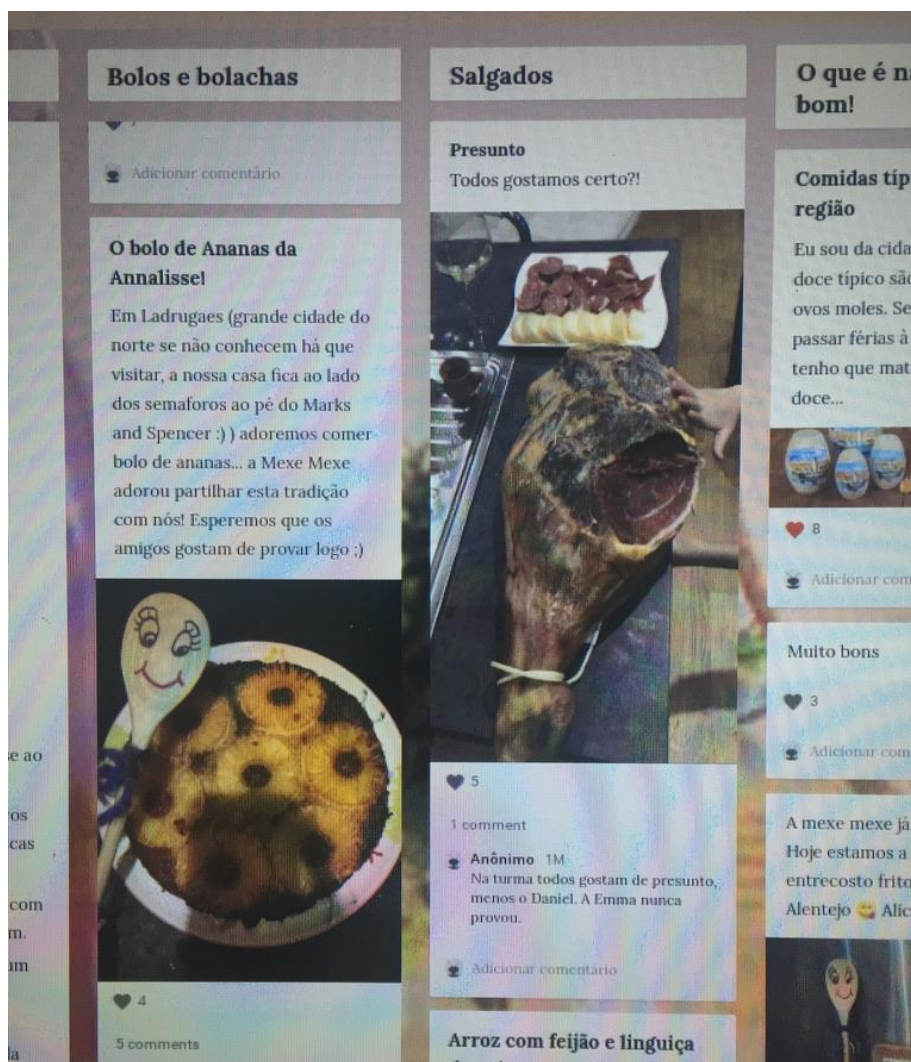
Figure 14: Interactive board in Ângela’s classroom



The screen displayed a series of columns and there were rows of instructions for completing a variety of tasks, which were organised with the different levels of proficiency of the students in mind. There were links to activities, websites and language and culture related content and games. There were videos and pictures of the products of the children’s work. Each entry was marked by the comments of the pupils, the parents and the Ângela herself, who all contributed to this amazingly colourful and lively interactive bulletin board. The class started with everyone

looking at the interactive board and joining in a conversation about a common topic – it was all around food and eating habits that particular day (see Figure 15). Some students had posted pictures of traditional dishes that they had prepared at home with the help of family members. After this, each pair or small group of children got on with different activities which were age and level appropriate. Ângela moved from group to group to answer questions, offer advice and help with the development of the different tasks.

Figure 15: Detail of the interactive board in Ângela’s classroom



The teaching methodologies used for the after-school classes necessarily involved pedagogical differentiation due to the fact that there was a considerable range of proficiencies within each class group. Like Ângela, Nuno also started most of his classes with a common topic and then divided the pupils into groups according to their level of proficiency:

Para facilitar, tenho umas apresentações, em que estão lá as instruções. Se eu dou um texto, está lá a fotografia do texto, e, depois, eu dou-lhes uma tarefa, deixo-os a

trabalhar, vou ter com o outro grupo e acompanho-os na tarefa que estão a fazer, depois deixo-os sozinhos e vou ter com o outro grupo e acompanho-os. (...) Eu tenho uns cadernos para cada dois ou para cada três, para irem acompanhando a aula, porque eu não estou lá constantemente para cada aluno. (...) E eles não precisam de recorrer especificamente a mim (...), está no caderninho que eu dei a cada grupo ou está no quadro, ou seja, essas pequenas coisas, eles têm onde ir buscar rapidamente.

To make it easier, I have prepared presentations in which there are instructions. If we are working on a text, the picture of the text is on there, and, then, I set them a task, leave them to work on that and move on to the next group. I have notebooks for each pair of students with guidance, since I am not always with each student. They don't need to ask me about the page or which activity to do next, it's in the notebook, or on the board, it's quickly accessible.

Hence, in any one class there are usually different textbooks or different parts of the same textbook being used, depending on the level of the student. In these circumstances it was difficult for the teachers to find one single method or textbook that could be used throughout the classes with all the students within one group. Nuno added to this the fact that the existing textbooks were dissimilar in content and in method to the requirements of the specification for the Portuguese GCSE and A Level exam, for which he prepared many of his students. As he explained:

Eu prefiro não usar [o manual]. Porque os questionários não se adequam. O questionário em exame de AS é algo muito técnico, está lá a informação, a pergunta pede aquela informação específica, eles têm de procurar muito bem.

I would rather not use the textbook. The questionnaires are not suitable. The questionnaires of an AS exam are very technical and require very specific information from the text; they have to look for it carefully.

In summary, the materials that the teachers were using in their classes, whether they were teaching courses within the curriculum or after-school, all needed to be adapted or created from scratch.

Evaluation

The usefulness of the methods and materials moves the discussion forward to the category of *evaluation*. Aligning with Kaplan and Baldauf, evaluation relates here to the “measurement of the relative success of the entire programme” (1997:116). This entails monitoring of activities

and ensuring a feedback loop that allows the programme to adjust where required. Considering the teachers' account of their experiences, the question that comes to mind is: how is this vital information about the methods and materials being fed back to the system? More broadly, how is other vital information being monitored and evaluated? The interviews with both the teachers and their administrator suggested that there was a need to think critically and more collaboratively about this feedback loop between the macro, meso and micro levels of institutional activity. Margarida talked about the relationship between the meso and the macro level. She thought that the collaboration between herself, the head office in Lisbon and the other Portuguese Departments overseas could be improved. She reported the need for a more systematic approach to meetings, communication and sharing of experiences, particularly in terms of human resources and team work practices. Then, the teachers talked about the relationship between the micro and the meso level. Nuno felt that, although he could share his thoughts in the departmental meetings, there was no particular time dedicated to discussing strategy and this made him feel that "the plan" or a "common goal" were missing, from the perspective of the teachers. He did praise the recent efforts of the Department in this area and, indeed, from the collection of accounts of the other key teachers, the improvements are noticeable. Natália commented that "teachers should be encouraged to participate actively in that plan, as a team". She claimed that communication, transparency and collaboration needed improvement between the teachers and the Department. She questioned "who assesses the Departments and by what criteria?" She believed that the teachers should have a say in terms of measuring the success of the initiatives proposed at the meso level. These matters deserve to be developed and further discussed in Chapter 7, in a section about planning and monitoring.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the *recontextualised meaning* (Johnson 2013a) of the Portuguese language policies from overseas. That is, the meaning that results from the interpretations of the key educators in the face of their own beliefs, societal ideologies and circulating discourses. The analysis was carried out by focusing on the status and prestige of the Portuguese language, the forms and pluricentricity of the language and the conditions and mechanisms for the acquisition of the language. The first section examined the tensions arising from the different views of the educators in terms of the status and prestige of Portuguese in the UK. This section also showed how the teachers' discourses were mainly shaped by their personal experiences of teaching Portuguese-speaking children, rather than by extended engagement with the policy-making process. The second section focussed specifically on the form of the language and raised the issue of language varieties. As seen earlier in the chapter, the Secretary of State's call for "policies that converge" falls short of addressing the everyday pedagogical decisions that lecturers, teachers and national exam authors are required to make. These in turn are constituent elements of the core area of planning language acquisition, which was the focus of the third section. This section drew on Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) categories for analysing language-in-education planning and for analysing the teachers' interpretations of the Portuguese language policies. The section aimed to unpack the discourses and beliefs that were being privileged by the teachers and their administrator in terms of Portuguese language learning and teaching in schools. It was shown that these interpretations play a fundamental role in the implementation of the Portuguese overseas policies in everyday pedagogical practice, yet there was little familiarity and professional engagement with the policy texts or the policy-making process. I also drew attention to the fact that the local language ecology is changing and demanding new educational resources and solutions and, as was demonstrated in the section on *Evaluation*, there is no evidence of the existence of a feedback loop from the micro to the macro level and vice-versa.

This chapter provides evidence of the discrepancies in the interpretations of the policy by local policy agents. It also provides an overview of the major ideological issues facing the provision. In order to examine the issues that have arisen here, the next chapter will focus on the structural circumstances shaping the appropriation of the policies under scrutiny.

Chapter 7: Appropriating Portuguese Language Policy in England

structure is not simply determining of human actions, but also it is constituted by those actions and it is the interaction between agency and structure that creates the spaces in which human beings can act. This is an ecological space in which neither voluntarism nor constraints on action predominate but in which each is in a dialectic relationship; structure may constrain action but action can change structure.

(Liddicoat 2018:150)

Introduction

This chapter addresses the third aim of my research design (Chapter 3), which is to investigate the appropriation of Portuguese language policies by the Portuguese educators in England. Whilst chapters 5 and 6 focused on the attitudes and beliefs of the different agents at various levels of the policy process, in this chapter the focus is on how the policy is put into action at the local level. The analysis of the data collected ethnographically seeks to identify and discuss the most significant factors and tensions mediating the creation of opportunities and incentives (Cooper 1989) for Portuguese language learning. These factors and tensions are contextual, and they intend to illustrate the point made in Chapter 2 that an ecological approach to the study of language policy needs to consider the permeating web of social interaction (Liddicoat 2018).

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, Portuguese courses have traditionally operated as part of what has become known in the UK as the complementary, supplementary or community education sector (Issa and Williams 2009, Lytra and Martin 2010, Kenner and Ruby 2012). More recently, other types of language provision have developed which represent broader understandings and appropriations of the Camões offer and of its legal framework. These different appropriations, which materialise in specific types of language provision for each context, result from the intersecting decision-making structures of Camões (including macro, meso and micro level) with those of schools. It is at this intersection that fundamental decisions about the specificities of logistics, times and timetabling, social and professional relationships, planning and monitoring of the language activities are (re)created.

Hence, the first section of this chapter addresses the appropriation of the two main types of language provision offered by the Portuguese Education Department to schools in England, namely: *ensino paralelo* and *ensino integrado*. The second section, reflects upon the interaction and negotiations taking place between the Portuguese Education Department and the mainstream schools, focusing on various aspects of the decision-making structures that influence the teaching and learning of a less-commonly taught language, like Portuguese. In the third section, the focus is on issues related to language learning time and its timetabling. The fourth section examines the quality of the social and professional relationships developed between the participant teachers and their schools, relating this with the type of provision being offered. The fifth section peers into how these language activities are planned and monitored. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary and discussion of the main points addressed.

Types of Language Provision

Article 6 of Decree-Law no. 165-C/2009 (see Chapter 4) established the current organisational arrangements of the Portuguese courses abroad. These include Portuguese language courses and a variety of courses in Portuguese offered through or in collaboration with universities, language centres, embassies, consulates and schools. These courses can be supported by the Portuguese Government both within the curricular offer of the host educational system or as a complementary activity. Additionally, they can be delivered by distance learning, using digital and multimedia learning tools.

In the daily practice of the Portuguese Education Departments overseas, two emic concepts describe the most common organisational arrangements or types of provision offered. These concepts are *ensino paralelo* (parallel teaching) and *ensino integrado* (integrated teaching). *Ensino paralelo* refers broadly to language courses taking place after or outside school hours, whereas *ensino integrado* refers to those taking place within school time. Each of these concepts is then an umbrella concept for the different ways in which specific arrangements are made and how resources are deployed and offered to schools. They are emic concepts because their meaning is shaped by an insider's perspective, by the perspectives of the participants in this study and by the perspective of the Portuguese Department. They are either unknown or meaningless concepts for the schools where provision takes place, as will be illustrated further on.

Ensino Paralelo

In terms of its *modus operandi* and its relation to mainstream education, *ensino paralelo* is very much the traditional model of provision which was established in the late 1960s with the main goal of supporting the emigrant community with their efforts of language maintenance and its acquisition by the next generations (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Since then, the initiative to set up Portuguese classes has surged very much from the grassroots, with an agentive community getting organised and planning language maintenance by their own means with the resources available to them. One recent example can be found in Margarida's response to the request from a large group of Portuguese parents newly established in Newham. As stated in Margarida's crafted profile (Chapter 5), the Portuguese community was growing and presented her with a group of around thirty children ready to start Portuguese classes. Margarida assisted their request by finding a school nearby that was available and offered a suitable space to hire. She then allocated "a teacher to go there one afternoon, for two classes", solving this need "on an individual basis" (Interview 1). Another example can be found in the recently established course in Epsom, whose initial negotiations Ângela described in her profile (Chapter 5). Again, parents approached the Portuguese Department with a cohort of prospective language learners and there were a few unsuccessful attempts to start a course. Ângela intervened locally and, through a Portuguese parent who worked at the school, she succeeded in negotiating a space with the premises' manager for classes to take place. The Portuguese Department was then involved and a hiring agreement was signed. Occasionally, when a school is not available to accommodate provision in an area where there is high demand for courses, another source of space has been found that is community-friendly. Ângela's profile included reference to a Friday afternoon class which took place in a church hall. Although there are lots of students in the area and a great demand for Portuguese language classes (Interview 1), the only place that was available, in this case, was a church hall.

