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Language and Citizenship
Education: Discussion,
Deliberation and
Democracy

edited by
Beatrice Szczepek Reed
Ian Davies

Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial
Mozambique
Feliciano Chimbutane

Politics as Shaping: An Approximation to Students'
Metaphorical Understanding
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Understanding Media Opinion on Bilingual Education in the
United States
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Discourses of Multilingualism, Identity and Belonging: The
View of Arabic Bilinguals in the UK
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Student Motivation for Social Studies – Existential
Exploration or Critical Engagement
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A Half Century Journey of Social Studies in Turkey:
Reflections from the 7th International Social Studies
Education Symposium
Melisa Akbulut, Mehmet Açıkalin

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Language and Citizenship Education: Discussion, Deliberation and Democracy

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Keywords:

Language, citizenship, education

In this issue of JSSE we explore ideas and issues about citizenship education and its connection with language. In our original call for papers we suggested that we would be interested in work that addressed the following questions, issues and areas:

- What are the philosophical foundations and contemporary theoretical debates about language and how do they relate to citizenship education and social studies/social science education?
- How is language used by governments, governmental agencies, think tanks and other public bodies to inform, educate and control young citizens via citizen education and language policy?
- What does language mean to young people (including their families and communities) and to professionals? Do they see it as a means by which they can understand, promote and practise citizenship?
- What is done when a connection is made between language and citizenship education? What sort of teaching, learning and assessment activities occur?
- What impact does language-related citizenship education have?
- What are the likely and desired futures for language based citizenship education?

In providing such a broad canvas we were emphasizing the contested nature of characterisations of language and education. We wished to allow for the possibility of a consideration of issues using insights from a range of academic disciplines and areas (e.g. political science; psychological perspectives; international studies; sociology etc.). Each area – language as well as education – is a diverse and varied field of study and practice. There are debates about whether education is an embryonic or fully formed academic discipline; a field of study which makes use of a variety of foundational disciplines such as history, philosophy, psychology and sociology; and, a context in which the primary focus is on action that takes place most obviously in formally established institutions such as schools and universities but also in many other places and through many individual, personal and group interactions. In language we recognize similar diversity in terms of a wide variety of approaches and applications. We recognize a possible focus on linguistics (including, for example, semantics and pragmatics) which allows for the mechanics of expression to be explored; as well as a more sociologically oriented perspective through

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the lens of sociolinguistics, which allows for the analysis of social factors and contexts. We note the connections between language and literature in the development and expression of those in creative arts. This may be seen broadly in novels, plays and poems and in relation to the detail of what is expressed.

In recognizing JSSE's status as an international journal we were extremely keen to consider work that emerges from analyses that go across geographical and other areas including comparative perspectives as well as single contexts (e.g., from one local, regional or national location). We wished to have contributions from across the globe where language issues and issues of national or ethnic identities and cleavages are closely connected and contested. There were several reasons for this attempt to be globally inclusive. The 'place' of a discussion is not only significant in terms of its connection with, for example, specific educational regulations that apply to one location. We wished to allow for the recognition of the singularity of 'place'. But we wanted to avoid an assumed homogeneity which is likely, even if positively meant, to be inappropriately assimilationist and lead to interpretations that align simplistically with established norms. We also wished to illuminate key ideas and issues through better understanding the nature not only of variety but also of commonality. Through an appreciation of context we were encouraging comparative reflection where the same ideas (and at times the same words) are used very differently or similarly. This may apply within as well as across languages. For example, 'multilingualism' and 'bilingual education' are approached and viewed from different perspectives, depending on the context in which they are situated. In contexts where one language, for example, English, is both the official language and the first language of the majority of children (such as England and the U.S, see, in this edition, Said; and Lewis & Davies), debates focus on the – contested – need to support minority languages as part of a multicultural society. In countries where a language rooted in the colonial past, such as Portuguese, is imposed as the official language without being the first language for the majority of children (such as Mozambique, see Chimbutane in this edition), debates are focused on the contested balance between rights to traditional languages and the homogenising role of the single colonial language. There are also striking similarities in the ways these issues are approached. Both types of contexts debate linguistic diversity and the extent to which it should be prioritised in society and as a result, in the curriculum.

These broad matters about the nature of language and education require greater precision in the introduction to this edition of JSSE if we are to explain our position about the particular link we are exploring. It is not only language and education that occupies us in this edition but the ways in which language and education link in relation to citizenship. Citizenship itself is a contested area. The fundamental schools of thought about citizenship are often presented as the liberal (an emphasis on rights and the right to privacy) and the civic republican (duties enacted in public contexts). It may be possible to consider other fundamental approaches. It is possible that rights and duties are somewhat simplistically expressed in communities and as such we would not be able to construct such characterizations into a coherent school of citizenship, or perhaps we could argue that communitarianism is itself a fundamentally complex but coherent and distinct philosophical position. The multi-dimensional nature of citizenship means that it is inappropriate to characterize the field as relying on mutually exclusive or even contradictory positions in which one chooses between rights or duties, public or private conceptions of civic life and be narrowly deterministic about the places to which that thinking and those actions apply. Rather these perspectives may be used to understand and justify ideas and actions across a range of issues and contexts. The need for careful interpretation of the meaning of citizenship may be briefly illustrated with a few examples. It would be unhelpful, for example, simply to assume that the liberal tradition applied straightforwardly to certain countries (such as the US in which an individual's right to own a gun is clear) and the civic republican tradition which is applied elsewhere (e.g., the reliance on military service that applies in countries such as Switzerland and South Korea). The relationship between rights and duties may not be simplistically reciprocal (claims that one can only have rights if one has done one's duty seem unpersuasive in the case of the very young, the elderly and those with differently abled capabilities). The nature of the public and private is often not straightforward. The relationship between decision-making through formal civic structures



and the expression of power in domestic settings seems distant, and yet both arenas may be subject to considerations of rights and duties. The meaning of ‘citizen’ can vary across ideas about legal status, as well as a sense of who we are and what we can, should and could do. We also wish to emphasize that the perspectives that are brought to citizenship go beyond a consideration of the context within which they are expressed. There are various positions that a citizen may adopt towards a formally constituted government and less formally to those people with whom s/he interacts. That interaction might be in the form of a conformist stance in which there are perhaps individual and group actions or passivity (paying taxes, keeping to the speed limit when driving and so on). It could involve more active and yet traditionally-framed pursuits such as working with community-based groups in the form, for example, of residents’ associations or youth groups such as the Scouts. It may be that there is a critically political approach in which various forms of direct action oriented towards social change are developed. All of these forms of action are normally within debates on citizenship education seen to take place within the confines of a tolerant, democratically diverse society (but of course the meaning of these terms and the limits that apply in specific circumstances are constantly open to question).

We have outlined the above in order to provide a brief background to our particular focus: language and citizenship education. There are several obvious and more precisely characterized connections between language and citizenship education.

- Language has instrumental value to a citizen. The rights and duties of citizens are stated and absorbed through language. This is clearly apparent from the discussion above in which various forms of engagement in society require an understanding and practice of language. While there are few officially framed language restrictions on national citizens, this is not the case for those who are seeking to acquire citizenship. The functional aspects of participation are governed by language (see in this edition Chimbutane; Rampton et al.).
- Language is an aspect of culture and has cultural impact. Citizens become socialised into societal norms and learn to adopt preferences in part through language-based interaction. This develops in a variety of forms. Writers of different types (novelists, poets, academics) use their language in accordance with established norms but are also seeking (directly or indirectly) to explore those boundaries. The use of the first person is just one example of something that may be variously interpreted. ‘I’ may be used as part of an intention to communicate clearly and directly; as a statement of self-centeredness; as a signal that the subjective and individualized nature of knowledge is accepted; and/or as the playful and complex distancing of one’s ‘real’ personality from a fictional representation that is voiced by a character imagined by the author. In social contexts, the use of different varieties of the same language index speakers’ social and geographical backgrounds; while certain elements of speech, such as voice quality, prompt others to draw conclusions about a speaker’s gender, health or age. Finally, speakers’ use of a heritage language in a society where another language is dominant, such as the use of Arabic in the UK, can be employed by speakers as well as their listeners as cues to a certain form of identity construction. The question of who we are – and how we present ourselves - which is so relevant to identity of citizens, is fixed squarely around language (see Lewis & Davies; Rampton et al.; Said).
- Language is also a form of social contract in which there are opportunities for democratic (or, other types of) dialogue and societal discourse. The use of language in political contexts such as elections is of obvious importance. The ways in which politicians communicate with each other and with a range of audiences indicates a range of persuasive techniques which has inspired a whole research field. These techniques and the levels of understanding that may be achieved may be seen in contexts which at times are seen as being not obviously political. For example, the reading of a newspaper or email may be seen by some as merely involving a transfer of information whereas it is likely to involve presentation of only some things rather than the full range of relevant material and those things may be presented in a particular way. Significant politically relevant practices such as advocacy and representation may occur principally through language. The educational potential



of such matters is very strong. The ways in which teachers engage with students and the forms of discussion that take place in classrooms are powerful indicators of not only what is being learned but how and for what purpose that learning is occurring (see in this edition Chimbutane; Kegel).

Across these various elements – instrumental, cultural and political – language achieves a place that is vitally important to citizenship. Language is a fundamentally important key platform and process for the development and expression of identities in contexts that are differentially inclusive. It is likely that a sense of citizenship belonging is heavily dependent on language. And, these issues may be seen as coming together in several particular contexts. We will give 2 examples: the nature and impact of globalisation; and the ways in which educational activities may be developed in order to make the best use of the links between language and citizenship education.

For our first example, we wish broadly and briefly to consider the nature and impact of globalization. We may, confusingly, be witnessing pressures for less linguistic diversity globally with the dominance of a very few world languages (such as English) and at the same time, by contrast, experiencing greater levels of migration with, consequently, increased awareness of - and with perhaps more people having - linguistic pluralism in contexts where this was not previously the case. The experiences of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers as they pursue the legal status of citizenship - and experience informal aspects of citizenship - are likely to have important linguistic elements. The nature of citizenship tests that ordinarily include language elements and the ways in which people are prepared for them (and how applicants perceive them) are relevant to this edition of the JSSE.

For our second example, we wish briefly to reflect on the ways in which citizenship issues are discussed in educational contexts. We intend to include work that illuminates the nature of learning and teaching about - and for - democracy. Our subtitle for this edition is “discussion, deliberation and democracy”. The classroom and other discussions referred to above are relevant here. It is important for talk to be educationally framed through the development of a conceptual base. So, if a teacher were to develop an argument between students about a controversial issue that might be of little value. If, on the other hand, there was awareness of what made an issue controversial, if it had been selected according to its significance in a wider programme that was itself based on a conceptual framework, and if it was discussed with attention to the type and amount of data and/or persuasive techniques and evaluated, then its educational value may be significant. These language-based interactions may take various forms. There has recently been a flurry of interest in the perceived value (and potentially damaging capacity) of social media. The rapid information transfer associated with digital citizenship may lead to negative or positive interactions, but its discourse will always be suffused by specific linguistic choices.

We are very interested in what language means for citizens’ identities and what impact it has on the development of an inclusive society in which all feel that they belong. We are delighted that the authors of the articles included in this issue of JSSE have responded so enthusiastically and insightfully to the challenges that we have made. Following careful review we have chosen 5 articles on a variety of issues emerging from different contexts.

- Feliciano Chimbutane: *Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial Mozambique*
- Andreas Kegel: *Students’ conceptual metaphors in social science education: Politics as production, contribution, guidance, and common basis*
- Kelly Lewis & Ian Davies: *Understanding Media Opinion on Bilingual Education in the United States*
- Ben Rampton, Mel Cooke and Sam Holmes: *Sociolinguistic Citizenship*
- Fatma Said: *Discourses of multilingualism, identity and belonging: The view of Arabic speakers in the UK*

Feliciano Chimbutane writes about language and citizenship education in postcolonial Mozambique. We can see clearly in this piece that language and colonialism are inextricably entwined. Further, we can



see that the connection between language and power in the form of ideologically-based constraints does not become less once a society has begun to establish a post-colonial identity. Efforts to promote linguistic – and broader cultural and political – diversity are related directly to forms of citizenship education. The move from homogenizing legal provisions and political discourse to attempts to celebrate diversity lead to complex practice and thinking. Diversity and how to educate citizens about and for it is never likely to be a simple task and the gap between often well-intentioned official policies and social and political practices is stark. The nature of the relationship between language and citizenship and what that means for programmes of citizenship education are illuminated by this work. As such this article is, as well as providing academic insights, a source of guidance that will help us promote decolonial and more inclusive forms of citizenship education in Mozambique and beyond.

Andreas Kegel has collected and analysed data from young people in order to explore ways of developing more effective political teaching and learning. Politics is conceptually complex and perceived as such by teachers and students. Even though the same could be said of many different academic disciplines that inform school subjects the perceived complexity of Politics seems to require particular attention. The conceptual sophistication that many assume to be necessary for understanding Politics is made even more demanding by varied interpretation and characterization. Politics may be described and explained in different ways: it is an intensely practical business in which individuals and groups try within civic and less well-defined structures to achieve particular goals. It is made up of issues that are constantly shifting. It has what might be thought of as a technical, specialist form of language. Into this varied field Kegel writes about students' conceptual metaphors in social science education. By discussing issues with students in Hamburg, Germany, Kegel analyses the metaphors that are used to describe political reality. The young people's civic consciousness and world view are illuminated through a combination of metaphors. Students understand the decision-making process as production, participation as contribution, governance as guidance, and living together as the common basis for society. By developing awareness of these approaches to concepts through language in the form of metaphors we can better understand how people make sense of the world and as such lay the foundations for more effective teaching and learning of politics.

Kelly Lewis and Ian Davies write about attitudes to bilingualism in the United States. Bilingualism is a reality for large numbers of people and a site of fierce contestation. Academics and teachers tend on the basis of philosophical reflection, research evidence and professional practice to describe and explain the advantages that may be gained from bilingualism. These benefits are to do with academic gains in several subject areas as well as enhanced social and political inclusivity. However, opinion pieces in mass media tend to take the opposite view; i.e., that a bilingual person may experience challenges in individual identity construction and may as members of groups have a negative impact on the sense of belonging that is often regarded as being so important for a country being at ease with itself. These differences are becoming more pronounced. When compared with the findings of a study conducted in the 1990s (McQuillan and Tse 1996) which demonstrated some differences in the views of journalists and, on the other hand, academics and professionals, Lewis and Davies suggest that there is now a more significant divide. This is a highly significant matter given that it seems to indicate divisions in current US society with a lack of trust in and respect for differently placed voices. In particular it seems that the views of expert academics and professionals are becoming increasingly rejected. It would be too simplistic to see this as a consequence of assertions around 'fake news', but the social and political divisions that are evidenced through debates about bilingualism are key factors in civic culture.

Ben Rampton, Mel Cooke and Sam Holmes introduce the term 'sociolinguistic citizenship' in their discussion of language and citizenship debates in the UK. They base their theoretical work on Stroud's concept of 'linguistic citizenship', which in its commitment to democratic participation - in part through a recognition of the heterogeneity of linguistic resource - opens up space for diverse citizenship. In their discussion of language ideologies and practices in England the authors argue against the simplistic distinctions between groups and recognise instead the complex ways in which language boundaries are often crossed. This dynamic appreciation of people's lived experience allows for reflections on and insights into sociolinguistic citizenship. Ways of achieving understanding of and support for this inclusive



and diverse stance is explored by suggestions concerning collaborations between universities and not-for-profit organisations.

Fatma Said writes about discourses of multilingualism, identity and belonging by exploring the views of Arabic speakers in the UK. On the basis of a qualitative study involving Arabic heritage speakers in the UK she investigates the symbolisms the Arabic language holds for its speakers, the ramifications knowledge of Arabic has for these bilinguals; and explores how second generation Arabic heritage speakers define their identities and feelings of belonging to the UK. Arabic is perhaps unsurprisingly seen as a key aspect of individuals' identities for a wide variety of reasons including religion, family and cultural ties. There is also clear evidence of perceived tensions in connection with the use of Arabic. These findings have explosive force for at least two interconnected reasons. First, this sample of respondents is part of a globalizing world in which the clash between unifying and splintering forces is at times painfully clear. Secondly, within the UK there are significant tensions around perceived forms of radicalism that are associated with terrorism. The citizenship issues associated with language are obvious: in opening one's mouth to speak Arabic, one communicates an assumed and perceived identity that has potent political force.

We have included in this issue two book reviews relevant to the theme of language and citizenship education. There is included in the edition an article about motivation for social studies. Kjetil Børhaug and Solveig Borgund argue that students are motivated by the room for subjective, emotional engagement in social studies and by subject matter content that concerns them directly or that evoke emotions. Melisa Akbulut and Mehmet Acikalin contributed a congress report on the Turkish International Social Studies Education Symposium. In the past, JSSE has repeatedly covered developments in educational culture in the region. The next issue on national holidays and other rituals at schools includes a documentation of the Democracy and National Unity Day that shows how the socio-political rituals, such as national festivals and the student pledge, have changed in the Turkish Republic within the last twenty years.



Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial Mozambique*

Feliciano Chimbutane

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- Colonial and postcolonial language ideologies and citizenship education orientations have been inextricably bound up with political efforts towards the management of linguistic, cultural and political diversity
- There has been a shift from homogenizing legal provisions and political discourses on language, education and citizenship education to those celebrating diversity and difference
- Mozambique has moved from socialist to syncretic approaches to citizenship education, which comprise a synthesis of features of the republican, liberal, multicultural and global citizenship
- There is still a mismatch between legislation and political discourses on language, education and citizenship education, on the one hand, and actual practices of citizenship in Mozambique, on the other

Purpose: Despite the formal political decolonization of much of the world, the colonial legacy continues to prevail around the globe, in particular in the Global South. This article explores the interface of language, education and citizenship in Mozambique, with special reference to the role of education and language ideologies in forging the ideal citizen in the postcolonial context.

Method: Drawing on previous studies on education and citizenship in colonial and postcolonial contexts, I use the decolonial lenses of Linguistic Citizenship and other related frameworks to show how citizenship education in Mozambique has been inextricably bound up with political efforts towards the management of linguistic, cultural and political diversity. I argue that in spite of the progress made, there is still a mismatch between legislation and political discourses on language, education and citizenship education and actual practices of citizenship in Mozambique, which continue to be linguistically and politically constrained.

Findings: This article may contribute to uncover language related social injustices, often associated with the persisting colonial matrix of power, and also to promote decolonial, more pluralist and inclusive forms of citizenship education in Mozambique and elsewhere.

Keywords:

African languages, citizenship education, decoloniality, linguistic citizenship, Portuguese

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1 Introduction

The relationship between the politics of language and citizenship education in Mozambique is best understood and explained against the background of a historical and socio-political approach. This is because language ideologies, citizenship education and practices of citizenship have been shaped by socio-political events such as colonialism, the construction of a socialist State, and the current process of democratic transformation of the country. This broad context substantiates the view that citizenship is by its very nature contingent, historical and political (Yeatman, 2001). In all phases of the history of Mozambique, language emerged as a key element in the orientation of citizenship education and the exercise of citizenship. Language ideologies, education policies and orientations to citizenship education adopted all through those years came to be ideological platforms for sustaining colonial and post-colonial regimes – they have always been intimately linked to the kind of citizen and the kind of society envisaged. The linkage between language, education and citizenship foregrounds the role of educational institutions in assigning value to linguistic and non-linguistic resources as well as in regulating access to them (see Martin-Jones, 2007; Stroud, 2003).

This article focuses on the interface of language, education and citizenship in Mozambique. It pays special attention to the role of language ideologies and citizenship education in forging the ideal citizen in the socio-political contexts mentioned above.

I draw on a previous study on education and citizenship in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique within the framework of Linguistic Citizenship (Chimbutane, 2018). However, this time, I expand my analytical framework and focus more on citizenship education in the postcolonial period. Accordingly, I use the decolonial lenses offered by Linguistic Citizenship and related frameworks to explore the connections between language, education and citizenship education. I take this framework as a suitable tool to understand and critique the ongoing coloniality of language, education and citizenship in post-colonial contexts. The data and cases analysed here come chiefly from my ongoing ethnographically-oriented research on language planning, policy and practice in Mozambique, in particular in the areas of education, health and governance (e.g. Chimbutane, 2011, 2017, 2018). Results from other studies on citizenship and citizenship education in Mozambique and elsewhere are also considered in this discussion.

The argument is that, as in the colonial era, language ideology and citizenship education in post-colonial Mozambique have been inextricably bound up with political efforts towards the management of linguistic, cultural and political diversity. In both periods, diversity is perceived as problematic and in need of managing in order to build a ‘harmonious’ society, that is, management here does not mean, for example, the development of policies and practices promoting rights of different interest groups, but of those aiming at levelling linguistic, cultural and political differences. Compared with the early periods of independence, it can be argued that there has now been a shift from homogenizing legal provisions and political discourses on language, education and citizenship education to those celebrating diversity and difference. However, there is still a mismatch between this relative openness in legislation and political discourse and actual practices of citizenship, which continue to be constrained from a linguistic and a political point of view. I argue that this is less due to a contradiction or lack of follow up between the politics of citizenship and implementation but something more inherent in a colonial notion of citizenship – a notion reproducing the coloniality-modernity matrix.

This article may contribute to uncover language related social injustices, often associated with the persisting colonial matrix of power, and also to promote decolonial, more pluralist and inclusive forms of citizenship education in Mozambique and elsewhere.

2 Conceptualizing citizenship and citizenship education

This section reviews some of the key principles underpinning understandings of citizenship and citizenship education, two of the core concepts used in this article.

2.1 Citizenship

Historically, there have been two main approaches to citizenship: the civic republican and the liberal approaches (see, e.g., Cemlyn & Ryder, 2016; McCowan, 2009). The civic republican approach focuses on the duties of citizens towards the State, in particular the duty of active participation in decision-making in politics and civil society. The rationale has been that active participation in governance is an essential condition “... both for effective functioning of democratic societies and for the well-being of the individual” (McCowan, 2009, p. 7). In contrast, the liberal approach focuses on the rights that the State guarantees to the individual, in particular civil, political and social rights.

The traditional republican and liberal views of citizenship are being challenged nowadays, mainly owing to socio-economic and geopolitical transformations that have been taking place mainly since the 1970s. These transformations include increased national and international mobility, the establishment of supra-national coalitions as well as the globalization of liberal economics. Among other things, these transformations have called into question the boundaries as well as the power of nation-states and have exacerbated socio-economic and other forms of inequalities at local and global levels. Consequently, these new local and world orders have led to the revision of traditional definitions of citizenship and their adaptation to new circumstances and to the proposition of new ones. The notions of multicultural citizenship, global citizenship, post-national citizenship and radical democratic citizenship are among these new conceptions of citizenship in this post-modern era (see Cemlyn & Ryder, 2016; McCowan, 2009). Given their relevance to the study of citizenship education in Mozambique, multicultural citizenship and global citizenship deserve a brief presentation here.

Proposed in Kymlicka (1995), multicultural citizenship can be understood as a response to the limitation of the traditional liberal view of citizenship to account for differences among sociocultural groups in a polity. Accordingly, multicultural citizenship comprises a set of principles for acknowledging the differentiation and recognition of group rights. One of the core principles of multicultural citizenship is that all groups in a polity, including minority groups, should be able to cultivate and retain their cultures and not forced to melt into the culture of the dominant national group(s). The multicultural citizenship concept emerged in the context of a shift in political discourse from claims of social equality to claims of group difference or politics of recognition (Fraser, 1997; Young, 1993), in what is often termed “political togetherness in difference” (Young, 1993). One of the drivers of this discourse on recognition is the perception that “some kinds of injustice are *cultural* in origin, rather than simply material” (Riddell, 2016, p. 550, emphasis in the original). However, one can still question whose terms are used to define culture and ‘subaltern’ forms of culture, as these definitions are often based on colonial parameters of diversity and difference.

The notion of global citizenship emerges in the context of the weakening of the power of nation-states in the face of superpower regional coalitions and global capitalist forces and the consequent change in economic and geopolitical relations. Departing from the premise that there are universal human relations and obligations beyond any particular local or national connections, global citizenship advocates “...empathy and solidarity with all peoples, along with rights and responsibilities that are valid across national boundaries” (McCowan, 2009, p. 13). That is, as in the liberal and republican views, the notion of citizenship is based on rights and duties, although in this case the center of power is not a nation-state but an amorphous ‘global’ entity. Within this framework, while “humans are required to look beyond their immediate and proximal relationships (families, local and national communities)” (Peterson, 2016, p. 250), it is also acknowledged that global citizenship is intertwined with local, regional and national forms of citizenship, all of which are mutually reinforcing (Peterson, 2016, p. 261). This relationship between the local and the global is epitomized by slogans such as ‘think globally, act locally’ and labels such as ‘glocality’. However, it should be noted that this relationship between the local and the global is often asymmetric and top-down, as is the case with the liberal and republican state-centered constructs of citizenship.



In spite of their substantial differences, the approaches outlined here share some core features, including the legal (legal rights and/or duties), top-down (state-centered or globally-centered) and universalistic construct of citizenship. In contrast, decolonial notions of citizenship, including the notion of citizenship within the Linguistic Citizenship framework, tend to account for and foreground informal, grassroots and context-bound “acts of citizenship” (Isin, 2008). Acts of citizenship are defined “as those acts that transform forms (orientations, strategies, technologies) and modes (citizens, strangers, outsiders, aliens) of being political by bringing into being new actors as activist citizens (claimants of rights and responsibilities) through creating new sites and scales of struggle” (Isin, 2008, p. 39). The notions of Linguistic Citizenship and acts of citizenship are similar in that they both account for the fact that citizenship activity can take place outside of formal institutions and can involve individuals and social groups that are not recognized as ‘citizens’ in the eyes of the State.

2.2 Citizenship education

Overall, citizenship education can be defined as provision of tools that enable individuals to develop skills, values and attitudes that can serve their orientation in the social environment. However, citizenship education is best appreciated when viewed from different perspectives, mainly depending on philosophical or ideological visions underpinning the construct of citizenship. I illustrate these claims mainly based on the four approaches to citizenship discussed above: republican, liberal, multicultural and global approaches. From the republican perspective, for example, citizenship education means teaching about the responsibilities of citizens towards the State, including military and civic obligations to the nation. From the liberal perspective, citizenship education focuses on provision of tools that can enable individuals to exercise social, political and civil rights, including the right to fair justice, the right to vote and the rights to health and education. From the multicultural perspective, citizenship education focuses on teaching about principles and practices that can allow individuals to recognize cultural differences and act to mitigate or eradicate culturally based social injustices. From the global perspective, citizenship education entails provision of tools enabling individuals to promote and act for the achievement of globally and locally relevant mores and values, such as peace, human rights, democracy and sustainable development.

Despite this rather compartmentalized definition and praxis of citizenship education, in many contexts, multiple or syncretic perspectives to citizenship education are adopted. Such perspectives comprise a combination of features of different approaches to citizenship. For example, citizenship education in Mozambique can be viewed as comprising a synthesis of different perspectives, including elements of the republican, liberal, multicultural and global approaches to citizenship. This is true at least in terms of legislation and political discourses, as in practice some “progressive” competences that would allow, for example, the formation of critical and participative citizens tend to be suppressed.

3 Decoloniality

As noted above, in spite of the formal political decolonization of much of the world, the colonial legacy continues to shape, among other things, the world views, the production and validation of knowledge, the relations of power and the distribution of wealth and resources around the globe. In general, postcolonial countries themselves, in particular those from the Global South, have not managed to delink from the colonial matrix of power. This linkage is epitomised, for example, by the prevalence of colonial language ideologies and policies, which tend to privilege former colonial languages to the detriment of native languages and associated cultures, and the adoption of Western-centred school curricula and pedagogies, while marginalizing local forms of knowledge and epistemologies. This situation has triggered the development of approaches that seek to address and reverse the continued relevance of colonialism around the world or in specific geopolitical spaces. Decoloniality is among such approaches.

Decoloniality, which emerged in the Global South, can be broadly defined as an epistemic, ethical, political and pedagogical project that aims at delinking from Western narratives – colonialism, imperialism, modernity and globalization – while at the same time promoting alternative modes of thinking and

living (see Mignolo, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013). Here, I will merely give a short overview of the key points of decolonial thinking that I use to further a critical discussion of citizenship and citizenship education.

As Mignolo (2013) suggests, the historical, political and epistemic foundations of decoloniality were established in the Bandung Conference of 1955, when 29 Asian and African countries met “to find a common ground and vision for the future that was neither capitalism nor communism” (p. 130). Among other things, this view implied a call for not aligning neither with the West nor with the Soviet Union. However, theorization on decoloniality has been strongly associated with Latin American scholars, who were mainly driven by the observation that neither communism nor capitalism were adequate philosophies and visions to address social and economic inequalities in Latin America, in particular, and in the globe more generally. In Mignolo’s (2013) terms, decolonial thinking “is concerned with global equality and economic justice, but it also asserts that Western democracy and socialism are not the only two models to orient our thinking and our doing.” (p. 131)

Border thinking, delinking and epistemic disobedience are three intertwined concepts that underpin the core politics of decolonial thinking. Mignolo (2013) asserts the relevance of these concepts when he states that “there is no other way of knowing, doing and being decolonially than simultaneously engaging in border thinking, delinking and epistemic disobedience” (p. 141).

Border thinking, regarded as “the epistemic singularity of any decolonial project” (Mignolo, 2013, p. 131), entails the thinking of the people commonly represented as the Other in Western thinking (the *anthropoid*), i.e. those who do not aspire to become or do not want to submit to those Western groups (the *humanitas*) in the powerful position to define, judge and evaluate the marginalized Other, the subaltern (Mignolo, 2013, pp. 131-132, 137). One of the implications of border thinking or border epistemology for decolonial pedagogy is that decolonial education should involve “...opening up the possibilities of teaching and learning subaltern knowledges positioned on the margins or borders of modernity.” (Mignolo, 2007, p. 455)

Delinking decolonially means not to align with or not to accept available options such as communism, capitalism, imperialism, modernism, postmodernism, etc. and adhere to other epistemic and philosophical options. It is within this frame of thinking that Mignolo (2013) states, for example, that “decolonial arguments promote the communal as another option next to capitalism and communism.” (p. 131) Decolonial theorists acknowledge that the marginalized, the subaltern cannot do without Western epistemes and paradigms such as modernity and globalization. However, they argue that by de-linking from those epistemes and paradigms one no longer takes them as “the point of reference and of epistemic legitimacy” (Mignolo, 2013, p. 131). Delinking is thought to be operationalized through border thinking and epistemic disobedience.

Epistemic disobedience or epistemic delinking means to critically confront hegemonic Euro-American epistemologies and paradigms of thought and advance or foreground alternative epistemologies and paradigms based on local ways of doing, thinking and being (Mignolo, 2007, 2011, 2013). This orientation confronts global designs and promotes the recognition and legitimation of pluralist forms of thought, knowledge and life, including those forms that have been historically marginalized or silenced under the rhetoric of civilization and modernity.

Decolonial scholars have been criticized, among other things, for over-emphasizing the linkage between modern epistemologies and power asymmetries. In this regard, Morreira (2017) notes that “decolonial thinking can be seen as over-determining the role played by modern epistemologies, such that the reader begins to wonder how it was possible for critiques of coloniality to have emerged at all” (p. 292) In spite of this criticism I still find the tenets of the decolonial thinking important to address citizenship education in postcolonial Mozambique, in particular considering the ongoing coloniality of language, education and citizenship. Not only does it allow us to trace the coloniality of citizenship discourses across historical time to the present, it also offers a way of understanding Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud, 2001; Chimbutane, 2018)



4 Language, education and citizenship education in postcolonial Mozambique

4.1 Education for monolithic citizenship: The case of the formation of *Homem Novo*

After about 500 years of Portuguese colonial occupation and 10 years of armed struggle, Mozambique became independent on June 25th, 1975. At that time, the government of *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Mozambican Liberation Front, hereafter Frelimo) established a one-party socialist State. Frelimo proclaimed the formation of the *homem novo*, literally “new man” (Machel, 1975), as the appropriate path towards the achievement of this aim. This proclamation was further reiterated during the 3rd Congress of Frelimo in 1977 and later legislated through the Law on the National Education System – Law 3/83 (RPM, 1983).

Following a Marxist-Leninist ideological orientation, *homem novo*, the idealized new citizen, was defined as a citizen free of colonial and bourgeois mentality and also free of “backward” traditional values such as obscurantism and superstition. In addition, this man was expected to take up the values of socialism. This “new man” should also be able to appropriate scientific and technological knowledge and use it in the service of the socialist revolution (Machel, 1975, 1977; MEC, 1977; RPM, 1983). This definition underscored a call for a discrediting of the capitalist worldview and abandonment of all traditional beliefs and practices thought to be in conflict with ‘scientific’ wisdom. These included beliefs in witchcraft, in traditional medicine, in the power of ancestral forces and in God. In fact, with the exception of the call not to believe in God, these culturally based ‘undesirable’ attributes remind us of those that the model of citizen envisaged by the colonial civilizing mission attempted to expurgate – in both cases, the abandonment of traditional values and practices was a key feature of a ‘good’, modern citizen. This top-down colonial modernity is a common feature of traditional and more recent constructs of citizenship, including the construct of global citizenship.

Consistent with the monolithic and authoritarian political and educational ideology, Portuguese, the former colonial language, was declared as *the* official language and the only language of education in Mozambique. In other words, Portuguese was defined as the language that should mediate the socialist nation-state project, including the forging of the “new man”. In contrast, no official status was granted to African languages. This decision shows how the very same language policy that prevailed during the colonial rule was maintained at independence.

The decision to maintain Portuguese as the official language was allegedly to ensure national unity, a political-ideological project that included the bid to eradicate tribal, ethnic and regional differences. This ideological perspective was epitomised by the declaration of Portuguese as the language of national unity (*língua da unidade nacional*). Within this ideological framework, multilingualism had been conceptualized as the main cause of tribalism and regionalism, both of which should be fought vigorously. This explains why the use of African languages in formal domains and functions was not tolerated until recently, including in schools, as these were perceived as divisive and obstacles to the acquisition of the Portuguese language.

In line with these monolingual and socialist ideological frameworks, the school was symbolically conceived as the centre for dissemination of the Portuguese language and the place where the *homem novo* would be forged. This became the central orientation of citizenship education immediately after independence. This mandate is spelled out in the 1983 Law on the National Education System where it is stated that “...in its content, structure and method, the education system must lead to the forging of the new man” (RPM, 1983, p. 13). It is enshrined in this Law that the Education System is based on the educational experiences accumulated during the times of the liberation struggle, on the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the shared world heritage of humanity (RPM, 1983, p. 13). As Castiano, Ngoenha, & Berthoud (2005) point out, Frelimo adopted a socialist construct of democratic education. Within this view of education, schools are conceived as spaces for everyone and through which the people should seize political power from the bourgeoisie. Hence, Frelimo defined the school as the *base para o povo tomar o poder* (the platform for the people to take power).