The point being made here is that the common thread of this model of provision is the fact that its implementation surged from the grassroots, and it depended only on the logistic management of a site, its hiring cost, its availability and suitability for the proposed activity. Like many other activities taking place after-school in which youngsters engage in, structurally, this type of provision is merely based on an agreement about the use of space. From the perspective of the schools in England, this is called an "after-school club". The difference from other after-school clubs is that after-school community language courses are generally only made accessible for and aimed at children from within some designated community.

One distinctive tension at the heart of the *ensino paralelo* type of provision is the dispersion of its language planning goals (Cooper 1989). In order to cater for the needs of the diverse range of learners who enrol for the after-school classes, the official language policy promises to offer language learning of a mother tongue, a second and a foreign language (Chapter 4, Sections 6-8). Yet, the official policy mechanisms used – programmes, curricular guidelines, adopted textbooks – engage the diverse range of learners in learning and having their learning certified as a modern foreign language through the standardised use of descriptors that are based on the Common European Framework for Languages (CEFRL). Adding to this tension is the fact that in England the educational system offers students the opportunity of having their Portuguese language knowledge certified at the end of compulsory education (Portuguese GCSE) and at the end of college (Portuguese A Level). Although this is again a foreign language learning syllabus and a form of certification, it is highly valued by the Portuguese immigrant community as a recognised academic qualification and one of the main reasons for students to enrol for Portuguese classes as reported by the teachers. This is further complicated by the diverse range of ages and year groups combined within the same class. Due to time constraints and timetabling pressures, which will be explored further on, class-groups can include children from different mainstream classes and year groups attending the same school as well as a variety of children from different schools in the area. This is the case of Ângela’s class in Balham where she is engaged to teach two after-school classes to children coming from multiple schools with ages ranging from Reception to Year 6. Similar examples are offered by Nuno and Natália, who both talk about the pedagogical difficulties of teaching groups where some pupils are preparing for Portuguese A Level 1, while others are preparing for Portuguese A Level 2. Hence, the profusion of language learning goals and language learning needs seems to be a structural feature of the after-school model of provision with which these teachers must grapple on a daily basis.

Another structural feature of this type of language provision is its mobile and flexible nature. One rationale for the first revision of the Portuguese legal framework, encapsulated in Decree-Law no. 165/2006 of 11 August 2006, was “the instability of the new communities and the seasonal character of their migration fluxes” (chapter 4). Nuno and Natália talked at length about the mobility of the emigrant communities. Nuno mentioned both transnational and intranational mobility, relating this to a multiplicity of macrosocial contextual factors and to the effects that these changes might have on the provision and, as a result, on his own personal and professional life. He expressed some concern in terms of the possible decrease in the numbers of students due to the social uncertainties raised by the process of withdrawal of the

United Kingdom from the European Union (commonly known as Brexit). Natália too observed that one primary school where there used to be a large population of pupils from the European Union suffered the impact of this process and had changed from being a two-form entry school to a one-form entry school, due to the lack of pupils enrolling, many of which she claimed to have moved back to their homelands. Another factor that Nuno mentioned was the mobility of the cohorts of pupils and families between different areas within England due to changes in terms of infrastructural development. He said,

there are many new apartments being built here and a road that goes straight to the heart of London. It is making this an expensive area to live in. It's unlikely that the Portuguese community establishes here. It will be a challenge to keep this course running. (Nuno, Interview 1)

He then explained how the community was scattering and emigrant families tended to move to less affluent areas. Natália also observed differences in the way the “new communities” settled. She observed that “they don't cluster as they used to”. For her, these factors were a great cause for concern mainly in terms of her own mobility and her work-life balance. The tension here lies in the fact that working outside school hours gives the network the necessary autonomy and flexibility to respond to the mobility of the community, but it also creates instability and inefficiency with teachers travelling to different places to teach.

Ensino Integrado

The *ensino integrado* model of provision in turn aims to materialise the official policy goal of integration of Portuguese language learning into the regular activities and curricular plans of the host educational systems (see Chapter 4). In England, the type of partnership being proposed to the schools entails collaborative planning, between them and the Portuguese Department, and curricular innovation, rather than just an agreement about the use of space. It involves promoting Portuguese language learning and sharing human and material resources within the mainstream school day. It is a very generous offer in that the full language provision of the school can be funded by the Portuguese Government, including the salary and benefits of the teachers allocated and a library of teaching resources and materials offered to the school, with regular updates. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 3 (Table 6), in the academic year of 2017/2018, when the data collection for this study took place, this type of provision represented a small slice of the offer when compared to the after-school provision. Also of note

was the fact that, although *ensino integrado* operated within mainstream curricular time, the courses were still attended only by children of a Portuguese-speaking background. This can be illustrated using the *de facto* and *de jure* descriptors. In language policy, the distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* refers to distinguishing language related activities that occur in practice despite whatever the official language policy states (Johnson 2013:10). In this case, while officially (*de jure*) this type of language provision is aimed at the wider public attending schools, in practice (*de facto*) only Portuguese-speaking students ever partake in the language learning activities.

Zooming in on this type of language provision helps illuminate its appropriation and clarify the different types and levels of *integration* and connection between the particular school where it operates and the Portuguese Department. In primary schools, *ensino integrado* has mainly taken the shape of support activities for the Portuguese-speaking pupils within mainstream curricular time. As with other support groups in schools, such as the English as an Additional Language (EAL) provision, this offer is aimed at pupils who struggle to access the mainstream curriculum. Except this is addressed at the offspring of the Portuguese community only, as it is offered at the expense of the Portuguese Government. Its aim differs from the EAL provision in as much as it is not about teaching the children the vehicular language (English), but to support and mediate the learning of mainstream curricular content through their first or dominant language, whilst they are in the process of learning the vehicular language. The Portuguese teachers may be found providing support within a mainstream class, which can be any curricular subject such as Maths, English, Geography, History. Here, the teachers generally support the pupils by interpreting and translating the materials presented by the class teacher. They can also be found supporting children individually or in small groups, having agreed with the subject teacher to take them away from the class. There are examples of this type of support in the profiles of Natália, Ângela and Maria, in Chapter 5, whilst some of the tensions regarding how this offer is perceived by the teachers have also been explored in Chapter 6.

The primary school where Maria was working at the time of our interviews represented one rare example of collaborative planning and curricular innovation. There, Portuguese became the main modern foreign language offered to all pupils. One main teacher – Maria – delivered the Portuguese curricular classes and worked full-time in the school, whilst an additional teacher delivered the after-school provision, all courtesy of the Portuguese Government. This allowed for a very successful partnership to flourish and to develop over the years, with bilingual support being provided to the school and a number of innovative projects being developed that helped to raise the profile of the language and to boost the confidence of the

heritage language speakers in the school, as was shown through both Maria's and Margarida's profiles in Chapter 5 and in the analysis of perceptions and discourses in Chapter 6.

In secondary education, *ensino integrado* can also take the shape of support hours within curricular time, with the same profile of target audience in mind, aiming to achieve similar educational goals and using the same methods described above. Many Portuguese emigrant children arriving in England during their secondary education benefit from these organised efforts (Cooper 1989) to help them access the mainstream curriculum through support in their home language. Again, they may be supported in class or they may be taken out of their classes for a few hours of individual instruction per week. Other examples of *ensino integrado* in secondary education take the shape of Portuguese language classes within curricular time. In this case, where there are enough children to form a class, the Portuguese Department proposes to the school and the students to offer preparation for national exams, Portuguese GCSE and Portuguese A Level, within curricular time. This is generally only offered to Portuguese-speaking children in Years 10 and 11 (GCSE) and in Years 12 and 13 (A Level), as was discussed in the previous chapter.

One aspect worth mentioning here is that the *ensino integrado* model has generally been an organic development of *ensino paralelo* structures that were already in place in schools, with a number of schools offering a combination of both models of provision. What used to be an agreement about the use of space progressed to what resembles a relationship with multiple agendas (Shohamy 2006) that happen to serve both parties. For the schools, the Portuguese teachers are a useful, free of charge, extra pair of hands and they have learnt to use these highly qualified teachers and professionals as mediators and interpreters between the school and the Portuguese pupils and parents. Natália, for example, said precisely that in one of her interviews: 'I am an extra pair of hands in the school'. She reported that a Spanish-speaking EAL support teacher had been dismissed in one school where Natália provided similar support. In return for Natália's support, the school made a classroom available for some additional after-school Portuguese provision. The participant teachers also reported their perception that the inclusion of the examination results of students attending the Portuguese provision benefitted the overall examination performance of the host school, which is obviously attractive for headteachers.

The enrolment procedure for Portuguese classes takes place a full term before the school year starts again in September. The procedure is organised by the Portuguese teachers together with the senior team of the Portuguese Department, using an online enrolment system and a software database. The database collects personal information and fees directly from families and only the pupils attending *ensino paralelo* enrol for classes. As Margarida puts it, the Portuguese

Department “manages the full process, from enrolment to assessment and certification” (Interview 2). This information is all centralised and Margarida believes that this is extremely useful as it allows easy access to information, such as timetables, attendance register, class summaries and assessments. With regards to the *ensino integrado* model, there is no centralised enrolment process and there are no fees, as these matters are considered the sole responsibility of the school. Margarida explained that in this case schools “are responsible for managing the pupils and their assessments” (Interview 2). This means that the Portuguese Department holds and manages data from the *ensino paralelo*, but not from the *ensino integrado*. In turn, schools hold and manage data from the *ensino integrado*, but not from the *ensino paralelo*. Due to data protection concerns there are usually many restrictions in terms of how data may or may not be shared. To a certain extent, this peculiar situation illustrates the fact that, although taught by the same teachers and sometimes within the same school spaces, the structures in place for *ensino paralelo* and *ensino integrado* are entirely independent structures – like parallel lines that never meet.

I shall now briefly mention the other models of provision offered, but it is not my objective to analyse them or even to encompass everything there is to say about them. Although I consider that they are worth mentioning for triangulation purposes, that is, for “a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation” (Altrichter et al. 1996:117) and for a better understanding of the fluidity of policy appropriation, the main reason for not exploring them further is primarily that none of the participants in the study was at the time involved with these other models. Another significant reason is that their structural circumstances are either external to the provision or largely independent from mainstream education altogether.

One of these models of provision is the offer of distance learning courses (circa 2% of the provision), which is structurally under the umbrella of *ensino paralelo*. This is offered to school-aged children who are not able to physically attend a course as their nearest one is too far away. Each group consists of around 3-5 pupils who gather with the teacher online for their one-hour weekly synchronous class. I come back to this model of provision in the conclusion to the study, in Chapter 8.

Another model is the support given to small grassroots Portuguese community schools. There are two examples of this, one in Scotland and another in Northern Ireland. These are community groups who gather and find their own means to create opportunities for their children to access the home language. They set up as a charity or a community group, have their own teachers and generally contact the Portuguese Department for guidance and support.

There is an application procedure in order for these groups to be awarded some financial support and pedagogical resources.

A final example of another model of provision is the bilingual school, for which Margarida was a founding member and carried on as chair. Structurally, this is a free school as defined in <https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school>. It is funded by the English government and run by a not-for-profit trust, which gives it the freedom to follow a different curriculum, in this case a bilingual curriculum. I sense that this will organically integrate the *ensino integrado* model in its relation to the Portuguese Department. In the final writing stage of my dissertation, the Department has allocated one of its teachers to the school and has carried on providing close pedagogical guidance, support and resources. There are many open spaces here for future language policy research on these models of provision.

Decision-making Structures

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the terms in which the Portuguese courses operate in relation to the mainstream educational context are the result of decision-making structures within schools and within the Portuguese Department. They are also the result of the encounter and negotiation between them – the schools and the Department.

School level decision-making was often mentioned as one main constraint on the expansion of the Portuguese provision. When we first met, Margarida understood school autonomy as a fact of life and the headteacher of each individual school as the higher authority and the ultimate decision-maker. In her words:

A autonomia é um todo coeso. [...] Não faz sentido interromper essa autonomia com aspetos individuais. Tudo isto é decidido pelo diretor da escola. É mesmo assim.

School autonomy is a package, a coherent whole. [...] It makes no sense to interrupt that autonomy for individual aspects. All of this is decided by the headteacher. That's just how it is. (Margarida)

For her, there was no question about who was the sole responsible for school-level decisions. Johnson (2013:100) writes that “language policy power is determined by who gets positioned as an arbiter and who gets positioned as a mere implementer of policy”. The headteacher is here positioned as the single, most important arbiter. There are tensions with both individualising and with dichotomising such complex decision-making processes and the data analysis in this section explores the reasons why.

In her quest to promote more Portuguese language learning opportunities, Margarida approached many headteachers each academic year to convince them to include Portuguese as a curricular and an extracurricular language (see Margarida's crafted profile). She reported that it was hard to get any responses from schools and it usually took a number of attempts to obtain even a reaction. When a response was given, matters were often passed on to another member of staff. This could be the head of languages or the premises' manager. The latter was at times a member of the school staff and, at other times, it was an outsourced hiring company.

I confirmed these claims when, in my capacity as deputy director, I received the emails below, which are shared as a demonstration of the arbitrary nature of such decision-making processes:

Thank you for this information – I have passed this on to our head of modern foreign languages to consider further and for his general awareness. (Return e-mail from a Headteacher in Reading, October 2020)

Your enquiry will be dealt with by our Office Manager, who is responsible for lettings at the school and who will be able to advise you. (Return e-mail from a Headteacher in Reading, November 2020)

This data shows that when offered the possibility of changing or potentially enhancing their language provision, the schools who responded gave vague answers (*to consider further, for general awareness*), which mainly did not materialise, or moved the locus of the matter to logistics and space management, rather than curricular change and innovation. The latter would be much more complex to plan and implement, but also it would be of much greater advantage and affordance to the school and its educational community.