In addition to the development of solid scientific, technical and cultural skills, the education system was expected to impart patriotic and moral values on the “new man”, through moral and patriotic education. Accordingly, one of the key education policy guidelines was that “... when planning and preparing lessons, each teacher should be able to explore content that serves patriotic education” (MEC,

1986, p. 58). The Portuguese language subject in primary and secondary education was one of the platforms adopted to materialize this socialist orientation of citizenship education. The Portuguese language syllabus and materials were developed around political and social themes, such as the national liberation struggle, national heroes, women's emancipation, proletarian solidarity, life in community, demonization of the enemies of the socialist revolution and State, etc. These were also the preferred topics for essays in primary and secondary schools. To put it simply, Portuguese language classes became an arena for the promotion of socialist values and patriotic awareness among Mozambican students, rather than language lessons *per se*.

As can be perceived, the homogenizing language ideology discussed in this section was consistent with a wider political project of a nation-state founded on egalitarian socialist principles. Under this ideology, "equality meant sameness and the annihilation of difference" (McEwan, 2005, p. 183). Frelimo assumed that in order to build a harmonious socialist society, all citizens should be treated the same way and differences of all sorts should be overridden. Hence, there should only be one country, one party, one ideological orientation and one unifying language and cultural project. As stated so far, there was a vested interest in marking a historical discontinuity between the colonial and 'tribal' past and the 'national-revolutionary' present, as happened in other contemporaneous socialist-oriented African countries, such as Angola and Tanzania (see Blommaert, 2014' in relation to Tanzania¹).

4.2 Pluralist, global citizenship education or a case of syncretic citizenship education?

From the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the beginning of the so-called second Republic, internal and external socio-political forces led to radical changes in the State's discourse and politics about language, education, citizenship education and the national project. The revisions of the Constitution (RM, 1990) and the National Education System (RM, 1992) were some of the immediate measures taken to redirect the State's ideological discourse and national project. Among other things, the socialist philosophy was abandoned, and a more liberal and pluralist society was envisaged.

The introduction of the rule of law, a democratic multiparty system with universal suffrage and a market-based economy can be regarded as the remarkable innovations of the 1990 Constitution. This was a radical shift from the state-centered socialist orientation to a more liberal orientation in economic and socio-political activity. Relevant to this study is what the 1990 Constitution says in relation to orientations in education (RM, 1990: 32, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Article 113):

"The Republic of Mozambique shall promote an educational strategy which has as its aims national unity, wiping out illiteracy, mastering science and technology, and providing citizens with moral and civic values. (Paragraph 1) (...)

The State shall not plan education and culture based on any aesthetic, political, ideological or religious orientation." (Paragraph 2)

The educational aims stated in the first paragraph of the above statement are typical of a 'modernist' (enlightenment) view of education for which traditional notions of citizenship were designed. In addition to that, the second paragraph signals an ideological shift in education in Mozambique. In fact, following the changes in the Constitution, there was a need to readjust the politics of the National Education System, making it consistent with the new pluralist ethos. Accordingly, the new Law on the National Education System is stripped of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and of the formation of the *homem novo* project. Instead, a more liberal and universalistic ideological perspective is adopted, which included the liberalization of education provision (up to then a State monopoly¹), allowing for diverse actors, with different philosophical and ideological orientations, to provide education services alongside the State. In this new era, one of the main goals set for the education sector is "to train citizens with solid scientific, technical, cultural and physical foundations and high levels of moral, civic and patriotic values" (RM, 1992, p. 8, Article 3 (d)). As can be understood, compared with the previous Law on Education, in this new one there are vested efforts to emphasize competences, values and attitudes that are not (overtly) bound to the ideology of any particular political party.

The socio-political transformations attested in the 1990s, include changes in the State's ideology on languages and culture as part and parcel of the project of a more plural society, a society where the principle of "political togetherness in difference" (Young, 1993, p. 124) should prevail. In fact, while in the 1990s Constitution Portuguese kept its status as the sole official language, for the very first time it is enshrined that the State promotes the development and increased use of African languages² in public life, including in education (RM, 1990, Article 5; also RM, 2004, Article 9). The use of African languages in education was further backed by Article 4 of decree 6/92 on the National Education System stating that "... the National Education System must value and develop the national languages², promoting their gradual introduction in the education of the citizens" (RM, 1992, p. 104). This shift in language ideology entails that the languages that until then had been construed as divisive and inappropriate for mediating the socialist project, were upgraded and promoted as potential vehicular languages in formal domains, including in formal education.

In line with this multilingual and multicultural ethos, in the Country's 1997 Cultural Policy (RM, 1997) it is restated that the Government of Mozambique is committed to promoting cultural development and to creating the conditions for respect for cultural diversity, including religious and ethnolinguistic differences. This move resonates with the multicultural citizenship principle of acknowledging group rights' differentiation and recognition (Kymlicka, 1995). In relation to the African languages, the document reads as follows:

"National languages are important assets as they are the main repositories and vehicles of national traditions, the communication instruments for the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans and *key elements for the involvement of citizens in social, economic and political life.*" (RM, 1997, p. 122, my highlighting)

Among other things, this statement foregrounds the State's recognition of the role of African languages as key instruments for the enactment of linguistic citizenship for the majority of the population, i.e., for those who cannot speak Portuguese. This ideological openness to the use of historically marginalized languages for social participation and voice can be taken as a step towards decolonial citizenship, as conceptualized in decolonial frameworks such as Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud, 2001, 2009, 2015).

In spite of the fact that neither of the above legal provisions is binding, they can be regarded as an indication of the decline of homogenizing and assimilationist language policy discourses in Mozambique. Among other things, the new discourses and legal provisions on language opened spaces for the promotion and upgrading of African languages and associated cultural practices as well as for the enactment of linguistic citizenship. For example, this openness has lent legitimacy to both intellectuals and ordinary citizens to debate language issues and to shape new forms of multilingual and multicultural provision in education. To put it differently, issues which were taboos in the first fifteen years of Independence came to be discussed openly in public spaces.

Following a pilot programme (1993-1997), the introduction of bilingual education in Mozambique in 2003 in which African languages are used as media of learning and teaching in the first three years of primary education is a remarkable consequence of the current openness of "ideological and implementational spaces" (Hornberger, 2005) in the country. In addition to the introduction of bilingual education, the 2003 curriculum reform also institutionalised the use of African languages to scaffold learning in contexts whereby Portuguese is taught as a subject or used as a medium of instruction (INDE/MINED, 2003). Put simply, African languages began to be allowed in the official context of school alongside the Portuguese language. These languages ceased to be conceptualized as divisive and obstacles to the acquisition of Portuguese, defined as the unifying language or the language of national identity.

Efforts to 'localize' formal education include the institutionalization of what is called *currículo local* (local curriculum), which consists of teaching local knowledge (local history, geography, agriculture, fishery, crafts, etc.) for 20% of instructional time (INDE/MINED, 2003). This portion of the curriculum is expected to be developed locally with community participation, a move which is part of a process of



decentralizing curriculum development and monitoring. Among other things, local curriculum is expected to help expand pupils' knowledge and skills by linking home/community and school-based contexts for learning.

Results of an ethnographically-informed study of bilingual education schools (Chimbutane 2011) indicated that given the official openness to African languages and associated cultural practices, topics such as religious observance, traditional kingdoms and folk medicine, which had been marginalized within the official curriculum of public schools in Mozambique until recently, are nowadays openly evoked and discussed in classes. These are the kinds of cultural practices and social structures that in the period immediately after independence and under the formation of *homem novo* project had been associated with exploitation, obscurantism and idealism (as opposed to materialism), or perceived as residues of colonialism that should be combated (Chimbutane, 2011). This shows how, in the spirit of decolonial pedagogies, the education system is opening up spaces for teaching and learning of subaltern languages and knowledges (Mignolo, 2007, 2013).

Stroud (2007, p. 42) uses the label “retraditionalization in the modernization of Mozambique” to refer to this State’s embrace of local languages and associated cultures. It should be noted, however, that this process of retraditionalization, on the one hand, has meant the return or invigoration of ‘traditional/colonial’ categories of diversity, which include the oppositions tribal-ethnic-nationalist, and, on the other hand, can be taken, at least in part, as a political-ideological strategy for Frelimo’s readjustment to a new sociopolitical dispensation. In fact, it can be argued that anticipating the post-war multiparty competition³, Frelimo had to embrace the ideals of multilingualism, multiculturalism and ‘localization’ of education, administration and governance to (re)conquer the hearts and minds of an important segment of the population that had been lost as a result of unpopular revolutionary measures, including those envisaging the eradication of tribes and traditional forms of authority (Chimbutane, 2011, 2018).

The pluralist discourses and legislative provisions discussed here have a bearing on the approach to citizenship education. Despite challenges in implementation, the current aim of citizenship education in Mozambique is to form citizens equipped with local, national and global values. Indeed, a review of post-1992 Education Strategic Plans, education curricula and programs, syllabi and textbooks leads to the identification of key themes such as the consolidation of national unity, defense of national sovereignty, preservation of peace, strengthening of democracy, freedom and gender equity and promotion of respect for human rights and for the environment. These themes are consistent with part of the core educational objectives spelled out in Article 11 of the Constitution (RM, 1990, 2004), and also with part of global education goals (cf. UNESCO, 2016). In fact, one of the targets of the Sustainable Development Goal 4, the goal to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”, is that:

“By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.” (UNESCO, 2016, p. 72)

Notwithstanding the progress made so far and as will be substantiated in the next section, there seems to be a mismatch between discourse/legislation, citizenship education and enactment of citizenship in Mozambique. I argue that this is because there is no real delinking but a pursuit of coloniality-modernity which manifests itself through re-traditionalization in the pursuit of modernity, a continued emphasis on the nation-state project and on a nation-state concept of citizenship, and a retention of traditional categories of colonially constructed diversities. In the next section, I show that even the seeming advances in the use of multiple languages in contexts of political decision-making in community contexts pale into insignificance when national and institutionalized politics are at play.



4.3 Legislation and discourse on language, education and citizenship education versus exercise of citizenship in mozambique: A case of mismatch

As discussed in the previous section, from the 1990s legislation and political discourse on language, education and citizenship education have pointed to some form of openness to pluralism in Mozambique. This pluralism could be translated, among other things, into the practice of multilingualism, multiculturalism and democratic participation and voice. However, as is argued in this section, although there is some progress made toward actual multilingual, multicultural and democratic practices, these practices are still being constrained owing among other factors to anti-pluralist attitudes and practices and also to political intolerance. These attitudes and practices are part of a restrictive notion of citizenship, in which only certain types of plurality and agency are accepted.

4.3.1 Citizens' agency and voice

Language and education have a bearing on the level and quality of citizens' participation in socio-political life. As a matter of fact, it is through language that citizens can, for example, understand the democratic participation game and influence decision-making. It follows that only those citizens with competence in languages or language varieties regarded as legitimate in formal, macro-level decision-making arenas will be effectively heard, whereas those who can only use low-status languages or varieties are often marginalized or silenced. In this exercise, education is of paramount importance in participation, since it is mainly through educational institutions that citizens acquire the language(s) or language variety(ies), knowledge and skills legitimated in these decision-making arenas (Martin-Jones, 2007; Stroud, 2003). Within this framework one can conclude that the ability to participate effectively in socio-politically relevant decision-making processes may be conditioned by the education received and language(s) or language variety(ies) used by the citizens.

Indeed, the exclusive use of Portuguese at meso- and macro-level decision-making spheres in Mozambique means that the majority of the citizens who are users of African languages and cannot express themselves in Portuguese are technically excluded from these decision-making arenas. This contradicts the discourse and legislation on multilingualism and democratic participation. It is only indirectly that they can influence decision-making at these higher level settings. In contrast, speakers of African languages are powerful agents at micro-level arenas (community or local level), where the Portuguese language does not have the role and the power it has at meso- and macro-level decision-making arenas. This possibility to participate in community or local level decision-making arenas substantiates the Linguistic Citizenship view that citizenship participation can manifest itself at different scales and through different languages. However, it should be recognised that the impact of citizens' agency and voice on the society may vary depending on the layer of participation. I will illustrate the points made here based on a brief analysis of citizens' participation through civil society organizations (CSOs), community consultation forums and parliamentary institutions.

Following the 1990 Constitution, in 1991 the government passed the Law on Freedom of Association, creating the legal and institutional framework for the exercise of citizenship participation in social life. From there on there was a blossoming of CSOs working in key areas such as education, health, environment, civil and human rights in Mozambique. These institutions have been crucial in basic services delivery, policy-making as well as in advocacy and asserting of citizens' rights and obligations. These CSOs either complement government development efforts or put pressure on the government to respect citizens' rights and entitlements. Some of these institutions, in particular those specialized in civic and political rights, are so mobilizing that they often clash with governmental institutions, in particular when they work outside parameters seen by the government as 'politically correct'. In recent years, these organizations have mobilized the society to press the government, including through demonstrations, to take effective measures to stop kidnappings, alleviate the cost of living, combat corruption in public institutions and hold the responsible officials to account. Although these civil society organizations involve citizens of different socio-economic backgrounds, the masterminds and powerful interlocutors with the government are those who can read and write in Portuguese, which is often linked to some sort of formal education. The sole speakers of African languages, who often only understand the motives of claims, manifestations and street demonstrations via 'interpreters', are often



the soldiers, those who dare to be at the front line and confront anti-riot police in particular in urban areas.

Nevertheless, there are some forums in which speakers of African languages can influence decision-making more directly. One such forum is community consultation, a communication platform frequently used by the government and civil society institutions to involve local communities in decision-making regarding matters of their interest. These consultation processes are usually conducted in African languages allowing communities to express their ideas and feelings fully in a language they can speak best. This mechanism of citizens' participation has been used, for example, in processes of development and implementation of important policy and legislative packages, such as the Land Law, Family Law and the Environment Law. As a result of enabling policy and legislative spaces like these and consequent advocacy actions from CSOs, there is greater awareness of community rights and more effective participation in the management of common wealth and resources such as land, forests and environment. Although studies have expressed doubts as to the efficacy, functionality and relevance of formal spaces for dialogue like these (Topsøe-Jensen, Pisco, Salimo, Lameiras, 2015), community consultation institutions have been important platforms for democratic participation involving languages and communities historically positioned on the margins or borders of 'modernity' (Mignolo, 2007, 2013).

The promotion of community participation and consultation processes is consistent with the government's definition of the district as the center of national development. The aim of this district-based development strategy is the decentralization of government functions down to the local level. This strategy is opening spaces for the official use of African languages for local governance and citizens' participation in decision-making at this level. The interaction between the government and local communities is mainly through African languages. In contexts like these, it is not the one who cannot speak Portuguese who feels constrained in communication exchanges, but the one who cannot speak the dominant local language(s). In line with this development policy, for the first time in independent Mozambique, the government institutionalized the position of interpreter (African languages–Portuguese–African languages) in the public sector. These interpreters have been mediating the dialogue between individuals/grassroots groups and meso- and macro-level government representatives. This concession in language policy can be taken as the government's recognition of the role of African languages for community participation in local socio-economic development and governance. In this sense, it can be said that African languages are starting to officially 'compete' with Portuguese as *de facto* languages of governance and citizens' participation at least at the local level.

In spite of the promising pro-democratic language practices attested at micro-level arenas such as the ones described above, the use of African languages in meso- and macro-level decision-making arenas is still very constrained, which, in turn, constrain democratic participation and voice. The example of the National Parliament is a clear case of the mismatch between the multilingual ethos in language policy making and language practices in Mozambique.⁴ In the internal regulation of this forum of the peoples' representatives, it is clearly stated that Portuguese is the official working language, but it is conceded that members can use African languages to express themselves, *as long as they can ensure interpretation to Portuguese*:

“A member of parliament can ask for permission to express himself/herself in a national language, providing simultaneous translation. 2. Every time a member of parliament decides to express himself/herself in other languages – national or foreign languages – s/he has to automatically create the conditions for simultaneous translation.” (RM, 2014, p. 5, Article 13 of the Rules of procedure of the National Parliament, my highlighting)

In other words, in contrast to what happens at the district level, at this level the State does not provide interpretation services in African languages. The fact that the provision of interpretation services is made the responsibility of the respective members explains to a large extent why this policy, which presents itself as being pro-multilingualism, is not effectively implemented. The members of this institution have never opted for using African languages, not even those who can only barely express



themselves in Portuguese, but fluently in African languages. This means that the voices of these members and, consequently, the voices of the people they represent are in some way silenced in these important decision-making arenas. Therefore, in spite of the relative progress made – from total exclusion to some tolerance – the use of African languages in the National Parliament is yet to move from discourse/legislation to effective implementation.

4.3.2 Authoritarianism and silencing of critical voices

As discussed in section 4.2, from the 1990s citizenship education aims include promotion of peace and tolerance, strengthening of democracy, freedom and equity and promotion of respect for human rights. However, actual social practices seem to indicate that the authoritarian and monolithic ideology that prevailed during the colonial and socialist eras are still constraining the fulfillment of these aims. In this way they jeopardize the full exercise of liberal democracy and global citizenship, as implicit in official discourses and legislation. I will use the cases of freedom of speech in schools and in the media to substantiate this point of view.

Despite some transformation, Mozambican schools have been described as authoritarian in essence, a pattern that has prevailed since the colonial rule (Buendía-Gómez, 1999; Humbane, 2015). Teachers are viewed as the guardians of knowledge and students as passive receivers of that knowledge. The latter are not allowed to question the former's authority. This is consistent with the authoritarian political ideologies followed in colonial and postcolonial periods. Although this authoritarian pattern tends to be destabilized in educational contexts (Chimbutane, 2011), in particular in urban and in private schools, it is still the dominant pattern in Mozambique. Given this pattern, it follows that these schools cannot be taken as valid models of critical thinking and democratic participation.

In tune with this analysis, in a study on the relationship between school, society and citizenship in Mozambique, Humbane (2015) found that there is tight social control on teachers by school managers and there is absence of democratic dynamics within the schools, in general, and within the teachers' community of practice in particular. According to Humbane (2015), the teachers in his study considered that the political climate in Mozambique, in general, and in their schools, in particular, was not conducive to free expression of critical views on socio-political matters and to promoting students' critical thinking. The fear is that by doing so they could be perceived as political agitators or troublemakers. As a consequence, these teachers do not promote critical thinking in their classrooms, which would allow students to reflect and position themselves in relation to social, political and economic issues.

In fact, despite the *de jure* pluralist context, as in the socialist era, teachers and school managers are still expected to be aligned with Frelimo's political ideology. This alignment has been referred to as *confiança política*, that is, political trust. This climate may explain, at least in part, why expressing critical views on socio-political matters or promoting critical thinking on the students in the classroom is avoided or taken as taboo. There is the fear of being associated with opponents of the government or of rubbing salt into unhealed wounds of the recent civil war. This situation substantiates Borongo-Muweke's (2016) observation that there is suppression of citizenship maturity in postcolonial South.

The unwillingness to express critical views in public forums is, at least in part, a consequence of the perceived unsafe socio-political climate that has surrounded the exercise of the rights to freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Mozambican society has been witnessing the abduction, assault and killing of citizens, including politicians, journalists, commentators and scholars, apparently for expressing their critical views on economic and socio-political issues of public interest. In spite of investigations by relevant authorities and pressures from the civil society and international agencies, the perpetrators of these crimes are seldom known and prosecuted.

The climate described here shows how there is a mismatch between the discourse and legislation on freedom of speech and freedom of the press and the actual exercise of these rights. This means that the Mozambican society is yet to mobilize itself to conquer these freedoms, which are fundamental conditions for participation and active citizenry. As Castel-Branco (2010) has pointed out in his analysis of the socio-political context of Mozambique, at the same time that citizenship requires a pluralist climate, it is also forged and hardened in the fight for that pluralist space.

5 Decolonial and linguistic citizenship: A critical framing of citizenship and language in postcolonial Mozambique

The above critique of citizenship and citizenship education across time in Mozambique can be better conceptualized through the lenses of an alternative notion of decolonial citizenship education, as proposed in Barongo-Muweke (2016), and the idea of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud, 2001, 2009, 2015, 2018; Stroud & Heugh, 2004; Williams & Stroud, 2015).

Departing from the observation that there is lack of autonomy and suppression of citizenship maturity in the postcolonial South, Barongo-Muweke (2016) suggests that the aim of a decolonizing framework of citizenship education should be to “construct micro-subjective social science competencies that enable postcolonial learners to recognize and challenge difference and social inequality in their various forms irrespective of context, social positioning of subjects or macro power constellations” (p.156). This approach is understood as a way to promote a civic consciousness that allows economic, social and political autonomy and self-determination to individuals and polities in postcolonial contexts.

Barongo-Muweke’s (2016) notion of decolonial citizenship education is compatible with the idea of Linguistic Citizenship. As argued before, Linguistic Citizenship is also a decolonial approach to citizenship as it also seeks to uncover language related social injustices, often associated with the colonial matrix of power, and to “...promote a *diversity of voice* and contribute to a *mutuality and reciprocity* of engagement across difference.” (Stroud, 2015, p. 20, italics in original) As can be understood, both decolonial citizenship education and Linguistic Citizenship depart from a critique of social injustices associated with the pervasive colonial matrix of power, and, speaking for the marginalized individuals, social groups and polities, they raise socio-political consciousness and promote participation and voice across contexts. This is why I take these two notions as appropriate to foreground and frame the decolonial critique of citizenship developed throughout this article.

As stressed in decolonial approaches to citizenship such as the ones outlined above, the analysis offered in this article confirms the prevalence of the coloniality of citizenship and of citizenship education across time in Mozambique. Based on this view, it can be argued that the failure of contemporary citizenship in Mozambique is not so much as a failure of implementation, lack of political will or arbitrary authoritarianism, but as a consequence of, and inherent in, colonial notions of citizenship and language ideology. Consistent with the colonial matrix, the notion of citizenship and the language ideologies adopted are nation-state based, privileging the national and neglecting the local and the individual, and are also based on Euro-American ideals of progress and modernity, hence the marginalization of local languages, knowledges and cultural practices, since these are regarded as backward. In this sense, even the attested movement towards the “retraditionalization in the modernization of Mozambique” (Stroud, 2007) can be understood as a (forced) acknowledgement of categories of ‘tribal-ethno-nationalist’ diversity set in place by coloniality. Instead of a transformative move, this can be interpreted as a palliative political strategy of readjustment to a new socio-political dispensation, one in which political power is, at least legally, reached through the ballot box.

It is this need to respond to new local and global forces that explains the move from monolithic and socialist to pluralist and liberal legal provisions and discourses on languages, citizenship and citizenship education, albeit within the same colonial logics. As discussed, from an overtly expressed socialist orientation to citizenship and citizenship education, Mozambique has institutionally adopted a kind of syncretic citizenship education approach, in which, drawing from complementary features from different orientations, including the republican, liberal, multicultural and global citizenship, the aim is to equip individuals with ‘politically correct’ competences, values and attitudes that are expected to serve their socio-political orientation in local, national and global environments. As discussed, all these forms of citizenship are based on the same colonial matrix of power. They all rely on formal institutions, top-down management and pre-determined categories of diversity inherited from coloniality (see also Stroud, 2018). Even the global citizenship, which pretends to be humanistic and inclusive, relies on nation-state, global coalitions and top-down management of the local impact of globalization as well as on the colonial view of development. That is, all these approaches to citizenship do not foreground or foster grassroots audibility, which makes them different from decolonial approaches such as Linguistic



Citizenship, which recognise the primacy and agency of the ‘grassroots’ to organize politically through language on their own conditions and forms of sociality (Stroud, 2018).

Despite the aforementioned colonial *status quo*, it should be acknowledged that the current legislative and discursive openness to multilingualism, multiculturalism and democracy is enabling some form of grassroots participation and voice. The use of African languages in local governance and in formal education, the exploration of local knowledge in education and the promotion of traditional values and practices are some of the acts of citizenship enabled by the new pluralist legislation and discourses. The use of African languages in these new contexts is enabling their speakers to reconfigure them “through the creation of new meanings, the repurposing of genres and the transformation of repertoires” (Stroud, 2015, p. 25). These transformations can be regarded as embryonic moves towards linguistic citizenship. That is, although these acts are not yet full-blown linguistic citizenship, in which language is perceived as a political construct “tied to material and symbolic wealth” (Stroud, 2001, p. 351), they can be regarded as steps towards that goal. Within this decolonial view of language, political recognition of low status languages should go hand in hand with dispensations that enable economic and socio-political visibility to the concerned linguistic communities. This is not yet the case in Mozambique as African languages are still not equated with meaningful socio-economic mobility and, in contrast with advances in the use of multiple languages in contexts of political decision making at the grassroots level, at national and institutionalized level Portuguese is still the legitimated language of citizenship. Moreover, the anti-pluralist attitudes and political intolerance that still constrain democratic participation and voice in Mozambique are also instantiations of a restricted notion of citizenship. This analysis suggests that, from a linguistic and socio-political point of view, only certain types of plurality, the ‘politically correct ones’, are accepted and nurtured. This ideology explains why there is a social control in schools, which constrain free expression of critical views on socio-political matters and also inhibits teachers from helping students to develop their critical thinking. These attitudes and practices substantiate Barongo-Muweke’s (2016) premise that there is lack of autonomy and suppression of citizenship maturity in the postcolonial South, and in Africa in particular, and also contradict the Linguistic Citizenship’s “desirability of constructing agency and maintaining voice across media, modalities and contexts” (Stroud, 2009, p. 208). Within this framework, linguistic citizenship is in action when speakers exercise agency and participation through the use of languages or other multimodal means in, but often, outside of institutional frameworks of the State for transformative purposes. This is a way of delinking from colonial language ideologies and associated matrix of socio-political participation. As discussed, this is the defining feature of ‘acts of citizenship’, as theorized by Isin (2008).

While the notions of citizenship and citizenship education adopted in Mozambique are still based and reproduce the colonial matrix of power relations, I can argue that the syncretic approach adopted allows for some breathes of decoloniality. The institutional call for the nurturing of a patriotic spirit and self-esteem in Mozambique can be linked, at least at first glance, with the decolonial approach to citizenship (e.g. Barongo-Muweke, 2016; Mignolo, 2013) in particular because, in addition to a call for love of the country and its people, the aim of this movement, at least in terms of discourse, is to build a project of emancipation and self-determination. The underlying ideological driver has been that Mozambicans have the capacity and resources to be in charge of their country’s fate. Frelimo’s efforts to constitute a ‘national patriotic bourgeoisie’ is consistent with this emancipation and self-determination, although through a form of endogenous capitalist trajectory. As Macamo argues, Frelimo perceives the economic empowerment of their members as a patriotic move whose aim is to free the country from capitalism and from Renamo reactionaries (Macamo, 2014, p. 56). Put differently, the socialists of the past are now dressed up as endogenous capitalists but at the same time claiming to protect the country from ‘external capitalists’ and internal anti-patriotic reactionaries. This leads me to suggest that while Frelimo leaders capitulated to capitalism they also try to challenge part of its structures through decolonial discourses.

6 Conclusion

The analysis offered in this article shows how the politics of language and the orientation of citizenship education in postcolonial Mozambique have been historically linked with political efforts towards the levelling of linguistic, cultural and political diversity. As in colonial Mozambique, in the postcolonial era language ideologies and citizenship education continue to be based on the perceived role of Portuguese as a key instrument for realizing the blueprint of the State – the formation of a socialist nation-state in the first Republic, and the formation of a notionally liberal, pluralistic polity in the second Republic. To put it simply, Portuguese continues to be the language of effective citizenship in this country. In spite of the progress made, African languages, cultures and sole speakers of these languages continue to be positioned on the margins of ‘modernity’, as defined in colonial terms. This is an example of the prevalence of the colonial matrix of power relations after decades of formal political decolonization.

The climate analysed here calls for decolonial approaches to citizenship education, ones that can contribute to reduce local and global inequalities and re-centre the marginalized languages, cultures and citizens while building on and celebrating the brighter side of Humanity’s achievements. The notions of decolonial citizenship education and Linguistic Citizenship as presented and discussed in this article are tools worth being considered as they can help to account for the persistence of coloniality in postcolonial contexts and also shed light on how to delink from colonial circuits of transmission. On this point, Barongo-Muweke’s (2016, p. 25) argument that “meaningful decolonisation is not possible without mainstreaming decolonising citizenship education in the various subject specific scientific disciplines” can be instructive here.

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Endnotes

1 At Independence, Frelimo nationalized, among others, the health, education, justice and housing sectors. From there up to the 1990s services in these sectors were solely provided by the State.

2 African languages spoken in Mozambique have been alternatively referred to as Mozambican languages or national languages, even though none of them is spoken nationwide.

3 After 16 years of civil war, involving Frelimo and Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance, hereafter Renamo), a peace agreement was reached in October 1992, making way for the first democratic elections held in 1994.

4 The same applies to language policies and practices at the level of municipalities.

Politics as Shaping: An Approximation to Students' Metaphorical Understanding

Andreas Stephan Kegel

- Metaphors may help achieve a conceptual reconstruction in social science education.
- Metaphors reveal people's political narrative.
- Students use metaphorical language to understand and express their idea of politics.
- Metaphorically politics is shaping, passing upwards, guidance and foundation.
- A Grafiz can help to make students' metaphors useful in social science education.

Purpose: Teaching social science might benefit from using students' metaphorical understanding. Metaphors help people to better understand abstract concepts by breaking them down into more familiar ones. This essay attempts to approximate students' metaphors of politics to improve social science education's efforts in shaping politically mature citizens.

Method: Taking three single interviews with students attending senior classes in high schools in Hamburg, Germany, this paper analyses metaphors they use to describe politics. It categorizes them and puts them into a larger context in the form of systematic metaphors providing an approximation to the students' metaphorical understanding.

Findings: The findings suggest that students understand politics as shaping society, participation as passing upwards people's interests, governance as guidance, and human life as the foundation for society. However, more research is necessary, such as analysing more students' metaphors or using issue-related drawings.

Practical implications: Teachers can use these findings to initialize a conceptual reconstruction. They could ask students to draw a *Grafiz* using the terms suggested above and having a better access to students' metaphorical understanding of a topic. That helps the teacher to select appropriate material for their teaching units.

Keywords:

metaphors, politics, Grafiz, students' ideas

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1 Civic educational need for students' metaphors

Teaching politics in a student-oriented manner is difficult. Politics is a very abstract idea although omnipresent in people's lives. Metaphors facilitate making more abstract ideas more familiar. That especially applies to politics, as it is "a distant realm for many people, and politicians use metaphorical expressions to translate abstract topics into more familiar ones, which people can understand and connect more easily." However, politics is not such a distant realm as Negrea-Busucioc (2017, p. 311) suggests. It takes place in everyday life when individuals transform their interests into common decisions (Lange 2008). Students experience politics in their everyday life. Those experiences help teachers to connect civic educational content with students' ideas and enable a conceptual reconstruction. Achieving a conceptual reconstruction in a more practical and student-oriented manner necessitates a look at metaphors. Not only do they occur in politicians' speeches but also in everyone's language. People's knowledge is widely filled with metaphors.

When people try to understand (political) reality, language plays a crucial role. Language is our coordinate system; it is omnipresent in life. "Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowmen. An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life" (Berger/ Luckmann, 1966, p. 51 – 2). People use language to express their experiences. Language is full of metaphors based on and influencing our perception because "the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff/ Johnson, 1980, p. 3).

A common example is ARGUMENT IS WAR. According to it, people understand arguments as a fight. When arguing, they act in a way of, for example, winning, losing, defending, attacking, and demolishing. "We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way – and we act according to the way we conceive things" (Lakoff/ Johnson, 1980, p. 5). If we had not understood argument as war, we may have had a very different idea of arguments. Metaphors influence our mindset. Since metaphors are quite dominant in everyday life, our choice of words and actions go together. They are mutually dependent which is also the case for our political mindset. "Because so much of our social and political reasoning makes use of this system of metaphorical concepts, any adequate appreciation of even the most mundane social and political thought requires an understanding of this system" (Lakoff, 1995, p. 177). In using a systematic choice of metaphor, people make reality understandable to themselves – and so do students of civic education. In understanding students' metaphors, teachers better understand their students' political perception and prior knowledge.

Students perceive everyday politics, express their experience and make it understandable by *picturing* it, that is, using metaphors to understand it. This, for instance, is shown in teacher beliefs research. "[E]xisting metaphor collections about teaching constituted an important starting point for educational researchers to study the beliefs that future teachers bring with them to teacher preparation programs" (Szukala, 2011, p. 61). Metaphors also facilitate learning as "conceptual metaphors enable insightful learning due to their experiential basis" (Niemeier, 2017, p. 674). As social science education always deals with technical terminology, metaphors may be helpful, too. Niemeier (2017, p. 675) states in context of English didactics that "[c]onceptual metaphors help learners to retain vocabulary more easily, as learners are enabled to systematically expand on their prior knowledge and use already known words in extended senses." Metaphors help improve educational purpose by better understanding students' perception.

To sum up, teachers need a better understanding of students' systematic choice of metaphors. Their metaphorical concepts reveal their political understanding based on everyday experiences. They are vital to initiate a conceptual reconstruction. There might be misconceptions teachers have to work with (Reinhardt, 2015, p. 51). If social science education improves its idea of students' metaphors, it may come up with new ideas on initializing a conceptual reconstruction deepening students' knowledge. Thus this essay aims at approximating students' metaphorical understanding of politics and giving suggestions on practical implications and further need for research.

The essay first asks for an educational understanding of politics (chapter 2) and provides a theoretical framework of metaphors (chapter 3). It then analyses students' metaphorical understanding of politics by



using three single interviews (chapter 4). It finally suggests further research and practical implications (chapter 5).

2 What is politics in social science educational context?

As politics is in the centre of the upcoming analysis, the term requires a scientific and especially educational definition. Its meaning, though, is scientifically hard to grasp and even more challenging if politics is put into an educational context. The latter requires an understanding addressing not only scientific findings but also students' everyday ideas. As stated in the introduction, politics is not only a distant realm but takes place in everyday life.

From a scientific point of view, Colomer (2011), for example, connects politics with public goods, cooperation, conflicts, and competition, whereas Ryan (2012) associates politics with the question of how people govern themselves. This question centres his overview on political thought, knowingly narrowing down the debates about the essence of politics to governance. Slightly differently, Easton (1953, p. 128) discusses politics in terms of political life. Political life refers to activities of authoritative agents as well as the making and execution of policy relevant to values in society. However Easton (1953, p. 126) also stresses that politics has always been a search for the good life, making it hard to find a universally-accepted solution. In this context Haywood (2007, p. 5) summarizes the problem well by pointing out that the question *what is politics?* "exposes some of the deepest intellectual and ideological disagreement in the academic study of the subject." Nevertheless, understanding politics as solving conflicts might be a useful compromise in the science of politics as "the heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another" (Haywood, 2007, p. 4). However, achieving conflict resolution is quite hard in societies. Conflicts originate from diversity and scarcity ensuring "that politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition" (Haywood, 2007, p. 4). Conflict resolution, though, might be a good starting point as scientific consensus.

Politics as conflict resolution is only suitable for social science education if it does not refer to apolitical resolutions. Instead of narrowing down politics to conflict resolutions in institutional contexts and expanding to apolitical events, Lange (2008) defines politics as a process which transfers individual interests into common solutions explaining why a family decision on the next weekend trip or students' decision on class rules are political. If two nine-year-olds, for example, argue about classroom disruption and the teacher orders them to be silent, there is conflict resolution but not a political one. However, if the two nine-year-old ones and their classmates discuss how to prevent classroom disturbance and decide on a set of rules, they turn their individual interests into common decisions. They have a political conflict resolution. This definition focuses conflict resolution on politics since it aims at decision-making by connecting individual interests with each other. This process, though, is far more complex. Kegel's (2018, p. 457 – 8) didactic term of politics expands Lange's everyday understanding: The transformation regulates the relationship between society and each individual by referring to the four concepts *participation, plurality of opinions, social justice, and living together in everyday life*. Justice, integration, positive attitudes between individual and society, autonomy, and the connection between moral and law intertwine those four concepts.¹ This term is didactic because it is based on students' everyday understanding and deepened by similar scientific ideas of politics. In the case of the example with classroom disturbance, students face questions such as, how their resolution is participative (*who decides: students and teachers?*), diverse (*how to account for many interests?*), socially just (*what is a suitable, just rule?*), and effective (*how do the rules provide equal opportunities?*). Thus, understanding politics as conflict resolutions if individual interests become common decisions is a useful definition for social science's educational purpose. Kegel's didactic term helps better understand to what extent this process is conflictive.

However, Kegel's didactic term of politics is far too complex for students of civic education and would be over demanding to them. Using their metaphors as starting point, though, might be helpful – especially because metaphors are omnipresent in politics. Not only do politicians make use of metaphors (Negrea-Busuioc, 2017, p. 312) but also use them "to translate abstract topics into more familiar ones, which people can understand and connect more easily" (Negrea-Busuioc, 2017, p. 311). Thus students need to

understand metaphors to be less vulnerable to being manipulated as well as to raise their consciousness to the existence of metaphors in political settings. A good, primary approximation is to understand their systematic use of metaphors as starting point.

3 An approximation to metaphors

Analysing students' metaphorical understanding first necessitates understanding metaphors. In doing so, this chapter is divided into two parts: The first one takes a look at what metaphors are and how they influence people's knowledge of reality. The second one shows how metaphors reveal people's perceptions

3.1 The meaning of metaphors

First of all, what is a metaphor? People perceive reality based on their experience. They make reality understandable using metaphors as frames for more abstract ideas such as time and arguments. Those ideas refer to more concrete ones. People have less direct access to more abstract ideas making it difficult to understand them. "The domain of experience that is used to comprehend another domain is typically more physical, more directly experienced, and better known than the domain we wish to comprehend, which is typically more abstract, less directly experienced, and less known" (Kövecses, 2015, p. 2). By framing more abstract experiences with more concrete ones, people make them more understandable. More concrete concepts are – as source domain – helpful donators to understanding more abstract ones – as target domains. A metaphor hence connects two ideas with each other to provide understanding. "[T]here are two distinct ideas involved and that we use one idea to better understand the other" (Cameron, 2010a, p. 3). A metaphor is figurative language and can "be understood as a global term meaning a comparison between two unlike things which serves to enhance our understanding" (Bowman, 1998 – 1999, p. 1; Bartel, 1983, p. 3). Metaphor bridges two mental frames distinguished by more or less accessibility to people's experience. That is why a "metaphor is a set of correspondences, or mappings, between two elements of two mental frames" (Kövecses, 2015, p. 2). Framing more abstract concepts like comparing argument with war or time with money help people make them more accessible to themselves and their fellowmen (Lakoff, 1994, p. 251).

Metaphors not only help make reality comprehensible. They also influence people's thinking and actions as it is the case, for instance, in education and politics. Metaphors are "not just reflecting attitudes but shaping our perspectives and our actions" (Bowman, 1998 – 1999, p. 1; Szuluka, 2011). Metaphors therefore limit our perspective on life and foster facts. Metaphors highlight aspects but also hide other aspects resulting in a biased perception. If teachers, for instance, metaphorize learning as a journey, learning not only is exploration and discovery but also has a destination (Wade, 2017, p. 776). However, reaching the destination also completes or rather finishes learning. Learning then may no longer be the storage of knowledge; you pass a place on a journey and may not come back. "There is the risk that it becomes a fragmented itinerary of sporadic episodes in the learning experience" (Wade, 2017, p. 778). If learning is metaphorized as a container, though, learning is "a process of knowledge accumulation and storage" (Szuluka, 2011, p. 67).

As providing a biased perception, metaphors cause a narrative. The choice of metaphors influences our perception of reality. Lakoff (1991) proves how Bush's narrative of the Gulf war aims at presenting the USA as heroic by going to a just war against Iraq (the villain) that attacked Kuwait (the victim), although it was also perceived by some as a war defending US interests in oil. From that point onwards, the public no longer focused on economic interests which eased US government's efforts to convince everyone of a (just) war against Iraq (Lakoff, 1991, p. 5). Obama similarly attempts to convince the American public of engaging in climate change. He frames climate change as a war to allow "the public to infer that climate change is an enemy, albeit an invisible one, that still needs to be fought against" (Negrea-Busuioc, 2017, p. 338 – 339). He also frames climate change as a race to stress US leadership and teamwork as well as to secure victory (Negrea-Busuioc, 2017, p. 337). Metaphors make life more comprehensible, but also aim at convincing people. Metaphors provide a biased perception. They are based on "a coherent network of



entailments that highlight some features of reality and hide others. The acceptance of the metaphor [...] leads us to view the entailment as being *true*” (Lakoff/ Johnson, 1980, p. 157). The choice of metaphors creates a biased picture of an event and thus provides a far-reaching narrative.

3.2 Metaphors as spatial and cultural understanding

An analysis of students’ metaphors requires an understanding of where they originate. This necessitates a look at people’s spatial and cultural experience, that is their interaction with their environment and fellow people.

Basically Lakoff/ Johnson (1991) discriminates between different contributors to metaphors such as orientational and ontological metaphors as well as personification, metonymy, entities and similarities. Those examples usually have in common their reference to human body and activities interacting with the physical environment. Spatial experience is a vital contributor to our metaphorical understanding. “In other words, the structure of our spatial concepts emerges from our constant spatial experience, that is, our interaction with the physical environment. Concepts that emerge in this way are concepts that we live by in the most fundamental way” (Lakoff/ Johnson, 1991, p. 56 – 7). Since people’s physical abilities are omnipresent in life and directly perceivable (like, for instance, to look up and down, to move forward and backward), they help everyone make more abstract concepts better understandable. Taking the example “John grasps the idea”, Cuccio/ Fontana (2017, p. 108) concludes, “we comprehend the abstract concept of “understanding” (the target domain of the metaphor) resorting to the physical action of grasping (the source domain of the metaphor).” As physical abilities do not depend on language, metaphors can have a universal meaning no matter what language is in use.

Metaphors also originate from cultural influence. Cultural influence is pre-condition to make metaphors workable. Metaphors originate from social negotiations making knowledge of the world the result of a broader understanding. Knowledge is based on our interaction with other people and only works if we make ourselves comprehensible. That is why language only works if people understand each other (Berger/ Luckmann, 1966, p. 51ff) – and so do metaphors. If I, for example, understand argument in terms of defending and attacking, my counterpart needs a similar understanding to find my conceptual metaphor argument is war comprehensible. We understand fairy tales as black and white stories to identify good and bad more easily – as shown above in the case of the Gulf war. The American people were more willing to accept the Gulf war as just and necessary because it was compared with a fairy tale having a clear role allocation: the US as hero, Kuwait as victim, and Iraq as villain. In other words cultural influence is predominant because “all experience is cultural through and through, that we experience is our “world” in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself” (Lakoff/ Johnson, 1991, p. 57). To sum up, metaphors originate from our spatial experience, that is when our human body interacts with the environment, but also from cultural experience, that is how we experience our environment when interacting with fellow people.

3.3 A systematic choice of metaphors

Students’ biased pictures of politics and thus their political narratives occur in their systematic use and choice of metaphors.

Metaphors are comparable with a map giving a more familiar overview on a more abstract idea, as Negrea-Busuioac (2017, p. 315) points out in the context of Obama’s speech on climate change. “Figurative language and thinking, especially metaphors, play a crucial role in mapping climate change onto more familiar, more tangible aspects of human life that people find easier to relate to and use in their everyday life.” In referring to everyday life, the human mind makes use of a source domain referring to the target domain. In this case spending money is a source domain used to make the value of time more understandable. If people *lose or spend money literally*, they perceive time as something they *lose or spend metaphorically*. Time is the target domain. The same applies to learning as a journey or argument as war. Those conceptual metaphors reveal a biased perception. Several single metaphors reveal a systematic understanding.



Cameron (2010b, p.91) suggests the term “systematic metaphor” meaning “an emergent discourse phenomenon that is produced when discourse participants, over a discourse event or longer period of time, use a particular set of linguistic metaphor vehicles in talking about a particular topic, or closely connected topics.” Systematic metaphors are a set of closely related metaphors – and so are conceptual metaphors. Both share “the idea of connected patterns of metaphors as important tool in understanding and talking or writing” (Cameron 2010b, p. 91; Lakoff, 2014, p. 131). In other words “[a] conceptual metaphor typically has a number of linguistic manifestations (metaphorically used words and more complex expressions) to talk about the target domain” (Kövecses, 2015, p. 2). As these linguistic manifestations share a similar perception, they refer to a systematic perception. They “therefore motivate a system of associated metaphorical terms that appear on the “surface” of language. They are symbolic frames (“schemes”) that provide an inferential base for understanding more discrete attitudes and behaviour and thus capture an underlying word view or frame” (Szuluka, 2011, p. 61). Those conceptual metaphors are not random, for they depend on their cultural context and are common experience. “Basic conceptual metaphors are part of the common conceptual apparatus shared by members of a culture. They are systematic in that there is a fixed correspondence between the structure of the domain to be understood (e.g., death) and the structure of the domain in terms of which we are understanding it (e.g., departure). We usually understand them in terms of common experience” (Lakoff/ Truner, 2001, p. 51). People use their common experience and revert to a systematic approach – no matter where they come from. Similar or even the same conceptual metaphors exist in different languages as, for instance, spatial experience does not depend on people’s whereabouts. “[C]ommonality in human experience [...] gives us many of the conceptual metaphors that we can take to be near-universal or potentially universal” (Kövecses, 2015, p. 6). That is why similar spatial and cultural experience (as stated in the previous part) make metaphors understandable between people (like between an interviewer and interviewee).

Conceptual metaphors reveal people’s systematic approach to more abstract concepts like politics when using common experience. Such an understanding can help teachers to better understand students’ political understanding and find access to their ideas. This access is important to work with and through their (mis-)conceptions – as stated in the introduction.

4 Searching students’ metaphor

As this article aims at students’ metaphorical understanding, this section is divided into two parts: As an analysis requires a methodical approach, the first section outlines the method. The second one presents the findings of how students understand politics metaphorically.

4.1 Method: how to analyse students’ metaphors

As pointed out above, metaphors as figurative language aids understanding and – in a larger context – map more abstract ideas in a more familiar way. To analyse students’ systematic use of metaphors, the interviews analysed here are considered as discourse event and discourse dynamics taking place between an interviewer and a single interviewee aiming at a better understanding of the latter’s ideas of politics. Taking such a “framework for analysing metaphors in discourse builds on the premise that different dimensions [...] of metaphor in use are interconnected and they can be reflected across the discourse event and across discourse participants” (Negrea-Busuioc, 2017, p. 323). Such interconnectedness, assuming metaphors are used in linguistic, cognitive, affective, physical, and cultural dimensions, helps identify metaphors within the discourse context, discourse events, and in societies over time (Cameron, 2010b, p. 78; Negrea-Busuioc 2017). This framework as used for the upcoming analysis helps identify metaphors as used in the course of the three interviews but also find connections between students’ metaphors and across discourse genres and over time. This is vital in order to make practical implications for the use of metaphors for educational purposes.

In order to find metaphors methodically, the analysis identifies students’ systematic choice of metaphor vehicles. “Metaphor vehicles are central to the various metaphor phenomena covered by the framework, and can be connected theoretically to other aspects of metaphor at other timescales” (Cameron, 2010b, 79). Hence, each of the three interviews were searched for metaphor vehicles expressing similar ideas of



politics. Similar connections between figurative language and political idea reveal their perception of politics. Their metaphorical sayings are categorized with similar metaphorical ones other students use to metaphorize the same principal topics. Since this study is interested in students' political ideas, it remains close to their sayings and does not assume a scientific understanding of politics first. Otherwise the study would move away from students' ideas.

Searching students' systematic metaphors requires a broad approach to their political ideas and is based on three single interviews conducted for a qualitative approach (Kegel, 2018a). As this thesis aimed at a didactic understanding of politics, it centred single interviews with seven students having a length of about 1.5 hours each. The interviews were problem-centred and divided into three sections. Students who attended senior classes at different high schools in Hamburg, Germany, first talked about how they consider politics today, secondly how they would like politics to be on a different planet (their utopia) and thirdly from where their ideas originate.

Providing a first approach to metaphors, the paper analyses three students with different political ideas. The students have the fictional names Atticus, Alice, and Dorothy.² Atticus aims at both, enabling people to participate in politics as much as possible, and ensuring an effective decision-making process. Dorothy, however, limits participation to elections and wants politicians to take care of sustainable decisions and efficient funding. In contrast to both, Alice denies participation; she wants a king as sole decision-maker. Thus the analysis can find conceptual metaphors covering a broad range of political ideas. However, there are still other metaphors.

4.2 Students' metaphors of politics

According to the students, people metaphorically use politics to *shape* society and need to *pass upwards* their ideas to their leaders who *guide* them based on human dignity as *foundation*. The upcoming analysis provides a presentation on the students' metaphors (*shaping, passing upwards, guidance, foundation*) and an understanding of what they allude to. Since the interviews took place in German and students' pictures are presented in English, there are no quotations. The analysis rather provides references to the pages and lines where readers can find the metaphors in the interviews, also indicated in italics.

4.2.1 Politics as shaping

Students metaphorize politics as shaping. Politics embodies the aim of shaping a sustainable and utopian society giving equal chances, providing human dignity, and balancing people's interests.

Atticus describes politics as its *main goal* being a *fight for principles and utopias* and thus *shaping a better society by regulating different – as he puts it – things via politics* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 2, ll. 45 – 52). Atticus considers politics to be not only a goal of society but also as an opportunity of shaping since it makes people to show a more appropriate behaviour. Politics also enables people to compete for their ideals, turning politics into *a system of stimulation* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 2, ll. 51) and a *scope for design* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 2, ll. 56) forming society. Atticus also illustrates how the new shape of society is supposed to look like in the end: he wants to *bring human dignity into being, stop people's economy from interfering in the environment* and *bring their lives in tune with the environment* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 5 – 6, ll. 175 – 84). As shaping requires people to use a tool, Atticus consistently, but also negatively considers today's referendum as a *direct instrument in the shape of a hammer for upper-class people to form politics* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 23, ll. 815 – 9). Atticus understands politics as shaping society referring to tools, but does not clarify what specific tools society needs.

In a similar way, Dorothy considers politics as shaping. For her, politics has effects on school and working life, as well as how people govern themselves, defining government as an executive branch as well as parties and their individual interests (Kegel, 2018b, p. 208, ll. 47 – 57). Furthermore, she ascribes politics to providing a sustainable life. Politics needs to use resources sustainably because *people must not demolish the planet* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 216, ll. 343). Understanding sustainability as a major aspect of politics, she also refers to the planet as a person because *the planet will experience a growth in housing space*, requiring people to pay attention to *how much the planet can actually carry* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 216, ll. 342 – 4). Hereby she aims at bringing people's and Nature's interests together giving government the



task of finding a good balance. In planning political decisions, a government needs to ensure *that the means of funding and the resources of the planet are not exceeded* or – as she says – *outrun*. Such an effective funding requires *a government to either invest into sustainability or build a theme park* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 217, ll. 377 – 81). As a government makes decisions leading to building, carrying, or demolishing and ensuring sustainability, Dorothy understands politics as shaping society.

However, Alice's society, already living in paradise, requires no changes and hence no shaping. She initially uses production, expressing the aims of politics as *coordinating solutions by trying to produce balance* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 152 – 3, ll. 177 – 86) and to *find solutions producing social justice* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 151, ll. 117). Politics is supposed to satisfy as many people as possible. Later on she distances herself from her initial idea by alluding to a king who embodies politics. Whenever conflicts arise, politics in the manifestation of a king *steps in* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 155, ll. 266). People *take the initiative* by asking the king when they are unable to find solutions (Kegel, 2018b, p. 156, ll. 321 – 2). However, the king provides a *manual* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 160, ll. 468) helping people to cooperate: They *find a good compromise for everyone* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 167, ll. 725 – 6) and have *a foundation on which everything else can be built up* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 169, ll. 788). Interestingly, at the outset of the interview, she understands politics as the production of social justice and balance of interests. Her king, taking action if necessary, then embodies politics. He enables people a life in paradise by providing a manual that helps people to produce social justice and balance interests on an appropriate foundation. Having the king's manual, people learn how to use politics as means to shape a better social life. Thus politics is shaping. Each interviewee clearly states that they understand politics as shaping society.

4.2.2 Participation as passing upwards

The three students understand participation as passing upwards since there is a hierarchy between leaders and citizens. They want politicians to be decision-makers. The latter informs the former of their interests by bringing them on the next, higher level.

Atticus understands participation as a challenge to ensure effective and participatory decision-making. He connects participation with *an organisational problem, for eighty million people cannot sit in a room to discuss policies*. People need to *draw a line and set up a framework that allows everyone to participate but also to work effectively* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 12, ll. 400 – 6). Effective decision-making necessitates *coming down to a representative system* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 12, ll. 412 – 3) leading to a hierarchical system. Decision-makers are more powerful and are thus on a higher level. Everyday participation begins *on a small scale* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 19, ll. 688) leaving everyone's participation *on the lowest level* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 19, ll. 692). From there people can start *to pass their opinions upwards on to the next levels* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 19, ll. 692). Hereby *there is quite a lot of elbowroom because referendum can generate participation* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 12, ll. 414 – 5) and *jump over the representative system concerning special issues* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 13, ll. 447 – 8). In jumping over, people can outmatch their decision-makers. As people have to be able to pass their opinions upwards, Atticus fears manipulation. He cautions against *manipulated media telling people what to think* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 23, ll. 834) and *delivering opinions* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 12, ll. 421). He is afraid of a *political system ejecting people unconsciously* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 21, ll. 756 – 7) making people passive figures in politics. Only active citizens have the strength to pass upwards their ideas without being influenced too much.

Dorothy also wants people to pass their ideas upwards although she rejects referenda as a mean of participation. For her, there are different groups with different ideas and each of these groups has an elected person. *Each elected person represents the different ideas to present and teach them to the circle of elected people* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 220, ll. 488 – 479). Like teachers to their students, elected officials are experts and – to some extent – decision-makers for citizens. Furthermore, she wants to see both, *people engaged in politics by writing letters and passing on ideas*, and *elected people pick up ideas and discuss them* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 219, ll. 468 – 470). Although she does not discuss politics in terms of different levels – as Atticus does –, she understands decision-making as a place that is away from the people. This separate place knows people's interests and is in charge of the decision-making as *it leads society making equality rule people* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 212, ll. 182). Such an understanding reveals lawmakers sitting over



the people. Metaphorically spoken, people, announcing their interests, have to pass upwards their ideas to their lawmakers.

In contrast Alice directly points out that *politicians are on the top* because they make decisions, want changes and are people's elected officials. She wants to put the *people a bit higher* but not on *the same level as politicians* since the *people decide through politicians* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 150 – 2, ll. 107 – 62). Although she later on puts a king in the centre of her utopia, the king remains the decision-maker. Her King *stands above* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 160, ll. 441) and *takes action in case of doubts* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 155, ll. 265 – 6) since people should try to cooperate with each other instead of *stressing ownership like: 'This is my garden'. 'This is your garden'* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 167, ll. 308 – 13). She does not need any politicians on her planet as the *king is like God* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 157, ll. 335 – 6): he is all-powerful and *can therefore read people's thoughts and look into their hearts. He can pass on his energy or spirit to empower people* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 167, ll. 496 – 9). In each of those cases the king as decision-maker remains over the people. God is in heaven and thus over people. As a utopian monarch he is not dependent on the people's will, but rather the reverse is true. However, his decisions are good because he knows his subjects' true interests. Thus he passes their ideas upwards to himself.

4.2.3 Governance as guidance

Understanding politics as shaping and participation as passing upwards leaves unclear who is in charge. For Atticus, Dorothy and Alice, governance is guidance.

Atticus does not talk about ruling as a necessity. He stresses instead the need to empower people to *question as much as possible and see everything from different perspectives* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 5, ll. 156 – 7) which *is not put into their cradle* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 16, ll. 573 – 4). Taking the baker as an example of someone who performs an important service to society, he would like *different paths of life to be more appreciated* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 11, ll. 376 – 9). In each of the cases, difference, hence plurality stands in the foreground requiring people not only to learn it from the birth onwards (= cradle,) but also to understand (= seeing perspectives) and value diverse lives (= paths of life). He underlines the necessity of empowering people by contrasting it with ruling suppression. Today's politicians *bait people with carrots and stick*. Alluding to hierarchy, *if the top does not want it, people need to do it from the bottom* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 27, 961 – 72). *People get blinkered* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 10, ll. 352 – 3) and *do not have the balls* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 29, ll. 1031) to change something. They *cannot think out of the box* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 10, ll. 350 – 4) and need to *broaden their horizon* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 10, ll. 350 – 4). Empowering defies suppression. Therefore, the political system needs to screen opinions by using fewer obstacles. That is why it needs *simpler structures* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 19, 671 – 2) and *lower hurdles* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 20, 716). For Atticus government is closer to people's interests by a society accepting diversity, questioning everything and hindering governing people from pushing through their interests. That leads to government that performs guidance instead of ruling.

Dorothy more directly refers to government as a leader instead of a ruler. *Since rules must not go against human dignity and not hurt people* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 211, 177 – 9), she stresses that a government needs to consist of different people who *lead the system but do not rule the planet and ensure that equality rules the planet* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 211 – 2, 179 – 83). Rules personify authority and put governing people on a lower level. She indirectly underlines this approach by preferring group to political parties. She alludes to her everyday life where she is rather *on the way with a group of friends* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 224, ll. 641 – 2) than with party members. Meeting friends embodies personality and makes everyone more equal although friendships are subject to (unwritten) rules. Leading makes lawmakers and citizens as equal as possible but leaves decisions to the former.

At first glance Alice takes a different approach but has in a fact a similar idea. Her King *sums up everything* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 175, ll. 989 – 90). The people *do everything in front of the king's eyes* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 172, ll. 901 – 2). He provides laws *by which people can live* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 162, ll. 539). Thus the king symbolizes a dictator who controls people's lives. He can *read people's hearts and minds* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 167, 496 – 7), enabling him to *see everything* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 167, 557 – 8). Alice, though,



understands the king differently. Instead of being a dictator, he provides guidance. In fact, he *guides people* (Kegel, 2018b, p. 161, ll. 499). As a guide, the king is not interested in suppressing people – as, for instance, Hobbes’ Leviathan. He instead enables people to have a proper life knowing their true interests and concerns. In a far more democratic understanding, Atticus wants more self-governance by making people discuss needs and concerns but not abolishing an executive branch – and so does Dorothy. She has a more personal understanding of governance, for personal groups are more passionate to their members’ needs and concerns. Instead of giving orders, friends deliberate conflict resolutions as, for instance, where to go for lunch. As in each of the three cases governance is about bringing diverse interests together and not ruling people, each of them would understand governance as guidance.

4.2.4 Human life as a foundation

To have peaceful life, society needs a foundation its members can identify with. Therefore, the three interviewees understand human life as foundation.

For Atticus, politics embodies people’s decision of how they determine their living together (Kegel, 2018b, p.1, ll. 21 – 3). He cautions against the tabloid press that delivers opinions (Kegel, 2018b, p. 7, ll. 238 – 44 and p. 12, ll. 415 – 23) and does not advance freedom. Democratic politics decide on economy (Kegel, 2018b, p. 6, ll. 207 – 9). This enables equal chances and human conditions being the bridge towards economic policy (Kegel, 2018b, p. 8, ll. 259). This bridge appears in different shapes. Economic growth is responsible for exploiting resources and humans. That is why developed countries need to tear down protective barriers to secure human life (Kegel, 2018b, p. 9, ll. 306 – 10). People instead need both, a strong welfare state that – as an entity – enables disabled, young, old and sick people to lead a good life, and a basic income that secures human life (Kegel, 2018b, p. 8, 259 – 77). Human life also necessitates people not to use the economy to turn environment upside down (Kegel, 2018b, p. 5 – 6, ll. 176 – 84). In each case, equal chances and human life are the foundation for civil rights which either suffer abuse (exploitation, economic protection or ecological destruction, media-related manipulation) or need to be more secured. Human life as a foundation prevents people from doing harm.

As already mentioned above, Dorothy underlines the meaning of rules. That is why she understands our politics as founding rules we need to hold on to (Kegel 2018b, p. 209, ll. 70 – 1). Talking about Germany’s basic law, she wants a common foundation that rules society (Kegel, 2018b, p. 213, ll. 225 – 6). Like a person, a basic law ensures that both, people pay attention to what to build, and the same conditions apply everywhere (Kegel, 2018b, p. 226, ll. 716 – 8). Those basic rules personify the true ruler of society, ensuring sustainability and equal conditions (Kegel, 2018b, p. 226, ll. 715 – 8) and providing that rules do not violate human dignity (Kegel, 2018b, p. 211, ll. 177 – 9). Hereby she defines human dignity as something that does not go below human rights (Kegel, 2018b, p. 213 – 4, ll. 252 – 8) and equality as something ensuring that people from other countries with different cultural and traditional backgrounds are not ejected when entering another country (Kegel, 2018b, p. 216, ll. 329 – 32). On Dorothy’s planet, human rights and equality – as founding rules – provide a good life for everyone making them the foundation for any decisions.

Reducing political complexity, Alice focuses on two founding principles that sum up everything, not requiring so many books as in today’s world (Kegel, 2018b, p. 172, ll. 897 – 903). Those founding principles prevent society from having loopholes in law (Kegel, 2018b, p. 170, ll. 814 – 5). Thus Alice explains the advantages of her founding principles by alluding not only to their universality in society but also simplicity. Reading many books demands a lot from people; people’s law is flawless. The founding principles, being: love thy neighbour and the king (Kegel, 2018b, p. 172, ll. 898 – 9), are connected with the king. People look at the foundation and how the king draws conclusions, how he thinks and how he has intervened in order to interpret the principles (Kegel, 2018b, p. 170, ll. 810 – 4). Hereby Alice understands looking as taking the king as model who has pity and love as well as is all-powerful and just. These characteristics make him an authority in Alice’s utopian society (Kegel, 2018b, p. 162 – 3, ll. 534 – 62 and p. 172, ll. 900) and provide human life for everyone. Each of the three interviewees stresses the need for a foundation that enables a good life for everyone by providing equal chances and human dignity.



Understanding politics as shaping, participation as passing upwards, governance as guidance, and human dignity as a foundation is metaphorical. In each case students attempt to bring their ideas across. They refer to their everyday knowledge which is accessible to them and help them to break more abstract ideas into more familiar, even more tangible ones. Such an approximation is vital for metaphorical understanding. As pointed out in chapter 3, figurative language and thinking originate from tangible and familiar aspects of people’s everyday life. They therefore result in a biased perception and even in a narrative. Such a narrative is interesting for social science education to deal with a more student-oriented understanding of politics – as pointed out in chapter 2. Students’ understanding helps to didactically deepen their understanding of social science and make them more maturely engaged in today’s society.

In asking for students’ political terminology, a fair, although interpretative deduction of the findings may end up in understanding politics as shaping, which might require a toolbox. The students repeatedly point out the necessity of balancing and producing (Dorothy, Alice) as well as the existence of instruments (Atticus). That may make tools essential for shaping which also requires a foundation of human dignity. Such a foundation ensures that, metaphorically spoken, a ladder, helping citizens to passing upwards their ideas, does not tip over. However, how do citizens shape their social life? If they use tools, what tools do they employ to shape society? What else may they need to pass upwards their ideas and make politicians listen to their needs? How does governance perform guidance? Those questions may be addressed in classes and further research. In either case, students’ responses need to be didactically intertwined with a scientific understanding.

5 Students’ metaphors in civic educational learning and teaching

As the previous section suggested, students have a broad metaphorical understanding of politics. This section now aims at responding to how this metaphorical understanding helps teachers teach politics in a more student-orientated manner. As learning always starts with students’ ideas, their metaphors are a good starting point for conceptual reconstruction. Metaphors originate from everyday perception allowing an easier access to ideas. To suggest how citizenship education may benefit from metaphors, this chapter is divided into two parts: It firstly suggests practical implications and then explains further need for research.

5.1 Students’ metaphors as access to citizenship educational content

Metaphors help both, students to have, and teachers to provide a better access to citizenship educational content. They help initialize a conceptual reconstruction requiring teachers to know their students’ learning difficulties. “Knowing about and accepting learning difficulties creates an opportunity for teaching, allowing teachers to facilitate learning processes that include room for misconceptions and that help expand student competencies” (Reinhard, 2015, p. 52). To achieve that, teachers of citizenship education may ask students to do a *Grafiz*. This is a German acronym standing for a combination of graphic and note. The *Grafiz* requires students to draw a picture, choose relevant terms, and write a brief description or draw a mind map (Li Hamburg, 2009, 13; Müller, 2001, 120; Schiller, 2008, 104 – 5). If a lesson unit, for example, focuses on political theory, students may do a *Grafiz* on how they imagine politics as shaping a better place. As finally suggested at the end of section 4, teachers may even learn what tools students have in their toolbox to make society a better place. Such a task might unfold their metaphorical and thus biased perception (chapter 3) of why people do politics and help teachers to choose material for their unit. The *Grafiz* can even be seen as taking a snapshot of their political perception allowing them to subsequently return to their *Grafiz* and assess their learning growth. Teachers could undertake similar approximation on participation, governance, and human dignity aiming at challenging their students with other biased perceptions and offering different ideas.

In each case they may even enable students to have a better understanding of social science content. Those metaphors may go together with the four concepts of the didactic term of politics being everyday life (politics as shaping), diversity of opinions (governance as guidance), participation (as passing upwards), and social justice (human life as foundation) – as stated in chapter 2. Each of the four concepts provides a perspective on transforming individual interests into common-decisions. It may even be



possible to raise questions on the economy, social issues, and international relationships – core topics in German schools. Since Atticus (basic income, development policy for Africa), Dorothy (working conditions), and Alice (social aid) talk about those core topics in the context of metaphors, their metaphors might be a guideline for learning more about, for example, globalisation. Globalisation raises questions on human dignity. Politics need to make the world a better place by, for example, preventing poverty (economy – social justice) and stopping climate change (international relationships – everyday life). Finally, teachers could ask students to find metaphorical understanding in political context comparing it with their comprehension. That may also help students to learn and to make better use of political vocabulary.

5.2 Further research on citizenship educational metaphors

Metaphor analysis may have a bigger role in civic educational research. Three single interviews might be a good starting point. However, those conceptual metaphors cannot assume a general statement about students' ideas. Since these interviews offer various kinds of political ideas, these findings refer to the idea of representation in form and content (Merkens, 1997, p. 97 – 100). They may be reasonable. This analysis is nonetheless a first approximation to metaphors of politics making more research necessary to confirm the findings and deepen students' metaphorical understanding. That may help improve both, social science educational understanding of students' learning preconditions, and giving more suggestions on practical teaching units. In this context a didactic reconstruction might be helpful by analysing not only students' but also scientists' metaphorical understanding. Bringing both understandings together may provide fruitful guidelines for teaching and learning politics (Lange, 2007). Integrating institutional and professional knowledge (Grammes, 1997, p. 70 – 90) about politics might even more improve citizenship educational understanding. As pointed out above politicians use metaphors to convince the public of their interests. Governments try to establish a narrative by using metaphors for their storytelling. Students need to be aware of that – and so does social science education by finding, for instance, connections between their metaphorical languages.

Another research approach could be to make interviewees focus on their pictures. Such issue-related drawings help interviewees to define their positions. They need to think about how to draw the pictures and use it as a guideline to explain their positions (Fischer 2013, p. 38 – 40). Haarmann/ Lange (2009, p. 21), for instance, asks students to draw a democracy machine which allows them to transfer a more abstract concept into metaphorical language. Such issue-related pictures are a good starting point to deepen students' understanding when interviewing them. Referring to his machine, one interviewee, for instance, connects election with attraction saying that no one should vote simply based on appearance (Haarmann/ Lange 2009, p. 23). In this case, using *Grafiz* for research may also be helpful. Students not only transfer their ideas into metaphorical language by drawing an issue-related picture, they also choose talking points themselves by writing down relevant terms already suggesting their concepts.

As discussed in chapter 3, the didactic term of politics is based on students' and scientific ideas of politics. Students' metaphors might be close to the didactic term of politics. In simple terms, the concept "participation", for instance, refers to the relationship between public and the political system. The former communicates political problems and the latter solves problems as the lawmaker (Kegel, 2018a, p. 458). In this case citizens do pass their interests up so that lawmakers have to take them on. More research might be useful to better understand how a metaphorical understanding of passing upwards connects usefully with a civic educational understanding aiming at providing a conceptual reconstruction. The same applies to the other concepts.

To sum up, metaphors can help teachers to teach politics in a more student-oriented manner. Metaphors help teachers to access their students' political understanding. They know what aspects their learners highlight and hide. They are better equipped for their students' (mis-)conceptions. However, metaphors – as suggested here – are an initial approach making more research necessary to deepen civic educational understanding of metaphors.

6 The meaning of metaphors for social science education



Language is full of metaphors helping us to explain the world we experience in everyday life. Students' metaphorical understanding highlights a utopian view on politics but hide other aspects. Students understand politics as shaping society, knowing how vital governance, participation and human dignity are. Such a metaphorical understanding is encouraging for a world that is becoming more and more authoritarian. It facilitates social science educational intention to make people politically engaged as mature citizens.

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Endnotes

¹ The didactic term of politics is very complex. Hence I intentionally do not give a detailed account of it. It is not important for this study's purpose.

² The fictional names were taken from American literature (*Alice in Wonderland*, *To kill a mockingbird*, *The Wizard of Oz*) implicating no connection.



Understanding Media Opinion on Bilingual Education in the United States.

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- Forty-five percent of media writers argued in favor of bilingual education. Thirty-nine percent were opposed, and the remaining 16% reached mixed conclusions.
- Among media authors, the use of anecdotal evidence increased, and the use of academic evidence decreased since McQuillan and Tse's (1996) study.
- Ninety-six percent of media authors opposed to bilingual education only discussed programs for language-minority students.
- Language-as-right arguments in public debate have increased since McQuillan & Tse's (1996) study.
- Language-as-resource remains the most prevalent argument for pro-bilingual education authors.

Purpose: This study evaluates stances toward and characterizations of bilingual education by US editorial and letter-to-the-editor writers from 2006-2016 with references to perspectives offered in academic outputs. We are principally interested in bilingual education that supports English language proficiency (rather than heritage language proficiency).