The repeated occurrence of these responses from headteachers seems to indicate that language policy decisions in schools are mainly concerned with preserving the status quo. Cooper's (1989:87-97) framework for language planning as decision making offers some good pointers here. He believes that decision-making is a reaction to present or potential stress caused by the possibility of not being able to govern or manage. Response to or avoidance of stress are commonly dealt with in a routine manner. "By confining policy making chiefly to considerations of incremental change, decision makers promote the routinization of their responses to, and avoidance of, stress, as well as the appearance of consistency" (Cooper 1989:91). In the same way that the "single factor [showing] the closest relationship to state-government expenditures in a current year is state-government expenditures the previous year" (Cooper 1989:91), so it seems that the main indicator of a school's language curriculum in a

current academic year is the school's language curriculum the previous academic year and the academic year before that, and so on.

When asked about how new Portuguese courses came to be, Natália answered: *'It's always been from the grassroots, always from the bottom-up'*. Although she did not develop this subject much, her answer indicates her perception that the initiative has traditionally tended to surge from the community. When asked the same question, Ângela spoke at length of the power and persistence of the community of parents and of her own agency.

Há uma comunidade Portuguesa muito grande aqui e já andavam a tentar há alguns anos, pelo que ouvi, eles estavam sempre a perguntar se podia abrir um curso. Este ano conseguimos. Não foi fácil, foi muito o apoio dos pais pelas classes, isso ajudou imenso. Eu também tive um papel, não vou dizer que não – eu medieei. Junto com os pais, encontrámos uma escola que estava aberta a receber as aulas e eu contactei a Coordenação com esta informação, que tínhamos alunos suficientes. [...] Os pais são cruciais.

There is a large Portuguese community there and they had tried for some years, so I heard, they continuously inquired about the possibility of starting a course. It was achieved this year. It wasn't easy, a lot of it was the parents' support for the classes, it really helped a lot. I also had a role, I can't say that I didn't – I mediated. Together with the parents, we found a school that was open to offering a space for the classes and I brought this information back to the Department, we had enough students interested and it went ahead. [...] Parents are crucial. (Ângela)

Hence, there is considerable evidence here that an agentive community can and will influence language education policy from the bottom-up, and that, more often than not, the implementational spaces for language maintenance more often than not emerge from the demands of local communities.

Nuno also talked about one parent who worked as EAL coordinator and who took the initial decision to contact Camões to ask for the support of the institute in order to increase and improve the time devoted to language maintenance and language learning in the school.

Agora ela é encarregada de educação de um dos meus alunos do extracurricular. [...], mas sempre nos apoiou. Na verdade, foi ela que teve a ideia de oferecer aulas de Português na escola. Eu penso que ela contactou a Coordenação. Inicialmente era só aulas extracurriculares e depois ela conseguiu negociar um curso de A Level integrado. É graças a ela que há aulas aqui.

She is a parent of one of my extracurricular students now [...], but she has always supported us. Actually, it was her idea to bring Portuguese classes to this school. I believe she contacted the Department [...]. Initially it was just extracurricular classes and later on she succeeded in negotiating an integrated A Level course here. It's thanks to her that classes take place here. (Nuno)

In the case above, as a member of the school staff and a parent of a potential pupil of heritage language, this community member found herself in a strategic position to impinge upon decisions. Her agency and her determination to support language maintenance were crucial throughout. Nuno went on to explain that she became the unofficial link between the Portuguese courses and the school community, including other staff and the parents. The support given was at times very tangible and took the shape of notebooks and stationary for the students, which were provided from the EAL department. At other times, it was about opening up channels for communication through phone calls and the creation of opportunities for conversations or exchange of views and information about the pupils.

On the other hand, Natália gave a less optimistic but interesting insight into the unpredictable positioning of language policy decision-makers or *arbiters* when it comes to community language classes in the after-school provision. She reported having requested the use of one extra hour in the evening for one of her classes. The extra hour would allow her to harmonise the group in terms of ages and language proficiencies. While payment and extra time were approved and agreed by the leadership teams, the school caretaker opposed. He was not willing to stay for the extra hour. Natália mentioned this episode at the end of our first interview and then brought it up again in our second interview, manifesting a clear sense of her own powerlessness and vulnerability:

A pessoa mais importante nestas decisões escolares, para nós, professores do ensino paralelo, é o contínuo ou o 'premises manager'. Ele é que decide se a escola abre ou não. O diretor pode ser muito aberto, mas se o contínuo disser que não, é não. Isto dá-te uma ideia de quem é que tem o poder de decidir e onde é que nós estamos posicionados enquanto oferta de língua.

The most important decision-maker in a school, for us teachers of the after-school provision, is the school keeper or the premises manager. They decide whether the school stays open or not. The headteacher may be very open-minded, but when the caretaker says no, that is it. This gives you an idea of who has the power to decide and where we are positioned as a language provision. (Natália)

Ângela raised a very pertinent point about matters being passed on to a single member of staff, particularly to the premises' manager, she said 'this is an advantage to the school, not just a commercial matter'. Her observation reminded me of Cooper's (1989:91) remark that 'the way one defines the problem influences the policy which is set to deal with the problem'. This takes us back to the locus of the matter being placed on logistics rather than on curricular change and innovation. If schools define their linguistic and cultural diversity as a logistical problem, all that is required for the implementation of language classes is indeed a policy about the management of premises. Defining their linguistic and cultural diversity as a language policy matter, on the other hand, requires the school to review its administrative and educational practices (Corson 1999). This calls for a broader and more participative process of decision-making. This is also true for how the Portuguese Department approaches this challenge and for how it elects to position its offer.

The discussion so far has shown some of the finer grain of school-based decision-making processes. Namely, it has shown that although the headteacher may be perceived as the *de jure* authority and the 'final arbiter' (Mohanty et al. 2010:228) of the decision-making process, there are powerful *influentials*, who exercise *de facto* authority. They can be individuals or groups who have the power to influence decisions, by recommending, advising, threatening, begging or bribing (Ellsworth and Stahnke 1976 in Cooper 1989:88-89). They can be members of the school staff, from the teacher to the caretaker, or members of the surrounding community. Thus far, the data confirms Johnson's (2013a:100) expansion of the notion of 'language policy arbiter', which includes 'all individuals with potentially powerful influence on the language policy process' to either open or close spaces for language learning in schools. But I would go further and assert that these language policy decisions are as much a product as they are a result of the social and institutional context mediating them. This I shall address as I move further into the analysis.

Time and Timetabling

One powerful mediator of language policy decisions is time and timetabling. Consistent with the Portuguese legal framework for teaching overseas, the timetable of a full-time teacher of Portuguese, teaching in primary or secondary education, encompasses 35 hours of work. Between 22 and 25 hours are teaching time, whilst the remaining hours are for planning, preparation and assessment. Teaching time can be reduced when teachers work in more than

one school and travelling between schools is lengthy or difficult. This needs to be duly authorised respectively by the regional coordinator of the Portuguese Department and by the President of the institute (Decree-Law n.º 65-A/2016, Article 25, 5). In 2012, the revision to the legal framework (Decree-Law no. 234/2012 of 30 October 2012) introduced the certification of language proficiency and the payment of an annual attendance fee (see chapter 4). This was complemented by the introduction of the new enrolment procedure, which used a centralised database software, and by a directive imposing a minimum number of 12 pupils per group. These regulations applied only to learning and teaching activities that are the direct responsibility of the Portuguese Government (article 5, number 6), i.e., the *ensino paralelo* or after-school model of provision. In practice, this meant that there needs to be a minimum of 24 pupils enrolled for a teacher to be allocated to a school for the afternoon to teach 2 two-hour blocks. Each group of students gets one block of lessons per week.

These Portuguese regulations interact with the timetabling policies and practices of local schools. One factor to consider is the window of opportunity for classes to take place in after school provision in England. This is between 2 to 4 hours per afternoon, which only adds up to a total of 10 to 20 hours of classes per week. That is, unless the teachers are fully integrated into a school, like Maria is, it takes a combination of multiple schools and models of provision to make-up a full-time, 22 to 25-hour, timetable. Timetabling is further complicated by the differences in the structures of the schools' weeks. The end of the school day takes place at different times depending on the school, "one school finishes at 3pm, other finishes at 3.15pm and another at 3.30pm" (Margarida). Sometimes it also depends on the week, for schools functioning with week A and week B. Then, each school differs regarding the time of transition between main classes and after-school, "some schools only let us start at 4pm, others at 3pm" (Margarida). This means that "each school is a variable" and Margarida feels that she "can't create an algorithm for timetabling" (Margarida, Interview 1). Therefore, this is a highly demanding administrative task which is performed every year analogically, without the support of any specific timetabling software.

Reorganising the timetables was one of the first administrative tasks addressed by Margarida as she started her new position as coordinator in the academic year of 2011/2012 (see chapter 5). Having realised that the teachers were all "going many different places in the map, the same person going to the four cardinal points", she decided that this was inefficient, too expensive for the network and tiresome for the teachers (Margarida, Interview 1). The guiding principle to organise timetables became to begin by allocating one teacher to work full time in one school, then to proceed to one teacher working in two schools, through to the "impossible

timetables” (Margarida, Interview 1) where one teacher works in three to five different schools. The idea was “if someone works up north, northeast of London, they do not go to the southeast as well” (Margarida, Interview 1). For example, “in two secondary schools in Lambeth (...) there are enough students enrolled in the school and in the classes to justify a full-time timetable” (Margarida, Interview 1). In these two cases, a combination of *ensino integrado* and *ensino paralelo* hours within each school allow for the teachers to work full-time in the same school. In other schools, where there are small numbers of Portuguese pupils, the teacher “goes there and teaches a GCSE or A Level course once or twice a week” (Margarida, Interview 1). These hours are then complemented with teaching time elsewhere. To further exemplify, amongst the participants in this study, Maria was the only teacher working in one school, due to the unique circumstances of teaching Portuguese as the main curricular language and offering bilingual support within the school. Nuno and Natália worked in three different schools each, albeit around the centre of London. Ângela’s timetable included five different sites, all in different and dispersed areas. Hence, despite enormous efforts to reorganise the timetables, it was still a structure that imposed great administrative and logistical difficulties. Often mentioned in combination with the difficulties of planning for highly diverse class-groups was the scarce amount of contact time with the students in the *ensino paralelo* model:

Como é que eu posso preparar alunos? Como é que eu posso contribuir para desenvolver o português destes alunos em apenas duas horas por semana com níveis de conhecimento tão diferentes? (...) Não se consegue desenvolver grande coisa.

How can I prepare the students? How can I contribute to developing their Portuguese in only two hours per week with such a diverse range of language knowledge? (...) You can’t develop anything much. (Natália)

Nuno also mentioned the impact that this combination had on preparing pupils for different exam papers:

Neste grupo, alguns estão a trabalhar para o A Level 1 e outros estão a trabalhar para o A Level 2 (...). Há muito que fazer e eu sinto que se avança muito lentamente. Não tenho tempo suficiente. Normalmente dou uma tarefa a um grupo e deixo-os a trabalhar sozinhos enquanto preparo a tarefa para o outro grupo. Depois ando de grupo em grupo a dar-lhes apoio com as tarefas. Uma aula de duas horas é na realidade uma aula de uma hora por semana.

In this group, some are working for A Level 1 and others are working for A Level 2 (...). There is a lot to do and I feel that we move very slowly. I don’t have enough time.

I generally set a task for one group and then leave them working on their own while I set a task for the other group. Then I move from one group to the other to support them with their tasks. A two-hour class is in fact a one-hour class per week. (Nuno)

Hence, along with the difficulties imposed by the diverse range of levels and ages in the same class, the teachers in these circumstances found it very challenging to meaningfully teach these groups of pupils in such a short amount of time (two-hour class per week). Having to teach more than one syllabus or towards different exam papers means that the time is subdivided and as Nuno puts it a “two-hour class is in fact a one-hour class”. Natália reported that thirty years ago she would have been allowed to offer each group of students four hours tuition per week, while recently she was only allowed a maximum of two hours. She believed that the reduced amount of tuition time resulted from a combination of factors. Whilst the legal framework of the network imposed the two-hour rule, she believed that there were also added pressures in the mainstream. She remembered the restriction imposed by the school caretaker who would not stay for the extra hour and in doing so limited the window of opportunity for children to learn in that particular school. Additionally, her perception was that mainstream schools were intensely pressured for results since the implementation of the National Curriculum and that teachers had since allowed less time to converse with her and to excuse the children from classes earlier as they used to. She regretted the fact that the Portuguese language provision, being a free resource to schools, was not further included and accommodated by schools as part of their programmes of wraparound care for families and the community.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the overall timetabling process and the distribution of time for language teaching and learning are two related structures which are shaped by practices and policies at the national and international level and impose great administrative and pedagogical difficulties on the Portuguese language provision. These constraints have a greater impact on the *ensino paralelo* model, which needs to be supplemented by support hours in order to provide teachers with a full timetable. The combination of these factors also creates constraints for the implementation of new courses in new areas. If we consider that the *ensino paralelo* model arises from community initiatives, it is clear that it takes a very organised and determined group of parents to gather 24 Portuguese-speaking children within the same area ready to enrol for classes in any one given school.

As explored in Chapter 6, time and timetabling procedures seem to also reinforce the ideological valuing of the Portuguese language, whereby Portuguese as a community language is seen as less important than Portuguese as an international language integrated into the

mainstream curricula. The latter is easier to timetable and more convenient for the teachers as it allows them to stay in one school, rather than moving between five sites. Additionally, it allows teachers more contact time with the pupils, which facilitates planning language learning and teaching.