Methodology: A documentary analysis was conducted on a sample of articles collected from six major US news outlets, and compared to academic articles from the ERIC database. These results were compared with those of McQuillan and Tse (1996) who examined a similar set of articles published from 1984-1994. We classified articles according to the author's position on bilingual education, and collected data on the program type and target language(s) being discussed. Ruíz' (1984) orientations in language planning were used to analyze characterizations of bilingualism and bilingual education.

Findings: It was found that 45% of media articles, compared to 95% of research articles were in favor of bilingual education. The rate of pro-bilingual education academic articles increased in 2006-2016. Fewer media authors overall cited academic studies to support their position. Proponents of language-as-right were found to have increased, though language-as-resource arguments remained the most prevalent.

Keywords:

Media, academic, opinion, bilingual education, United States.

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1 Introduction

In this article we explore attitudes towards bilingual education on the basis of an analysis of material published in media outlets. Our work is a near-replication of McQuillan and Tse (1996). There are several reasons for our interest in this field. Since the publication of McQuillan and Tse's 1996 study, major pieces of anti-bilingual education legislation have been passed: *English for the Children* in California and Arizona, and Ballot Question 2 in Massachusetts (Rubinstein-Ávila, Sox, Kaplan, & McGraw, 2015). More recently, measures such as California's Proposition 58 have sought to reverse anti-bilingual legislation (The Times Editorial Board, 2016). In this study, we focus on the US but we do this work in the context of bilingual education being on the rise in many parts of the world.

There is a significant and increasing population of children in the United States who enter schools in need of English language support for academic success, and stand to benefit from native language support. McQuillan and Tse (1996) noted that nearly 10% of American children spoke a non-English language at home. More recent figures indicate that roughly 21% of Americans over the age of 5 use a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau, 2015).

Research in this field is necessary as there are significant debates about whether bilingual education is for minority language speakers (Garcia 1982), a form of education conducted in more than one language (Baker 2001) or a means by which a form of social and economic capital may be acquired to achieve global competence (Fortune & Jorstad, 1996). Some US states may be dismantling bilingual education, but some schools have begun to implement their own testing to collect data on children's progress toward bilingual fluency and literacy (Burkhauser et al., 2016). In this rather volatile and varied context, we wished to explore the ways in which bilingual education was being presented. We asked:

How do the proportions of articles in opinion pieces in the media during the period 2006-2016 that are pro- or anti- bilingual education compare with findings reported by McQuillan and Tse (1996) who analyzed the same type of pieces published from 1984-1994?

What themes emerge during 1984-1994 and 2006-2016 when examining the construction of arguments for and against bilingual education, and how is bilingualism being characterized?

We analyzed these media pieces in the context of literature and in particular against a sample of publications in academic journals.

2 Bilingual Education

In this study we have an inclusive approach to bilingual education recognizing that different types of students with different purposes who are taught and learn in different ways will be involved.

The three main types of bilingual education are transitional, late-exit, and dual-language immersion (Baker, 1993). In transitional or "early exit" (Lindholm-Leary, 2001) bilingual education, native language education is only provided in order to accelerate the student's L2 (second language) fluency and literacy (Cummins, 1979). However, the goal of transitional bilingual education is not academic proficiency in both languages; transitional bilingual education is considered a form of "subtractive" bilingual education because it focuses on ultimately transitioning the student into mainstream monolingual education (García, 2009, p. 55).

Late-exit (sometimes called "maintenance") programs give greater attention to developing academic proficiency in the L1 (first language), with the intent that "bilingual education" refers not only to the means of instruction, but to the academic outcome of developing bilingualism and biliteracy. Thus, late-exit programs are considered to be "additive", though they also move students into mainstream classes at a later age. García (2009) suggests that maintenance of the child's bicultural identity is also a significant ideology of this program type. Critics of late-exit programs warn that the classes keep minority students segregated through their later school years, which limits their interactions with native English-speaking children.

Finally, dual-language immersion is a program which involves using more than one language for instruction across all subject areas, for all students. In this model, instruction is conducted in a fixed percentage of each language (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Dual-language immersion programs may have



classrooms (García, 2009) or content areas (Lindholm-Leary, 2001) which are dedicated to a certain language, to encourage code-switching and full immersion in one language at a time. In *one-way* dual language immersion, the students are only native speakers of one of the languages of instruction. In *two-way* dual-language immersion, language majority and language minority students are taught together, giving all students exposure to target-language input from their native-speaking peers (García, 2009).

English immersion (“sink-or-swim” English education) is the alternative to bilingual education and ESL support. As the name suggests, English immersion involves placing students who are not proficient in English into mainstream English-only classrooms with limited (as in Structured English Immersion [Gort, de Jong, & Cobb, 2008]) or no language support. Some studies have pointed to rapid short-term gains for students in these programs (Rossell, 2002), while others have argued that greater long-term success is demonstrated in bilingual programs (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Cummins, 2000). Recent critiques concerned with student dignity have noted that placing non-English-speaking students into English classrooms – especially those who transfer in at older ages – can be damaging to self-esteem (Love, 1978, p. 17) and devalue native language skills (Pavlenko, 2002). However, in school districts with limited funding or no certified ESL or bilingual instructors, this is often the only option available. Again, we emphasize that our focus is on the US but feel that our work may have wider resonance as, for example, “sink or swim” is adopted in many post-colonial states, and in international schools around the world where countries / some parents want their children to become ‘global citizens’, with all the likely educational difficulties that we refer to above.

3 Social and political context

To write about language in the US is to write about culture, identity, dynamics of power, allegiance, social class, and politics. Blackledge (2005) writes that “language ideologies are positioned in, and subject to, their social, political and historical contexts” (p. 32). Leibowitz (1974) asserts that from 1880 to WWII, English-language requirements in the US were used “to exclude and discriminate against various minorities and immigrant groups” (p. 7). Despite the multitude of languages spoken by indigenous peoples and large immigrant populations in the US, President Theodore Roosevelt famously asserted in 1919 that “we have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse” (quoted in Pavlenko, 2002, p. 183). Politically, language has at times been treated as an important vehicle for national collective identity, and as a symbol of allegiance to country. The suppression and outlawing of bilingual education in many states preceding WWI contributed to a prolonged period of monolingual English education in US schools (Pavlenko, 2002), and symbolically made clear to immigrants that English was the language which signified one’s allegiance to the US.

During the early and mid-20th century, the *Meyer v. Nebraska* decision allowed German language instruction to resume in the state (Pavlenko, 2002), and UNESCO (1953) endorsed mother tongue education for all children. Though such documents from global governing bodies or international agreements (e.g. the Helsinki Final Act) promoted new global norms, they did not establish concrete language *rights* in the United States.

The most seminal legal ruling on language rights in the US was that of *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), which determined that the San Francisco Unified School district’s sink-or-swim English curriculum deprived Chinese-speaking children of “a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program, and thus violate[d] § 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964”. *Lau v. Nichols* ruled that English-only education violated the students’ civil rights, however – perhaps anticipating the difficulties in providing L1 support for all languages spoken in the US – the ruling did not lay out a specific plan for how schools would be required to support English language learners.

Even where it was favorable toward bilingual education, legislation often reinforced ethnic and linguistic stigmas. For example, Ruiz (1984) notes that in its original text, the 1968 Bilingual Education Act “made poverty a requirement for eligibility in bilingual programs” (p. 20), and observed that Wisconsin’s Statute



on bilingual education of the time was to be found “in the state code on the chapter on ‘handicapped children,’ and [the statute] proceed[ed] to define the target population on that basis” (p. 20).

Beginning in the 1980s, organizations such as *US English* and *Official English* were formed, with the aim of declaring English the official language of the United States (Crawford, 2000). These groups have been accused of nativism (Crawford, 2000) and Hispanophobia (Zentella, 1997), and their rhetoric (see Chavez, 2009) may have contributed to public support of sink-or-swim English education. There is a complex context for debates about bilingual education.

4 Debating bilingual education in academic research

The complex social and political context referred to above is mirrored by academic debates, and academic findings have not always supported “additive” bilingual education. Baker writes that “well-meaning teachers, doctors, speech therapists, school psychologists and other professionals” once warned that bilingualism would result in “a burden on the brain, mental confusion, inhibition of the acquisition of the majority language, even split personality” (1993, p. 107).

Until two-way dual-language immersion programs began to emerge across the US, bilingual education was only considered to be a form of supplementary education, or welfare for recently-arrived immigrants. In the 1970s Cummins found “considerable discrimination against bilingual children” in psychological assessments archived at the Alberta Centre for the Study of Mental Retardation (Baker & Hornberger, 2001, p. 8). In the mid-20th century, a brief period where scholars reported neutral effects of bilingualism on cognition was soon replaced by scholarship which declared positive effects (Baker, 1993). In 1962, for example, Peal and Lambert found that bilingual schoolchildren in Quebec “performed significantly higher on 15 out of 18 variables measuring IQ” (Baker, 1993, p. 112).

Researchers in the 1980s and 1990s began to re-evaluate the evidence against bilingualism in meta-analyses of past data. Upon re-analyzing the data of Baker and de Kanter (1981)’s study, Willig (1985) found that the data actually supported bilingual programs. When Rossell and Baker (1996) reviewed the results of bilingual programs with structured English immersion, they concluded that Structured English Immersion (SEI) was superior. However, these results were again reassessed, this time by Greene (1998) who removed duplicate studies of the same program, studies which lasted only 10 weeks, and studies which had misclassified bilingual programs, among other issues, and found “moderate benefits” for English learners in bilingual programs, compared to those in SEI (Lopez, 2010, p. 7).

5 Public opinion on bilingual education

Despite findings that 82% of academics from their data argued in favor of bilingual education, public opinion – at 45% approval – remained more evenly divided from 1984-1994 (McQuillan & Tse, 1996). Discussing media opinion and social issues in the US, Egan (2011) writes that, “On many of the most salient social issues ... [such as] abortion, gay rights, school prayer, [and] interracial marriage ... the [Supreme] court changed policy in an unmistakably liberal direction. Public opinion on these issues has not necessarily followed suit” (p. 3). Similarly, despite the academic trend toward a positive consensus, public opinion on bilingual education may not mirror this trend.

Several authors who traced the attitudes reflected in US language policy report that in many cases, public opinion and educational legislation were based on biases regarding the ethnicity or language of the affected foreigners, rather than on scientific findings (Hernández-Chávez, 1988; Crawford, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002). Valdes (1997) notes that in literature as recent as the 1980s, trends of success or failure amongst different immigrant groups in the US have been attributed to genetic differences, cultural differences, and class differences. She notes that these studies tended not to assess whether extreme poverty might have had a role in student outcomes, or whether the education students received was responsive to their needs. Dicker (1996) also cites “the belief amongst mainstream Americans that [minority] groups resist the learning of English” as a rationalization of poor academic achievement or limited English abilities, and a reason not to provide bilingual education. Perhaps controversially, Dicker asserts that “[b]ecause



Americans rarely need to acquire proficiency in a second language, they find it difficult to understand why recent immigrants struggle so much with learning English” (1996, p. 73). Thus, in spite of academic findings, many cultural assumptions about minority groups and about language-learning have had an effect on public opinion in the past.

Newman, Hartman, and Taber (2012) write that for monolingual English-speaking citizens, another issue is that “the presence of non-English speakers creates barriers to interpersonal communication and challenges what is perceived to be a core aspect of American identity” (p. 636), which leads to culture shock and “emotional disturbance” (p. 636). This argument situates bilingualism in a community-level context, where the impact on all citizens is an important consideration in deciding whether to bilingually educate a student. The authors position monolingual speakers specifically as a population which is more likely to oppose multilingual settings and feel discomfort around “culturally unfamiliar stimuli” (Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2012, p. 636), even though there are many distinct ethnic groups which may feel discomfort around each other’s languages.

These are some of the factors which may explain McQuillan and Tse’s (1996) findings, and which may predict a similar result in the present study. It is assumed, to a certain extent, that those in *favor* of bilingual education have come to this conclusion from consuming academic literature or from the general dissemination over time of research findings. The four main arguments of pro-bilingual education opinion pieces found by McQuillan and Tse (1996) are, 1) “Students learn English faster”, 2) “Helps academic achievement”, 3) “Bilingualism as national asset”, and 4) “Helps cognitive development” (p. 17). Points 1, 2, and 4 are all outcomes which roughly correspond to the findings of educational research of the past few decades. The third point, which is less easily measured, indicates the consideration of issues such as national security, a globalized economy, and services for linguistic minorities. Still, some of these arguments – indicated by the specification of “English” as the language to be acquired faster in point 1 – contain an assumption that bilingual education programs are only for language minority students. Though little research focused on the reasons that Americans might support bilingual education, their relative alignment with recent educational research may indicate the successful dissemination of academic work.

6 Educational research reporting and representation in popular media

Oreskes and Conway (2012) describe how major corporations in the United States funded think-tanks and research institutes to denounce findings which were unfavorable to their businesses and values. Recent discussion of fake news (Rosen 2017) may be related to longer trends of increasingly simply worded encouragement of doubt about research and expert opinion from government (Liam 2008). Barthel, Mitchell, & Holcomb (2016) have found that 64% of US adults say fabricated news stories have caused “a great deal of confusion” about “the basic facts of current events”, with only 39% reporting feeling “very confident” that they could identify fake news. As the number and political range of media outlets continues to increase, Tewksbury and Rittenberg (2012) have noted a decrease in the length and depth of news articles published today. Citizens may be confused and skeptical about academic work.

7 Methodology

McQuillan and Tse’s 1996 study sought to measure the extent to which academic findings influence public opinion in the United States. Looking specifically at debate surrounding bilingual education, their study found that in contrast to 82% of academic publications, just 45% of newspaper and magazine articles argued in favor of bilingual education programs. Of the newspaper and magazine articles, it was found that the majority of authors did not cite academic evidence to support their argument. It was also found that the use of academic sources had no correlation with a certain point of view; authors both for and against bilingual education were able to find academic studies in support of their position.

The present study is a near-replication of McQuillan and Tse. Similar to the 1996 study, we evaluated academic and media articles published over a 10-year period (2006-2016) for their stance on bilingual education. We also determined the types of evidence media authors used in their pieces, whether it be academic research, anecdotal evidence, both, or neither.



This study also collected information which was not analyzed by McQuillan and Tse (1996). Because different models of bilingual education have been found to have varying levels of success, qualitative information concerning language of the bilingual program, and program type (transitional, late-exit, dual-language, or English immersion) was collected. In this study, we also sought to understand the what each author saw as the purpose of bilingual education, and the framework of Ruíz' (1984) language planning orientations were found to be helpful in understanding this aspect of the data. Themes in argumentation were coded and compared with results from the McQuillan and Tse (1996) study.

In discussing the two main datasets used in this study, "research articles" is used to refer to articles which have been peer-reviewed and are published in an academic journal. These are either studies which include original research, or are meta-analyses of previously published work. The phrases "media articles", "opinion articles", and "persuasive media articles", are used to refer to the second body of data, consisting of published editorials and letters to the editor collected from newspapers and magazines.

8 Data collection: Academic articles

The ERIC database was used in McQuillan and Tse's (1996) study, and we followed their lead. The search term "bilingual education" was used, and results were restricted to full-text available, peer-reviewed articles from academic journals in the timeframe of 2006-2016, producing 120 results. Those which focused on contexts outside of the United States were discarded, as well as those which discussed bilingual education without contributing to the discussion about its merits or demerits (e.g., articles on multicultural teacher recruitment or the appropriate use of dictionaries in bilingual classrooms). Others were discarded for erroneously labeling second language education as bilingual education, leaving a total of 40 research articles used in this study.

Articles were coded as either 'for', 'against', or 'mixed' regarding bilingual education. Articles which critiqued bilingual education implementation in the interest of *improving* the quality of current programs were coded as being 'for' bilingual education. Articles which criticized implementation in the interest of *dismantling* bilingual education programs and/or switching to English immersion programs were coded as 'against'.

9 Data collection: Editorials and Letters-to-the-Editor

Readership of print newspapers has declined markedly in the 21st century (Edmonds, Guskin, Mitchell, & Jurkowitz, 2013) and 28% of US adults now regularly access digital news outlets (Lu & Holcomb, 2016). Nevertheless, although it would be interesting to look at a wide range of digital platforms, newspapers and their digital counterparts continue to be a regular source of news for 48% of Americans (Lu & Holcomb, 2016) and so we felt they were a suitable base on which to develop our study.

McQuillan and Tse (1996) collected editorials and letters to the editor from a selection of eight "major national newspapers and magazines" (p. 8) which they felt were nationally representative of US public opinion. Though all eight of the original newspapers and magazines were considered for inclusion in the present study, only five out of eight had published articles on bilingual education during the period of 2006-2016. These five newspapers and magazines used by McQuillan and Tse (1996) were included: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *LA Times*, *Time*, *U.S. News*. *Dallas News* was added to enhance geographical inclusivity which also assisted in the recognition of state administration of education and cultural diversity. Each individual letter is treated as one 'article'.

10 Document analysis and Ruíz' (1984) Three Orientations in Language Planning

Ruíz' (1984) three orientations in language planning for multilingual societies were used to identify trends in how minority languages are contextualized and characterized. (As explained above, McQuillan and Tse did not use this framework-- their study looked at the extent of the influence of research on general public opinion, and did not delve very deeply into the context of each author's arguments). Ruíz' (1984) three orientations are as follows: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Ruíz defines an "orientation" as "a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages



and their role in society" (1984, p. 16), and explains that orientations in language planning "delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic questions we ask, the conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves" (1984, p. 16).

In Ruíz' first orientation, language-as-problem, non-English speakers are viewed as having a disadvantage which must be overcome, ideally through the rapid acquisition of the majority language. This is often the orientation apparent amongst those who argue that homogeneity and monolingualism lead to greater community cohesion and national unity.

In the language-as-right orientation, heritage rights and civil rights are at the heart of language planning for society. Zachariev (1978) is a strong proponent of this orientation, arguing that mother-tongue instruction is an inalienable right. He writes that one has the right to protect one's heritage language, to speak in a language which allows the greatest feelings of freedom and security, to protect the cultural identity belonging to a language group, and to achieve this with the aid of community schools. This orientation was also strongly advocated by UNESCO, which asserted the right of a child to mother tongue instruction (1953).

The third orientation, language-as-resource, values language knowledge and communication skills as a resource, tool, or instrument (Ricento, 2005). Bourdieu's (1991) writings on linguistic cultural capital are indicative of this orientation, wherein proficiency in language – including knowledge of the mainstream dialect, awareness of linguistic appropriateness, and the capacity for communication – are intangible forms of capital in a society. Authors who display this orientation often argue that bilingualism provides economic and political advantages to both the individual and the state.

Language-as-resource has been notably criticized by Ricento (2005), who argues that the language-as-resource orientation does not contribute to improving the status of minority languages. For language-as-resource justifications to be appropriate, Ricento asserts that "hegemonic ideologies associated with the roles of non-English languages in national life would need to be unpacked and alternative interpretations of American identity would need to be legitimized" (2005, p. 349).

In the table below, examples extracted from the data indicate how various arguments made by media authors were identified and sorted by orientation:

Table 1: Example arguments sorted according to language orientation

"Language-as-Problem"	"Language-as-Right"	"Language-as-Resource"
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "bilingual education ... sparked a culture war in many school districts" (Chavez, 2009) • "Why would anyone teach a 5-year-old [in the US] the alphabet in Spanish?" (Teri, 2009) • "the problem is culture in regard to Mexicans" (Adrian, 2009) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The goal of not casting off a family's cultural heritage ... is one [benefit]." (Hacker, 2011) • "being literate in the language of your ancestors makes you wiser and more powerful" (Tobar, 2016) • "No Child Left Behind now humiliates Limited English Proficiency [LEP] students by setting on their desk a standardized exam that can't be deciphered." (Fuller, 2008) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "these native-speaking youngsters have an enormously valuable asset the rest of us can directly and effectively benefit from" (Gordon, 2016) • In the "global economy ... Chinese, Spanish and Arabic are going to be the E-ZPass to success" (Levine, 2009) • "children who are exposed to multiple languages at an early age are able to activate certain networks within the brain that enhance cognitive function" (Chau, 2014)

Of course, these excerpts by themselves do not dictate the author's language planning orientation: the nature of their overall argument is a more important. Fuller's (2008) argument concerning the struggles of language minority students taking standardized tests in English is ostensibly a point for language-as-problem. However, contextually, it is clear that Fuller's intent is to argue for language minority students' rights to dignity through equitable educational practices.



In addition to each article's stance on bilingual education, qualitative data on language of bilingual instruction discussed (where specified) and program type (e.g., transitional bilingual education, English immersion, dual-language immersion, etc.) were recorded from each article. It was expected that this data would help determine whether attitudes surrounding bilingual education were dependent upon the language being discussed, or whether programs were more likely to be deemed beneficial if they were perceived as benefitting the majority of society.

NVivo qualitative data software was utilized to organize data collection and analysis. Documents were uploaded into the software and coded according to source (e.g. New York Times, U.S. News), type (letter to the editor or editorial), and stance on bilingual education (for, against, or mixed). Arguments reported in McQuillan and Tse's (1996) study were coded for purposes of comparison, and an additional seven "new" arguments were also identified and coded for analysis through the strategy of open coding (Cohen et al., 2007).

11 Word counts

McQuillan and Tse's (1996) data collection included the measurement of physical space given to each perspective (either for or against bilingual education) in print media, measured in column inches. In this study, because all persuasive media articles were retrieved from digital databases, a word count was considered to collect and report findings regarding the average length of articles. However, due to word count limitations for letters to the editor and suggested word counts for submitted editorial pieces on news websites, such a test was not expected to find statistically significant differences in article length based on stance toward bilingual education. The proportion of editorial pieces to letters to the editor would have also affected the overall average length of each piece. Therefore, a modern equivalent of measuring column inches was not conducted.

12 Research vs. anecdotal evidence

There is a value judgement being made when an author compares articles based on whether their arguments are based in research or based in personal or anecdotal experience. However, this is based on newspaper guidelines which encourage writers to research their position before submitting an editorial or letter for publication. McQuillan and Tse cite Stonecipher (1979)'s assertion that editorials should be grounded in "reliable research" (1996, p. 2). In a 2014 video by the New York Times, Andrew Rosenthal instructs would-be editorialists that,

A good editorial consists of a clear position that's strongly and persuasively argued. It's based on principle, but it's also based in fact. ... Everyone's entitled to their own opinion; you're not entitled to your own facts. Go online, make calls if you can, check your information, double-check it. There's nothing that's gonna undermine your editorial faster than a fact you got wrong, that you did not have to get wrong.

(Spingarn-Koff, 2014)

Thus, though experiential evidence is still valid and significant, it can be argued that the use of research is more highly valued by magazine and newspaper editors, as failure to report well-researched information reflects poorly on both the writer and the publisher.

However, experiential data is often used in research, and those with firsthand experiences in bilingual education should not be dismissed. It should not be ignored that though academics were overwhelmingly pro-bilingual education, numerous public and private school educators and administrators declared their opposition to bilingual programs. Furthermore, those who expressed positions against bilingual education from a social/community perspective should not be counted out, as language planning in society certainly affects all of its members.



12 Results

12.1 Stance on bilingual education, media vs. research articles

Amongst persuasive media pieces, the percentage of articles in favour of bilingual education was 45% (n=28). Thirty-nine percent of articles (n=24) were found which opposed bilingual education, and the remaining ten (16%) were found to have mixed conclusions (See Table 2).

In contrast, 38 out of 40 research articles (95%) on bilingual education from academic journals were in favor of bilingual education, with only two (5%) displaying mixed conclusions. Out of the 40 academic articles, zero articles from this sample argued against bilingualism or bilingual education.

Table 2: Rate of consensus by news source

Publication	# For	# Against	# Mixed	# From publication
<i>New York Times</i>	13	10	3	26
<i>Dallas News</i>	4	11	5	20
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	5	3	1	9
<i>Washington Post</i>	4	0	0	4
<i>U.S. News</i>	2	0	0	2
<i>Time</i>	0	0	1	1
Total	28 (45%)	24 (39%)	10 (16%)	62

12.2 Use of research in media articles

McQuillian and Tse (1996) found that 45% of persuasive print media articles cited research to support their argument. Of the 62 news media authors included in our study, it was found that 20 (32%) cited published research (see Table 3). Of those 20, half cited a specific researcher or study; the other half found it sufficient to use nonspecific claims such as, “science shows” or, “researchers have found”, which may make it controversial to include them in this category.

Fifty-two percent of media authors (n=62) used anecdotal evidence to support their position, in comparison to McQuillian and Tse’s figure of 31% (1996, p. 16). These figures suggest that since McQuillian and Tse’s study, anecdotal evidence has become more frequent than research-based evidence in persuasive media writing. However, this may also be attributed to word limits for letters to the editor.

Table 3: Type of evidence used by position on bilingual education (BE)

Use of research as evidence, by position on bilingual education (BE)				
Type	For BE (n=28)	Against BE (n=24)	Mixed (n=10)	All (n=62)
# Cited research (source specified)	7	2	1	10
# Cited research (source not specified)	7	3	2	12
Total which cited research	14	5	3	22
Total which did not cite research	14	21	7	42
Use of personal experience or anecdotal evidence, by position on bilingual education				
# Used personal or anecdotal evidence	10	14	8	32
# Did not use personal or anecdotal evidence	18	10	2	30



12.3 Stance on bilingual education, population served, and linguistic diversity

Ninety-six percent (n=24) of authors opposed to bilingual education exclusively discussed programs which were intended for non-native or limited proficient speakers of English. One author asserted the existence of effective dual-language immersion programs for “Anglos” (Fraleley, 2013), but criticized the “‘multiculturalism’ and Hispanic political activism which keep[s] Hispanic children in largely ineffective bilingual education”. This may be related to Lindholm-Leary’s (2001) assertion that the term “immersion” is affiliated with elite programs, whereas “bilingual” programs have the “political connotations ... [of being] compensatory or lower quality education” (p. 30).

Pieces which supported bilingual education more frequently mentioned dual language immersion programs. This result was hypothesized due to the growth of dual-language programs in the US, which directly benefits both language minority and language majority students. Dicker (1996) observes that, “Spanish is not just the native language of half the students but also a ‘foreign language,’ a desired object of study for the other half of the students” (p. 132). Thus, she argues that the desirability of Spanish skills has given the language a higher status, leading to its increased popularity and approval.

Writers in favour of bilingual education also discussed a wider variety of languages used in the US, while writers against bilingual education tended to only discuss Spanish. The “for” group collectively discussed the possibility of bilingual education in 21 different languages, from Persian to Cantonese. The “against” group collectively mentioned only five languages, with most (n=18) making their argument in relation to Spanish and English programs. In both groups, Spanish was the most frequently discussed non-English language for a bilingual program.

Notably absent from all media articles were indigenous American languages. Languages such as Navajo, Cherokee, and Hawaiian were not analyzed, nor was it brought up anecdotally or as evidence for or against bilingual education. Though the Center for Applied Linguistics database of immersion programs lists bilingual programs for the Ojibwe language in Minnesota and Iñupiaq in northern Alaska, (CAL, 2016) none of the media authors brought up the US’ many indigenous languages, even when discussing heritage language rights.

Though it is a U.S. territory rather than a state, Puerto Rico—a majority Spanish-speaking US territory with Spanish-language mainstream education—was not mentioned in any articles, though it would have served as a counterpoint to the assertions that “American culture” means being a monolingual English speaker.

Finally, though there have been debates about American Sign Language (ASL) (see Pavlenko, 2002), there was no relevant evidence in this study.

12.4 Changes in argumentation & language planning orientation since 1984

In 1984, Ruíz observed that the language-as-problem and language-as-right orientations were “[competing] for predominance in the international literature” (p. 15). However, a meta-analysis of McQuillan & Tse’s (1996) study indicates that the language-as-right orientation was entirely absent from popular media writing from 1984-1994, and authors instead focused on language-as-problem and language-as-resource as competing ideologies. Because McQuillan and Tse did not collect similar data for research articles, it is unclear whether the language-as-right orientation was also absent from academic work of the period. The following is a comparison of arguments for and against bilingual education in the 1984-1994 period, to arguments found in the 2006-2016 period.



Table 4: Frequency of arguments in media articles

Stance	Issue	Opinion pieces mentioning issue, 1984-1984 (n=87)	Opinion pieces mentioning issue, 2006-2016 (n=62)	Percent Change
In favor of bilingual education	Students learn English faster	38% (33)	9% (6)	-29
	Helps academic achievement	24% (21)	24% (15)	0
	Bilingualism as national asset	13% (11)	9% (6)	-4
	Helps cognitive development	8% (7)	9% (6)	1
	*Heritage language rights	-	11% (7)	-
	*Aids educational equity and social justice	-	19% (12)	-
	*Provides students with economic advantages	-	19% (12)	-
	*Students develop global competence, cultural sophistication	-	13% (8)	-
Against bilingual education	Not effective in helping student learn English/overall academic achievement	51% (44)	27% (17)	-24
	Leads to segregation of students	20% (17)	8% (5)	-12
	Is un-American and unpatriotic	19% (16)	10% (6)	-9
	Is too expensive	13% (11)	6% (4)	-7
	Goes against public opinion	10% (9)	2% (1)	-8
	Allows for no parental choice in child's education	10% (9)	2% (1)	-8
	*Bilingualism is unnecessary because English is the national/global language	-	21% (13)	-
	*English immersion is superior to BE	-	5% (3)	-
	*Bilingual education allows immigrant to resist cultural assimilation, not learn English	-	9% (6)	-

*Issue did not appear in McQuillan & Tse's (1996) data.

Thus, the types of arguments appear to have diversified and increased in number overall.

13 Discussion

13.1 Media authors against bilingual education in the US

13.1.1 Language-As-Problem

Many of the voices in opposition to bilingual education exhibited a fear that non-native English speaking students would not become proficient in English if they received bilingual instruction. Several authors expressed beliefs that children are not capable of becoming fully bilingual and biliterate, or that there are maxims limiting the development of skills in multiple languages. One anti-bilingual education author argued that bilingualism would have “undoubtedly prevented [him] from ... scoring a perfect score on the SAT's, attending an Ivy League university, and starting [his] own business” (Chen, 2009). This assertion portrays bilingualism as a cognitive handicap, elevating monolingualism not only for academic achievement, but for success in other areas such as business. Another author wrote that education in Spanish “actively disadvantages kindergartners by teaching them the wrong language” (Teri, 2009), though conceding that bilingual education might be acceptable from a later age. An editorial from the *LA Times* asserted that prior to the dismantling of bilingual education in 1998, “thousands of students were handed diplomas without ever having mastered English”, though the author(s) do not indicate how they arrived at this conclusion. In a letter to the *New York Times*, Mexican-American writer “Adrian” asserts that bilingual education is ineffective based on this quote from his bilingual Mexican father: “I speak to [Adrian's bilingually-educated cousins] in English and it sounds bad, so I speak to them in Spanish and it's just as bad” (Adrian, 2009). Because the author does not list his cousins' ages, number of years in the U.S.,



or program type, it is difficult to address this critique specifically, beyond mentioning that it has been found to take five to seven years for non-English speaking immigrant students to reach grade-level academic proficiency in English (Thompson & Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1981). These arguments speak to the continuing resonance of older research which declared detrimental effects from bilingualism.

13.1.2 Cultural fragmentation and resistance to “American culture”

Many anti-BE authors offered varied solutions to what they viewed as the problem of immigrant resistance to assimilation. One writer to the *New York Times* offered seemingly contradictory guidance on this issue:

“many [limited English proficient students] have parents who do not speak English. Thus, the child is expected to learn and speak English during the school day and then goes home and does not practice those skills. Needless to say, not only are the language skills not reinforced, but the child often feels disconnected from both his native culture and the American culture, making assimilation extremely difficult”

(Flippin, 2009).

In this very strong argument largely for language-as-problem, no consideration is given to the benefits of speaking two languages, the need for the L1 in order to communicate with parents and family members, or role of “cultural broker” often taken by the bilingual children of immigrants (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

Letter to the editor contributor Voirin (2013) asserts an idea which has been reflected in interviews elsewhere (see Thicksten, 2000; Bigler, 1996), that immigrants of the past surrendered their native language and culture in order to become American:

“My ancestors came to Dallas in 1855 straight from France. One of the things my great-great grandfather insisted on is that his kids speak English, the language of a fresh start and new opportunity in their new home. Many in the family have regretted not learning French over the years to know something of our ancestry. However, if we had never learned English, we would never have fully assimilated and would have failed and probably returned to France.”

(Voirin, 2013)

The expression of regret at having not learned French nearly amounts to a language-as-right orientation. However, it appears – though it is not explicitly stated – that Voirin values the (presumably economic) success of his family above knowledge of their ancestry and heritage language, and views these two concepts as fundamentally incompatible: either you can have a connection to your heritage, or you can succeed in the US. Though by no means a new type of argument, this opinion shows the depth of belief that foreign cultures and languages will prevent immigrants from succeeding in the US.

The view that early European immigrants to the US willingly abandoned their home languages also supposes that those languages and cultures have, over time, disappeared into the proverbial melting pot. One letter author, who professes profound disagreement with bilingual education and multiculturalism, writes that, “Like the Eastern European Jews in early New York, [LEP] students would do better in English immersion” (Fralely, 2013). However, Fralely might be surprised to learn that there are still cities in New York where Yiddish is spoken as a first language, and that five New York public schools offer transitional bilingual education in Yiddish (Walcott, 2011).

It seemed to emerge as a theme that whether or not bilingual programs were superior at teaching English, bilingual education was an object of suspicion from authors who worried about cultural fragmentation. Many anti-bilingual education authors cited segregation of students, both in and outside of school, which they often attributed to both bilingual programs (particularly transitional and late-exit) and multiculturalism. Linda Chavez, past president of *US English* whose editorial appeared in the *New York*

Times, argues that bilingual education “sparked a culture war in many school districts” (Chavez, 2009). She also argues that thanks to a “new emphasis on English – not preserving native language and culture as it had been in the heyday of bilingual education – immigrant children are finally making significant academic strides” (Chavez, 2009). In this view, the problem of multiculturalism is an obstacle to immigrant students, whose native language and culture are seen as a disadvantage in US schools.

It was argued that monolingual English speakers should not be asked or expected to change their behavior as a result of demographic changes around them; those who migrated to the US ought to forfeit their language and culture to assimilate and succeed. Ricento (2005) argues that that in the US, “monolingual English speakers “take as given their ‘right’ to receive communication in English” (p. 356), and notes some US laws protect this privilege. Arguments that teaching non-English languages threatens the rights of monolingual English speakers point to both institutionalized privilege of the majority, and a fear of losing such privilege.