Social and Professional Relationships

One significant implication of moving between sites to teach in the after-school provision was that it offered the participant teachers little or no opportunity for developing any form of relationship with their peers in the mainstream, let alone to collaborate with them in any pedagogical activities. The quality and scope of relationships between the participant teachers and the schools was nuanced according to the model of provision offered. Then, the scattered nature of the provision also meant that there were very few opportunities throughout the year to meet with other Portuguese teachers working for the Portuguese Education Department, which again stifled opportunities for teachers to develop and sustain social and professional relationships and to engage with each other. Priestly et al. (2015) suggest that the nature of the relationships developed amongst teachers and their wider professional community have a powerful impact on the quality of their work. Whilst the previously explored ideas, values, beliefs and discourses of the Portuguese teachers (Chapter 6) relate to the domain of *cultural structures*, their social and professional relationships are in the domain of *social structures*. Where “effective structures to encourage such relationships” are in place, teachers are said to “cope more effectively with new policy” (2015:33). The purpose of this section is to look closer at the nature of the relationships developed and the ways in which they affect opportunities for language learning.

My visits to Nuno, Natália and Ângela, in the context of their after-school classes, found little evidence of any meaningful relationships taking place between the Portuguese teachers and their peers in mainstream schools. My visits to Maria’s primary school, on the other hand, found a largely contrasting situation. This contrast was clearly captured in the fieldnotes that I collected right after these visits to schools in September 2018:

The old, dilapidated school was replaced last year by a modern five-storey building, with bespoke high-level aluminium windows. Inside, it smelt of new materials and fresh paint. There was nothing on the walls, they were a white canvas. A lady came from within the back office and Nuno let her know that I was coming in with him. She asked

me to sign in and gave me a visitor card. There was no familiarity between her and Nuno. As we got up onto the first floor of this immaculate building, another lady was looking very frustrated with a photocopier in a corridor and asked Nuno for help. He solved the problem and we carried on. Kind, helpful strangers. We passed other people on our way to the classroom, but there was no interaction. As we entered the room, I noticed that Nuno was not pleased with the new arrangement of the tables, but he did not change them back. Again, there was nothing on the walls. At the end of the spacious room, two wide windows overlooked a sea of buildings somewhere in central London.

[Fieldnotes, 18 September 2017]

I arranged to meet Maria in school at 4pm. The school is a five-minute walk away from the tube station. Maria was waiting for me at the school gate. She was chatting away with a small group of pupils. We went into Reception and I signed in. Everyone was very friendly and chatty. Maria took me straight into the staff room – it's a spacious room, with a kitchen and dining area on one side and a sitting area on the other. Maria used the school spaces with great ease and confidence, really looking like she was at home there. (...) Members of staff walked in and out of the room and conversed with her about students and school activities. Maria knows everything that goes on in the school, she attends every meeting, training, special days, projects. (...) After the interview, Maria took me on a guided tour around the school. We went into most classrooms and I was impressed by the decorations and the quality of the work being exhibited – many involving Portuguese language and cultural aspects. Everything was laminated, colourful, glittery, large, hanging from the ceiling. I made a remark about it and Maria said proudly “We are an outstanding school!” (Fieldnotes, 18/09/2017)

The difference between the vignettes is striking and demonstrates powerfully the nature of relationships experienced by the two teachers in each context. In the first scene, Nuno was preparing to teach an after-school class and it was almost as if the coldness of the relationship between him and the school staff made me very aware of the coldness of the building itself. Everyone was a stranger, from the reception lady to the lady by the photocopier – probably a fellow teacher – and the various people we met in corridors and stairs. Then, the mixed feelings of discontent and powerlessness in the face of an unrequited change to his teaching

environment. In the second scene, Maria had just finished a day of work at school and was using the school space with great familiarity, like any other member of the staff would. I was struck by her final remark “we are an outstanding school” – that personal plural pronoun (*we*) indicating a collegial partnership.

The gradation in the interview excerpts below is significant and of great interest as it shows how the relationships of teachers with schools intensify according to their level of integration into school. Below, Nuno and Ângela talk about schools where they are teaching only after-school provision:

I have no connection with the school itself. It’s just a space for the courses to take place. It’s just a space. (Nuno)

You go in and out of school and you don’t see anyone, it’s really difficult to get through to them and to develop a relationship. (...) It’s almost impossible. You go in and come out, see nobody. (...) Here I feel like a complete outsider. (Ângela)

Then, the following comments from the same teachers are about schools where some of the activities provided take place within curricular time.

It’s different here as I am present in the school during the school day, teaching the A Level course. There is more of a connection with other teachers, not all of them, not completely, but... (Nuno)

When I was at another school, I used to start at eleven and leave the school at four. (...) I always had a chat with some of the teachers. I used to talk a lot about Portugal, what was on the news. Sometimes they asked and I had that role. We prepared a meal at the end of the year, we cooked some cod fish and brought some Portuguese tarts and gave it to all the teachers. (Ângela)

Then below, Maria comments on her relationship with the school where she works full-time:

I am completely part of the staff. They treat me like any other teacher. The same. (...) Here in this school I have made friends. (Maria)

The foregoing quotes illustrate how differences in the model of provision shape relationships differently. The more teachers use the school space during the day, to either teach curricular courses or to provide support hours, the deeper the relationships they create. Certainly, there is a personal dimension that plays a role in the depth of relationships between the teachers and other peers in the mainstream. Maria is naturally outgoing and affable and I would argue that this weighs heavily on the development of relationships. Nevertheless, the differences in

Nuno's and Ângela's first set and second set of accounts dilute any doubts that personality would be the only dimension shaping the nature of the relationships. At one point in the conversations, Ângela adds her thoughts on how she uses her support time with the students in the classroom to build rapport with the teachers:

As horas de apoio ajudam imenso porque estás lá durante o dia. Entras numa sala para dar apoio ao aluno e acabas por conhecer o professor de Inglês, por exemplo, ou o diretor de línguas, e eu penso que isso é muito bom.

Support hours help a lot as you are there during the day. You go into a classroom to support a student and you meet the English teacher, for example, or the head of languages, and I think that is really good. (Ângela)

Being integrated into the school day has allowed Maria to get on well with the staff and to develop trust-based relationships that provide opportunities for meaningful pedagogical collaboration, as we can see here:

Eu desenvolvi este projeto com a minha colega Alice. Ela dá aulas ao terceiro ano e nós planeámos aulas de arte em português em conjunto. Formas geométricas. Escrevemos a sequência didática juntas para a aula dela de arte; focámos num artista português e demos a aula em português.

I developed this project with my colleague, Alice. She teaches Year 3 and we planned art classes in Portuguese together. Geometrical shapes. We wrote the scheme of work together for her art topic; we focused on a Portuguese artist and taught the class in Portuguese. (Maria)

It was noticeable that when the language provision was delivered within curricular time and the teachers had access to the school premises they were able to create a relationship with other members of the school.

There were also tensions regarding the development of relationships amongst the teachers within the Portuguese Department. Margarida talked about the initial difficulties she felt in the face of having her staff scattered across the country.

No início, uma coisa que foi diferente, um desafio, foi trabalhar com pessoas que não estão aqui mas que têm de funcionar como se se tratasse de uma escola, mas que estão todas dispersas e raramente se encontram.

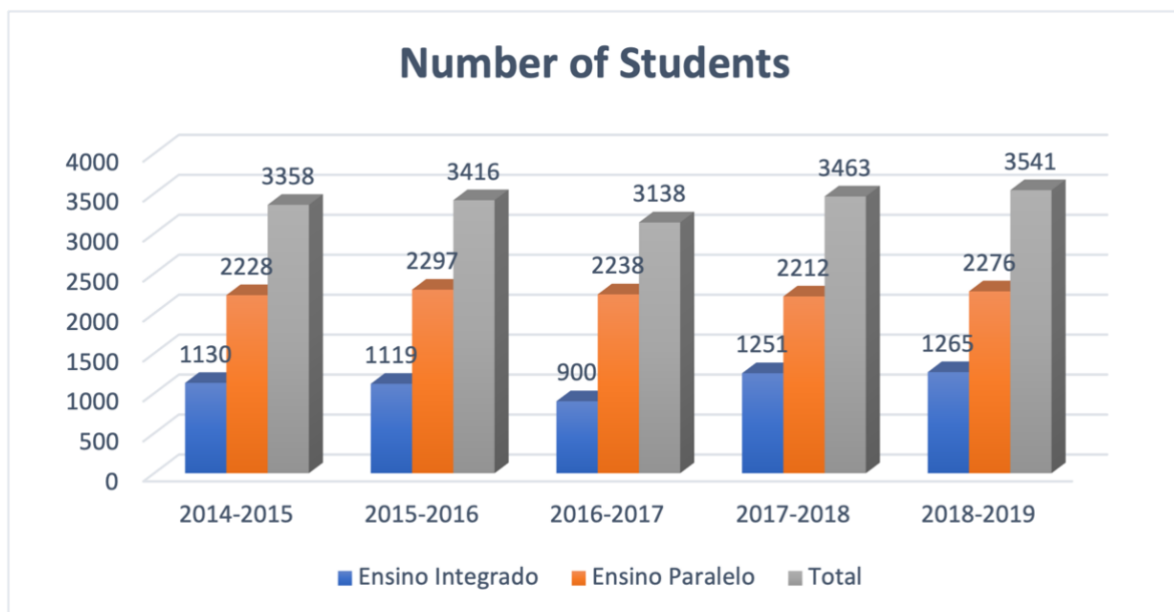
In the beginning, something that was different, a challenge, was to work with people who are not here and still have to function like a school, but who are all dispersed and rarely meet. (Margarida)

A lot of Margarida’s work throughout her years in role was to build up these formal structures and to create opportunities for formal and informal encounters on a more regular and systematic basis for the team of teachers in the Portuguese Department, understanding however the limitations imposed by the idiosyncrasy of this form of language provision. This leads the discussion to planning and monitoring structures, in the next section.

Planning and Monitoring Structures

Figure 16 (below) compiles data collected within the database of the Portuguese Department and was produced for a meeting with senior members of Camões in April 2020. It serves the purpose of demonstrating that, over the five years (2014-2019), the total number of school-aged children benefiting from the Portuguese language provision offered by Camões in the United Kingdom and the States of Jersey has remained fairly constant.

Figure 16: Number of students between 2014-2019



In accordance with the numbers displayed in the graph above, there is an average of 3,383 pupils. Circa one third of these are in the *ensino integrado* model and two thirds in the *ensino paralelo*. A closer look at this data shows an increase of 2% for *ensino paralelo* and an increase of 12% for *ensino integrado*, over the five-year period. Hence, the numbers indicate a fairly stable demand for the after-school provision and a slow but constant increase in the demand

for the curricular offer. This is not a surprising tendency considering Margarida's plan to "persuade more schools to offer Portuguese as a foreign language" – certainly, the more schools that are persuaded to do so, the more the number of students will increase.

In terms of how the provision is planned, Margarida explained during her interviews that as and when demand for Portuguese language increases, either as an after-school or a curricular activity, she requests of head office that teachers are sent over from Portugal. However, in practice, given the minor rise in student numbers and Margarida's efficient organisation and timetabling of teachers, the need to ask for additional teaching resources rarely arises. The number of teachers over the five-year period actually increased from 24 to 26. Therefore, head office's appetite and ability to produce or sanction additional teaching resources has not been tested at anything other than a relatively small scale. As such there is no evidence as to what Camões Lisbon's reaction might be if there was a substantial change in pupil numbers.

Margarida explained that the decision to allocate more teachers for overseas missions, including England, is taken at a ministerial level, within the finance ministry, and is dependent upon a number of macro-level governmental and national constraints, most important of which is the state of the Portuguese economy. She says:

isto não é uma decisão do Camões. Nós estamos a sair de um plano de austeridade, todas as contratações públicas continuam a ter de ser autorizadas pelo Ministério das Finanças.

this is not a decision made by Camões. We are emerging from an austerity plan, and all public contracts still need to be authorised by the Ministry of Finances.

It is unclear as to what response Margarida would receive to a request for additional teachers. Such lack of clarity restrains her from planning further engagements with schools where she could provide opportunities for learning and thereby grow the Portuguese provision in England. The data collected as a result of the formal enrolment procedure, which was digitalised in the academic year of 2013/2014, provides detailed personal information about the students attending after-school provision, such as their age range and year groups, their place of birth and their geographical distribution in the host country. It also provides a battery of linguistic and sociolinguistic data, such as information about the linguistic proficiency of the pupils (A1-C1 of the CEFRL), as well as information about the language or languages spoken at home and with friends. This information is starting to be used centrally for mapping and understanding the network, its profile and concomitant educational needs. However, as seen earlier in this chapter, such data is collected only for the pupils in the *ensino paralelo* and no equivalent data

exists for students in the *ensino integrado*. Thus, the monitoring of the educational opportunities of such students is limited.

As part of the planning and monitoring procedures, Margarida engages in a limited number of sporadic formal meetings with officials from head office in Lisbon and her peer group of administrators where important events are discussed. They are information-giving in nature rather than decisive. She also organises meetings with her staff in London, including formal meetings at the start of the academic year, then one meeting per term and a final meeting at the end of the school year. She maintains monthly meetings with the deputy coordinator and the three teachers who perform administrative functions in the Department.

According to Margarida, in the last two years (2015-2017), she has increased and regularised the number of formal staff meetings, whose content includes guidelines to the teachers about the relationship with the schools, the parents and the community and about pedagogical practice. The latter is supplemented throughout the year with training and continuous professional development and also updates on organisational procedures.

As for the participant teachers, they reported feeling disenfranchised from planning and decision-making processes. For example, Nuno commented thus:

Se eu tenho uma perceção de como o processo vai do topo até à minha aula? Não, não tenho. Suponho que isso é complexo. As coisas nem sempre acontecem como são planeadas. Não sinto que haja um plano de como as nossas aulas se encaixam nesses grandes planos.

If I have a perception of how the process flows from the top to the classroom? No, I don't. I suppose that is complex. Things don't happen as they are planned. I don't feel that there is a plan of how our work in the classes fits into those big plans. (Nuno)

He added to this that there was a lack of opportunities to discuss strategy and that he felt left out of this discussion. Also, Ângela commented that “we are thrown in the deep end” and Natália indicated that teachers should be actively involved in creating “the big plan”. Their comments gave a sense of lack of engagement and participation in policy and planning decisions and a desire to be more involved.

An important structural feature of the network, as previously mentioned, is that the teachers all work in different schools, which are geographically dispersed. Note should be taken that the teachers working in the after-school provision often have no formal or informal meetings or encounters with the mainstream school colleagues and staff. Generally, this can be mainly due

to the unfortunate clashing of timetables of these professionals. Whereas schools tend to organise departmental meetings and subject group meetings at the end of the school day, for the Portuguese teachers this is when their classes take place. Therefore, they are unable to attend and collaborate in any of these meetings. This accounts for Ângela's comment that she learnt from her students about the English educational system and the pedagogical practices of the local teachers rather than from collaboration and planning with mainstream colleagues.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how Portuguese language policies are put into action in schools in England. When the language was delivered within curricular time as well as after school and the teachers had access to the school premises, materials and human resources, just like any other member of staff, they were able to propose projects that allowed for curricular innovation, such as CLIL modules. When the language provision occurred only after school, there were fewer opportunities for collaboration and one teacher mentioned that she was not really teaching, but merely providing "experiences in Portuguese" (Ângela) due to the limited amount of contact time per week and the diverse range of language and literacy proficiency of the learners attending each class. The model of provision is to a great extent determined by institutional and social structures that are external to the Portuguese language provision. Practices such as the differing structures of the school week or managerial systems within the schools regarding the language curriculum or the physical use of school space all contribute to shape each school's response to the partnership being proposed.

Harking back to the chapter's opening quote by Antony Liddicoat (2018), the tensions between structure and agency are well evidenced here. The appropriation of Portuguese language policies in England depends upon the permanent negotiation that goes on between the Portuguese educators, the mainstream teachers and the sociocultural context. The Portuguese educators contribute to shaping some of the structures in which they act. This was most visible when they pried open ideological and implementational spaces in the schools for Portuguese. For example, the courses opened by Ângela in collaboration with a group of agentive parents, reported in the first section of the chapter. Then, various aspects of the pre-existing structures also shaped relationships and influenced appropriation. For example, time and timetabling, decision-making processes or the social and professional relationships developed between the various social actors. All of the above contributing to the view of a dialogic relationship

between agency and structure, whereby structure mediates agency and agency changes structure (Liddicoat 2018). More attention is required to the nature of those negotiations. Chapter 8 will deepen these reflections as it presents the final conclusions and implications of the study.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications

Introduction

This thesis contributes to the body of research addressing the study of language policy. Arising from my own personal and professional experiences and concerns around multilingualism in educational contexts, around languages in school and in society and around language learning and teaching (Chapter 1), it set out to investigate how Portuguese language policies are (re)-created, interpreted and put into action by a group of five key educators working in schools around England. In doing so, this research tackled at least two main gaps in the literature. Firstly, it examined a legal framework around language education and language promotion that is centrally formulated in one country, Portugal, and is then implemented and executed in a different country, England. Relatively few studies in the field of language policy have peered into this type of direct intervention into language education in a different educational jurisdiction (see Liddicoat 2013). The transnational nature of the Portuguese policy process creates specific tensions and brings new nuances to the debate on the interplay of multiple scales, such as the supranational, national, institutional and individual, in the process of policymaking. As Hult (2015: 225) notes “[b]y examining multiple actions across different scales, a holistic picture of the policy system and discursive connections among its parts begins to emerge.” Secondly, this research focusses directly on the process of Portuguese language policymaking in the context of Portuguese language learning and teaching in England whereas other research in the same context has focussed predominantly on the linguistic and academic attainment of Portuguese-speaking students (for example, Abreu et al. 2003 or Barradas 2004). Although these studies, as well as studies about multilingualism, bilingual education, heritage, second or foreign language acquisition may be relevant to this study, they are not what is at its core. Following Johnson (2013:43-44), this study “focuses squarely on language policy processes, emerges from the LPP literature, asks language policy research questions, incorporates policy text and discourse as units of analysis, and presents findings about language policies, specifically”.

This final chapter begins by presenting the findings as answers to the main research questions of the study, followed by a reflective section on the limitations found. After this exercise, some theoretical and methodological contributions of the research are presented before concluding with recommendations and directions for both the future of language policy research and that of Portuguese language provision in England.

How has the Formulation of Portuguese Language Policy Changed Over Time?

The thorough analysis of the legal framework for the provision of Portuguese overseas carried out in Chapter 4 of this dissertation illuminated the main discursive turning points in the policy text. It showed how the ideological orientation of the policy broadened as a result of the changing socio-political and historical context. In the late 1960s, the first policy text produced aimed at supporting the Portuguese emigrant community in maintaining connections to the homeland. Resources were allocated to facilitate and improve the educational initiatives taking place at grassroots level. The idea was that the courses should give the emigrant communities the opportunity to access the Portuguese National Curriculum for language, history and geography of Portugal and to be admitted to the national exam for completion of Portuguese elementary education while living abroad. It was shown that this governmental support could have been perceived as a covert mechanism to supervise the communities at a time when Portugal was still under Salazar's dictatorial rule. Therefore, Portuguese language and culture were the single unifying elements of an overseas policy that seemed to be oriented towards solving two non-linguistic, nation-centred problems: on one hand, the illiteracy of the emigrant population and, on the other, their ability to be free-thinking people, a quality which undoubtedly the Salazar regime would rather atrophy.

It was then shown how the first revision of the policy text, which took place after the change of the political regime to a democracy, in the late 1970s, took a language-as-right orientation (Ruiz 1984). The discourses became centred around the protection of educational and language related rights. The text emphasized the right of Portuguese citizens to access the Portuguese language and culture through education even when living outside the geographic borders of the nation. Portuguese Constitutional and Educational Laws further substantiated this ideological orientation by enshrining access to the language as a right of every Portuguese citizen. As a result, the method favoured to achieve the goals was to integrate Portuguese language, culture, geography and history into the educational systems of the host countries and to provide educational support to the emigrant communities. It was unclear however what integration entailed and how it was to be achieved. The policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006) in use were still the Portuguese educational programmes and pedagogical methodologies.

Finally, it was shown how, in 2006, the Portuguese language policy broadened from a single goal to overtly expressing twin goals. The first being the affirmation and dissemination of Portuguese as a world language and the second being its role as a community language. While the previous discursive emphasis on integrating the language was related to ideas of social

justice for its speakers, the emphasis on language integration was now meant to dignify the language. Integration was still a vague concept which was very much open to interpretation. What did integration mean? Did it mean integrating the language as something that was offered by the school? Did it mean it would be offered as a foreign language? Or did it mean negotiating a better relationship between the teachers and the schools so that the language continued to be taught as a community language but in an improved way? Were the teachers to teach the language as means to access the National Curriculum? Or would integration mean negotiating aspects of the Portuguese culture, history and geography into the local curricula? Alongside this discourse of integration, the mechanisms to achieve language dignity were designed in the shape of new textbooks, new programmes and certification, all in accordance with the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and its Portuguese version (QuAREPE). These seemed to insert the provision of Portuguese in a Foreign Affairs agenda which continued to broaden the scope of the policy goals without concomitantly expanding the methods and mechanisms engendered to achieve them.

In sum, the goals of the Portuguese official policies expanded over the years and the mechanisms designed to achieve those goals narrowed and were progressively standardised. Using a single framework, specification and textbooks for all students is a one size fits all approach that aligns well with the phenomenon of language learning as a commodified product. Language commodification (Pujolar 2018:485) or as Ruiz might have put it “language-as-commodity” is an ideological orientation whereby language is taken as a product for consumption, a basic economic good which Pujolar explains thus:

new ways of talking and using language are appearing in which the economic is made prominent; [...] people and organizations now talk about language in ways that foreground their concerns about money, profits, or social mobility. And researchers believe that these new discourses emerge because the overall economic system is changing, that we have entered a phase called *post-industrial capitalism* or *late capitalism* in which linguistic performance is more central to processes of production than it used to be. (Pujolar 2018:487)

Chapter 4 showed these precise concerns being foregrounded in policy statements that highlight the language as a “cultural, scientific, political and economic added value” (DL 65-A/2016). Furthermore, the analysis confirmed that this paradigm of language as an economic asset does not necessarily conflict with the traditional one of language as an emblem of national identity (Pujolar 2018:501). Instances of the policy text also enhance the “new realities of the Portuguese diaspora” and the promotion of the language as a “factor of identity”, aligning with

Pujolar's argument that "the creation of new products and services is often done by recasting ideas and values attached to languages that derive from this nation-state paradigm". In Chapter 5, it was clear how this new approach puzzled Natália when she reflected about the return of the latest policy text to discourses around "heritage language" and when she questioned whether this could be "a strategy to maintain the link between emigrants and the country" (Chapter 5). Indeed, it seems that it could. And it is vital that future research reflects upon this. One theoretical claim that the analysis of the macro level policy text also evidenced was that policy writing is its own genre (Johnson 2013a). It is a particular style of writing with its own literary conventions, organisational features and established stylistic criteria, as shown in Chapter 4. A very prominent characteristic of the genre is that it relies on "intertextual connections to a diversity of past and present language policy texts and discourses" (Johnson 2013a:117). It was clear in the analysis carried out that each new formulation of the Portuguese policy text added a new layer of language, leaving chunks of old text intact and changing or replacing others, imprinting the indelible mark of its time. It is precisely the relevance of this mark of time that justified the approach of tracing the history of the Portuguese policies as a way of better understanding and illuminating the ideologies that circulate within and around the policy texts and to consider how they perpetuate the interests of the nation-state and, consequently, tends to be bound up with the reproduction of social inequality. Indeed, the ideological progression of the Portuguese overseas policies from problem-solving to protecting language rights and to language-as-commodity comes through clearly in the analysis of the policy texts, as does its increasing tendency to foreground the statistics regarding numbers of speakers and to stress the language's international status. It would not be novel to remark that there is a characteristic lack of modesty (Ager 2003:129) in the genre of official macro level policy writing, which can be clearly confirmed here in statements as "the affirmation of Portugal in the World" (DL 65-A/2016). But this "imperialist" tone (Phillipson 1992) of macro-level policy has been duly criticised for echoing and normalising colonialist ideologies around languages. Such that, other macro level overseas language policies, for example those of the British Council or the Alliance Française, have tended to divert to a greater discursive focus on reciprocity and intercultural dialogue (Liddicoat 2013:172-199), to justify the ethical dimension of their activities (Ager 2003:131). To the extent that discourse both reflects and shapes social order (Jaworski and Coupland 1993, in Johnson 2013a:153), Portuguese macro-level policymakers need to carefully consider this discursive construction of relationships in future policy drafts (a good guide here is Liddicoat 2013).

Still, it remains to be said that another stylistic characteristic of the genre is a good degree of vagueness. Johnson (2013a:117) observed that policy language often “satisfies everyone partially and no one completely but receives the support of a majority of its creators nonetheless”. The very fact that some discursive occurrences, like “community language”, “world language” or “language integration”, are so vague is what allows for policymakers at various levels of activity to explore the various semiotic possibilities of policy texts and to recreate and appropriate language policies in ways that open important ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger 2002) for the great variety of language users. That characteristic vagueness of the macro level policy text genre is very much the reason why there is often great room for interpretation. It is a confirmation that any analysis of macro-level policy text, as it was carried out here, needs to be carefully balanced with an ethnographic understanding of what goes on in the local context – which leads the discussion to the second overarching question of this study.

How is Portuguese Language Policy Interpreted?

Combining the analysis of official policy text and discourse with narratives and ethnographic scrutiny revealed a less explored side of language policy interpretation. Using three-part phenomenological interviews meant meeting the participants on three occasions, each occasion zooming deeper into their interpretations and into the concrete aspects and details of their experience, with each occasion adding more pieces to the very complex puzzle. Then the visits to the participants’ schools and classes allowed partaking in daily routines (at times accompanying them from their homes to the schools, other times travelling together between settings) and engaging in practices (walking around the schools with the teachers, taking part in some of their classes and chatting to school staff, pupils and parents). This all contributed to presenting the educators as whole persons, each following their life trajectories, rather than being pictured as static and indistinct agents of language policymaking. It was evident, for example, how Maria’s interpretation of the policy changed as her teaching context and circumstances changed from teaching in the after-school provision to being integrated into a school where she felt like a “real teacher” (Chapter 5).

In Chapter 5, these life trajectories were explored in relation to the implementation of the policies and the narratives produced by the key participants were permeated by emotions. All the participants were passionate about language learning and teaching and education, and they were proud delegates of their language and culture. They were all profoundly knowledgeable

about the local context of language learning and teaching. They were all highly educated professionals, either attending or having completed master's degree programmes and/or doctorates in the areas of Literature, Language and Culture and/or Education. Yet, from the first events of ethnographic data collection, it was clear that the participants' engagement with the official legal framework and its impact on their pedagogical practice was fragmented and partial. Then, some revealing tensions started to emerge. All participants talked about times when they felt isolated and disorientated. These feelings were principally related to the initial phase of planning and starting the new role. But they also generally expressed a need for more formal and informal opportunities for sharing experiences with peers and more institutional support. For teachers, this meant sharing experiences with other teachers; for Margarida, this meant sharing experiences with senior coordinators in different countries and the line managers in Lisbon. They all talked emotionally about the adventures of finding and sorting accommodation and basic utilities, such as bank accounts, mobile phones and internet services; and they talked about the exploration phase of the new role, of finding their feet and understanding needs and expectations of the new organisation they were entering into – these features were important to them. As protagonists of the provision of Portuguese language in England, the stories of these educators provide an overall picture of what features can be improved upon in order to create more collaborative and engaging working conditions for all. These will be addressed in the section about recommendations and directions for future research ahead.