13.1.3 Denigration of immigrants and culture in media pieces

Though it was not mentioned in McQuillan and Tse’s (1996) study, the present study found four instances where ethnicity or culture was linked to both a lack of academic success and to poverty. “Adrian”, writing to the editor of the *New York Times*, insisted that, “the problem is cultural in regard to Mexicans ... More often than not children aim low, they grow accustomed to just floating by, because they don’t expect more from themselves and neither do their families” (Adrian, 2009). In the same collection of letters, Hansen (2009) writes that in 1990s New York City, “School was not part of [Hispanic students’] family culture. No amount of teacher dedication could possibly overcome the profound lack of sustained commitment to learning that pervaded their extra-school lives”. Editoralist Linda Mikels, president of Sixth Street Prep School, warns against undervaluing minority students’ native language skills, and declares with pride that “our teachers believe that all children can learn and achieve high standards in spite of barriers like poverty, language and ethnicity” (2009). Though she claims to value native language skills, Mikels’ characterization of ethnicity as a barrier for students points to assumptions of ethnic inferiority.

It was unexpected that any author would so blatantly display discrimination against certain cultures or ethnic groups, and indicate, as Valdes (1997) noted, that economic circumstances are not frequently considered a factor in student success.

13.1.4 From ineffective programs to unnecessary skills

Material in the media seems to suggest that schools should focus on English competence at any cost. English, having the advantage of being both a national and global language, is advocated as the language of science (Cooley, 2013; Johnson, 2013), business (Ligon, 2012), higher education (The Times Editorial Board, 2016), and upward mobility (Corrigan, 2014; Daly, 2014). This approach means that there is the failure to acknowledge that proficiency in two languages is a superior academic outcome to proficiency in only one. In McQuillan and Tse (1996), those against bilingual education cited the ineffectiveness of programs, or the issue of segregating students from their peers. In the present study, however, 21% of authors against bilingual education argued that English, as a national and global language, is the only language that needs to be taught to children.

Of course, it should be acknowledged that lack of proficiency in the majority language may exclude certain populations from participation in society. It may prevent them from knowing about or receiving welfare services, legal aid, healthcare, job opportunities, and so forth. Without a common language, communication is hindered. However, bilingual education is not a hindrance to English fluency, because one of its outcomes is English fluency. Though in 1984-1994, many writers expressed concern that bilingual programs have not helped students gain English proficiency quickly, empirical studies have found the opposite to be true: that despite the possibility of quicker short-term gains, bilingual programs produce comparable or superior long-term results for English proficiency amongst non-native English speakers. Thus, those arguing language-as-problem orientations are well-intentioned in hoping for quick



English proficiency, but displayed little knowledge of the effectiveness of bilingual programs and tended not to consider the value of speaking a heritage language or a second language.

13.2 Media authors for bilingual education in the US

13.2.1 Language-as-right

Ruiz' second language orientation – language-as-right – was not evident in McQuillan and Tse's (1996) findings, and was scarcely mentioned by media articles in this study. There are 381 distinct languages in the US, according to a 2011 survey (Ryan, 2013) – and the logistical impracticality of providing native speaker instructional support for speakers of each of those languages may mean that there are few advocates willing to fully support language-as-right for *all* languages in the US.

It was suggested in several media articles that dual-language immersion programs would have effects beneficial to society, such as reducing educational inequities and helping to balance the dynamics of power between ethnic majority and ethnic minority students. This is an overarching goal of language-as-right advocates, who see problems in the hegemonic dominance of English in the US. Because students in dual-language immersion learn each other's language, they can work together to problem-solve, and recognize the value of each other's native language skills. Furthermore, it was proposed that with bilingualism becoming more desirable to wealthy parents, the schools would become more socioeconomically diverse, and perhaps engender better inter-ethnic relations.

Valdes (1997) is one of few voices critical to dual-language immersion programs, but not because they are ineffective in terms of academic outcomes. Her argument is that the Spanish language, once a "shared treasure, a significant part of a threatened heritage, and ... a secret language [in the US]" (Valdes, 1997, p. 393) for its native speakers, is being given away to further advantage the white majority. Where employers may have once looked to minority groups for bilingual employees, they can now select an applicant from the majority group. Valdes writes that in response to a proposed DLI program for her district, one educator objected, saying, "*Si se aprovechan de nosotros en inglés, van a aprovechar de nosotros también en español.*", or, "If they take advantage of us in English, they will take advantage of us in Spanish as well" (1997, p. 393). There were no media articles – and only one research article – which expressed concerns similar to Valdes'. This may be related to the limitation that none of the articles were written by non-English-speaking parents or immigrants.

Another face of the language-as-right argument was the discussion of student dignity, and equitable treatment of all students. These discussions largely took two forms: first, that already-vulnerable language minority students should not be subjected to sink-or-swim methods, and second – a position which was articulated by authors both for and against bilingual education – that separate classes isolate and segregate some students from their peers. In his editorial, Fuller (2008) writes that the English-language standardized tests mandated by No Child Left Behind "stigmatize what young children know, undercut their confidence in the classroom, and disempower parents." Similarly, editorialist LeBlanc-Esparza (2009) asserts that additive programs are more likely to boost self-esteem, and editorialist Tobar (2016) writes simply that, "A fourth grader from Guadalajara, Mexico, learning English for the first time in a Los Angeles classroom needs to know that what she already possesses is valuable."

However, academic literature indicates that both segregation and integration come with challenges; labeling a child as an "English Learner" or LEP for too long may harm their self-esteem and academic achievement (Umansky, 2016), whereas students may be ignored by peers or spoken to condescendingly when immersed in mainstream classrooms (Cavazos-Rehg & DeLucia-Waack, 2009). Again, the authors tend to rally around dual-language immersion programs as the best solution, for valuing a child's existing linguistic knowledge and avoiding potentially harmful labels.

13.2.2 Language-as-Resource

In 1996 and presently, language-as-resource is almost unchallenged as the most common and influential orientation of language planning. Ricento (2005) has critiqued the commodification of language as an instrument or resource, though few media authors express awareness of his concerns.



Pro-bilingual education media pieces frequently cited the utility of a second language, sometimes for intercultural understanding, but more often for economic or cognitive developmental advantages. Take for example Kristof (2010), who argues for Spanish language bilingual education because in the future, “[m]ore Americans will take vacations in Latin America, do business in Spanish, and eventually move south to retire in countries where the cost of living is far cheaper” (Kristof, 2010). In such a vision, learning a foreign language has no intrinsic value; it is not associated with personal growth, enjoyment of learning, or deeper cultural understanding, but is valued only in terms of return on investment. Kristof discusses languages as though they were commodities, and the presumption of his audiences’ monolingual English-speaking background is made clear in his statement that: “In effect, [learning] Chinese is typically a career. Spanish is a practical add-on to your daily life, meshing with whatever career you choose” (2010).

Several other writers indicated that a second language should be selected based on its usefulness and relevance. This linguistic utilitarianism is present in both language-as-resource (e.g. Chau, 2014; Levine, 2009) and language-as-problem (e.g. Corrigan, 2014; Cooley, 2013) media argumentation. Many of the authors who argue for English-only immersion promote the national and international utility of English and its capacity to enable social mobility. Language-as-resource proponents frequently recommend learning a globally useful language. However, selecting languages for bilingual programs based on their relevance to a global economy contributes to a global hierarchy for languages and subjugates languages which are already threatened. Bourdieu (1991) writes that “those who seek to defend a threatened linguistic capital ... are obliged to wage a total struggle. One cannot save the *value* of a competence unless one saves the market” (p. 57).

Allowing the ethnic majority to choose which languages are used in dual-language programs may have already produced observable results. In 2010, the American Community Survey determined that the top five languages spoken at home by people aged 5 or older in the United States were: 1) Spanish, 2) Chinese, 3) French, 4) Tagalog, and 5) Vietnamese, each with over one million speakers (Ryan, 2013, p. 7). However, the Center for Applied Linguistics’ Dual Language Program Directory, the top five languages for DLI programs in the United States are: 1) Spanish, 2) Mandarin, 3) French, 4) Japanese, tied with “other”, and 5) German (CAL, 2016). There were no listings in the directory for dual-language programs with Tagalog (1.5 million speakers) or Vietnamese (1.3 million speakers) (CAL, 2016).

García (2009) writes that the relative power of a language or minority group is the key, writing that, “It is ... instructive to realize that immersion bilingual education is for children whose home language has some degree of power and will be reinforced in society at large” (p. 126). She outlines this point by asserting that *transitional* bilingual education is “For powerless, language-minority children” (García, 2009, p. 132), whereas “*empowered* language-minority children” (p. 132, emphasis added) have access to maintenance, dual-language, or other additive bilingual programs.

Though the examples so far have featured authors with utilitarian outlooks, there were some authors who valued both the process and the results of learning a language. In her letter to the *Washington Post*, Ernst (2006) writes of her daughter’s cultural enrichment through learning Spanish: that she can read Spanish novels and poetry, and perform El Salvadorian dances. Tobar (2016) also wrote of appreciating writers from Cervantes to Neruda once he had reclaimed his native Spanish skills, writing that “to know a language is to enter another way of being”. Though cultural enrichment may not be a selling point that persuades those who see bilingual programs as expensive and unnecessary, it provides a more wholesome and respectful way of viewing language education.

13.3 Trends in media coverage of bilingual education

13.3.1 Curating arguments for and against bilingual education in media outlets

McQuillan and Tse (1996) reported that 45% of media articles were in favor of bilingualism and bilingual education, and that ratio was found to be identical (45%) in our study. This contrasts sharply with the ratio of consensus in academic articles (95%), and raises concerns that providing “balanced” coverage – here considered to be the equal or near-equal publication of articles expressing opposing sides to an



argument – of various topics in the media may mislead audiences that there are similar numbers of dissenting voices in scientific research.

However, the near-uniform positivity towards bilingualism amongst researchers may also make louder, by contrast, the few dissenting academic voices against bilingual education in the United States. As in the original study, there was no correlation between a media author's opinion and their likelihood of using research to support an argument. Woolley (2012) and Chavez (2009) both used studies which had been criticized by renowned linguist Stephen Krashen for methodological issues. It appeared, overall, that authors who valued academic evidence were able to find research articles and case studies in support of their views, regardless of their stance on bilingual education.

Finally, anecdotal evidence was found more frequently in the present study than in the findings of McQuillan and Tse (1996). This may indicate a trend towards the usage of emotional arguments rather than clinical ones in persuasive writing. It may also indicate that for many, one's own experiences and intuition about controversial issues are just as valid as academic research and expertise.

13.3.2 The transformation of news consumption and quality of reporting

It is necessary to comment on the transformation of news media when comparing these two time periods. Though this study examines the arguments expressed in established mainstream news sources, it does not assume that the authors are exclusive or even consistent readers of the outlet in which they were published. Even an individual who primarily consumes news through a newspaper will still likely be exposed to television, internet, and social media takes on current issues. Tewksbury and Rittenberg (2012), in their study of digital news in the 21st century, report that the internet has diversified and expanded the range of news sources available. Though a diversity of news sources can feasibly mean that citizens on the web may be informing their opinions from a diverse crop of sources, Tewksbury and Rittenberg conjecture that this is more likely leading to users developing less nuanced views and becoming more extreme and insular in their opinions over time.

14 Conclusion

It was found that overall, academic publications are being cited less frequently in a sample of media articles published 2006-2016 than was indicated in McQuillan and Tse's (1996) study of work published 1984-1994. This was not associated with an author's position on bilingual education, but rather seemed to indicate a more general trend toward a lesser need for academic references. The use of anecdotal evidence has grown and may indicate a trend towards argumentation rooted in emotional, rather than empirical, evidence.

Argumentation for bilingualism has become more conscious of language-as-right ideas but is still dominated by arguments concerned with language-as-resource (Ricento, 2005). There were many writers who considered education equity, as well as dignity and social justice for minority students when arguing for bilingual education programs. There was also increased interest in preparing children for a plurilingual, multicultural society and globalized economic competition. However, most pro-bilingual education writers discussed language for cognitive, economic, and developmental benefits.

Those against bilingual education largely followed language-as-problem arguments, arguing that schools should only teach English, and that assimilation into a national "American" culture and English language is the key to success. These programs least frequently discussed dual-language programs and discussed Spanish language programs more than any other language.

Thus, it becomes a project for academics and newspaper editors alike: how can we effectively disseminate educational research which may benefit growing populations of LEP children, and how can we persuade those who value experiential, rather than empirical, evidence? The answer, once again, will likely lie in how we present our arguments.



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*This source also appears in Appendix A for media articles

† This source also appears in Appendix B for academic articles



APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letters to the Editor and Editorials

Adrian. (2009, March 11). The problem is cultural. [Letter to the editor]. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/03/11/educating-immigrants-voices-of-experience/>

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Sociolinguistic Citizenship

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- a practical perspective on diversity for the UK, strongly grounded in sociolinguistics
- offers an alternative to dominant models of language & citizenship
- stresses democratic voice & the political value of sociolinguistic understanding
- illustrates the argument with contemporary and historical cases
- identifies a role for universities sustaining sociolinguistic citizenship

Purpose: This paper introduces Stroud's 'Linguistic Citizenship', a concept committed to democratic participation, to voice, to the heterogeneity of linguistic resources and to the political value of sociolinguistic understanding.

Approach: It first outlines Linguistic Citizenship's links with the ethnographic sociolinguistics inspired by Hymes, and then turns to language and language education in England.

Findings: The discourses of language and citizenship currently dominating the UK are very much at odds with Stroud's conception, but the sociolinguistic citizenship outlined by Stroud is very well suited to the multilingualism of everyday urban life, and it complements a range of relatively small, independently funded educational initiatives promoting similar values. Their efforts are currently constrained by issues of scale and sustainability, although there was a period from the 1960s to the 80s when sociolinguistic citizenship was addressed within English state schooling.

Practical implications: Sociolinguistic citizenship may at present find its most sustainable support in the collaboration between universities and not-for-pro

Keywords:

linguistic citizenship, voice, education, sociolinguistics, multilingualism, ethnography

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1 Introduction

In a 2010 Institute of Public Policy Research report, *'You Can't Put Me in a Box'*, Fanshawe & Sriskandarajah call for a shift in British policy discourse: “[w]e need a new way of talking about diversity in the UK. Overzealous pursuit of crude equalities measures... ha[s] created a lot of awkwardness... when talking about identity, diversity and equality.... The tick-box approach to identity seems to be missing out on growing numbers of people who fall outside or across standard classifications” (2010:33-34,5). This is a problem for language classification as well, and to address it, this paper introduces Christopher Stroud’s notion of ‘Linguistic Citizenship’, building on our previous work on language and superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Arnaut et al., 2016; Holmes, 2017).¹

Linguistic Citizenship (LC) is “an attempt at a comprehensive *political* stance on language” (Stroud 2008:45), and its central argument is that a subtle understanding of how language positions people in society can and should enhance democratic participation (§2). We discuss its similarities to work on language in society in the USA in the 1960s and 70s (§3), and then turn to England, where contemporary state discourses linking language to citizenship are very inhospitable to LC (§4) – to the extent, indeed, that in the British context, Stroud’s LC needs to be renamed ‘Sociolinguistic Citizenship’, both to distinguish it from state discourses and to emphasise its sociolinguistic pedigree. Nevertheless, there are small-scale educational initiatives that seek to cultivate linguistic repertoires and practices with the variety and mixing recognised in Linguistic Citizenship, and we describe two recent examples (§5). After that, we look back briefly at language education in England from the 1960s to the late 1980s, suggesting that even though current conditions are inauspicious, there is no intrinsic incompatibility between Sociolinguistic Citizenship and state education provision (§6). Section 7 turns reflexively to our own positioning, considering the contribution to Sociolinguistic Citizenship that universities can make at the present time.

2 The idea of ‘Linguistic Citizenship’

Stroud’s notion of Linguistic Citizenship first emerged in a 2001 paper that compared it with ‘Linguistic Human Rights’ as a concept in the assessment of mother-tongue education programmes in Africa. The article focused on the success and failure of programmes which used local rather than ex-colonial metropolitan languages as media of instruction, and it argued that although it was widely invoked, the idea of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) was inadequate as a framework for understanding and promoting mother-tongue programmes that actually worked. Stroud characterised LHR as an approach to language education that involved:

- A) selective provision for a specific group, usually designed to overcome historic disadvantage.
- B) the identification, description and introduction of the group’s distinctive language as an entitlement in institutional activity – in schools, in law courts, in aspects of state bureaucracy
- C) an expectation that the courts and other bodies overseeing the nation-state will grant and monitor all this (Stroud, 2001, p. 349).

With constitutional recognition given to 11 official languages after apartheid, the LHR perspective had been very influential in South Africa, where Stroud is based, but he pointed to a number of serious limitations, of the kind articulated in the IPPR report (Stroud & Heugh, 2004):

- a) the LHR approach marginalises people who use non-standard versions of the group’s language, generating new socio-linguistic inequalities
- b) it promotes an arbitrary and essentialist view of language and ethnicity – it creates artificial boundaries between ways of speaking that are actually continuous and it overlooks mixing and hybridity



c) it appeals to a rather top-down and managerial politics; it presupposes membership of a single state; and it neglects population mobility. It isn't well adapted to the fact that "individuals now find themselves participating in a variety of sites in competition for resources distributed along multiple levels of scale, such as the nation, the supranation, the local and the regional." (Stroud, 2010, p. 200)

To overcome these problems, Stroud proposed Linguistic Citizenship, which differed from LHR in

- i) putting democratic participation first, emphasising cultural and political 'voice' and agency rather than just language on its own
- ii) seeing all sorts of linguistic practices – including practices that were mixed, low-status or transgressive – as potentially relevant to social and economic well-being, accepting that it is very hard to predict any of this if one is merely watching from the centre
- iii) stressing the importance of grassroots activity on the ground, often on the margins of state control, outside formal institutions.

Going beyond the critique of LHR, Stroud also contended that an enhanced understanding of sociolinguistic processes should actually be central to emancipatory politics. Linguistic Citizenship "aims to make visible the sociolinguistic complexity of language issues" (Stroud & Heugh 2004:192) and to promote "the idea of language as a political and economic 'site of struggle'", alongside "respect for diversity and difference" and "the deconstruction of essentialist understandings of language and identity" (2001:353). This perspective should be "inserted into political discourses and made into a legitimate form, target and instrument of political action" (2001, p. 343), and it has the potential to help marginalised people change their material and economic conditions for the better.

Stroud saw these principles at work in successful language education programmes (2001, p. 346-7), and turning to currently dominant discourses that could increase its appeal, he also argued that the notion of Linguistic Citizenship could dovetail well with the "new discourses of *entrepreneurialism* that are the order of the day" in South Africa (Stroud & Heugh, 2004), even though it was still difficult to promote in a wider public debate:

"In the African context, speakers move into... and across many different associational and socio-geographical units... exhibiting multiple and varied practices of language use, such as language crossing and mixed registers. Mozambican 'commerciantes', for example, regularly travel from the Southern Mozambican province of Gaza to South Africa, Malawi and Zimbabwe, where they conduct their purchases and sales in various forms of indigenous African languages, not metropolitan languages... From an actor-oriented, or grassroots, perspective, the relevant language communities to which speakers need to refer on a daily basis may be both larger and smaller than the traditional nation-state, comprising 'communities' delimited by both transnational varieties and local ways of speaking subnational languages. As these languages generate value, they provide a basis for political action.

However, ... when social and economic issues are debated in relation to language, the debate continues to deal with the rights and obligations that accrue to mastery of the ex-colonial, metropolitan and official language alone, and refer only to official and public arenas. [So...] there is a mismatch between the traditional, state-based institutions dealing with language issues, and the... sociolinguistic realities. We need some way of capitalising on the insight that local language practices are closely connected to generation of capital, and develop and promote economic models for these languages as a form of resistance to the market hegemony of ex-colonial languages" (Stroud, 2001, p. 350)

We will come back to the relationship between non-elite, everyday linguistic practice 'on the ground' and the ways in which state institutions conceive of language when we turn to language education in



the UK. But before doing so, it is worth considering LC's links to the sociolinguistics associated with Dell Hymes, one of the founding figures in contemporary sociolinguistics.

3 Sociolinguistic underpinnings in Linguistic Citizenship

According to Hymes, ethnographic sociolinguistics is a primarily analytical rather than a political or normative undertaking, focusing on first on 'what is' rather than 'what should be'. But the careful comparative empirical study of communicative repertoires and practices ultimately serves the ethical objectives of achieving *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* because it "prepares [sociolinguists] to speak concretely to actual inequalities" (Hymes, 1977, p. 204-206; 1969; Santos, 2012, p. 46).

This interplay of the academic and the ethical/political can be seen in operation in Stroud's criticism of the way in which language and ethnicity are conceptualised in the LHR perspective (see §2 above). The ideological and emotional power and persuasiveness carried by common-sense ideas about named languages and notions like 'native speaker' and 'ethnolinguistic group' is self-evident, but there is now a lot of sociolinguistic research which challenges the idea that distinct languages exist as natural objects, and that a proper language is bounded, pure and composed of structured sounds, grammar and vocabulary designed for referring to things (e.g. Joseph & Taylor, 1990; Woolard, Schieffelin & Kroskrity, 1998; Stroud, 1999; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). The idea of named languages – 'English', 'German', 'Bengali' – emerged with the formation of European nation-states in the 19th Century (and linguistic scholarship played a very prominent part in this). But contemporary sociolinguists argue that it is far more productive *analytically* to focus on the very variable ways in which individual linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate (Le Page, 1988; Blommaert, 2005). If we take any strip of communication and focus on the links and histories of each of the linguistic ingredients, we can soon see a host of forms and styles that are actually connected to social life in a plurality of groups – groups that vary from the very local to the trans-national (Hudson, 1980; Le Page, 1988; Stroud, 2001, p. 350). From this, a differentiated account of the organisation of communicative practice emerges, centring on identities, relationships, activities and genres that are enacted in a variety of ways (§4 below). Along similar lines, traditional ideas about the 'native speaker of a language' and the vital contribution that early experience in stable speech communities makes to competence in grammar and coherence in discourse have also been critiqued. These beliefs were central to a good deal of linguistic model building for much of the 20th Century, but they are very difficult to reconcile with the facts of linguistic diversity and mixed language practices (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997). Instead, sociolinguists now generally work with the notion of linguistic repertoire, which dispenses with *a priori* assumptions about the links between origins, upbringing, proficiency and types of language and refers instead to the very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp that individuals have of a plurality of styles, registers, genres and practices, which they have picked up and maybe then partially forgotten over the course of their lives (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Arnaut et al., 2016; Arnaut et al., 2017).

This deconstruction of essentialist ideas about language represents one way in which in sociolinguistic theory can "prepare [sociolinguists] to speak concretely to actual inequalities" more effectively. Politically, both Linguistic Human Rights and Linguistic Citizenship oppose the exclusion of people who don't have officially-approved linguistic resources in their repertoires. But while LHR focuses on the recognition of named or nameable languages associated with specific groups judged to have been marginalised, LC works with developments in sociolinguistics that allow a more open and inclusive position, attending to the diversity of linguistic practices that people use/need to get themselves heard in arenas that affect their well-being.

But there is a question about the potential political effectiveness of the 'actor-oriented' focus on 'practice' in Linguistic Citizenship. Petrovic and Kuntz (2013, p.142) are concerned that the processes addressed by LC are rather small-scale, and that LC risks relinquishing the wide angle view and the potential to affect relatively large numbers of people identified in the debates about LHR. But it is worth pointing out in response that both in sociolinguistic and social theory, *practices* are seen as basic



building blocks in the production of society, and instead, it is now often said that studies of *state-level* policy run into problems if they neglect practice, because they miss all the unpredictable complexity that the formulation and implementation of policy actually entails (Ball et al., 2012; Jessop, 2007): “policy never just ‘is’, but rather ‘does’... We do not restrict our analysis to... official policy declarations and texts... but place these in context as part of a larger sociocultural system... inferred from people’s language practices, ideologies and beliefs” (McCarty, 2011, p. 2).

At the same time, however, if we are to understand how units “both larger and smaller than the traditional nation-state” enter the account (Stroud, 2001, p. 350 above), we need to move beyond practice to the networks in which it is embedded. In fact, this is implied in the notion of voice itself.

In the first instance, we might define ‘voice’ as an individual’s communicative power and effectiveness within the here-&-now of specific events. But beyond this, the crucial issue is whether and how their contribution is remembered and/or recorded and subsequently reproduced in other arenas, travelling through networks and circuits that may vary in their scale – in their spatial scope, temporal durability and social reach. This is studied in research on ‘text trajectories’ which focuses (a) on the here-&-now activity in which some (but not other) aspects of what’s said get turned into textual ‘projectiles’ that can carry forward into other settings (‘entextualised’), and then (b) the ways in which they are interpreted when they arrive there (‘recontextualised’) (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Silverstein & Urban, 1996; Agha & Wortham, 2005; Blommaert, 2005; 2008; Kell, 2015; Maybin, 2017). This kind of account can cover both ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ trajectories, involving a variety of people, practices, media and types of text, working in cooperative and/or conflictual relationships within and across specific events, and it can of course be turned to political processes. So for example, we could focus on directives formulated in government offices that are turned into curriculum documents, transmitted to schools, and then interpreted by teachers interacting with children in class, or alternatively, we could look at parents complaining at a school meeting, the local press reporting the matter, and local politicians then taking it up or dismissing it (see e.g. Mehan, 1996; Kell, 2015). These are obviously simplified sketches, but the essential point is that a ‘trans-contextual and multi-scalar’ framework of this kind allows us to investigate the resonance of particular communicative practices. This then has two further implications.

First, this view of voice and text trajectories means that sociolinguists actually have to be flexible in their response to named languages and the essentialisation that they involve, accepting that there may be occasions when the discourse of Linguistic Human Rights is strategically warranted. Certainly, when faced with data on linguistic practice situated in the here-&-now, sociolinguists first listen for the diversity of the communicative resources in play. But selection and reduction are unavoidable parts of the entextualisation process, and if someone’s viewpoint is to be heard elsewhere in unfamiliar situations, it needs to be represented in a repeatable form that, regardless of its eloquence, inevitably simplifies the first-hand experience that motivated it (e.g. Haarstad & Fløysand, 2007). Named languages may form part of persuasive rhetorics that travel, and even though sociolinguists may worry about the negative (side-) effects and watch out for opportunities to reassert the ideological constructed-ness of named languages (Stroud & Heugh, 2004, p. 212), an analytic interest in the trajectory of voices has to accept the possibility that in certain circumstances, the invocation of named languages helps to advance political causes that they deem progressive. So although Stroud’s account of Linguistic Citizenship includes mixed, low-status and transgressive language practices, we certainly should not assume that notionally purer, higher status and more standard ones are thereby necessarily excluded (Stroud & Heugh, 2004, p. 191; Blommaert 2004, p. 59-60).

Second, it is necessary to move beyond the “freedom to have one’s voice heard” to what Hymes calls the “freedom to develop a voice worth hearing” (1996, p. 64). People in the particular networks through which a voice seeks to resonate inevitably have their own ideas of what’s important, and if its message is to be taken seriously, it needs to understand and connect with these concerns. This brings education – formal and/or informal – into the reckoning. Stroud’s 2001 discussion of Linguistic Citizenship centres more on taking control of language education programmes than on what these programmes actually teach (though see e.g. Bock & Mheta, 2014; Stroud & Heugh, 2004, p. 201). But if

the practices that promote democratic participation and persuasive voices from the grassroots are to sustain themselves, it is vital to consider the organisation of institutionalised arenas for learning and socialisation that are at least partly sheltered from the cut and thrust of political struggle.

So the central ideas that Stroud et al.'s Linguistic Citizenship builds on – the deconstruction of named languages and the focus on linguistic repertoires and practice – finds a great deal of support in ethnographic sociolinguistics, where Hymes also outlined broadly comparable objectives at the interface of research and politics. At the same time, these links qualify some of the radicalism in Stroud's articulation of LC: if claims and voices want people elsewhere to listen to them, they have to make themselves relevant, and the entextualisation required to do so often results in messages that simplify and partly compromise the original intention. It can also take time to develop a 'voice worth listening to', and this raises the question of institutional support.

But how far and in what ways can a concept developed in discussions of language policy in Southern Africa transfer to a country like the UK? To consider this, it is first worth asking what ideologies of language and citizenship currently dominate public discourse and debates about language education in the country where we are based.

4 Ideologies of language and citizenship in England

In recent years, two state-level discourses that link language to citizenship have gained currency in the UK.

One of these discourses derives from the European Union, and it focuses on the development of 'plurilingual citizens', proposing that everyone should learn and use three languages. These should be: a person's mother tongue, a "language of international communication", and a "Personal Adoptive Language", conceived as a language from another EU member state selected by the individual. But sociolinguists have noted at least two characteristics in this advocacy. First, "all the linguistic practices considered worthy of mention conform to standardising... assumptions: they are named languages with unified, codified norms of correctness embodied in literatures and grammars. No other configurations of speaking are recognized" (Gal 2006:167; Pujolar 2007:78,90; Moore 2011). Second, it is elite forms of multilingualism that are emphasised. So with the Personal Adoptive Language, fluency "would go hand in hand with familiarity with the country/countries in which that language is used, along with the literature, culture, society and history linked with that language and its speakers" (Maalouf Report, 2008, p. 10, cited in Moore, 2011. p. 9). As Moore elaborates, this "conjures up scenarios of culturally-enriching and self-actualizing travel: 'mobility', yes, but of an ideally *voluntary* sort. Thus: the *Wanderjahr* or international residence of the cosmopolitan elites of traditional upper middle-class consciousness" (ibid).

The second discourse about language and citizenship focuses on immigrants, and in the UK, it proposes that they need to learn English for social cohesion and national security, claiming (without any evidence) that a lack of proficiency in the national language increases the threat of radicalisation and terrorism, particularly among Muslims. As Khan 2017 explains, there were riots in three northern English cities in the summer of 2001, involving (mainly Muslim) British Asians, far-right extremists and the police, which led to calls for more emphasis on citizenship as a way of fusing together 'parallel communities' (Cantle Report, 2002). With the 9/11 attacks a few weeks later and the 7/7 London bombings in 2005, the view developed that Islamic communities were poorly integrated and a security risk, and the expression of hostility in public discourse has since become much more explicit (Cooke & Simpson, 2012, p. 124-125). This has drawn in the teaching of ESOL (English for speakers of other languages), with the argument that to be a British citizen is to be a speaker of English (Blackledge, 2005; Cooke & Simpson 2012:125). In 2005, the *Life in the UK* test was introduced for migrants seeking British Citizenship (and for those seeking Indefinite Leave to Remain in 2007), and over time, increasingly demanding English proficiency requirements were tied into this, with, for example, a language requirement being introduced for the reunification of non-EU, non-English speaking spouses in 2011.



The spirit of these developments can be seen the words of Home Secretary (and now Prime Minister) Theresa May (2015):

“Government alone cannot defeat extremism so we need to do everything we can to build up the capacity of civil society to identify, confront and defeat extremism wherever we find it. We want to go further than ever before helping people from isolated communities to play a full and fruitful role in British life. We plan a step change in the way we help people learn English. There will be new incentives and penalties, a sharp reduction in translation services and a significant increase in the funding available for English” (Theresa May, Home Secretary, 23/3/15 *A Stronger Britain, Built on Values*; at <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/a-stronger-britain-built-on-our-values>”.

These two state discourses are not compatible with Linguistic Citizenship in Stroud’s sense. But even though they are very influential, neither is universally accepted, and there are other accounts and aspirations for British society which are much more readily aligned with Stroud’s LC. An alternative perspective can be clearly seen in the 2010 report from the Institute of Public Policy Research that we cited at the start, and it is also compatible with a substantial body of research showing that the UK is actually a highly multilingual society, and that many of its citizens have language repertoires that involve the kinds of variety and mixing that Stroud et al. describe (see e.g. Britain (ed) 2007; Rampton et al., 2008; *Working Papers in Translanguaging & Translation*). Indeed, in the next section, we will describe two educational initiatives that seek to cultivate this diversity in London, and in considering the transposition of Stroud’s conception to the UK we will speak of ‘*Sociolinguistic Citizenship*’, both to differentiate it from the two official discourses we have sketched above and to flag up its pedigree in sociolinguistics (§3).

5 Two recent projects promoting Sociolinguistic Citizenship

Educational projects that, like Linguistic Citizenship, promote the voice of relatively marginalised people through the recognition of mixed/non-standard language practices and sociolinguistic awareness have a substantial pedigree in critical pedagogy and beyond, as in work with hip hop (e.g. Alim 2009; Madsen & Karrebæk 2015; www.rapolitics.org). But we will discuss two projects that we ourselves have been involved in.

The first represents an alternative to British government discourses on citizenship and immigration, and it was an ESOL course entitled *Our Languages*. It took place within a small charitable organisation called [English for Action](http://www.englishforaction.org) (EfA) that was set up in 2012 to support London Citizens’ campaigning work. The vision that motivates EfA involves “UK migrants hav[ing] the language, skills and networks they need to bring about an equal and fair society” (EfA, 2016, p. 7), and according to its 2015-16 Annual Report, EfA is “absolutely committed to community organising; that is listening to people’s concerns in our classes and communities, connecting people, training people to listen and take action, taking action to effect change and building powerful groups to be able to hold powerful people and organisations to account. Our approach is above all, to develop the capacity of our students to effect change. Campaigns, such as to secure better housing or living wages, emerge from classroom work and our community organising” (p.5). During 2015-16, 391 people accessed the 19 free of charge ESOL courses that EfA ran in seven London Boroughs, and “over 100 students took action on a range of social justice issues” (p.11). The courses were taught by a staff team of ten, with volunteers attending 85% of the classes, and this activity was supported with an income of £178,000, mostly raised from about a dozen charitable foundations.

Our Languages ran in 2017 as one strand in a three year linguistic ethnography on ‘Adult Language Socialisation in the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in London’ funded by the Leverhulme Trust (2015-2018; £227,500). The course was designed to explore how far the linguistic experience of the Sri Lankan Tamils studied in the ethnography resonated with other migrant groups, and it involved participatory education (aligned with Freire, critical pedagogy, and democratic education). This takes an over-arching



theme and then allows the exact shape of the course to emerge from session to session.² Working in two classes (36 students from 18 countries), the courses began by playing the recording of someone from Sri Lanka talking about how he'd practiced his English working in an off-license, and by the end of the eight weeks, the students had covered: non-standard language varieties; bi/multilingual language practices; language identities; intergenerational language transmission; multilingual communicative repertoires; language ideologies; language discrimination and the social processes of learning English in the UK. In this way, the course addressed what Stroud and Heugh see as a substantial problem for Linguistic Citizenship: the "problem... is that much current theorisation of language and politics is often unavailable to those communities who are theorised... [L]inguistic knowledge needs to be built in dialogue with communities" (2004, p. 209-210).