In Chapter 6, the analysis focussed specifically on policy interpretations at the micro, meso and macro levels of policy enactment, in relation to the core areas of status, corpus, acquisition and prestige planning. The chapter confirmed language policy research claims about the role of the individual educator as an “interpretive conduit” (Johnson 2013a) of policy text and discourse. Margarida, the senior administrator, interpreted the goals of the Portuguese overseas language policies to promote the status of Portuguese both as a community language and as an international language. She was determined to integrate more classes of Portuguese into the mainstream curricula as a main foreign language and had meetings with headteachers to discuss this possibility. Her understanding was that this type of integration would facilitate and nurture both the acquisition of the language by new learners and its maintenance by the community. Natália and Nuno, two of the key participant teachers, also interpreted the policy as promoting both Portuguese as a community and as an international language directed at a broader audience of learners. But they showed concern about the emphasis of the policy on the latter. They could not comprehend how this goal could be achieved given the language learning backdrop of

England, which they believed was unwelcoming to Portuguese as a main foreign language. They were also determined to protect the provision as a service to the community. This is clear in Natália's statement that "Camões is a complementary school". Therefore, they continued to focus their efforts on promoting and teaching Portuguese as a community language. Evidentially, they did not perceive the connection between their practice and the goal of internationalisation.

Ângela was also focused on promoting and teaching the language as a community language. Her reading of the policy suggested to her that it was all about "passing the language from generation to generation". That is, the function served by the Portuguese language was that of a means of communication amongst the members of the Portuguese emigrant community in England.

Maria, as the only participant teaching Portuguese as a main foreign language at a primary school, claimed to rely on "the network" to interpret the policy for her – "the network" here being interpreted as her colleagues and line management. Her views led me to look closer at the literature on ecological approaches to teacher agency (Priestley et al. 2015:158) to illuminate the importance of "the network" in facilitating sense-making and the collaborative development of better educational practice. Her collaboration with the primary school and the nature of the relationships she establishes with her peers in that context were further explored in Chapter 7. These relationships and the way that they influenced her practice explained her view of Portuguese as a transitory form of competence for her pupils. She saw herself as a facilitator in the process of acquisition of "the mental structures" that enable pupils to later learn the commonly offered standard foreign languages, like French or Spanish (Chapter 6). This interpretation does not seem to particularly align with either the goal of language internationalisation for Portuguese or that of promoting its maintenance as a community language.

This chapter highlights one of the key findings of this study, which is that the teachers do not explicitly reject the broader goals of the policy, yet they do not adopt them either. They do not seem to have a shared understanding of the policy gained from discussion guided at the meso level, with a clear view on how that macro-level vision and goals of the policy applies to their specific context and pedagogical practice. This lack of connection is explicitly stated by Nuno when he says "that there is no common goal" and "the teachers are a bit lost in that sense" or when Natália comments that "teachers should be encouraged to participate actively in that plan as a team" (Chapter 5).

This shared understanding would enable the teachers to connect their classroom practice to the policy goals – Priestley et al. (2015:163) conclude as much when they write that

purposeful (and protective) leadership is essential. (...) The key issue here is the establishment of structures and cultures that are propitious to collegial professional working.

This is naturally to be built in the knowledge that “such factors can never be controlled completely” (ibid:163). Any negotiation of an implementational and ideological space (Hornberger 2002) for a less-commonly taught language will be mediated by a series of negotiations taking place in a dynamic way across different levels and moments of the educators’ experience and interaction with others. These negotiations will be shaped by the interlocutors’ personal histories and traits, attitudes and beliefs about language education and by the wider ideologies, beliefs and practices which in turn are in permanent negotiation with the surrounding social and professional structures and available educational resources. Still,

getting these conditions and processes right increases the chances of the constructive development of teacher belief systems, professional discourses and professional knowledge that will in turn contribute to the future achievement of a more expansive form of teacher agency (ibid: 163).

How is Portuguese Language Policy Appropriated in England?

As was discussed in Chapter 2, appropriation and interpretation are closely tied processes (Johnson 2013a). The appropriation of a policy depends on its interpretation by those implementing it. The agents of policy implementation may explicitly or implicitly reject the policy and they may fully or partially adopt it in their practices (see Johnson2013a:237). In Chapter 7, the discussion moved from the teachers’ interpretations and beliefs to their appropriation of policy.

The first analytical exercise carried out was to examine the two main types of Portuguese language provision being offered by the Portuguese Government to schools in England – essentially, the provision that takes place outside school hours and the one that takes place inside school hours.

Regarding the provision taking place outside school hours, it is relevant to reiterate that it constituted the bulk of the offer. The Portuguese teachers used this model of provision to teach communicative language competences in Portuguese – linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic, as identified in the CEFRL – to prepare pupils for a Portuguese exam and for the

British national examinations. Very importantly, they also used these classes to promote socialisation and a sense of belonging amongst the families. This was done through the promotion of many activities - for example, the poetry reading competition mentioned by Margarida and the key teachers. These kinds of events also involved sharing food and drinks and enjoying being together.

One important finding was that the demand for this provision continues to surge mainly from the grassroots, with representatives of the community requesting that Portuguese courses start in their local area. These classes are valued immensely in the community – the same families continuously enrol their children for classes. In one of our interviews, Natália talked about her “grand-students” (alunos-netos) – the children and grand-children of her first students.

From the perspective of the Portuguese Department and its teachers, this provision presents several challenges. Administratively, it involves the burden of finding and hiring premises, the difficulties of planning and timetabling and the complication of enrolment fees. Pedagogically, the challenges are even greater. The teachers mentioned the difficulties of providing a single class covering diverse ages and proficiencies, the scarcity of contact time with the pupils, and the lack of connection between the Portuguese teachers and the schools. As Nuno mentioned, the school becomes “just a hired place” (Chapter 5). I would add here that during my time in role as deputy director, which coincided with the start of the COVID-19 pandemic (see reflection later in this chapter), more and more schools outsourced the management of their premises. Thus, any hiring arrangements became completely external to and independent from the staff within the school, further distancing these professionals.

Turning now to the provision that takes place inside school hours, there were some important findings that is relevant to restate. First, that the beneficiaries of this model were still largely children with a Portuguese-speaking background. Second, that the Portuguese teachers have developed stronger relationships with the schools which in turn have allowed them to propose and deliver more than one type of opportunity and incentive for learning the Portuguese language. Working inside school hours allowed the key teachers to spend time with both the pupils and the schoolteachers providing bilingual support in many different ways. One way was as a tool to support pupils accessing curricular content while in the process of acquiring the dominant language. Ângela emphasised how the schools, the students and the families valued this work (Chapter 5 and 6). Another way was offering the Portuguese GCSE and A Level specification within the school timetable. As demonstrated in Chapter 7, this involves a complex negotiation with the schools centred around timetabling and the distribution of time for language teaching. Lastly, and in only one primary school, Portuguese was being offered

as a foreign language to the whole school, including here pupils for whom Portuguese was not a home/heritage language. Here all types of provision mentioned were being offered simultaneously by one of the participants as a main teacher with a second teacher delivering the after-school provision. This gave Maria the opportunity to develop innovative pedagogical activities, in collaboration with her mainstream colleagues, including all pupils in the school (Chapter 5).

My analysis of the data gathered during this ethnographic study showed that decision-making processes within schools mirror broader processes of resistance to change – there is a tendency to preserve the status quo (Cooper 1989). Headteachers were seen as passing on decisions about language provision to other members of staff, who passed them on to other areas of decision-making. This included even the caretaker, who by default often became the main decision maker. It was at the confluence of these institutional decision-making processes and the requests of the emigrant communities that the type of language provision offered in each school was designed.

My study also showed that it was unusual for decisions to be made by one single language policy arbiter, such as a powerful headteacher in a school. This seems to contradict the literature that dichotomizes language policy arbiters and implementers (Johnson 2013:100-101). Decisions were seen to be influenced by agentive local communities of pupils and parents, often aided by agentive teachers. This is an important finding and one that is central in any negotiation with schools over the provision. Here, the onus is also on the Portuguese Department to clarify their position as an educational partner among equals rather than as a tenant of particular school premises.

The chapter also made clear that agency – that of teachers or community members – was mediated by several structural elements, which were both inter-twined with and collectively impacted upon the implementation of Portuguese classes. For example, the timetabling of the teachers interacted with those of the schools which then affected the social and professional relationships amongst the teachers. Another example of structural complexity was the difficulty of planning and monitoring progress of the team of Portuguese teachers because of the geographic dispersion of the network and the high number of relationships with multiple schools, each of which has different working rhythms and cultures.

Finally, the two types of provision described above, *ensino paralelo* (outside school hours) and *ensino integrado* (inside school hours) were not always complementary. For instance, they were often delivered independently in the same school and the pupil data was separate and not shared between schools and the Department, even when taught by the same teacher.

Limitations of the Study

It is hoped that the study here reported has been discussed with an awareness of its limitations and possible criticisms. Regarding the selection and number of participants, it is important to consider that the “range of people and sites from which the sample is selected should be fair to the larger population” (Seidman 2006:52). In 2017, the total cohort of teachers is twenty-four, with one senior administrator, who is female. Of the four participant teachers selected, three were female (of twenty-one) and one was male (of three). Each one of the participating teachers had considerable experience of the two types of provision (see above) and had taught and/or were teaching in a variety of schools where different structural and social relationships had developed. It was considered that any issues related to the representativeness of the sample were superseded by presenting the experience of the participants “in compelling enough detail and in sufficient depth that those who read the study can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the issues it reflects” (Seidman 2006:51). Furthermore, data analysis identified significant patterns in the ways that the group of participants were affected by common structural, institutional and social conditions, even though their personal and professional trajectories differed.

Criticism could be advanced that the study did not focus in detail on a single site. However, this study was designed with a view to investigating multi-site provision, including different geographical, social and institutional spaces. It involved meeting and listening to the research participants as they worked across these different spaces and networks. Zimmermann (2017) points out that multi-site research allows for a better understanding of social processes and for a deeper understanding of the links between the different sites. Had this study been focused on a single school, it would not have been possible to understand these networks, the nuances of policy appropriation and the negotiations taking place amongst the policy agents.

Incorporating participants at different levels of institutional authority is an important part of accounting for how policies are (re-)created, interpreted and appropriated inside and outside the classroom (Johnson 2015:171). There were no interviews with macro-level policy authors, only meso and micro level actors. An attempt to balance this limitation was the participation and analysis of the contributions at the Lancaster encounter, where macro, meso and micro level agents were involved (see Chapter 6).

All research studies have limitations. It is perhaps wise to think of the limitations as the image of a scientist on the moving verge of knowing – the immaterial place where one formulates new questions which one did not know to ask at the start of the research expedition. These

limitations and the new questions they pose open possibilities and directions for future research and contributions. This is what the following sections are about.

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Structure and Agency

Theoretical discussions around the tension between “the coercive forces of the state and other powerful institutions and the creative potential of individuals and their communities” (Tollefson 2013:29) in shaping language policymaking have fallen short of capturing the negotiations occurring as part of the complementary and dialectic relationship between structure and agency. It might be claimed that “structure and agency are mutually constitutive and have equal ontological status” (Liddicoat 2018:150) and that “both macro and micro discourses, and both structure and agency, can emerge in a single discursive event and shape a single policy document” (Johnson 2018). However, it is also the case that researchers of LPP need to adopt a wider lens and give on-going attention on “the interface between individual’s life trajectories and the culture and practices of the classroom, the street, the playground, or the home, and how these are linked with national and international ideologies, discourses and policies” (Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018).

Exploring the individual trajectories of the five participants in relation to their interpretations and appropriation of the Portuguese language policies in England over time contributed to the theoretical discussion above and to positioning language policy as a “dynamic process that stretches across time” and language policy appropriation as a “link in a chain of policy process in which all actors potentially have input” (Johnson 2009:142). From the language learner to the teacher and the administrator, to the intricacy of the different social and professional networks to which they belong and with which they identify, each one, individually and collectively, contribute to shaping those negotiations. It is this individual and collective behaviour that frames that complementary and dialectic relationship between structure and agency. This relationship is fuzzier than any macro-micro level dichotomy will ever be able to depict.

Chapters 5 and 6 provided evidence of how Margarida and the teachers showed different understandings of the policy texts and of the explicit goals therein. They also showed how social and professional networks were vital for these policy actors as their sources of support

and meaning making. Then, Chapter 7 showed how these interpretations were interdependent and intersected by a multitude of multi-layered structures and intersecting agencies. For example, it was shown how the class timetabling affected both the opportunities for learning and the relationships of the teachers and students with the various agents in schools.

In his doctoral dissertation, Johnson (2007:252) argued that the “metaphor of an onion accurately portrays the complexity of and interconnectedness between the layers of language policy creation, interpretation, and implementation”. This metaphor has been taken further, with the onion being sliced (Hornberger and Johnson 2007: 509) and stirred ethnographically (Menken and Garcia 2010), and it has continued to be quoted in most current LPP theoretical reflections (see Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018). Yet, one cannot but notice that layering denotes a rather organised activity: one can place something as a layer, form or arrange in layers and one can separate into layers (according to Merriam and Webster online dictionary). My empirical research provides evidence of language policy activities that are not always organised and layered, rather many language policy efforts happen in fits and starts. The setting up of the Anglo-Portuguese bilingual school, which is hoped to be the aim of much future research, is one such example. The negotiations between Margarida and the headteachers, those between the teachers and other teachers, parents and caretakers, provide many more examples of the complexity of such processes.

My research findings contribute to Liddicoat’s (2018:150) observation that “structure is not simply determining of human actions, but also is constituted by those actions and it is the interaction between agency and structure that creates the spaces in which human beings can act (...); structure may constrain action but action can change structure”. These findings indicate that theoretical reflections and methodological procedures might benefit from moving on from the metaphor of an onion to a more complex theoretical and methodological construct that combines individual and collective trajectories, networks and processual iteration. The next section proposes some ways forward.