In any programme of this kind, the outcomes are mixed. On occasion, students themselves expressed racist ideas; the session on intergenerational language transmission generated quite a lot of frustration and guilt when students talked about their children's lack of heritage language competence; and there was also quite strong support for an 'English Only' policy in ESOL lessons, even though students had been encouraged to draw on their multilingual repertoires. But at the end of course, one of the groups said they wanted another eight weeks to continue the discussion, and there were gains in language learning, in pragmatic and 'multilingual narrative' competence and in vocabulary: one of the students reported "jokingly but proudly – that her family had commented that she was coming home from class 'sounding like a dictionary', [using] research related terms such as 'theme', 'data' and 'participant'" (Cooke et al 2018, p. 25). In fact, one of the groups also made representations to the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Social Integration, whose chair happened to be the local MP (Chuka Umunna). The APPG was conducting an inquiry into the integration of immigrants, and its interim report was picked up by the *Daily Mail* with the headline 'All migrants should learn English before moving to UK: Verdict of Labour MP...it's time to ditch failed multiculturalism'. Students objected to the negative stereotyping, to the way in which learning English was presented as an obligation rather than a right, and to the lack of any reference in either the *Interim Report* or the *Mail* article to major cuts in state funding for ESOL (c. 60% since 2007) and the long waiting lists for classes that these produced. EfA subsequently submitted written evidence to the inquiry (along with 66 other individuals and organisations) and Umunna was invited to the class. He came and admitted that the interim text should have taken more care to avoid interpretations like the *Mail*'s. In fact, the APPG's final report was entitled *Integration not Demonisation*, and it warned against rhetorics that encouraged racism (p.16), discussed the adverse effects of the ESOL funding cuts at some length (2017, p. 69-70), and acknowledged EfA and "the testimony of... community group members" (2017, 83,9).

English for Action aims to encourage the growth of participatory ESOL courses by sharing best practice (and is working on dissemination of the materials from *Our Languages*). The sharing of practice in pedagogies committed to the fluidity of language and identity, sociolinguistic understanding, linguistic inclusivity and voice was central to the second project, *Multilingual Creativity* (www.kcl.ac.uk/Cultural-/Projects/Multilingual-Creativity.aspx). This ran from 1/2015 to 11/2016, and the question guiding it was: 'How can plurilingualism among young people be harnessed for creativity?' It recognized that there were a lot of unconnected projects in universities, schools, and arts & cultural organisations which engaged with young people's hybrid multilingualism, and it set out to build links between them, seeking to develop something of a 'sector' for this kind of work.

There were three elements in the programme: research on current practice, the development of a website (www.multilingualcreativity.org.uk), and a series of events which focused on [language communities](#), [multilingual projects](#), [performing and visual arts](#), [print and multimedia texts](#), [networking](#). These involved 52 cultural organisations (from education, museums, libraries, publishing and the arts sector), 17 artists, 12 academics, and 32 members of the public. The research part surveyed existing projects and identified five pedagogic principles in something of a manifesto, illustrating them with examples of film making in Arabic supplementary schools, German teaching with hand-puppets for primary children, three-day workshops in creative translation, and a national language challenge



(Holmes 2015). The five principles were: plurilingualism over monolingual usage (the use of different ‘languages’ within the same utterance or activity); exuberant smatterings over fluency (‘bits of language’ as opposed to ‘fluency’ as a legitimate goal in language learning); reflexive sociolinguistic exploration over linguistic ‘common sense’ (focusing on participants’ own language practices); collaborative endeavour over individualisation (drawing on the pooling of repertoires within a group); and investment over ‘immersion’ (fostering a genuine desire to participate, rather than insisting on exclusive use of the ‘target’ language).

Multilingual Creativity raised important questions about the positioning of these pedagogic strategies within broader institutions. The glove puppet activity with which Holmes illustrates the ‘exuberant smatterings over fluency’ principle was produced by the Goethe Institut, which receives large-scale long-term financing from the German government to promote German language and culture at all levels world-wide, using German “as the teaching language... right from the start”.³ So ‘Felix und Franz’ is, relatively speaking, just a tiny innovation in which language mixing is a tactic to take small children on their first steps into a much larger programme of monolingual *Deutsch*, perhaps ultimately leading to the kind of plurilingual citizenship advocated by the EU. As pedagogic methods can be adopted and recontextualised in different kinds of programme and organisation, this obviously doesn’t make it irrelevant to Sociolinguistic Citizenship. Even so, the Goethe Institut stands in sharp contrast to virtually all of the other projects involved in *Multilingual Creativity*, which depended on relatively short-term, project-specific funding from charitable foundations and local communities and institutions (as did the *MC* initiative itself, which relied on 5 or 6 grants, amounting to c. £67,000). This in turn depends on the initiative of a few dedicated individuals and their perseverance and success in raising income from a plurality of funding sources. The crucial issue of sustainability emerges here, both for the projects and for the linguistic repertoires and capacities that they seek to develop.

In Stroud et al.’s account, Linguistic Citizenship develops at the margins of state provision and control, and the two cases we have described seem to corroborate this view. But there is in fact no essential incompatibility between state funding and the principles of Sociolinguistic Citizenship, as can be seen in a brief sketch of language education from the 1960s to the late 1980s in England.

6 Sociolinguistic Citizenship in English state education from the 1960s to the late 80s

Language education in England in the period from the 1960s to the late 80s was dominated by ‘progressive’ pedagogies, supported by major Committees of Inquiry (DES 1967, DES 1975) which stated, for example, that the aim of language education “is not to alienate the child from a form of language with which he has grown up... It is to enlarge his repertoire so that he can use language effectively in other speech situations and use standard forms when they are needed... No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold” (DES, 1975: paras 10.6, 20.5, 20.17; Carter, 1988). Local authorities, teaching unions and subject associations had much more influence than central government, and contrast to the system operating from the 1990s onwards, there was no national curriculum and in regular standardised assessment testing (apart from the school-leaving exams), and “no pressure of a stringent accountability framework that would make... teachers... or their senior managers in school... risk averse” (Gibbons, 2017, p. 40). There certainly were different lines of thinking within broadly progressive language education (Stubbs, 1986, p. 78; Hewitt, 1989, p. 127–33; Cox, 1990, p. 21), and not all would fit the model of Sociolinguistic Citizenship outlined by Stroud. But there was a great deal of emphasis on voice, and together with the idea that English teaching should seek to broaden the child’s *repertoire* rather than impose Standard English on its own (DES, 1975 above; DES, 1981), this itself created openings for mixed and non-standard language. Work of this kind was supported by several very large-scale curriculum development initiatives, and the last of these, the 1989–1992 Language in the National Curriculum Project argued that: “some aspects of language resist systematisation” and “language and its conventions of use are permanently and unavoidably unstable and in flux” (Carter, 1990, p. 17); “[b]eing more explicitly informed about the sources of attitudes to language, about its uses and misuses, about how language is used to manipulate

and incapacitate, can *empower* pupils to see through language to the ways in which messages are mediated and ideologies encoded” (ibid., 1990, p. 4); teachers in multilingual classrooms can “create the conditions which enable children to gain access to the whole curriculum by encouraging them to use, as appropriate, their strongest or preferring language”, accepting that “many bilingual children operate naturally... switching between languages in speech or writing in response to context and audience” (Savva, 1990, p. 260, 263). This was supported with £21 million from central government (£165 million at current values), and it involved 25 coordinators and more than 10,000 teachers in over 400 training courses (Carter, 1990, p. 16), generating professional development materials for teachers that involved 12 units supported by BBC TV and radio, each designed to take up one to 1.5 days of course time (1990, p. 2).

In the end, the Conservative government refused to allow publication of these training materials, objecting, among other things, to a chapter on multilingualism (Abrams, 1991), and asking, in the words of the minister of state: “Why... so much prominence [is] given to exceptions rather than the norm - to dialects rather than standard English, for example... Of course, language is a living force, but our central concern must be the business of teaching children how to use their language correctly” (Eggar, 1991). Indeed, this ushered in a period of top-down curriculum reform that has left “English teachers with the underlying sense that the critical decisions about what to teach and how to teach are no longer theirs to make. So hegemonic seems the discourse around standards, accountability, performance and attainment that it can appear that this is just the way things are” (Gibbons 2017:3). Nevertheless, this retrospective glimpse of language education from the 1960 to 1980s suggests that the promotion of Sociolinguistic Citizenship – with its commitments to democratic participation, to voice, to the heterogeneity of the linguistic resources that these entail, and to the political value of sociolinguistic understanding – isn’t inevitably confined to relatively short-term projects, and that it may be possible to work on a scale which reaches far beyond local initiatives involving critical pedagogy or creative production that symbolically challenges the linguistic status quo (see Rampton et al., 2018, :§7 for fuller discussion).

But what of the situation today? In the UK at present, there is little hope of persuading central government to provide financial resources to support the kind of Sociolinguistic Citizenship conceived by Stroud and his associates. But regional bodies may well be more receptive, and in the pen-ultimate section, it is worth turning reflexively to our own positioning and the practical contribution that universities can make to sustaining initiatives that promote LC.

7 Universities as a durable resource for Sociolinguistic Citizenship

According to an OECD-based⁴ study of higher education (HE) in 12 countries, universities are expected to play a larger role in their local areas as economies become more regional (Goddard & Pukka, 2008, p. 19). Shifts in HE pedagogy are implicated in this: “learning and teaching activities... are becoming more interactive and experiential, drawing upon, for example, project work and work-based learning, much of which is locationally specific... [T]he most effective technology and knowledge transfer mechanism between higher education institutions and the external environment is through... staff and students via the teaching curriculum, placements, teaching company schemes, secondments, etc” (Chatterton & Goddard, 2000, p. 480,488). This reaches right across the disciplinary spectrum, “from science and technology and medical faculties to the arts, humanities and social sciences” (Goddard & Pukka 2008, p. 14), and similar shifts can be seen in the UK. The actual and/or potential ‘non-academic impact’ of research is now evaluated both in individual project proposals and in the large-scale national assessments of research conducted every five or six years, and as elsewhere, there is increasing pressure for teaching to cultivate employability and social responsibility among students.

In ethnographic sociolinguistics, there is a very well-established tradition of action research and outreach, with university staff and students working with local groups to promote the kind of Linguistic Citizenship we have been discussing (see e.g. Hymes, 1980; Gumperz et al., 1979; Heath, 1983; Van de Aa & Blommaert, 2011; Rampton et al., 2015, p. 16-24). Perhaps “unexpectedly”, “growing [neo-liberal]



emphasis on the economisation of research, commodification of teaching, and a need to demonstrate a ‘return on investment to clients and sponsors’ creates favourable conditions” for strengthening this tradition (Matras & Robertson 2017, p. 5). Both of the projects described in §5 draw on these developments, and if opportunities for placements and practical work outside the academy are to become an established feature of the university curriculum, then individual modules could be built around efforts to promote Sociolinguistic Citizenship, providing them with greater institutional durability, introducing undergraduates or Masters students to the underlying ideas on an annual basis, involving them in sites where they have the chance to explore these ideas in action.

Exactly what this kind of module covered would depend on the requirements and support provided in the particular institution where it was taught, on the sorts of non-academic organisation that it was linked to, and staff experience, expertise and interests (at least to begin with).⁵ Embedded like this in a teaching module, one of the core structures of the university, the promotion of Sociolinguistic Citizenship could spread in other ways, and Manchester University’s [Multilingual Manchester](#) is a spectacular example of this (Matras & Robertson, 2017).⁶ But even within the relatively limited horizons of the single module, universities could provide a high-status platform for discussion of LC ideas, and 20–30 people would emerge every year with an understanding of how language diversity privileges some and disadvantages others, and of what might be done to change these relationships. In their interaction with university students, third sector organisations like the ones mentioned in §5 could get tasks done that they wouldn’t otherwise have the resources to complete, and they’d engage with frameworks for understanding their activity that were different and maybe more elaborate than the ones they were used to. The students and organisations would now know each other, and opportunities would emerge to develop their relationship in all sorts of unanticipated ways.

8 Conclusion

Committed to democratic participation, to voice, to the heterogeneity of linguistic resources and to the political value of sociolinguistic understanding, Stroud’s Linguistic Citizenship chimes well with the programme for ethnographic sociolinguistics inspired by Hymes in the 1970s. But contemporary UK government language policy is unreceptive to these ideas, and instead, initiatives promoting Sociolinguistic Citizenship tend to rely on relatively short-term project-specific funding raised from non-state sources. But university-based sociolinguists have continued the lines of study initiated by Hymes and have quite often collaborated with teachers, arts organisers and community activists in small-scale projects promoting LC principles outside the academy, in relationships that are now incentivised, perhaps somewhat ironically, by the neo-liberal agenda driving higher education.

Finding the resources and institutional space to run these initiatives takes hard graft and tactical planning. Nevertheless, over the last few years, a set of overarching terms seem to have crystallised in sociolinguistics that start to answer the 2010 IPPR’s report’s call for “a new way of talking about diversity in the UK” (Fanshawe & Sriskandarajah, 2010, p. 5). ‘Superdiversity’ characterises the linguistic terrain, ‘translanguaging’ points the kinds of communicative practice we find there, and ‘linguistic ethnography’ identifies the stance and methods needed to understand them. To these, Linguistic Citizenship – or in the UK, ‘Sociolinguistic Citizenship’ – adds the need to strengthen democratic participation with political and educational efforts tuned to the significance of language. Of course, each of these concepts can and should be interrogated, unpacked, refined, applied and compared, in and against different frameworks and situations, and this is grist to the academic/non-academic collaboration. But despite their flexible generality, these four concepts coalesce in a loosely coherent perspective on language and social change that denaturalises the traditional equation of language, culture and nationality, and promotes a clearer understanding and more constructive engagement both with the patterning and the unpredictability of contemporary sociolinguistic experience.



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Endnotes

¹ The arguments and illustrations in this chapter are developed in much greater detail in Rampton, Cooke & Holmes 2018a.

² Sub-themes are drawn out and elaborated on through the use of a range of tools, activities and texts – see the accounts of two previous short courses in *Whose Integration?* (Byers et al., 2013) and *The Power of Discussion* (Byers et al., 2014; Cooke et al., 2014).

³ <https://www.goethe.de/en/spr/kup/kon.html>. Visited 22/12/17

⁴ The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development was set up in 1961, and its members are Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

⁵ It probably ought to cover sociolinguistic concepts of the kind outlined in this paper (language & superdiversity; ‘named languages’ and language mixing; repertoires, practices, voice and trajectories of text). This would obviously be warranted not only by their relevance to Sociolinguistic Citizenship but also their significance within the discipline, and there are textbooks to support this (e.g. Bock & Mheta, 2014; Weber & Horner, 2012). The course would certainly need to promote an ethnographic stance – a readiness to push sociolinguistic theories into open-ended dialogue with the rationales and practices ‘on the ground’ in the non-academic activities that they and the module were linked with. In the process, they would also need to think hard about the ways in which concepts are variously complicated and simplified as they travel in and out of the academy and other contexts.

⁶ Manchester University’s *Multilingual Manchester* programme (MLM) began in 2009 with “a new second year undergraduate module on Societal Multilingualism” and “benefit[ed] from the new opportunities for digital learning and the emerging Social Responsibility agenda” (Matras & Robertson 2017:8). Since then it has grown very substantially: it is currently supported by three fixed term project managers (Matras & Robertson, 2017, p. 10); it has been adopted as one of Manchester University’s flagship regional engagement programmes; and it “bring[s] together university students, experienced researchers of international repute, community representatives, and members of local services”, inviting “contacts, offer[s] for collaboration, and requests for information, from school, local authorities and local services, businesses, media, related research projects, and students wishing to carry out research on one of Manchester’s many community languages, or on language policy and community multilingualism” (MLM website at 1/7/15). Admittedly, continuity and stability are major challenges for a programme of this size, because without “a long term commitment to providing core resources”, it is caught up in the university’s “volatile processes of prioritisation and internal competition for resources” (ibid p.11,10). But working on a smaller scale, within the boundaries of the individual module, acute issues of sustainability like these are less likely to arise.



Discourses of Multilingualism, Identity and Belonging: The View of Arabic Bilinguals in the UK

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Purpose: This sociolinguistic paper discusses the relationship between language and belonging from the perspective of Arabic-English speaking bilinguals. It explores what knowledge of language(s) means for the minority language speaker and investigates the challenges, consequences and opportunities multilingualism poses for its speakers in a globalised era that is fraught with re-imagining nationalism, country, security, loyalty, and belonging. The project reported in this paper aimed to (1) understand the symbolisms the Arabic language held for its speakers, (2) understand the ramifications knowledge of Arabic had for these bilinguals; and (3) explore how second generation Arabic heritage speakers define their identities and feelings of belonging to the UK.

Method: Sixty-two people took part in the project; data was collected through a short survey followed up by interviews that further explored issues of multilingualism, identity and belonging. Data from interviews and qualitative responses from the survey were analysed thematically in light of Ingrid Piller's emerging linguistic social justice framework (Piller, 2016).

Finding: The findings suggest that English and Arabic are equally important to speakers; additionally Arabic is highly symbolic for reasons of religion, family, and cultural ties. The results however, also point to the apprehensiveness speakers have in using Arabic in public because they fear that they may be deemed too different, weird, abnormal, dangerous, disloyal or untrustworthy (Tonkin, 2003). The data implies that such hesitation leads to an anxiety of being viewed as 'other' and challenges how some young people envision their current and future belonging to the UK society.

Keywords:

Arabic language, migration, language, identity, belonging, linguistic justice

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1 Introduction

Migration to the UK, like that across the world (Fisher, 2014), has been taking place since the first century AD. Very early migrations and conquests (the Romans, events of 1066 and the Vikings) contributed greatly to what the UK has become today in terms of culture, language and customs (Henig, 2002, Hadley, 2006, Thomas, 2003). Hence, those with Celtic or Nordic heritage are not viewed as diverse or different anymore (there is much to be said about not identifying those long-term communities as diverse, however it is beyond the scope of this paper). Later migrations, without doubt, had less of an impact on what has come to be broadly known as British and/or English culture. The spike in movement of peoples from one part of the world to another has always been marked in history as a time of high movement due to wars, displacement, poverty and more recently out of choice (especially migration by those from wealthy relatively war-free nations in pursuit of high paying jobs), and globalisation (Greenhill, 2010, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014).

Migration to the UK especially after World War II originated from countries that were previously colonies of Great Britain. Access to the UK was easy because for most of these countries there were no visa restrictions and hence people or families moved to work and settle in the UK (Meloni, 2006, Spencer, 2011). Casey (2016, p. 35) points out, “[p]ostwar immigration from the commonwealth and other countries was encouraged to fill labour market shortages and settlement often reflected this- tending towards major cities and towns where industry needed workers”. This explains for example why there are concentrations of single ethnic groups in a number of cities in the UK, most notably the Yemeni community in Sheffield and South Shields that came to work in the steel industry in the 1950s (Runnymede, 2012, Willis, 2017). Or the Indian population (mainly Gujarati) that came to settle in Birmingham and Leicester to work in hosiery, denim and material factories when they were expelled from Uganda in the 1970s (Martin and Singh, 2002). These communities continue to live in these cities even though the population is now well into its fourth or fifth generation, with some of these individuals no longer speaking the language of their grandparents (Said, 2014).

The presence of such communities, sometimes referred to as “old diversity” (Piller, 2016) and the arrival of newer communities from non-commonwealth countries (most markedly from the EU and beyond in the last decade), gives the impression that Britain is highly diverse, multilingual and multicultural. Indeed, the 2011 Census (ONS, 2011) affirms that the UK is increasingly diverse and more so since the last Census in 1991. White British was the largest ethnic group (80.5%), followed by Other White (4.4%) then Indian (2.5%) and finally the Pakistani community (2.0%), in the last census White accounted for 94.1% of the population; hence these findings show a change in the population, however small. Interestingly, for the first time the ethnic category of Arab was introduced in this Census and 240,000 (0.4%) respondents identified themselves as “Arab”. The ONS argues that it is important to develop new ethnic categories in order to “identify more precisely which group of people are being referred to”. The introduction of such a category was important, as will be discussed below, for some participants in this project with one saying, *“at last they know that there are such people as “Arabs” and we are not bunched up into “Asians” or “Other”...”* (participant 45F). To be recognised as a distinct ethnic community supports a group of people to feel more visible and more recognised. This is the complete opposite to the US Census, which continues to categorise the ethnically Arab population under the White category (Cainker, 2006). There have been discussions to introduce a Middle Eastern and North African category but these have not materialised and will likely not be included in the next 2020 census. Ethnic recognition is particularly important as it contributes to the well-being of the minority community (Taylor, 1994) and as I argue below later, it may also assist young British born citizens of the UK who speak minority languages to have stronger feelings of belonging to their society. Taylor (p.25) emphasises, “Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being”.

1.1 Ramifications of migration

The perception of elevated numbers in immigration has in the last decade or so fuelled the rise in nationalism across Europe and the UK (Goodhart, 2017, Baker and Adler, 2013, Richardson and Wodak,



2009). These thoughts have brought to the fore issues of country, loyalty, security and belonging and forced all parts of society to re-assess what each of these mean in today's globalised and highly transnational world. The world is changing and has done so to become politically and economically different taking away old systems of making a living (mainly the deindustrialisation of the Western world, which has affected the nature of jobs) and presents a more fluid, less stable world. Richardson and Wodak (2009) argue in their discourse analytic paper on discourses of employment and nativism in Britain and Austria, that the recent popular sentiments of viewing migrants as taking British or Austrian jobs are historically, "context-dependent connotations, stemming from pre-World War II colonialism and anti-Semitism". Political parties often exploit such historical ideologies because the changes cause unrest in people and influence how they see themselves and others in this new world. The former centre-right minister of Portugal said,

"We have to be honest that the crisis and the rise in unemployment is an occasion for populist forces to become more aggressive and gain some votes...we should not forget that in Europe, not so many decades ago, we had very, very worrying developments of xenophobia and racism and intolerance (cited in Baker and Adler, 2013).

Such trepidation fuels neo-nationalism, right wing ideas and outward and open discrimination against those perceived to be the cause of the such sudden and unstable changes (Winlow et al., 2017 , Kenny, 2014, Goodwin, 2011).

In reference to the UK, Kenny (2014, p.1) says that the question of Englishness or what it means to be English has become so pertinent today that "[e]ven within mainstream debates, where national and constitutional questions are typically seen as secondary to economic and social issues, they have become more familiar..." This, he argues (p.4) is due to the "broader shifts in the nature of collective identity and the contemporary forms of belonging". The nature of these huge and non-reversible shifts coupled with the problems of terrorism, global warming, globalisation and an increasingly unequal world creates a negative reaction to those who are seen as "new" and are in turn viewed as a "threat" or "outsiders" (Winlow et al., 2017). It could be argued that such negativity is due to the uncertainty within particular sections of society about who they are today, what their lives will be like tomorrow and how they can re-establish the ways of old in which they were sure of their own identities, their belonging, and they knew what country and loyalty meant to them and others.

The re-imagining of the issues above by the host community affects the immigrant communities (of every generation) in two ways: one, they too live in a changing world that also demands such reflections to take place and they similarly think about who they are. And two, they sometimes feel that their belonging and loyalty is questioned by the host community, which often results in strong feelings of belonging (Frampton et al., 2016) or, as I report below, it may lead them to question their belonging. Thus, it is a bi-directional process in which the hosts and the newcomers engage in questioning who they are and who the other is and how that affects them respectively.

The focus of this paper is to understand how Arabic- English bilinguals view themselves, how they think others perceive them and how that (if at all) influences their feelings of belonging. This paper is one of the first to present data on the language(s) and belonging of second-generation Arab bilinguals in the UK and it is hoped that these findings can offer a more contextual narrative of how this generation views itself in at a time when their voices are seldom heard.

In what follows I analyse the current literature on multilingualism in the UK followed by a short section on methodology before presenting and analysing the results. The paper paints a positive but challenging picture of what it means to be a speaker of Arabic in the UK today.



2 UK as a multilingual society

Although the 2011 Census (in England and Wales) results above and below show a linguistically diverse UK, as a country it is officially monolingual with English as its official language. Like the US and many other countries that boast a linguistically diverse population, all policies are monolingual and as Piller (2016) argues this means that other languages naturally fall into a hierarchy. Given the current resurgence of nationalism, languages other than English are not promoted or welcomed by some within the UK society because the promotion of these languages would, in their minds, introduce an imbalance to their stable world.

In terms of languages declared as spoken alongside in the Census 2011, English was the most spoken language (92.3% of population) and was the majority language. One of the unique features of this Census was that it introduced two new questions for the first time asking respondents to name their main language and to self-report on their proficiency of English. These questions were influenced by similar questions from the US Census and were argued to be important with the intention to present more accurate data about the languages people speak (ONS, 2011). One of the criticisms of the questions posed is that they assume the respondent would only select one main language, where as, from a sociolinguistic perspective, it is perfectly acceptable to speak more than one main language (Sebba, 2017). Many monolingual countries like the UK often pose such questions from a monolingual perspective because they expect that migrant communities will eventually only speak English (Piller, 2016, Heller, 2007, Blackledge, 2000, 2006) as a sign of assimilation and integration into the host society. Indeed, Casey (2016) in her report on integration outlines, “English language is a common denominator and a strong enabler of integration” (Casey, 2016, p. 14). Such views hence create a direct link between the language spoken and degree of assimilation, they do not always take into account the proficiency of the host language. The same ideologies of monolingualism are present at every level of society in the education system, in the media and at government level. Blackledge (2006) states that for some multilingualism is considered a problem especially when it involves certain languages and not others.

Piller (2012), Heller (2007) and others explain that linguistically diverse societies, even those that purport to be multilingual push the idea that monolingualism (in the majority language or in the language of the region) promotes success and prosperity. If the individual is proficient in English, French, German, or Spanish they will assimilate better and have enhanced career prospects. This stems from, Piller (2012) argues, the nineteenth century belief that bilingualism brings about poverty (because securing employment is less likely) and does not allow the speaker to fully assimilate and be socially included. This nineteenth century idea persists even until today and may explain why much of the media reporting on the findings about languages spoken in the UK was presented in an undesirable manner underlining that knowledge of other languages threatens English and therefore the English or British way of life (Census 2011 coverage, 2013). For example, pictures on newspaper front pages depicted shop fronts of Polish supermarkets inscribed in Polish as opposed to English to emphasise the so-called loss of English language. Such images reinforced the idea that these communities did not speak any English, when in fact they did but also spoke other languages. Casey (2016, p. 63) accentuates that “[t]he new media plays an important role in influencing attitudes and levels of integration, both through investigative reporting and through fair and accurate portrayal of difficult issues.”

Of course, knowledge of the host language is paramount if individuals are to be fully active in society, but that perhaps does not entail that speakers lose their other languages in order to demonstrate their assimilation (Serratrice, 2018). Heller (2007) points out an important issue that, although monolingual societies promote monolingualism they only celebrate the bilingualism of some of its multilinguals. She gives the example that English-Spanish bilingualism is favoured less if the speaker in question is an illegal Mexican immigrant; but favoured more if he or she took up Spanish in school and now works in media or diplomacy. Migrants are often seen as “out of place” (Cresswell, 1996) even though they are multilingual, meaning that in addition to their own language they have also made an effort to learn and speak the main



language. Cresswell argues this is because their type of multilingualism does not fit the expectations of the host community, and so they are additionally ascribed identities of “not belonging”. However much the migrant tries they will always be seen as diverse or different, Piller (2016, p.21) explains, “the descendants of Jews, Muslims and Sikhs are forever marked by the migrations of their forbearers, even if that migrations took place centuries ago”. Despite this social phenomenon, at the government level the UK has long promoted, in education papers, a vision for an inclusive society (Davies, 2018),

“in which there is a *common vision and sense of belonging* by all communities; a society in which the diversity of people’s backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar life opportunities are available to all”

Davies argues that “place” or spaces play a role in how far “pluralistic societal coherence” may be achieved. Without adequate space young people and especially those from diverse backgrounds will not feel a complete sense of belonging as I argue throughout this paper.

Language is often associated with identity (Edwards, 2009 , Sharma, 2011, Bauman, 2001, Tajfel, 1981, Rampton, 2006), belonging (Meinhof and Galasiński, 2005, Lippi-Green, 1997) and in the last decade very closely with integration and assimilation (Casey, 2016, Green Paper, 2018, Hall, 2013). Language in this paper does not refer to its linguistic form but instead to its facet as an entity of communication. Language and identity are mutually shaping and constantly connect and disconnect the speaker from those around them and from the spaces in which they occupy, the idea of spaces is discussed later in the results. Identity here is defined in line with Tajfel (1981, p.255) to be “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attended to that membership”. Identity is also attributed to the individual by others and determined by the way a person dresses, what they eat and without doubt the language they speak. Thus, language plays an important part in not only how people are viewed by others, but also more essentially how young speakers view themselves in relation to the world (Rampton, 2006).

3 Current study

This study employed a mixed methods approach by collecting data through a short survey and followed that up with semi-structured interviews. Given the nature of the study and the questions posed, it was decided that this method of data collection would yield fruitful data. Three research questions were posed:

1. What does the learning of or knowledge of Arabic mean for Arabic-English bilinguals?
2. What are the consequences of speaking/knowing the Arabic language for these bilinguals in the UK?
3. How (if at all) does knowledge of Arabic affect 2nd generation Arab bilinguals’ feelings/opinions of belonging to the UK?

Answers to these questions would offer some insight into issues surrounding the Arabic language and belonging from a point of view of its speakers. Data was collected over a six-week period as a side-project to another larger on-going 3-year project on Arabic-English multilinguals in London. Surveys were handed out and interviews took place at a Saturday school (where the researcher taught Arabic) and at an Arab women’s club in London, where she was at the time, a member. It was felt necessary to conduct the interviews in a place where the participants felt safe. Consent was sought and given and participants asked to be made anonymous; the researcher coded all surveys and interviews by participant number and gender, for example 60M (60 year old male). It was important to connect the survey responses with the interview data and the age and background of the participant in order to better understand the context of their views (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

Sampling was conducted purposively and then in a snowballing manner (Daniel, 2012) as this would save time and ensure only those who were bilinguals and willing to take part did so. After ethics and



securing consent (Miller et al., 2012), 62 individuals completed the short survey, among them were 24 males and 38 females and all members were over the age of 18. After the survey 12 people agreed to be interviewed and were invited to take part in semi-structured interviews (Galleta, 2013) which were audio recorded (Magnusson and Marecek, 2013). Interview allows for a deeper exploration of what participants write in surveys. It was seen best to approach individuals who were bilingual and actively involved in the learning or teaching of Arabic because this would provide richer accounts about the symbolisms of their languages. The main challenge of any self-reported research is the challenge of validating what participants report (See Galleta, 2013). However, the aim of this project was exactly that, to understand perceptions and explore what these mean for the everyday lives of the participants.

The survey data was analysed quantitatively using SPSS (Gray and Kinnear, 2012) and the interview data was broadly transcribed and thematically analysed (in Nvivo) to look for ideas emerging from the data (Guest et al., 2012). The data presented here pertains only to issues surrounding language, multilingualism, identity, and belonging as they emerged from the participant responses.

4 Results

The findings reveal that language is central to the citizens' identities and that their knowledge of more than one language offers them unique opportunities in work, career progression and life. They attach equal importance to English and Arabic and although the current socio-political climate challenges their feelings of belonging, many still view themselves as active viable citizens of the UK.

4.1 Part 1: Background- age, education and gender

Of the 62 individual 24 were males and 38 were females of varying ages from 18-39, with 35 university graduates (21 females and 14 males), 20 were at the time pursuing a degree at university (11 females and 9 males), and 7 with qualifications to high school or A-Levels (6 female and 1 male).

The largest age group are twenty year olds with 9 participants in total (3 males and 6 females), followed by twenty three year olds (1 male and 6 females), then twenty-one, twenty-seven and thirty year olds (6 for each respectively). In all, the majority of participants were thirty and under. Gender, age and education did not affect how participants answered neither the survey nor the views they held about their languages and belonging (see Appendix I for survey questions).

4.2 Part 2: Discourses of multilingualism, identity and belonging

Three main themes identified in the data and are discussed separately below in three sections. After conducting a thematic analysis of the interview and open-ended questionnaire data using Nvivo, a word frequency query was ran to determine which word occurred the most (Joffe and Yardley, 2004). From the results three main themes stood out and were labelled as: multilingualism, identity and belonging.

The themes were selected based on the frequency (distinct number of times) of their occurrence in the data and more than one form of a word was accepted. The first, multilingualism was formed from expressions such as: "I'm a multilingual" (100), "multilingualism" (20), "I speak another language" (250), "more than one language" (150), and "polyglot" (3).

Similarly, for the theme identity: "my identity" (415), "my self" (10), "my way of being/existing" (15), "I identify" (50), "my ethnicity" (20), and "my double being" (5). Finally, the idea of belonging was also very frequently mentioned: "I belong" (430), "my belonging to" (100), and "I'm both"/ "I'm double" (56). The above identified themes guided the analysis of the data and helped to create a coherent account of the self-reported data of what the learning of Arabic, consequences of speaking it, and feelings of belonging were for second-generation Arabic speakers.

4.2.1 Multilingualism and the unique position of the Arabic language

The awareness among all the speakers, especially the younger participants, of their multilingualism was constant and present in their expressions of identity, belonging or how they valued their languages. Interestingly, all participants described themselves or their state of speaking more than one language as



“multilingual” or “multilingualism” and no one used the term bilingualism. It is also important to note that the researcher did not use the term multilingualism with the participants but once one participant used the term in the interviews all others followed and used the term and later used it in the questionnaires (some participants filled these out after the interview). A number of the female participants were mothers who said they were trying to raise their children to be multilingual and were hence familiar with the term from the literature they were reading. Although multilingualism was discussed in a positive light, the participants did however reveal that they perceived the Arabic language as a non-neutral language, which caused challenges for them as its speakers.

The first two questions asked how important Arabic and English were respectively. Most people (84%) strongly agreed that Arabic was important and slightly more (89%) agreed that English was important. Such findings illustrate the importance and near equal status second-generation speakers give to their languages. Arabic was however singled out for its importance to religion, culture and family ties which is often the added importance speakers attribute to Arabic (Szczepek Reed et al., Under review, Szczepek Reed et al., 2017). In the interviews respondents highlighted that “without Arabic how can I understand my religion?” and that relying on “translations of the Qur’an was a bad idea” with one participant saying “you never get the true meaning unless it’s in Arabic”. Others also added that “without it I cannot cook with my grandmother and learn her Iraqi recipes” or “fully understand wedding songs because they are in old Egyptian” so Arabic therefore plays a central cultural role. Equally, others emphasised the importance of both and their connection to country “*Arabic for religion and cultural things because that’s what makes me, me and English is my other heritage and language of my country*”. Participant 17F continues and says “*with both languages I can work anywhere in the world and be free*” and 47M added “*I feel good speaking both, it’s the best of both worlds for me*”. So language here is seen as a social resource that enhances the lives of its speakers.

4.2.2 Arabic is “not a neutral language”

When asked what level of agreement they had with the statement “I think it is a good skill to speak more than one language” 94% of the respondents said they strongly agreed with the statement, 3% said they agreed and another 3% said they disagreed. In the interviews the researcher was keen to understand why some participants (2 in total) thought that multilingualism was not a good idea. One of the participants elaborated that she felt speaking more languages in addition to English complicated her life and that of her children because Arabic was viewed by some people as the “language of the enemy”,

“[S]o my language is seen by others as a language of the enemy, you tell me how am I supposed to love the fact that I am multilingual and all that? I read in the newspaper that I’m supposed to be bright, my kids are meant to be clever but I wish I just spoke English only well because because people think I am plotting against them... and no no really I tell you once I was in [name of place removed] and some guy says to me “go speak that terrorist language in the desert this is England”. I felt so upset and went to my car and cried in front of my kids, I was upset really sad but khair [all good] it will be okay that’s what I keep telling myself and what I want my kids to know it will be okay”

Participant 52F here is reluctant to celebrate her ability to speak more than one language because of the ramifications she faces speaking a language that is associated with the terrorist acts of a group of people. She adds, “*I am tired of saying we have nothing to do with it [these acts], we just wanna live you know? But who listens?*” There are many issues raised in what 52F had to say, one is that her language has been connected to terrorism and she has been confronted because of it. Second, her language has also been openly marginalised and singled out as a language that does not belong to “England”. And third, such a reaction to her knowledge of Arabic has made her upset and feel humiliated because she cried in the presence of her children. Her worry though is not to appear defeated and she emphasises that she tells her children that matters will improve and that maybe not all individuals are like the one who spoke to her in that way. Another interesting issue is that she says she is tired of trying to explain that it, meaning



terrorism, has nothing to do with her *“we just wanna live you know?”* A similar sentiment was echoed by others who reported that their language is “innocent” and just happens to be used by these “thugs” but has nothing to do with “us or with our kind and hospitable culture”. A number of participants felt “tired” of having to keep explaining this point and this is something well chronicled in articles and books (Bayoumi, 2008, Bojanovska, 2017, Aslan, 2018). Participant 1M said “Arabic is not a neutral language it has lovers and haters” and that “we as its speakers are at the mercy of those around us”. However, participant 12F interjected and said that “not all people are like that and I have lived here all my life, all forty years, and nothing makes me feel like my language is hated” This therefore, highlights that not all participants face the same reaction when they speak Arabic in public.

However, 19 others (3 in the interviews and the remainder in the survey) reported similar incidents where their knowledge of Arabic was directly related to terrorism or being representative of it, they felt “unsafe” and “scared” to use Arabic “in public” or “around people in shopping centres” in case “people thought I was about to do something horrible”. When asked how they knew this to be the case most participants cited examples of over hearing others say, “they might do something” or similar statements when the participant had spoken Arabic and then overheard statements made about the language directly afterwards. Additionally, others said they didn’t need to be told anything specific they had become accustomed to being looked at in a “suspicious” or “non-trusting” manner. What was also of note, was that some participants reported hearing of these incidents from their friends or friends of friends and so held these perceptions of apprehensiveness not as a direct consequence of what they had actually experienced. The formation of such perceptions is based on others’ experiences and echoes the findings of Frampton, Goodhart & Mahmood (2016, p.21-25), in which they found that British Muslim Asian perceptions of Islamophobia were sometimes a result of “third party stories” and not personal experiences. They argue that the danger of such perceptions is that they feed “a strong belief that Muslims routinely faced discrimination” (p.23). Perception is an in-built meter that helps people gauge how others view them or as “processes that allow us to extract information from the patterns of energy that impinge on our sense organs” and can be difficult to argue with (Rogers, 2017). These speakers hold these perceptions based on how they see, hear and feel others position them because of their language. This does not however mean that such perceptions are to be disregarded or validated for their truth, as argued above, but that they are to be taken with caution. It would be iniquitous to take these as objective truths and incriminate the entire UK society as one that is bigoted and intolerant of other languages. Instead, these are the truths of the participants and are based on their own experiences or those similar to them and have impacted how they now view themselves or believe others view them (a point elaborated in the discussion below).

Participant 24M who is a Moroccan Arabic speaker says that when he speaks Spanish to his in-laws those around him do not look twice but “when I speak Arabic you see how people move back or look at me like I am about to do something, I know the difference, I feel it”. Recent, well publicised, incidents in the news, for example, report events in which members of the public complain to flight attendants and ask for individuals who spoke Arabic to be removed from a flight because they felt unsafe. Piller (2016, p.30) argues that linguistic diversity is stratified whereby some languages are seen as “more valuable” than others which results once more in “linguistic domination”. Arabic is already a minority language (i.e. no support outside the home or the immediate speech community), and so its connection with undesirable acts makes it less desirable and more suspect in the minds of some.

Relatedly, the statement “I am comfortable speaking Arabic in public” offered interesting findings whereby about half of the respondents (48%) said they strongly agreed, 5% said they agreed, and 24 respondents (39%) said they strongly disagreed with the statement. As the comments above have illustrated most people are fearful in how others look at them when they speak Arabic and feel that “they do not trust us or question our loyalty when we speak ‘Arabi” (meaning Arabic). 34M relates an incident in a bus when he was speaking on his phone in Arabic and a group of “ladies” moved away from him “constantly kept looking back at” him as if “he was about to do something”. For the participants they fully believe that this is how they are seen and it “hurts to know others think that of you” but 46F says that “it



doesn't deter me, I still smile and try to be part of my community". As researchers working in the field of sociolinguistics know, discourse is more than simply words and the above sentiments directly affect how these individuals view themselves and construct their realities.

4.2.3 Multilinguals are "invisible"

Within the major theme of multilingualism there are sub-themes that occur such as the invisibility of multilinguals in a monolingual society. Participants reported that there are only very few spaces in which their multilingualism or rather specifically their knowledge of Arabic was appreciated and encouraged. Most participants highlighted that there is never space to discuss multilingualism outside the family home or the language classroom whilst they were growing up and even more so today. Participant 3M says his Spanish teacher encouraged him to share his knowledge of Arabic in class because of the similarities between Arabic and Spanish. Elsewhere he never felt that his Arabic mattered or as he says "was visible".

"[M]y Arabic was visible there because he really loved my language and made me feel okay to speak it in class and I became popular with my friends..."

3M hence went through a positive experience because of his knowledge of Arabic at school and became popular as a result of the teacher's interest. Similarly, 38F said the same about her French teacher, who encouraged students in her class to offer words in their own languages whenever they had to learn a set of new words,

"she would ask us how do you say these words in Arabic, Japanese, Urdu and then you kind of feel like oh okay yeah that's fun, my friends can see that I speak another language and I can learn from them too, the teacher was really interested and she learned our words and would repeat them afterwards or weeks later and we would be fascinated...so I think it was kinda like a place where we could talk about our languages and not feel less or weird I don't know...like at home like"

Spaces in which multilingualism is celebrated, talked about and explored seems to be the home and some language classrooms because teachers created such spaces for students. These spaces made participants "not feel less or weird" meaning that perhaps outside these spaces multilingualism was in fact invisible or not celebrated creating feelings of strangeness within the students.

When asked "How do your friends/teachers feel about your knowledge of Arabic?" 59 participants (95%) said their friends thought it was a positive skill, and 3 said (0.4%) that they did not know. In reference to teachers 48 participants (77%) said they did not know how teachers felt about this, and 5 individuals (8%) said they received a negative reaction and only 9 people (15%) said their teachers felt this was positive. Spaces for linguistic visibility also create spaces for social inclusion and encourage feelings of belonging (see Davies, 2018 on youth engagement and education). The participants' friends and many of their language teachers celebrated their multilingualism. It may be argued that they may not have known what their teachers thought about their multilingualism because in a monolingual society such topics are not readily spoken of in non-demarcated (outside the language classroom) spaces.

4.2.4 Identity

Participants were keen to connect their language to their identity. When asked to elaborate on question one, 10M said that "Arabic and English define my identity" and others added, "I can be both and feel okay" without as 35F emphasises "having to choose between the two worlds of Arabic and English, each one make me who I am". Linguistic knowledge here defined the identities of individuals and allowed them to embrace both worlds and what each language represented. "I think I am intelligent because I speak another language and people appreciate that about me", language here was presented as a means through which these speakers saw themselves and how they wished to be seen by others.



62M says interestingly, *“without my Arabic I would not be a good English speaker or appreciate other people. My language gives me hope, asks me to be loyal to my country and be good to my family”*. He attributes his language proficiency of English to his knowledge of Arabic which is an issue supported by some linguists who argue that mastering a first language helps a speaker master subsequent languages (Lee and Schallert, 2012). He also presents language as a capable of affecting everyday life or of possessing deep ideas and meanings when he says it *“asks”* him to be loyal. The relationship between language and thought or language as a vehicle through which worldviews are held is common in linguistic relativity studies (Lakoff, 1990, Boroditsky, 2001). Although, the participant here means something different from what linguistics mean he has attributed an almost non-agentive ability to himself, as though he has no choice but to be *“loyal”*. Speakers often cite such elaborate properties of their languages to elevate its status and illustrate the quality of their identity. He attributes values of loyalty and nationalism to the Arabic language, thus presenting himself as a loyal subject and active citizen, however that is not how others may necessarily view him.

16F and 11M are keen to point out *“although we speak English and love it others do not like that we speak another language but how can we be without both?”* 11M asks,

“if I were to give up my Arabic today would I be seen as an English person? Would my accent offer me one identity? People keep saying this is England, this is England, but I am sure English people speak English in non-English countries!”

The respondents pose questions as if to ask the host society, what will it take to be accepted or be identified as English speakers? A question that many immigrants ask when they feel that their multilingualism is challenged. They view knowledge of Arabic as paramount to their identity as multilinguals and as important as English. 11M contests one identity and says he needs both but asks that without his Arabic would be accepted? He also points out that many people around the world maintain their language even English speakers around the world. For many immigrants it becomes important to maintain their language (Fishman, 2013, Fishman, 1991, Heye, 1975, Okita, 2001, Zhu and Li, 2016, Said and Zhu, 2017) as part of their ethnic, cultural and social identities. Others prefer to speak the language of the host country as a way of identifying more with society or as way a of signalling their new identities (Leibkind, 1999) or still, in order not to feel isolated.

26M says that he *“looks sometimes for Arabic speakers like me and we hang out, I feel like they know what I am or how I feel because we share a background and I get to speak Arabic”* he adds that *“I don’t feel out of place and it helps me feel good inside, that’s what makes me me”*. Living with difference or accepting those who are different is not always easy for other people (Valentine, 2008), even if the respondents here are confident in belonging to both the host and their minority community. These respondents are comfortable with difference and see a value in their minority identity.

4.2.5 Belonging

When asked *“Do you feel that you belong here in the UK or to your parents’ country of origin?”* Fifty-five participants (89%) said they belonged to both, four (6.4%) said they belonged to the UK, two (3%) said they belonged to their parents’ country of origin and one person (1.6%) said they did not know. The majority of participants felt that the UK was as much a home to them as their parents’ home, some went as far as saying that *“this is really my home if you think about it, my parents left their home to come here”* and that *“I connect better to the UK than I do to Libya because I have never lived there I have always lived here”*. Others pointed out that *“Arabic allows me to access that culture, but deep inside I feel like I belong here, I can go there but not too long, I need my London life”*. In the interviews and in the open-ended questions a number of the participants said that they felt as though they belonged in the UK and even though their Arabic was not necessarily supported in the public domain it was still welcome. 45F says that when her mother accessed the NHS in the eighties it was not always easy to receive information in Arabic, but now when they attend a GP it is easy to find a leaflet in Arabic for her mother. Although her mother’s



command of English is excellent after more than forty years in the UK and having taken a Masters degree in Biology, she still appreciates information in Arabic her first language. Others cited a similar examples and said this meant that at least at the Government and local authority level that they were catered for and not invisible.

The issue of visibility occurred many times in the interviews and a number of respondents said they were “happy” and “relieved” to see the ethnic term “Arab” in the latest 2011 Census. 7M says that when his father completed the last Census such a category was not available and so the family debated on whether to term themselves as *“other or Asian or something like that, but this development makes me feel that my children will feel that there is a category of people out there like us, we aren’t strange”*. 23M added that such visibility would help the youth feel like they belong in the UK,

“like anyone else, maybe if they feel that they belong they won’t be sucked into bad things, I mean there are people out there looking for these young people who don’t know where they belong. But here you can declare your ethnicity and the language you speak and it’s official in the UK these are the ethnicities that exist, what do you need more than that?”

23M argues that social exclusion may lead to possible radicalisation (Kyriacou et al., 2017) and that open acceptance of people who are different may help to make these groups feel like they belong to the UK society despite obvious linguistic and ethnic differences. He and others added “that’s why we try our best to help our children feel included and not like outsiders”, they did not elaborate on how they achieved this. 33F says “I belong here in London, I don’t care that they don’t appreciate my Arabic, this is me and I will work hard and do my best”. 43M adds, “I accept them and hold no bad feeling towards them, but sometimes they say things that make me feel like I need to leave the UK to be at peace”. When probed about how this might make him behave he says “I think I don’t want to bring my children up in an environment like this, where you constantly feel different, you can’t talk your language freely, you know”. Svašek (2010) makes the point that emotions play an important role in shaping how people perceive their belonging to a place. He says (p.868) “it is useful to regard emotions as dynamic processes” in which people “shape their subjectivities”. Similarly, Waite and Cook (2011) argue that emotion plays an important role in “human mobility, displacements and emplacement” and should be taken into account (see discussion below).

In general, the findings here demonstrate that speakers overwhelmingly do feel that they do belong to the UK, however a smaller number feel challenged and said they would leave as soon as they could secure work outside the UK. In order for a society to be inclusive what is needed perhaps are “multilingual citizens” (Kymlica, 2003) who are not fearful or indignant of other cultures, who also feel welcome to celebrate their own diversity and accept the norms and ways of the host society only then can there be positive attitudes to diversity and firm feelings of belonging. Kymlica here is calling for a bidirectional process in which the hosts and diverse communities embrace all languages and engage in multilingual citizenship in which they all work to be citizens of one country.

5 Discussion

5.1 Conceptions of belonging

The findings illustrated that belonging to a place does not necessarily entail acceptance from the host community nor does belonging have to be directly connected with language. Although, some of the participants reported that their sense of belonging was challenged as a result of their perception of how others viewed their language, still the remaining participants did not connect belonging to their knowledge of Arabic. Instead, they reported that they belonged to the UK and wished to partake in society as active citizens despite the negative ways others might view them because of their language or any other factors. This is important because it might suggest that people can undergo what they perceive as linguistic discrimination, and still feel a sense of belonging to a particular place.



Belonging is a complex notion, concept and emotion and can be expressed in two ways, as a result of intrinsic or external (other influenced) feelings (Antonsich, 2010). Place-belongingness (intrinsic) is what Antonsich (p.654) describes as “a personal, intimate, feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place” regardless of the external factors. He labels the second way of expressing belonging in terms of “politics of belonging” which is a, “discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion”. Belonging is therefore a complex idea and can often be difficult to define and discuss, however, the role power and subjectivity plays in the lives of these participants is important as it determines how they define their belonging. For those communities that are viewed as integral to society their belongingness is rarely questioned, but perhaps for more diverse communities the question of belonging is always relevant. The participants who expressed an intrinsic conception of belonging have not connected their feeling of being “at home” to anything other than how they feel. Those who question their belonging do so based on how included or excluded they feel by the host society (people, friends, media, colleagues) and shift along the continuum of belonging based on how well or not they can resist how others place them. In this situation one might argue that the host society always possess a more powerful position to that of minority communities and naturally the newer minority community may feel less powerful.

5.2 Language as inextricably linked to social life and identity

Throughout the findings the idea of language and identity as being connected has occurred consistently in the participants comments and answers. Language unlike the other characteristics is unique in nature, first because it is the most effective ubiquitous tool through which communication takes place and second, because it has been used throughout history to promote, marginalise, include or exclude certain groups of people (Piller, 2012, Piller and Takahashie, 2011). The marginalisation or promotion of a people because of language continues until today at both the local, national and international level as can be seen in national language policies across the world (Hult, 2010, Piller and Takahashie, 2011). Language is a pervasive characteristic that many people use as a window through which to judge speakers; Cameron (1998, p.272) argues, “people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk”. Participants in this project have highlighted the power language has in defining who they are, how they view the world, how they see their role in the world and most importantly how what they think others opinions of them can affect how they live their lives (e.g. not speaking Arabic in public or planning a future outside the UK where they can feel normal speaking Arabic). The participants perceptions have reaffirmed much of what the literature reports in terms of the relationship between language and identity, that they are closely related and individuals as well as others can use language as a marker of identity and identification. Languages in any society always sit in a hierarchical manner with minority less important languages (to the society in question) occupying the lower levels of the hierarchy. Language can also empower individuals and enhance their lives or cause them anxiety depending on how they choose to use their languages.

In linguistic and socio-cultural terms the findings of this project illustrate the complicated inseparable relationship between language, its speakers and their social lives. What unifies all the results in this paper is that language greatly influences how speakers view themselves and how they view and consequently treat others (Cornips and de Rooij, 2018) as mentioned in the introduction of this paper. Consequently, perceptions of belonging and identity affect the language practices of speakers (do they speak the language openly? Do they find language clubs at which they can mingle with other minority language speakers? Do they actively partake in learning that language?) and their sense of self and well being. Accordingly, although perceptions, as I have said throughout this paper, are participants own feelings and cannot be taken as absolute truths, they do have the power to influence how people live their lives. In particular, perceptions related to language can sometimes be harmful and have far reaching consequences (that is why many parents in this paper report reassuring their children that “things will get better” or emphasise that they do indeed belong) that may push young impressionable people to react to feelings of rejection.



Perceptions are formed as a result of what speakers experience and how they interact with those around them and that can be seen from how the participants here have reported how they think others have judged them because of speaking Arabic. Others cited how class teachers welcomed and encouraged their use of Arabic and others also reported on how their fellow Arabic speakers are treated negatively based only on linguistic reasons. Places and what takes place in them can become meaningful and help speakers feel that they do indeed belong or that they do not. Minority speakers are also not immune to the emotional and social changes the host society undergoes because although they are small in number they are still a part of the larger society. Therefore, when society as a whole undergoes an existential crisis this also includes the minority community who almost always also carry with them feelings of intersubjectivity (Sharma, 2011, Waite and Cook, 2011, Creese and Kambere, 2003).

6 Conclusion

The paper has highlighted that languages are not merely codes of communication but can in fact affect the lives of its speakers in a myriad number of ways. This conclusion summarises the findings and highlights the implications of the data. Some participants in this project make a direct relationship between their language, identity and belonging. They feel that because others look at them with suspicion when they speak Arabic they are therefore looked upon as “outsiders” even though they see themselves as “insiders” and as British as their fellow countrymen. This illustrates the complexity of the symbolisms of language and how speakers’ self-perceptions of how others view them may, in cases such as this, affect how much they not only feel a part of the larger society, but how much they participate in such a society. Encouraging these perceptions of judgement and mistrust from others are news reports or social media accounts about individuals singled out and treated differently because of the language they speak (Abel, 2018, Stack, 2016).

As long as linguistic subordination exists so will feelings of not belonging or feelings of exclusion. Often the onus of assimilation and integration is placed on the newcomer, the (im)migrant, the minority language speaker, but space for such actions need to be provided for them so that they feel welcome and able to explore the types and forms of assimilation and integration they wish to take part in. As it stands, such spaces seem very narrow or such assimilation is imagined in specific ways by the host societies that may differ completely to the way the immigrants imagine assimilation to be. There needs to be a bidirectional process in which migrants express their assimilation and in which the host society supports and contributes to that process. A beginning step would be to embrace languages and celebrate these not just in terms of showcasing multilingualism, but through actual tangible support. Linguistic justice would perhaps entail that support for multilinguals would be in the form of accurate reporting of issues surrounding the numbers of multilinguals in the UK, more positive framing of all multilinguals and not just those from higher (SES) backgrounds but also heritage language speakers. This would definitely help the Arabic speaking community and others to feel less “invisible” and more welcome in their societies.

Reassuringly, the findings also illustrate that despite the linguistic hierarchy and unequal view of multilinguals in the UK, participants still feel that they are citizens of the UK and attach equal importance to both their Arabic and English languages. They wish to participate in society and do not view themselves as different to others in the UK in so far as civic duties are concerned; they celebrate their multilingualism and view it as an asset and a significant skill to possess.

To end, the paper asserts that the more efforts made towards a more just linguistic society the more multilinguals will feel that they belong to their country of residence and the more active they will be as citizens. Language, like sustenance, is central to the growth and survival of a community, and without due recognition and space for each language it becomes very difficult to establish an inclusive society in which all feel that they belong.



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Student Motivation for Social Studies – Existential Exploration or Critical Engagement*

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- Student motivation for schooling can be high in some subjects and lower in others.
- Little is known about what motivates students for social studies.
- Students are found to be motivated for social studies because social studies offers more possibilities for student self-regulation.
- Students are motivated by the room for subjective, emotional engagement in social studies.
- Students are motivated by subject matter content that concerns them directly or that evoke emotions.

Purpose: To understand what motivates students for social studies.

Design: Social studies as a school subject is defined in terms of its contents (knowledge, skills, values), by its teaching methods and by the organisational regulation of how students and teachers should engage in the subject. Student motivation for these components of social studies was examined in interviews with 26 students in optional social studies courses, and the results were analysed in a theoretical framework of motivation theory.

Findings: The aspects of social studies most clearly seen as motivating for students is that social studies offers more possibilities for student self-regulation, and that it provides an arena for subjective, emotional engagement. Students are also motivated by subject matter content that concerns them directly or that evoke emotions.

Limitations: The data material only covers 26 students in optional courses in Norway. Further studies across countries, comparing optional and compulsory courses, are needed. Broader data are also needed.

Implications: Didactical models and advice must take these student interests into account, as these are among the pre-conditions students bring into the classroom. At the same time there is an urgent need to develop ideas on how to link these self-reflective, subjective student perspectives to social, economic and political structures and processes.

Keywords:

Social studies, student motivation, Norway, upper secondary school, self-reflexivity

* Mona Langø also participated valuably in the project.

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1 Introduction

From a late modernity perspective, how young people see what they do as meaningful and worth the effort is increasingly important (Giddens 1994). Authority and tradition will not suffice as impetus to complete and engage in education. When students are not motivated for school, it will lead to difficulties for teaching, low learning outcomes and sometimes even to dropout. However, motivation may vary from one school subject to another. School subjects have their own justifications and rationales (Børhaug, Fenner & Aase, 2005). Thus, in order to understand how students relate to school, motivation for different subjects are important research topics. In this paper the focus is on social studies, and the research question is what motivates students in upper secondary school in optional social studies course, i.e. what motivates them to stay, to complete and to make an effort. Broadly speaking, we may label this the general motivation for the subject. Furthermore, understanding motivations for social studies is also a basis for discussing the contents, progression and teaching methods of the subject.

It will be argued below that a broad range of factors may influence student motivation, and we have few specific hypotheses developed in previous research. This calls for an exploratory design. 24 Norwegian students in upper secondary schools were interviewed in semi-structured interviews looking for how they felt about social studies and why they chose to do at least some efforts in their social studies subject.

2 Social studies

The Norwegian educational system is made up of a voluntary Early Childhood Education and Care service from year one to the year the child reaches the age of six, which is the age compulsory schooling starts. Compulsory schooling is completed after 10 years, and during those years social studies are combined with history and geography in a broad school subject about society. Following compulsory schooling, all Norwegians are entitled to upper secondary education, and this is where educational specialisation starts. Upper secondary education has some subjects that are compulsory for all students, no matter their choice of specialization, and some optional subjects. The optional subjects dominate the two final years of upper secondary education, and one group of optional subjects are varieties of social studies. First, there is a subject called Politics and Human Rights. Next, there is Sociology and Anthropology, and finally Social issues, which is mainly concerned with socialisation, culture and welfare.

Compared to other optional subjects, these three are quite popular, even if the pressure and campaigns in the educational system for a long time have encouraged students to choose differently, i.e. to choose science and mathematics (Skarpenes & Nilsen, 2014). However, levels of motivation for engaging in the subject are uncertain, and seem to vary quite a lot. In as far as students do find social studies motivating, what are the reasons?

Student motivation for schooling in general seems to decrease with increasing age (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009; 2011; Ministry of Education and Research, 2011; 2013). Motivational problems become apparent in particular when students enter upper secondary education, which is optional. The dropout rate is close to 30% 5 years after starting upper secondary school, and is considered a major problem (Directorate of education 2014). There are arguments that the concern about the dropout-rate is exaggerated. Because dropout is measured already after 5 years, it misses out that most of these 30% do complete their training some years later, and in most cases, those who do not complete at all also manage to get a job (Skarpenes & Nilsen, 2014; Vogt, 2017). Still, not all students are equally motivated for schooling, and the permanent or periodical dropout is an indication of this. Processes of failure that lead to dropping out starts at primary school (Nordahl & Sunnevåg, 2008). Students who do well early on continue to do so, and maintain higher levels of motivation and have higher completion rates in higher education (Frøseth & Markussen, 2009; Frønes og Strømme, 2010). «This shows that success is reproduced in the educational system» (Frøseth & Markussen in Markussen 2009, p. 90). Thus, motivation is established or undermined early and is maintained. (Wollscheid 2010, p. 12). The actual dropout, however occurs only at upper secondary level when schooling is not compulsory (Nordahl & Overland 2013:16).



Norwegian research on student motivation at school has mainly studied primary schooling. Psychological and pedagogical approaches dominate this body of research, which has highlighted the role of the teacher as well as the learning environment (Ministry of Education and Research 2013:76). Social integration and belonging, the relation to the teachers and student self-esteem are also important for maintaining motivation for schooling (Skaalvik og Skaalvik, 2009). Student data confirm the pivotal role of the teacher for motivating students (Skaar, Viblemo & Skaalvik, 2008, p. 46). Differentiated teaching, supporting teachers and a learning oriented environment at school are found to be important (Skaalvik og Skaalvik 2011:55). Thronsdén (2011) has studied how evaluation systematically geared to promote learning influenced motivation, but found few effects.

This research relate to schooling in general, and ignores that students can be motivated for some subjects and not others. Students are found to be motivated to learn when they «think that school activities are meaningful» (Brophy, 1988 in Woolfolk 2014, p. 299). Woolfolk continues by arguing:

“When Walter Vispoel and James Ausing (1995) observed over 200 students at lower secondary schools, low interest in the subject itself was the most common explanation for school failure. When students themselves were asked to explain why they succeeded, interest was the most frequent explanation.” (2014, p. 287).

However, research on how different school subjects motivate or do not motivate and why is scarce. Wæge (2007) has studied motivation for math, and found that exploratory teaching methods increase motivation for math. Larsen and Friche (2017) analyses how student strategies for education intersect with gendering processes in ways that regulate motivation for mathematics.

There are some studies of motivation and interest for social studies, but they cover only some motivational factors. Hovdenakk found that students in lower secondary school were particularly interested in social studies and religion because these subjects could be related to themselves and how the world influenced them (Hovdenakk, 2014). Not least, global issues were of interest to them. Sandahl (2013) found that Swedish students in upper secondary school were motivated by their interest in major political and transnational problems, but that motivation declined as they gradually understood the complexity of problems and how difficult it is to address major social, economic and political problems. Sandahl points out that «Here we are facing a didactic challenge for teachers to navigate between giving a fair view of the world while not creating a sense that there is no point in trying to do anything» (ibid). Krammning (2017) makes the same observation in her dissertation from Sweden; students in upper secondary school turn away from global environmental challenges because the problems are overwhelming. There is thus an urgent need to examine more closely, what makes social studies – and other subjects – motivating to students.

3 Motivational factors and social studies

Much of the research referred to above is informed by motivation theory, in which the distinction between intrinsic and external motivation is important. These may both be understood in various ways, (see Covington & Mueller, 2001), but external motivation implies some sort of reward other than the task itself, be it symbolic or material. (Covington & Mueller, 2001). In order for external rewards to motivate, the rewards have to be seen as attractive, the conditions for attaining them have to be clearly understood and getting the rewards has to depend on results the student can control. Approval, grades and access to higher education are crucial rewards in schools. Both rewards and negative sanctions equally have to be predictable.

Intrinsic motivation can be explained as the search for interesting tasks, doing activities for the sake of the activity itself or out of curiosity. A key element is that the motivation is to be found in the action itself because it is interesting, exciting, or meaningful. From a subject matter didactical perspective, one would argue that the substantial or material contents of a school subject is the most meaningful part of it. Concerning social studies, it would be assumed that understanding the wide world is interesting in itself, or from a critical perspective, that understanding how social institutions function, assess them

critically and try to change them is the primary meaning of social studies (Børhaug, 2014). Didactical theory would also underline that for a subject matter to make sense and be meaningful; it has to be related to prior knowledge structures and skills (Haste & Torney-Purta, 1992; McGraw, 2000). Learning is not passive absorption of meaningless bits and pieces of information. It is active appropriation of new understanding in a way that makes sense for the learning person based on his or her preconditions and prior understanding.

Deci and Ryans much quoted theory of motivation as self-determination is less focused on actual contents (Ryan & Deci, 2000). They point out autonomous learning, competence development, i.e. the motivation of being challenged, struggle to understand and finally to master something new and social belonging as the three core issues in motivation. Manger (2013:146) also underlines that intrinsic motivation is related to mastery of something new. Mastery can be about concepts, data and models or about skills. Summing up, six key motivational elements are:

- expectations and sanctions
- subject matter contents and skills as meaningful
- learning based on prior knowledge
- autonomy
- competence development and mastery
- social inclusion

Based on this framework about motivation, we have to understand the school subject – which is what motivates or not – in broad terms. I.e. the school subject is marked by its conceptual contents, by the skills it contains, by its basic rationale or value basis and by the more specific values and attitudes it includes. A range of different teaching and evaluation methods also marks a school subject, and it is characterized by some kind of progression over time.

However, we have to expand our understanding of the school subject to grasp how these motivational factors may work or not. The school subject is embedded in an organizational structure. There are organizational regulations about how the subject should be transmitted and how students are required to act when taking a course. Such frameworks are in many respects the same for an entire school, and even the educational system as a whole. Nevertheless, they may also vary, for instance from one subject to another, and from one teacher to another.

Organization may mean formal structure, in which official objectives are sought realized by means of formal rules that define and coordinate action (Scott, 1992). Any subject will be framed by such rules that define required student behaviour and not least important, they regulate how rewards will be distributed. This framework can represent very strict and detailed regulation or imply discretion to students. It can support cooperation among students or individual work and competition. Ball has in his book «The micro-politics of schools» (Ball, 1987) argued that schools can also be regarded as political systems, in which interest maximizing individuals and groups compete for resources. Student behaviour cannot be reduced to learning and rule following, it also involves strategic behaviour to maximize preferences. How students define their interests is an empirical question. They may have interest definitions about learning as much as possible or just enough to pass. They may have interests in how learning should take place and in how learning should be combined with other projects, activities and needs they see as important in everyday life.

The question of what makes social studies meaningful for students is therefore a matter of how students find subject matter contents, skills and teaching methods motivating. It is further a matter about how the formal and political structure in the social science classrooms are seen as meaningful and adapted to student interests and needs.

What to expect? Theories of globalization point out that the world is increasingly interconnected (Burnouf, 2004). Late modernity perspectives argue that young people less than before accept and adhere to well-known narratives. A global, critical perspective is thus to be expected, in which young people are motivated to study global issues in a critical, exploratory and autonomous way. In a



globalised world students are interested in the big questions and issues, and social studies probably offer better opportunities to stimulate this than many other subjects do (Øia, 1995; Hovdenakk, 2014). We will label this *the global citizen assumption*, i.e. students are motivated by big issues. Social studies offer good opportunities to work with real social and political problems that are accessible online (Sandahl, 2013).

Quite to the contrary, programs and projects aiming at reducing drop out has typically focused on smaller groups, close follow up and cooperative processes in class (Skaalvik & Skaalvik 2009; 2011; Borgund 2015; Baklien, Bratt & Gotaas 2004; Høst, 2011). It is reasonable to expect that social studies offer good opportunities to work this way, for instance in groups, projects and dialogue based teaching. We may label this a *social inclusion assumption*, concerning in particular organisational and teaching methodical aspects of the subject. I.e. students are motivated by social inclusion, group work and close surveillance from teacher and peers.

Ziehe and Stubenrauch (2008) point out that students are using school subjects as a way to build their own identity as opposed to simply inherit elements of culture, opinions etc. In this phase of life students tend to break free from institutionalized norms and focus on themselves (ibid). This is what Anthony Giddens (1994) calls the self-reflexive project, where people use a lot of time creating their own life. In line with this, it is natural to think that students may be more motivated in subjects and contents that they see as meaningful to their self-building project. We label this the *self-reflexive assumption*, i.e. students are motivated by social studies in as far as it allows them to reflect upon themselves and develop their own identity.

4 Methods of research

Six upper secondary schools were contacted in august 2015. The schools were strategically chosen based on the idea that they should represent a cross section of upper secondary schools. The schools are located in different areas, with different size and with different inlet sections. In cooperation with the school management, teachers in social studies at all schools were invited to participate in the project. Students with different levels of interest were selected in cooperation with these teachers. The reason for the selection was an expectation of finding variety if students were selected based on the variance in degrees of commitment and effort. The students were informed about the project in writing and the interviews with the students were based on student consent, without the teacher present. In total 24 students were interviewed in semi-structured interviews, about why they had chosen the subject, what they were interested in, what rules they met in social studies, how they worked and what they saw as interesting and motivating in terms of contents, skills and teaching methods.

The approach is not to examine the entire school subject and ask which parts are motivating and which parts are not. Students were asked what they saw as rewarding some way or another. Thus, the data cannot describe the subjects, only which elements of them the students saw as motivating. The material is not representative for upper secondary school as such, and it could also well be that if students in the compulsory social studies subjects that come before these optional courses had been interviewed, the results would have been different. However, the interviewed students meet the optional courses with a history from earlier social studies courses and they are older and probably more reflected on what they like about various subjects. Thus, these findings will be interesting also for social studies in general.

5 Analysis

The material was fully transcribed and systematized by means of NVivo. The findings concerning the organizational framework will be presented first, and next the findings concerning the subject matter and teaching methods in relation to the various concepts of motivation.

5.1 The organisational framework

The formal framework regulating students by rules and sanctions is in many respects the same across subjects. On the other hand, rules are also operative through the school subjects and rules may vary



from one subject to the other. Thus, we ask what formal rules regulate student activity in social studies? For instance, are there rules requiring weekly reading and other work? Are there rules concerning activity in class? What sanctions are involved? How do students define their preferences and how can they act strategically to secure them in social studies?

The overall picture is that in social studies classes there are very few rules, at least the students say that there are few rules. One of them says plainly that «Well, I think – I don't think the teacher has had any clear rules at all». Other students do report rules, but they all point out that the rules are rather few.

Nevertheless, some rules can be found. First of all, there are rules in all schools to the effect that when students are late, do not hand in assignments or are too much absent, they will be formally reported, and if there are many such formal reports – approximately 8-10 over a year - the grading of general behaviour by the end of the term will be affected. This grade does not count when competing for access to higher education, and can be improved the next term if there are fewer reports then. In other words, the consequences will materialize only by the end of the last term, and they are not very serious. Second, if students are absent when there is a test, they risk not being graded in the subject, thus not passing it, but there are warnings and second chances to take the tests. These rules concern all subjects.

What about the rules particular to social studies classes? Rules concerning not paying attention to the teaching are quite loose and only partially applied. Most students explain that in spite of some efforts from the teacher to keep computers and cell phones away from the students' attention, at least early in the term, students are in practice left alone to make the choice of surfing on the internet, communicating with friends or follow the teaching. Several students add that in math and science this is much stricter. There is some variation at this point; some teachers try to keep a stricter regime than others do, in particular concerning phones.