Engagement Planning

The conceptual framework of this dissertation took as a starting point the notion of language policy as a mechanism that impacts the function, structure, use and/or acquisition of language (Johnson 2013a). It was argued that language policy could be explicit official regulation, in written form, such as the Portuguese legal framework (Chapter 4); it could also be unofficial,

unwritten, implicit or covert, and connected to circulating ideologies, discourses and effective practices, such as those of the Portuguese teachers and administrators in this study (Chapters 6 and 7). McCarty (2011) emphasized that it was established that the “policy” element of “language policy” refers to the power within these mechanisms to regulate language, legitimising or invalidating the functions and structures of languages and specifying which can be learnt, taught and used in education and in society, ultimately affecting social and educational opportunity.

While “policy” is about regulating (McCarty 2012), it has been argued that ‘planning’ is about influencing the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocations of their language codes” (Cooper 1989:45). Johnson (2013a: 174-176) argues for expanding the community of individuals who “influence” the development of language policies, as this will create a more open, inclusive and egalitarian discourse. He calls for a framework that includes teachers and administrators working collaboratively in action-research projects, engaging in decision-making together: planning, acting, observing and reformulating critically informed language policies. According to Johnson (2013a), this approach is

Educational language policy engagement and action research (ELPEAR) [which] requires collaboration in policy engagement and research, the goal of which is to challenge deficit discourses and promote social justice in education. (Johnson 2013a:170).

Specifically, the features proposed by Johnson (2013a:175-180) for this action research cycle are that language planning is:

- 1) *Collaborative and participatory*: involving a diversity of people, from different levels of authority.
- 2) *Inclusive of different types of data as evidence*: including quantitative and qualitative studies.
- 3) *Comprehensive*: developing a critical understanding of the macro-level policies that influence educational practice, including past policy successes and failures.
- 4) *Comparative*: develops an understanding of how similar policy processes developed in other contexts.
- 5) *Informed by research*: including research in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and educational practice.

The combination of these categories and features and my theoretical and methodological reflections with the collection of observations and evidence resulting from my ethnographic study lead me to propose that Johnson’s (2013a) approach is taken further. I would suggest that

ELPEAR (Johnson 2013a:170-214) should be adopted as a fifth focus or core area of language planning and policy called *engagement planning*.

Engagement planning would thus refer to the *process* or *cycle* of language policymaking and it should be useful as both a methodological and theoretical framework of analysis for language planning and policy activity. It would be built on the argument that language planning and policy frameworks have diverged from a focus on both the *methods* (opportunity and incentive) and the *process* (of engagement) of language policy development and implementation (see discussion in Chapter 2). Such a reconceptualized framework would yield at least six segments (Figure 17), here represented within an iterative loop, including the features proposed by Johnson and adding to them.

Figure 17: Engagement Planning – preliminary proposal



Note: This is a preliminary proposal that builds on Johnson’s (2013a:170-214) ELPEAR approach.

Each of the segments within the diagram above represents a key dimension of engagement planning. One segment concerns the agents involved in the process of decision making. It is proposed that the group is analysed in terms of their diversity. Are there students, teachers, administrators and researchers involved? What is their area of knowledge and expertise? How are they impacted by the language policy? Are there agents with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds? At what levels of decision making are the agents?

A second segment consists of the organisational culture, which relates to looking at how collaboration and participation are encouraged and how trust is engendered. Are there frequent and systematic formal and informal opportunities for dialogue amongst the policy agents? Analysis here should be looking at how people inter-relate and at how individual and collective contributions to the process are celebrated and supported.

A third segment analyses planning and projecting. This involves knowledge of the context through surveying, analysing and reporting, which leads to policy decisions and to an implementation plan. Surveying includes considering the impact of policies on educational practice and how they inform the development of educational resourcing.

A fourth segment is about the enactment and monitoring of the plan. Individual and collective interpretation and appropriation of the policies should be monitored. This seeks to provide an understanding of the negotiations taking place in different scales and levels. The success of these negotiations and of the activities being enacted in the short, medium and long-term, looking at their adoption or rejection by the policy agents, the learners, their families and the wider community.

A fifth segment entails the articulation and communications plan. What are the key principles and purpose of the language policy? How are these principles and purpose or orientation being articulated and how are they being shared internally and with the wider community? Who is being targeted and who has communication reached? What communication tools can be used so that it includes as many people as possible: students, teachers, administrators, local and wider community?

A sixth segment involves reflecting and reformulating. With Kemmis and McTaggart (1988, in Johnson 2013a:175-176), this entails individual and collective reflection about the various parts of the process. It is about creating opportunities for critical reflection and for ongoing reformulation of plans and policies, which implicates restarting the iterative policy process.

Thus engagement planning is a binding area of language planning and policy, in the sense that it fastens together the remaining four core areas: status, corpus, acquisition and prestige planning. Were this to be represented visually, the above diagram characterising engagement

planning would overlap and interlace directly with diagrams of those other core areas or focal points. It is worthwhile underlining that engagement planning is an area requiring further research.

Recommendations

Considering the empirical findings and theoretical reflections above, here are some recommendations with a view to improving and incrementing the delivery of Portuguese language provision, in the hope that these may also be useful to the implementation of other less-commonly taught languages. These recommendations will be followed by a reflection on directions for future research.

Macro Level Official Policy

- Articulate Portuguese official language policy in a way that positions the language and the language speaker within an equitable intercultural relationship (see Liddicoat 2013) with other languages and speakers, whereby the value attributed to the Portuguese language lies not within an ideology of numeric and historic domination, but within a paradigm of respect for the richness that all languages and linguistic repertoires bring to a multilingual society.
- Frame the macro-level, official policy text in terms of a generic set of goals backed up by a clearly articulated vision, wider purpose, guiding principles and long-term priorities for the overseas provision.
- Consistently communicate those goals and that shared vision, wider purpose, guiding principles and long-term priorities creating frequent and systematic opportunities for formal and informal dialogue, involving macro, meso and micro level policy agents.
- Establish an iterative feedback loop of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation deliberately involving researchers, teachers and administrators in the process of policymaking and using empirical and theoretical research to inform, develop and evaluate the local impact of that process and policies as well as to support further policy planning and classroom practices.

Meso Level Implementation

- Create meso-level, regional guidance that clearly facilitates an understanding and clarification of how the macro-level vision, purposes, principles and priorities of the provision impact upon the functions, form, use and acquisition of Portuguese language locally and in pedagogical practice.
- Establish a professional network of support based upon an organisational culture of collaboration and trust, whereby those involved, individually and collectively, share responsibility and credit for the conduct and broader values of the organisation.
- Position the Portuguese provision as educational partners of schools, universities, exam boards and other such governmental and non-governmental educational organisations, whereby agreements are founded within a spirit of cooperation and reciprocity, with particular focus on areas where language learning uptake is low or areas where there are large communities of Portuguese speakers.
- Harness the local community into being advocates for home/heritage/community language learning, bilingual and multilingual education via webinars, social and cultural media, programmes and courses.

Micro Level Appropriation

- Encourage teachers, students, parents, community members and other relevant local policymakers to engage in free and open dialogue and participation in the policymaking process.
- Provide opportunities for this dialogue to take place and offer information sessions and training for both teachers and parents about bilingualism and multilingualism. These should include showcasing good practice, with examples of successful projects taking place in schools.
- Fill up as many implementational and ideological spaces as possible in schools and the community with relevant opportunities and incentives for multilingual educational practices that value the diversity of multilingual repertoires.

With these recommendations in mind, it is now relevant to explore some directions for future research. These shall be presented in the context of the dramatic social changes that have befallen us in recent years.

Directions for Future Research

Two major world events happened to coincide with both the start and the final stage of this research: Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic. The United Kingdom European Union membership referendum, commonly referred to as EU referendum or Brexit referendum, took place on the 23rd of June 2016 to enquire of the electorate whether the country should remain a member or leave the European Union. The people of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union by a narrow margin and this started a four-year period of negotiations for exiting and for future arrangements in terms of trade deals and general bilateral relationships with other countries. These protracted negotiations culminated with Brexit being accomplished and approved in January 2021. One year before, on the 20th January 2020, the first diagnosed case of Covid-19 occurred and the disease rapidly spread throughout Europe. By the 30th of January 2020 the Director-General of the World Health Organisation declared it to be a Public Health Emergency of International Concern, in other words, a pandemic.

The following directions for future research arise from this wider socio-political background and are based around three priorities. The first is community building; the second is embracing technology; and the third is staying international and locally minded. I shall expand on each of these priorities below in the hope that the combination of my multiple perspectives, as an LPP researcher and, for the last twenty months, as a deputy director of Camões UK, can bring some much-needed reflexivity (see Lin 2015, Creese et al. 2017, Martin-Jones et al. 2017) to this discussion.

Community Building

This study has provided evidence of some timely concerns and tensions felt amongst the community of Portuguese teachers and the families involved in the Portuguese provision in the UK. As an EU member, the UK was a signatory to article 45 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights which grants every citizen of the Union the right to move and reside freely within the

territory of the Member States. The process of leaving the European Union gave rise to considerable social and political speculation and debate as to the rights of workers to remain in the United Kingdom or to come in the future, in the post-Brexit scenario. For the Portuguese teachers, as for the parents and the students involved in the Portuguese provision in England, these were times of great instability and concern about what the future would be like. Natália, for example, noticed that one of the schools where she worked changed from a two-form entry to a one-form entry school, with mainstream teachers being let go, as there were fewer students in the area due to many Italian, Polish and Portuguese people leaving.

Uma escola onde deixa de haver duas turmas de entrada e passa a haver só uma, o número de professores reduz e o apoio que é dado aos alunos reduz também, portanto o meu trabalho torna-se ainda mais necessário para os alunos que falam português.

A school where there are no longer two classes entering, there is only one, the number of teachers is also reduced and the support given to the students is also reduced, therefore my work is even more necessary for those pupils who speak Portuguese.
(Natália)

It is of note that this made her feel that her role was even more important here and she never even questioned her own right to remain in this country. In contrast, many of her colleagues, who had arrived more recently, were focused on their own situation rather than that of their students. She also mentioned noticing that “the children were nervous” during the Brexit campaign and the subsequent negotiations, which she thought brought the worst side of human nature to the fore.

When questioned about the future of Portuguese provision in his schools, Brexit also loomed large in Nuno’s thoughts.

Depende em primeiro lugar do que é que vai acontecer politicamente neste país e socialmente, com o Brexit. Obviamente, quem já cá está não estou a ver que vá ser proibido de viver cá. (...) Com que direitos exatamente, não sei. Mas é provável que a imigração, com -i, de Portugal para aqui, e mesmo de outros países de língua portuguesa, para aqui vá diminuir. Portanto, o número de pessoas interessadas nessas aulas, no geral, os possíveis interessados vão diminuir.

It depends on what will happen politically and socially in this country, with Brexit. Obviously, I think that those who are already here won’t be forbidden to stay. (...) With what rights exactly, I don’t know. It is very likely that immigration, here with an -i, from Portugal and from other Portuguese-speaking countries will decline. Therefore, the number of possible people interested in these classes is likely to decline too. (Nuno)

These concerns evidence the depth of feelings and the preoccupation with the Brexit debate that took place in the country. It was a debate that raised some important questions about the very notion of community and community language learning and teaching. These questions relate closely to Li Wei's (2018) reflection on communities and their characteristics in the twenty-first century. His reflection highlights the notion of community as a "sociological construct", rather than a "geographical-physical entity" (2018:593), whereby boundaries between communities are not clear-cut, as they are intricately mobile, intersecting and interconnected. Li Wei (2018) also affirms, and Hornberger (1988) would positively agree, that "[f]or any policy and planning initiative to succeed, it needs buy-in from ordinary members of the community in their daily social practices". Souza (2016) also addresses this issue in her article discussing heritage language/community language learning and teaching in the context of the Brazilian community schools in the UK. She calls for expanding the partnerships and networks between complementary schools, mainstream schools and other migrant groups, as a way to develop more linguistically and culturally diverse curricula. A limitation of this study that should be addressed by further research is this focus on the linguistic and social practices of the transnational community affected by Portuguese official policies, as well as the role of the provision in this new era of identity-based and geographically unbounded community building. Future research may also address how a language policy can simultaneously empower the community of Portuguese speakers in England while recognising and celebrating the local linguistic diversity.

Embracing Technology

Starting in March 2020, the governments of Portugal and England took a different central approach to the containment of the COVID-19 pandemic. While British Prime Minister Boris Johnson kept Britain largely open and resisted a lockdown until the 23rd of March, the Portuguese government adopted strict measures straight away. As a governmental institute, Camões had a duty to protect its employees according to Portuguese law. This meant that teachers were advised very early on to prepare for online teaching and shortly thereafter they were requested to transfer all classes to online learning. Margarida took the very astute decision of improving and supplementing two shared online platforms – an administrative one for the managing team and a pedagogical one for the teachers. The week before Britain went into lockdown preparations were complete and the Portuguese teachers were all teaching online.

At first, the teachers benefited from the experience of colleagues who were previously teaching online (see the section about types of language teaching in Chapter 7) and, soon thereafter, they benefitted from organised online training provided by the Camões headquarters in Lisbon, in collaboration with local university departments, and later they also benefitted from local training in online and blended learning techniques and methodologies, provided by the Portuguese Department in London. The pandemic spawned an immediate increase in the use of the latest digital technologies, as a result of the social distancing measures, which had a substantial impact on pedagogical practice within the Portuguese Department. Teachers quickly adapted their pedagogical practice to using Google Classroom, Wordwall, Quizziz, Padlet, Mentimeter, Kahoot, iMovie and other digital tools. Future research needs to investigate the use of these tools in language education broadly and their effect on language planning and policy. For example, the logistic nature of online classes allowed some teachers to regroup their students during lockdown and to teach groups that were less heterogeneous in nature. But also the digital tools and the weekly plans demanded the teachers to rethink their differentiation strategies and to create learning activities that aimed at the different levels and ages in the context of learning online. An online CPD survey conducted by the Department at the time reflected the Portuguese teachers' ambitions to learn more about e-learning platforms, online teaching methods, interactive resources, and using these tools to reach their diverse groups.

As the Portuguese teachers were being equipped for online teaching, one great concern throughout lockdown was whether families were equipped and receptive for online learning. There was a generalised perception amongst the teachers and the administrative team that a lack of digital literacy was endemic to the Portuguese emigrant community. Various surveys were organised by the Portuguese teachers and administrators to gather as much information as possible about these potential needs. The perceptions of the teachers and administrators were found to be incorrect as the data collected at the time revealed that a majority of families had unlimited access to the internet at home and were able to use a device to access the classes – sometimes a computer, others a tablet or a smartphone.

There were however a number of students and families who had only limited access to digital tools. They could access email and a phone but nothing more. This constrained them from participating in live online classes and certain interactive games and activities, which started to be more and more used as the teachers' IT skills developed and as the pandemic continued. Although teachers embraced technology and used it to make their classes more compelling, higher quality, always trying to reach children in innovative ways, there was concern about how to reach and include these students who were not as privileged during lockdown and in

the aftermath. In a documentary produced by a Portuguese teacher (available here: [Lockdown: O ensino digital no Reino Unido durante a quarentena](#)) concerns were reported about particular pedagogical aspects and groups of students. For example, they were very concerned about Portuguese GCSEs and A Level candidates. As a solution for those students who found it more difficult to access online learning, the teachers planned asynchronous activities, such as reading and writing activities, using their textbooks or work sheets that the teachers would send via email. These students would then reply with photos of the work carried out so that they could get feedback. This was very important for those pupils sitting exams. Future research could look into whether the candidates' examination successes were influenced by this. Then, it would be important to reflect upon how this digital mediation of language learning, teaching and assessing might come to shape Portuguese language provision in the future, both for the short-term and long-term.

Research suggests that active engagement with digital media can enhance language learning in multilingual educational contexts (Macleroy 2015). It has also shown how mainstream and complementary education can engage together in this process and “enable young people to explore their sense of self and (...) a sense of their shared social reality and intercultural identity” (Anderson and Macleroy 2017:513). Future research should carry on investigating this, along with answering some additional questions, such as: Can digital technologies and online learning and teaching replace local, face-to-face language learning and teaching? In this age of digital connectivity, do families continue to require local community schools for language maintenance? What challenges and opportunities does online and blended learning bring to Portuguese overseas language planning and policy?

Staying International and Locally Minded

As the enterprise of promoting Portuguese internationally continues and becomes increasingly digital and interconnected in nature, the dialectic relationship between global and local requires attention. The relevance of the Portuguese provision overseas lies in the profound knowledge and experience of its teachers and local administrators. This was demonstrated throughout chapters 5, 6 and 7, which revealed many of the specificities of local administrative and pedagogical practices and their negotiation and enactment. It is a reflection that links with the criticism and concerns raised in the introduction to this study about the provision morphing

into an excessively standardised activity that tended to obstruct flexible teaching pedagogies (Keating et al. 2014).

Future research must continue to investigate how a transnational language provision, such as the one examined in this study, can contribute to supporting the maintenance of Portuguese as one of the languages of a mobile and interconnected emigrant community of the twenty-first century (Wei 2018) while concomitantly contributing to a broader multilingual education that is of local interest and relevance. Some reflection questions could be: How can the pedagogical practices of the Portuguese teachers contribute to the education of the pupils locally? How can the Portuguese provision promote intercultural dialogue and value the ecology of languages and the variety of linguistic repertoires in schools and in the community? How can it help tackle the reported shortage of speakers in strategically important languages and the undervaluing of community and heritage languages spoken in England? Overall, how can the Portuguese provision continue to be both international and locally minded?

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Appendix 1: Ethical Practice Form

Department of Educational Studies Ethical Practice in Research Form

Name: Cátia Verguete	Degree: PhD in Education
Student Number: 3348680201	Year of Degree: 2016/2017
Title of Research: Language policy and pedagogy in the provision of Portuguese language in England	
Supervisor (s): Vicky Macleroy and Vally Lytra	

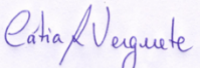
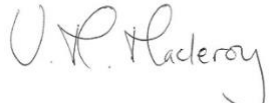
Section 1:

	YES	NO	N/A
I have reflected carefully on the research that I propose to undertake.	x		
I have reviewed the 'Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004)' and 'Good practice in Educational Research Writing' published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA). Note that, depending on your research topic, you might need to review other published ethical guidelines (e.g. BPS, BSA).	x		
I have discussed the ethical aspects of this research with my supervisor, and my research complies with these guidelines.	x		

Section 2:

Research Checklist:	YES	NO	N/A
1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. young children, children, adults with learning or communication difficulties, patients). Note that you may also need to obtain satisfactory CRB clearance (or equivalent for overseas students).		x	
2. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. children at school, parents, patients, people in custody, members of organisations)		x	
3. In the case of action research will the researcher inform the sponsor/host of the work they propose to undertake? (e.g. head of school)			x
4. Will the research be carried out without the knowledge and/or consent of the participants? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)		x	
5. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. race, bullying, sexual or drug activity)?		x	
6. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		x	
7. Will the study involve prolonged data collection or repetitive testing?		x	
8. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		x	

If you have ticked 'no' for all questions in Section 2, then please sign below and arrange for your supervisor (or module coordinator) to sign this form. If you have ticked 'yes' to any of these questions, then please complete and sign the second page of this form.

Signature of student: 	Date: 14/06/17
Signature of Dissertation supervisor or module coordinator: 	Date: 30.06.17

There is an obligation on the Dissertation supervisor or module coordinator to complete sections 3, 4 and if necessary 5 below, in order where appropriate to bring to the attention of the Departmental Ethics Committee any issues with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above checklist.

Section 3:

Provide a brief outline of your research (what do you want to find out? What will you do to find out (your methods)? Consider including information on who, where, when, how, and why:

I am researching the provision of Portuguese language in England. More specifically, I am studying the language policy for Portuguese from its formulation, through its implementation as a project in England, to its execution by the Portuguese teachers in the community. In the phase of data collection, my main research question is: how do Portuguese teachers in England interpret, negotiate and enact the Portuguese language policies in their daily interaction with mainstream education?

I will focus on the experiences of Portuguese teachers who work in the context of the Camões Institute – the main provider for Portuguese classes in the UK. I will draw on their accounts and observation of their interaction with the mainstream schools. They will work across diverse key stages, and will have considerable experience of working in curricular and extracurricular settings. I have been granted access to Camões Institute’s data base and the regional director of the Camões Institute in London has agreed to be interviewed and to collaborate with my research. My main data collection will start in September 2017.

Set out the ethical issues arising from your research below. Include sensitivity, confidentiality, and informed consent:

Identify how you intend to address each of these ethical issues:

My research does not give rise to particular sensitive issues.

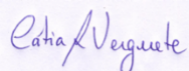
I will ensure that all matters discussed in interviews and during the collection of life stories are dealt with great care and respect for everyone involved.

I will protect the anonymity of the participants.

I will previously inform the participants of the objectives of the data collection and ask for the participants’ informed consent.

Comments of Dissertation supervisor or module coordinator:

Signed (Student)



Print name

CÁTIA VERGUETE


Date

14/06/2017

You must now submit this form to your supervisor (Dissertation) or module coordinator (for other modules). If you do not submit this form, your dissertation (or research report) will not be able to be submitted. Once signed, include the form as an Appendix with your assignment.

Section 4**STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL**

This project has been considered using agreed Departmental procedures and is now approved. This approval is valid for a maximum period of five years.

Signed (Dissertation supervisor or module coordinator):	
Print name	Dr Vicky Macleroy
Date	30/06/2017

Optional section 5: If the supervisor(s) or module coordinator has further queries , this form should be referred to the Head of Programme, who may also request advice from the Chair of the Ethics Committee. The process should be recorded below:	
Comments of Head of Programme:	
Signed (Head of Programme)	
Print name	
Date	
Comments of Chair, Ethics Committee:	
Signed (Chair, Ethics Committee)	
Print name	
Date	

Appendix 2: Information Sheet and Informed Consent

Informação e Consentimento aos Participantes

Participant Information and Consent

Obrigada por concordares em participar no meu estudo.

A minha pesquisa é sobre o ensino da língua portuguesa na Inglaterra. Mais especificamente, o objetivo é traçar o percurso do regime jurídico do ensino português no estrangeiro desde a sua formulação, passando pela sua implementação enquanto projeto no contexto da Inglaterra, até à sua execução pelos professores junto à comunidade local. Nesta fase de recolha de dados, as questões que me têm orientado são:

1. De que forma é que o discurso do regime jurídico do EPE tem evoluído ao longo dos anos?
2. Como é que o plano de ação para a promoção da LP na Inglaterra adapta o discurso central?
3. Como é que os professores portugueses em Londres interpretam, negociam e executam o plano de ação local para o ensino do português no estrangeiro face ao contexto de ensino e aprendizagem de línguas na Inglaterra?

Para responder a estas questões, vou recolher as histórias de professores que trabalham para o Camões em Londres, dando aos professores a oportunidade de falarem sobre o trabalho que desenvolvem nas instituições educacionais com que se relacionam diariamente. Quero falar com professores que tenham experiência de dar aulas em Londres nos diversos modelos de ensino facilitados pelo instituto. Gostava de os acompanhar algumas vezes às escolas e de os observar em interação com a escola e alunos.

Neste sentido, gostaria que combinássemos algumas conversas, a desenvolver nos próximos meses, sobre alguns dos seguintes aspetos:

- Perceção sobre o regime jurídico para o português no estrangeiro: evolução, flexibilidade, visão, adequação
- Perceção sobre o contexto de ensino e aprendizagem de línguas no RU: lugar da LP
- Plano de ação local para a LP: visão, objetivos, atores locais, comunicação com os professores
- Execução do plano: fatores adjuvantes/adversidades
- Recursos materiais e humanos para pôr o plano local em ação
- Corpo docente: formação, estabilidade, motivação, espírito de equipa

Thank you for accepting to take part in my study.

My research is about the provision of Portuguese language in England. More specifically, the objective is to trace the Portuguese legal regime for Portuguese teaching abroad from its formulation, through its implementation as a project in England, to its execution by the teachers in the community. At this data-gathering stage, the guiding questions are:

1. How has the formulation of the Portuguese language policy developed over time?
2. How does the local action plan draw upon the macro-level text?
3. How do Portuguese teachers in London interpret, negotiate and execute the Portuguese language policy for teaching Portuguese abroad?

To answer these questions, I want to collect the stories of teachers who work for Camões, London, and to give them the opportunity to talk about their work in the educational institutions where they develop their practice. I am interested in collecting the stories of experienced teachers who have taught in a variety of teaching models offered by the institute. I would like to accompany them to their schools and to observe their interaction with the teaching staff and the students.

Alongside, I would like to arrange some conversations between us during the next few months about some of the following topics:

- Perceptions about the legal regime for Portuguese abroad: its development, flexibility, vision, adequacy to UK context
- Perceptions about the context of language learning and teaching in the UK: place, use and value of the Portuguese language
- Local action plan for Portuguese: vision, objectives, local actors, communication with teachers
- Execution of the plan: facilitating and hindering factors
- Material and human resources
- Teachers: training, stability, motivation, team spirit

Primeira conversa

Para a nossa primeira conversa, gostava que me contasses a tua história, com ênfase nos eventos que de alguma forma influenciaram a tua vinda para o Reino Unido. Vou usar o método *'time line interview'*: vamos desenhar uma linha num papel – essa linha representa a tua vida (ou parte) – junto à linha vamos assinalando e conversando sobre momentos marcantes e pequenas histórias que marcaram a tua vinda, por exemplo: a preparação e decisão de sair de Portugal, o sucesso na candidatura a professor, a chegada e adaptação ao novo contexto, primeiros contactos, primeiras impressões, expectativas, os primeiros contactos com as escolas e alunos.

Algumas considerações éticas

Todos os participantes neste estudo vão ser anonimizados. As entrevistas vão ser transcritas e devolvidas aos participantes, que poderão retirar ou acrescentar informação. Serão tidos todos os cuidados para garantir o respeito pela integridade dos participantes.

Um dos objetivos deste estudo é que o produto final reconheça, dê voz e visibilidade ao trabalho dos agentes da língua portuguesa no Reino Unido.

First conversation

For our first conversation, I would like you to tell me your story, emphasising the events that somehow influenced your move to the United Kingdom. I will use the method *'time line interview'*: we will draw a line on a sheet of paper – this line represents your life (or part of it) – by the line we will mark relevant moments and small stories that marked your move, for example: the preparation and decision to leave Portugal, the success in getting the placement, the arrival and adaptation to the new context, first contacts, first impressions, expectations, first contacts with schools and pupils.

Some ethical considerations

All participants in this study will be anonymised. Interviews will be transcribed and returned to the participants before they are used in the study, so that they can withdraw or add any relevant information. All matters will be dealt with great care and respect for personal integrity.

One objective of this study is to recognize and give voice and visibility to the agents of the Portuguese language in England.

Participant Consent Form

Working Title of Study:

Language policy and pedagogy in the provision of Portuguese language in England

This form is to be completed by all key participants.

Statement	Agreement
I have read and understood the participant information sheet.	
I have received answers to all my questions about the research.	
I am aware that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and without providing any reasons.	
I understand that all provided information will be confidential and only accessed by the researcher.	
I am aware that the data collected will be stored anonymously and securely during the research and disposed of after completion.	
I understand that the information provided by the participants may be included in published documents, but all data will be anonymised.	
I agree to participate in this study.	

Name of Participant:			
Signature:		Date:	
Name of Researcher:			
Signature:		Date:	

Thank you!

Obrigada!