Concerning teachers who attempt to regulate use of computers and phones, the students say that there are rules, but that these are observed only at the beginning of the semester, this goes in particular for rules about computers, as the following quotes suggest:

“Everybody are allowed to sit with their computer up, and then everybody can do what they want.”

“(..) only this morning I came into the class room and it was «close down the computers», and than after half an hour all the computers are up again.”

“It is very liberal. This is the case in most social studies subjects, at least when compared with math and science (...). It is about you being independent and you have to know when to use the computer or not. I think the only thing the teacher stops is if we start watching movies, or if he is presenting something very important.”

In particular computers are difficult to control because teachers are expected to use them in class by the national curriculum which requires use of information technology. In fact, at upper secondary school students are obliged to have a computer, and they are offered it at a lower price when they start at upper secondary school. They also get funding for the purchase through grants distributed through the three years they are in school, in addition to technical support. Digital literacy is defined as equally important as reading and writing, and therefore computers are difficult to keep out of the classroom.

This freedom to pay attention or not has profound effects on daily life in class, making many students part time participants. One student describes a typical lesson in social issues like this:

“(The typical lesson) is, I guess, that the teacher stands in front presenting, he has a power point presentation which he explains and talks about. Half the class is on facebook and things like that and do not pay attention. The other half watches, and perhaps they pay attention and take notes and stuff. And if he asks a question, maybe one or two raise their hand to answer.”



The students tend to see this as an advantage, making the subject better. It is a comparative advantage of the social studies. In math, some of them point out, rules are stricter. Referring to both Norwegian and international research, Berg et al. find that student use of online computers as a means to escape from classroom activities are widespread in both science and Norwegian (2014).

Even though the students realize that the good student pays attention all the time, they clearly understand social studies as a subject where this does not apply and where the student role is one of self-regulated participation. And that is a good reason for taking the subject. It can be combined with other things, in particular activities on the internet: “Right now it is a bit stressing, but manageable stress, I would say. That is – you can choose if you want to stress a lot and have good grades or if you might not feel like you want to stress.”

This rather loose organizational structure requires self-regulation. The option to drop in and out of what goes on in class is a matter of choice. This very self-regulation is pointed out by the students as positive, as one of them says:

“I feel that it works very well. Because sociology is not that difficult to understand so that if you have missed something, you catch up by means of your own reading. Compared to other subjects where you need an explanation. I believe the teacher thinks we have to make those decisions ourselves.”

The importance of autonomy is clearly seen in statements like this. The reasons why students think of social studies as a subject of self-regulated student activity are first, as mentioned, the rules in class, but also the nature of the subject itself. One student says about choosing the subject: «And it’s more my type of subject, so that you don’t have to study a lot because it’s like it’s coming more naturally to me and it’s more logical».

Of course, some students choose to pay attention all the time. One points out that «I am very hardworking, I do what the teacher says. Anyhow, I would like to have good results. I work hard to reach my objectives. I have very high objectives for myself».

However, this is a choice, and particularly so in social studies. The choice of how much activity students should mobilize is by the students described as general tendencies and strategies. They make their own approach for the subjects they have. For instance, they may increase levels of activity if they believe they are in the middle between two grades.

Some students reduce their input to a minimum, but the subject allows them to follow even at a low level of activity. One of them says that “In the beginning I paid quite close attention during presentations. And now – I only quick-read before the tests. I do not pay attention in class at all. So, I read three days before a test, and then I’m done.”

Another student does not choose not to pay attention, but actively choose to do other things: «In this subject it is much more fun to watch series than to read. It is much more interesting»

They seem to understand social studies as a subject where one can perform at this low level, and still have a grade. However, there seems to be some difference here between the subjects. The belief that one can “surf” through is more common among the students in sociology. The students in politics and human rights and in social issues tell a slightly different story. Most of them report that the requirements and expectations are a lot higher and that they see this as difficult to manage. What they all have in common is that they believe that in other subjects this type of low performance is not possible, due to rules of constant attention and the nature of the subject content, which also requires constant attention and effort.

However, self-regulation does not mean chaos. Students say that they are obliged to be quiet, directly disturbing the teacher is not accepted. However, apart from this, the rules underline that students are free to ignore what goes on in the classroom, or to switch their attention back and forth between classroom and the digital world, as long as they do so quietly.

The most powerful rule is that the teacher grades and the grades define future options for education. Students are graded and they know that these grades will affect their future possibilities to enter popular higher education programs. How the students distribute attention and energy in order to obtain



grades is very much left to the students themselves. The formal arrangement that allows students to choose subjects of course also allows autonomous student action, which counters teachers' grading power to some extent. Students explain that they expected social studies to be easy, and many chose it for that reason. This kind of strategic behaviour is also evident in other ways. One student says that Law was a very, very exciting subject, but he changed to social studies in order to get better grades. One student dropped one big, difficult subject and switched to two smaller, easier ones, in order to improve the average grade, which is what will decide access to higher education. The students know what averages are needed for what they wish to study, they know the average they had achieved at the time when they were interviewed and they regulate their efforts in social studies depending on what average they aim for.

The organizational aspects of social studies are characterized by very low levels of external motivation by means of control and sanctions, except for grading. On the other hand, motivation by allowing for autonomy is very clearly pronounced – and the students seem confident that they are capable to self-regulate. Finally, some of the students point out that self-regulation is manageable because of the nature of the subject, where they can use their own knowledge. This is important for competence motivation as they see themselves as mastering the subject by their own devices.

5.2 Subject content, skills and teaching methods

Some say that the subject has proved to be more demanding than they expected. However, there are also students who state that social studies are easy. Different experiences in this regard are probably related also to different levels of knowledge at the outset. However, it is a subject which is manageable for most, even if it is more demanding than expected. This is by quite many students related to the nature of the subject itself. It does not require mastery of very precise knowledge. This understanding of the subject can be seen in the answer that a student gives to the question of what to do when faced with a difficult assignment.

“That is the real reason why social studies are quite fun, because even though you cannot guess what it is (the answer), you can discuss your way around it, sort of. Because the different themes are related to each other.”

Several students point out that it is important to them that because social studies is easier, it gives a better feeling of mastery: «The fact that it is not too difficult makes it more motivating to work with.”

To some students the subject is attractive because knowledge in social studies is something intuitive. It is not very factual or precise. One student says it like this:

“I am the kind of person who has some information from earlier on, and then I use what I have to discuss my way to it (an answer to an assignment). I have never been particularly good at memorizing or reading, but I just do it naturally well in social studies.”

Also other students point out that the subject does not require specific subject matter knowledge. “You don't have to read to get a good grade. You just watch what happens in the world, which you do anyway.” This experience with the subject content is motivating both as it can be mastered, and because it allows them to use their own skills and prior knowledge.

However, an important finding is that these students, who, as indicated above, are at quite different levels, also find the subject as such interesting and meaningful. When elaborating, the students point out both skills and contents. Concerning the former, students above all emphasize discussions as a skill that is important in social studies and that they like. Discussions are positively evaluated for several reasons. First, quite many stress that discussion is about expressing subjective opinions, as illustrated in the following quotations.



“And in discussion opinions are central. So you have to dare to think, often differently, or at least bring out what your opinion is and not be afraid to have an opinion.”

“You are not going to be very good in this subject without having opinions of your own, because then all you can do is to reiterate pure facts. So you must speculate and conclude why it is good or why it is bad, how this could happen and things like that.”

Many of the students underline that all the discussions where personal opinions are allowed in the subject is something they like and are engaged in. Some explicitly state this to be a quality that distinguishes social studies from other subjects: «To be able to formulate your own opinion instead of knowing all these formulas and stuff – that is much more interesting to me». Right answers are not as interesting as figuring out yourself:

“In science and the like, there is a right answer, but here you can - you can discuss and you can arrive at your answers on your own. There is no right answer. Mostly, at least. And then I like to listen to the opinions and points of views of others.”

An additional motivation is that classroom discussions are entertaining and fun to watch and participate in: “People think it is more fun to come (to the classes) when they know that there will be discussions.”

When young people have such a need to formulate opinions and to express them, it is also about identity development. Opinions are identity markers and by experimenting with having different opinions, teenagers explore who they are and how they want to be (Lauvdal & Winger, 1989). Some of the students are conscious that discussions have this function for them, as expressed by one of them:

“In social studies and in sociology and these subjects, I think it is great fun to arrive at logical answers and figure out your own opinions. I think you can find out a lot about yourself in subjects like this. Where you stand in relation to others.”

Another quite consistent finding is that the students stress the emotional aspect of the debates they have in social studies, as this quotation illustrates:

“Tuesday, and then a guy said that sometimes girls say they have been raped when in reality they just regret having had sex. Then I got so mad! As did many others in the class. So then I discussed for a long time.”

When exemplifying what issues and questions they like to discuss and have opinions about, they point out sex, sexual harassment, circumcision of boys and girls, sexual and romantic relations, marrying, beauty ideals, forced marriages, gay rights, human suffering in wars, refugee crisis, and the role of religion and culture in such issues. In other words, issues that provoke emotions that raise ethical considerations and/or that concern the students themselves. For a few of them, these discussions and the emotions they bring about also lead them to engage in political activities, notably on the internet.

Still, other students emphasize more strongly that discussions have to be objective and take into consideration the concepts, principles and facts of social studies. It could be that until these final years of secondary education, classroom debates in social studies had been subjective and emotional, but that this changes in these optional, final subjects. Now, there are new standards for discussions: «Last year (in compulsory social studies) you could write your opinion and whatever you wanted to, but now it is more «you have to write THAT» - you have to be entirely correct». However, such correct discussions do not supplant expressive and subjective debates, the point is that they should merge: «That you have to use theories independently is the most difficult part. You have to discuss – and be very adult in your arguments».



In short, discussions are motivating because they have qualities that relate the discussions to the students themselves; they are about subjective opinions and about finding out who you are, they evoke emotions and they are about young people. The type of content they find stimulating is themselves and their relations.

When asked about what social studies topics and issues they find interesting, no matter if these issues are being discussed or not, the same issues that they like to discuss reappear. They want to learn about what concerns themselves and other young people. In line with this, politics is the least engaging topic, according to the students. They are not interested in political and economic systems, but in people, preferably people like themselves. Many statements underline this, such as:

“It was interesting, and what we learned was what you would find in daily life situations.”

“You recognize what is being said, all the norms and everything that happens in daily life.”

When asked about why specialize in social studies, one student replied:

“Because I am concerned with people, and how people and society function together (...). I think it is important that we all learn about society we live in as we all participate, so it would help us all. This interests me a lot.”

These quotations suggest that the subject content is very important, because it has an existential meaning for quite many of the students. It is about understanding oneself and other human beings. Some of them articulate this existential meaning very explicitly: “Last year we had about «My identity», and then we wrote a text about it and it was like – I discovered new aspects of myself that I had never reflected over (...). I for my part I found that very interesting.”

Again, some of the students note that this is what makes social studies different from other subjects, in particular science:

“I don’t like science and then – I like to work with people and I am very oral. (...) Understanding things in depth and understand why society is the way it is. That interests me.”

As this quotation indicates, society is there, but as something that influences what is interesting, i.e. themselves. Still, a few also say that understanding society in general is important. One says that it is interesting to learn about how the economy works, but in total, the students are not concerned with the major structural and global problems as such, but with individuals such as themselves.

Social studies is also relevant to the students because it is useful. Several different notions of what useful means can be found, some argue that it is useful because it enables them to understand the news. Some of these students also see politics as useful: «It is perhaps more exciting to learn about foreign policy, because much of it can be seen again on the news». Or in debates elsewhere in society:

“You learn how things are, sort of – how things function in the world and I think this will come in handy – like when you meet people and they talk about things, then it is nice to be able to take part in the conversation and have something smart to say.”

However, this utilitarian notion is most often related to what is useful in everyday life: “Social studies and law are the two most important and practical subjects we have because here you get to know (....) I use some of those techniques we learn in sociology and social issues.”

Again, this aspect of social studies is contrasted to science and describes social studies as something that one may «integrate in daily life in another way than atoms and molecules, which you don't see have a place in everyday life». Some students describe social studies almost as life guidance:

We've just had about living together and marriage and stuff, and perhaps it sounds a bit "...must we learn about that?" But at the same time, it is important, because these are important things in our own lives and things that are actually useful.

As pointed out above, there is ample research that shows that students are motivated by varied teaching methods and by constructive feedback on how they perform and may improve. The data material reflects this, and the students are concerned with both variation and feedback. They seem more content with the feedback than with the variation. Concerning influencing the work and contents in class, there are few examples that the students are involved in this, which is noteworthy as they are almost adult, 17-18 years old. On the other hand, there is not much complaining about the lack of influence. The major room for self-regulation probably reduces the need for co-influence.

6 Closing discussion

Social studies, as most of the students experience these subjects, have a combination of important characteristics that are important in a motivational perspective. First, an organisational framework that allows and even requires student self-regulation marks it. This seems to mark social studies more than other school subjects, at least the students seem to think so. Some of them are drawn to social studies for that reason. This means that external motivations of rewards and punishments are not very prominent, whereas the autonomy of self-regulation seem to attract students.

Second, social studies give more space for the students to use themselves and their own prior knowledge and resources, not least in discussions. This clearly has to do with mastery and experiencing competence, but also with autonomy and acknowledgement.

Third, students underline that social studies is interesting and motivating because of its contents. I.e. because, more than other subjects, social studies is about themselves. It has ample space for their emotions and subjective opinions and engagement. It is a subject to discover who you are. Social studies contains issues that are about the students and their relations themselves. It is even useful. For most of the students, social structures and processes are not interesting in themselves, but in as far as they affect the students directly. To some extent, the students point at more scientific aspects such as mastering concepts and understanding macro structures. To some, this academic interest is motivating. But this is not the dominant motivational force among these students.

Even though there are nuances, these dominant tendencies in the material make social studies suited to the late modern, self-reflexive student. Self-regulation, acknowledgement of students' own knowledge and skills, and the existential components of social studies contents, i.e. that the subject is about the students themselves, all point in that direction.

The globally oriented, or at least politically orientated student is hardly visible in the material at all. Regarding the third option, the student who is motivated by social inclusion, the results are more mixed. On one hand, they relate to each other, and being part of a debating class is clearly a motivation. It could be assumed that such discussions are only possible in a socially including and accepting classroom climate. On the other hand, their depiction of discussions is quite confrontational. Some of them also point out that sometimes they are afraid to make fools of themselves by saying something wrong. In short, social inclusion is hardly what these students find rewarding in social studies, but it is perhaps a condition for the factors that are really motivating.

There seems to be a difference, though, between Politics and Human Rights on the one hand, and Social Issues as well as Sociology and Anthropology on the other. Particularly the two latter focuses on issues students recognize from their daily lives.

This micro and expressive orientation of these subjects is hardly founded in the national curriculum, which underlines macro structures and processes more strongly. However, any teacher will have to



respect the starting point of students, and in as far as teachers have a choice in what to emphasise and how, students like this could represent a pressure on these subjects towards micro existentialism. The micro interests of the students are quite systematic. On the other hand, the topics of interest to these students can be developed in a broader, more structural direction, and this is perhaps the challenge to didactical developments; how to start from these micro orientations to broader social analysis?

It is commonly argued that social studies are far too concerned with rote learning and factual knowledge that are irrelevant to students (Solhaug & Børhaug, 2012; Stray, 2011). These findings suggest that the students agree that specific facts are irrelevant. On the other hand, the findings also suggest that the formal rote learning is not completely dominating in these subjects. These subjects relate to the daily life and existential needs of students at least to some extent. There is enough space for self-reflexivity to make the subjects motivating.

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A Half Century Journey of Social Studies in Turkey: Reflections from the 7th International Social Studies Education Symposium

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Keywords:

Social Studies Education, Social Studies, Turkey, International Symposium on Social Studies Education

1 Introduction

The seventh International Social Studies Education Symposium [ISSES] (Uluslararası Sosyal Bilgiler Eğitimi Sempozyumu, [USBES]) was held at Kırşehir Ahi Evran University this year and many domestic and international researchers coming from different regions of the world participated¹. The symposium had two main themes; the first one was "Social Studies Education in Turkey in its 50th Anniversary"; aimed at evaluating and discussing the current status and the future of the Social Studies Education. This theme was dedicated to the 50th anniversary from the first introduction of Social Studies Education as a school subject in Turkey in 1968 (Akpınar & Kaymakçı, 2012). The second theme was "Kemalism/Ataturkism² and Democracy in Social Studies Education" which are among the foundational topics of Social Studies Education in Turkey.

During three days, from October 11th to October 13th, 264 papers were presented, and the sessions were attended by more than four hundred participants, with an increased foreign participation compared to previous years. A wide range of participants from all regions of Turkey attended the symposium, from researchers and members of academia³ to teachers who attended with the special permission from the Turkish Ministry of National Education. As such, the symposium provided a fruitful environment for academics and practitioners to interact with each other, share knowledge and build collaborations. Furthermore, undergraduate and postgraduate students were encouraged to participate in the symposium and they were given the opportunity to present their work and build their networks, contributing to the development of their early careers.

The first day of the symposium started with the singing of the national anthem and a minute of silence to honour the memory of people who died defending the homeland; these are customary ceremonies repeated every year to open the symposium (see Pamuk & Pamuk, 2017). This was followed by the introductory remarks of Prof. Dr. Vatan Karakaya, the President/Rector of the hosting university. His speech highlighted the importance of Social Studies Education for society and emphasized the necessity to deepen the connections between social studies and other subjects such as math.

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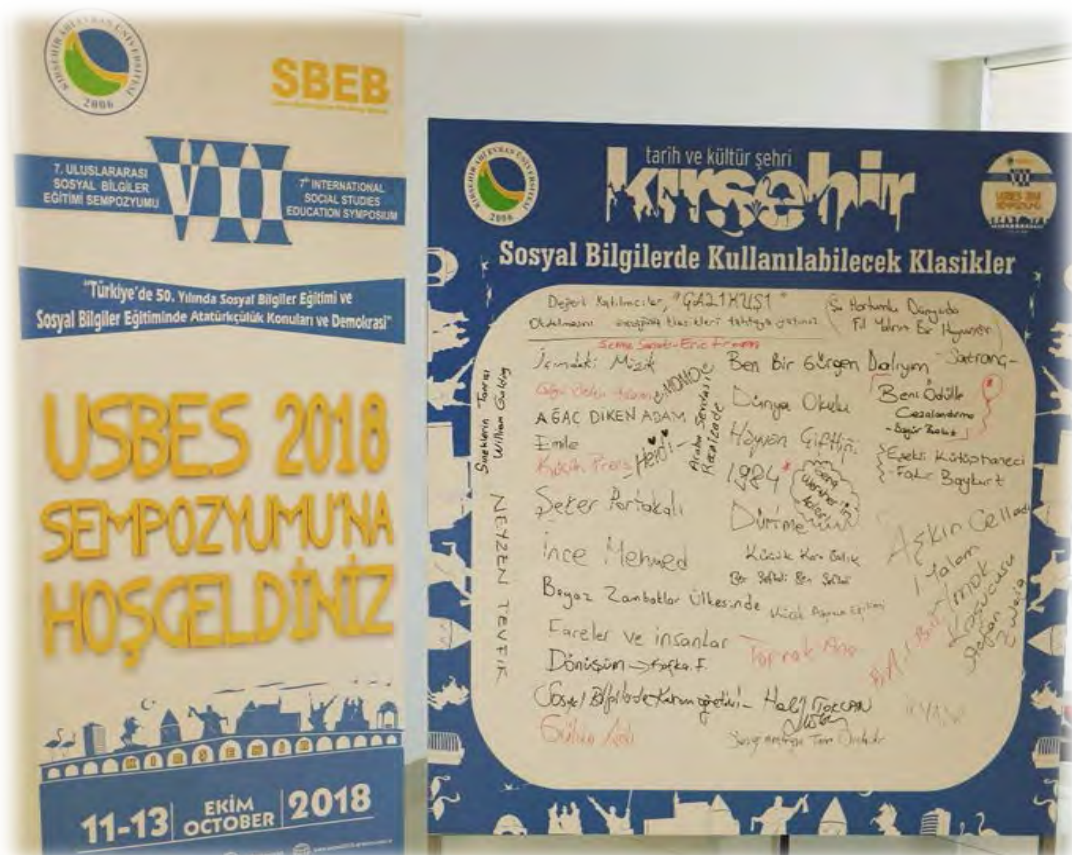


2 Keynotes

Throughout the symposium, keynote speakers from the United States, Romania, Italy, Austria, Palestine, and Turkey presented their new perspectives on a variety of topics related to social studies education. On the first day of the symposium Assist. Prof. Dr. Jason Harshman, (College of Education, University of Iowa, USA), gave a speech entitled "Teaching Hope: Social Studies Educator and the Future of Democracy." In his speech, Dr. Harshman discussed the state of democracy both in the world and the United States and highlighted the rise all over the world of right wings administrations which have outspreaded, even in traditionally democratic countries, antidemocratic and oppressive actions such as putting pressure on media, discriminating against minorities, and preventing peaceful parades or rallies of citizens. Dr. Harshman emphasized the role and necessity of critical pedagogy and critical social studies education in order to overcome these threats; he concluded with a message of hope for the future of democracy coming from the key role of teachers and their subjective agency in training students for the democratic processes. The next speaker, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Loredana Ivan (National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Department. of Communication), gave a speech on Democracy Education in Romania. Dr. Ivan first mentioned how citizenship education in Romanian schools was shaped together with the communist ideology and how the regime used education as a means of propaganda. Next, she discussed how this citizenship classes were taught, which teaching strategies were used, how the course objectives were determined, how the student evaluations were made, with focus on the differences between school levels (primary, middle and high school). Dr. Ivan continued her speech explaining the content matter and teaching methods included in the textbooks of this course. Finally, she gave an overview of some of the issues in the textbooks for this course such as lack of depth in presenting concepts, irrelevant and stereotypic content, lack of time references, and anachronisms.

In the same day Dr. Michele Bertani, from the department of economics at the University of Verona (Italy), pointed out in his keynote address the need to focus more extensively on inclusive education and recommended that this topic should be more widely investigated in social studies research. Dr. Bertani, in his speech entitled "Inclusive Education: The Debate at the International Level" provided a general overview of the meaning of inclusive education through the analysis of the three definitions of inclusive education given by UNESCO, the United Nations and the [European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education](#). Reviewing the evidence from the scientific literature, a number of steps to move towards and promote inclusive education were identified; among them, Dr. Bertani listed the importance of recognizing the needs of the pupils and understanding their individual background within a multifaceted approach. The perception of schools' quality amongst European national societies was finally investigated in the conclusive remarks of Dr. Bertani's speech. The following keynote speaker, Dr. Mahmoud Hawamdeh, (Director of Continuing Education and Community Service at the Al-Quds Open University, Palestine), drew attention to the linkages between social studies and technology in a lecture entitled "Digitalization of Education and Its Implications for Values Education." In his speech, he emphasized that the growing popularity of technology has affected the field of education. He stated that this situation started the process of digitalization of education and discussed the effects of this process on values education, a key aspect in Social Studies class.

On October 12th, the first of the two remaining keynote speakers of the symposium, Dr. Pelin Yüksel, (Department of Education, University of Vienna, Austria), gave a speech on digital storytelling. In her presentation entitled "Use of Digital Storytelling in Social Studies", Dr. Yüksel talked about elements of digital stories such as music, visual materials, and the points of view of the narration. She then investigated the following questions: How can a digital story be used as a method in Social Studies? How to create a digital story? What are the types of digital stories? By showing step by step examples of how to create a digital story, she pointed out the benefits of including digital storytelling in class such as increased creativity and self-expression, and a more project-based type of education resulting in better productivity.



Classics that can be used in Social Studies" board filled by participants

On the last day of the symposium, the keynote speaker Prof. Dr. Bahri Ata from Gazi University (Department. of History Education) presented his work entitled "The Classics and Their Significance in Social Studies Education Undergraduate Program." Dr. Ata used a board called "Classics that can be Used in Social Studies" which was placed for two days in one of the main halls in order for the participants in the symposium to list the names of the books which they considered as classics that could be used in Social Studies Education. Dr. Ata then used the results of this experiment in his keynote speech to focus on the definition of classics, to discuss the importance of using classics in education and to name some of the selected classics from the board. He classified the classics according to three main categories: Social Sciences, Literature, and Pedagogy. Then he went on to list several additional books from both Turkish and foreign writers, such as the Man Seeking Water (Suyu Arayan Adam)⁴ (Şevket Süreyya Aydemir), The Wealth of Nations (Adam Smith), The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Thomas Kuhn). In addition to this, the reading lists of important social scientists such as Bozkurt Güvenç

([anthropologist](#)), Şerif Mardin ([sociologist](#)), were included. In this keynote Dr. Ata stated that “*Life is the most fundamental source of social studies*” and he concluded that reading important classics could help university students to understand life.

3 Overview of Presentations

While the keynote speeches were held at the symposium, the presentations and workshops continued at full pace. Most of the presentations, given by more than four hundred participants, were based on either qualitative or quantitative research designs. Only a few of the studies were based on a mixed design. Surveys, interviews and the analysis of documents were the most predominant methods in the presented studies. The large variety of topics touched in the presentations during the symposium can be broadly classified into eight major areas:

- Examination of curriculum and textbooks from different perspectives
- Social studies education and technology
- Media literacy
- Citizenship, democracy and values education
- Studies on different thinking skills (chronological, creative, etc.)
- Problems in social studies education
- Museum education
- Studies to reveal students and teachers’ perception, success, attitudes and opinion

Due to the celebrations for the 50th anniversary of the Social Studies course in Turkey, there were also presentations aiming to compare the old and current curricula and reveal the changes experienced over the years. A research entitled, “50-Year Adventure in Social Studies Teaching: The Comparison of the 1968-2018 Curriculums” (7th International Social Studies Education Symposium [ISSES], 2018, p. 437-438) was one of them. In his study, Hamza Yakar, found that, while the 1968 curriculum was more detailed, today's curriculum was more flexible; while the 1968 curriculum was focused on the outcomes, the present curriculum gave more relevance to the process; while the feelings of national identity were at the forefront in the 1968 curriculum, values education was more important in today's curriculum.

Some of the presentations were remarkable in terms of findings. A research entitled "A Critical Overview on Social Studies Education in Turkey" by Gökhan Önal (ISSES, 2018, p.391-392) was one of them. The aim of this study was to evaluate the current status of Social Studies Education in Turkey through the lens of critical pedagogy by interviewing teachers and middle-school students and examining the Social Studies curriculum. Findings of the study indicated that Social Studies teachers mostly relied in their teaching on lecturing rather than using instructional strategies that kept students active, such as argumentations, group work, and project-based education. Thus, Önal concluded that Social Studies Education in middle-school in Turkey is far from developing the students’ critical thinking, problem solving and social participations, all crucial skills for an active citizenship.

In addition to these, it is worth noting that the studies linking the use of technology in the Social Studies course increased this year compared to the previous years. A study entitled "Social Media in Social Studies Education Research" (ISSES, 2018, p.135-136) was one of them. Adnan Altun drew attention to the lack of research using social media as a data collection tool, as skill training and as a subject of teaching and emphasized that the studies evaluating social media critically should be increased. Likewise, Gül Tuncel highlighted the importance and the role of media literacy in Social Studies teaching in her presentation entitled “An Evaluation on the Importance of the Media Literacy in Teaching Social Studies” (ISSES 2018, p.287-288). Nevertheless, she concluded that some social studies teachers did not know how to improve students’ media literacy skills or how to employ these skills within their teaching.

A study by İhsan Ünlü and Alper Kaşkaya, entitled “Examining the Viewpoints of Social Sciences Teachers on Values Education” (ISSES, 2018, p.241-242) was conducted on 46 social studies teachers.



Most of the participants pointed out that it is always expected that only Social Studies teachers must be responsible to teach value education while parents' role in value education is often disregarded. We believe that the finding of this study is very important as it challenges a widespread misperception regarding value education among parents in Turkey. Oddly, parents do not appear to want to take the responsibility of teaching values to their children.

Another noteworthy presentation was from Davut Gürel and Yasemin Büyükşahin and was entitled "Training of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Reflections from Practice" (ISSES, 2018, p.101-102). Although almost four million Syrian refugees live in Turkey, there were only a few studies in the symposium focused on the education of Syrian people. The study indicated that Turkish teachers have been struggling to teach and give psychologic support and guidance to Syrian children who may have been exposed to violence during the civil war. The teachers who participated in the study felt that they did not have appropriate training and experiences to deal with the Syrian refugee students adequately.

While most of the presentations in the symposium were in Turkish, a few studies from international participants were presented in English. One of them, entitled "Infusing Professional Development to Expand Teacher Competencies within a Social Studies Education Program" was presented by William Coghill Behrends (ISSES, 2018, p.319) from the University of Iowa. In his presentation, Behrends mentioned the "Teacher Leader Certificate" program, whose participants are teachers and teacher candidates. He talked about the content of the program, the workshop topics and the duration of the courses. Another English presentation was "Uncovering the Unknown: Creating Spaces in the Social Studies to Develop Global Citizens" by Dr. Harshman (also a keynote speaker) and Jonathan Hamlin (ISSES, 2018, p. 317), graduate student. Their talks focused on the results of a research whose participants were both Turkish and American teachers, and whose aim was to answer questions such as "What is Global Citizenship Education? How should educators address global issues? Do the new standards, especially citizenship education and National History conflict with Global Citizenship Education?"

4 Workshops

Another element that enriched the symposium was the series of workshops. A total of seven workshops were held during the three days. The topics of the workshops were quite various:

- 1) Futurist Thinking in Social Studies
- 2) On Life Science and Social Studies Education
- 3) Evidence-Based Learning in Social Studies
- 4) Oral History in Social Studies Courses
- 5) Use of Technology in Academic Research-reference Management Software
- 6) Gifted Children in Social Studies, But how?
- 7) Drama Practices in Social Studies Course

Some of the workshops, such as evidence-based learning and drama practices, required an active and direct involvement of the participants. To provide a stimulating learning environment for all participants, different workshops were targeted to different audiences, with some specifically tailored for the participation of undergraduate and graduate students.



5 Panel Discussion

In addition to the workshops, a panel discussion entitled "The 50th anniversary of social studies in Turkey and Future Perspectives" moderated by Prof. Dr. Veysel Sönmez on the second day of the symposium (12th of October 2018). The panellists were Prof. Dr. Handan Devenci (Eskişehir Anadolu University), Prof. Dr. Akif Akkuş (Hasan Kalyoncu University), Prof. Dr. Ahmet Şimşek (Istanbul University –Cerrahpaşa) and Prof. Dr. Mehmet Açıkalın (Istanbul University –Cerrahpaşa).



An image from panel speakers

One of the main topic of the panel was the evaluation of the recent changes in the K -8 Social Studies curriculum and the Social Studies Teacher Education program. The updated Social Studies Teacher Education program was criticized due to the reduction, in comparison to the former program, in the variety of courses on social science subjects. Dr. Şimşek stated that including a number of history and social science courses in the Teacher Education program would contribute to the development of the social and national identity of students/preservice teachers. The role of Social Studies Education in identity development was also highlighted by Dr. Binaya Subedi at the former ISSES / USBES last year (see Pamuk & Pamuk, 2017) and Dr. Şimşek's speech reminded again how crucial Social Studies education is in identity development. Later, the current status of Social Studies education was discussed, and some concern were raised regarding the teaching of Social Studies in Turkey. Dr. Açıkalın pointed out that, although the Social Studies curriculum in Turkey was reformed based on the standards from the National Council for the Social Studies [NCSS] (1994, 2010), this has not been successful enough. He indicated that there has been a major ongoing misperception about how to apply integrative approaches to Social Studies in Turkey. Social Studies teachers in Turkey have been struggling to shift to integrative teaching approaches and still prefer a content-based teaching approach. In order to overcome this problem, the Ministry of National Education has adopted Social Studies textbooks based on an integrative approach (Açıkalın, 2018). According to Dr. Açıkalın, these textbooks based on an integrative approach have also not been working well and cannot work at all in the future unless Social

Studies teachers learn to apply the integrative approach and are able to plan an integrative teaching unit by themselves.

While many issues discussed in this symposium, the next year's host institution has been decided at the closing ceremony. The next ISSES / USBES will be held in Ankara University in October 2019.

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Endnotes

¹ We would like to thank the Assoc. Dr. Bayram Tay (Symposium organization committee co-chair), the Assoc. Dr. Zafer Kuş (Symposium organization committee member) and Prof. Dr. Ahmet Doğanay (president of the Association for Social Studies Educators), for their great effort, hospitality and for ensuring a good organization. We also would like to thank Timothy Harris and Mattia Ciro Mancini (King's College – London) for helping us with proofreading.

² Ataturkism: “Worldview developed by M. Kemal Ataturk [the founder of modern Turkey], and his associates. It was the political philosophy behind reforms promoting the westernization of Turkey in the early republic era. The main principles of Ataturkism are republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, and revolutionism/ reformism” (Heper, Öztürk-Tunçel, & Criss, 2018, p.67).

³ Researchers and members of academia refer to teacher educators who work in faculties of education as members of universities. Teacher Education is a four-year program in Turkey and is within the faculty of education. Teacher educators may work in these programs in different academic positions, from research assistantship to full professorship.

⁴ Suyu Arayan Adam [The Man Seeking Water] is the author's autobiography. It contains reflections of World War I, the Balkan Wars, Russian Bolshevism and reflects the period in which it was written.



Review of the book:

Hawkey, James, (2018). Language Attitudes and Minority Rights: The case of Catalan in France. Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 978-3-319-74597-8, £79.00.

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1 Introduction

The book investigates language attitudes and ideologies regarding the Catalan language in Northern Catalonia which, according to the author, is located in the south of France. It aims to address language policy and Linguistic Human Rights issues with regard to Catalan, as well as map language attitudes and ideologies through quantitative sociophonetic analysis and qualitative questionnaire and interview data. Specifically, the book addresses the following research questions:

1. In what ways does macrosociological category membership function as a predictor of language attitudes in Northern Catalonia?
2. To what extent do language attitudes correlate to the usage of local or supralocal linguistic variants?
3. What are the prevalent language ideologies in Northern Catalonia?
4. What are the primary language rights concerns in Northern Catalonia? How can our findings contribute to knowledge about language rights in analogous situations? (p.xii)

The book is divided into six chapters, providing research context, theoretical and methodological considerations, three results chapters (quantitative findings from the language attitudes questionnaire; quantitative findings from the sociophonetic study; qualitative findings from questionnaires and interviews); and a discussion chapter. The context chapter describes the geographical, historical-political, historical-linguistic and sociolinguistic background, which includes an exploration of the population's currently very low competence in Catalan as opposed to French. The theory and methods chapter introduces the instruments used, including the Language Attitude Questionnaire, the sociophonetic wordlist task and the Critical Discourse Analysis approach adopted for the qualitative element of the project.

The quantitative findings of the questionnaire study are presented according to a number of social variables. For example, with regard to 'occupation' the results show that attitudes towards the status values of Catalan – i.e. perceived characteristics such as 'confidence' - are lowest amongst students, which is explained by the language ideology of French dominance in schools. The same is found for the solidarity values of Catalan, i.e. perceived characteristics such as 'friendliness'. There are also variations in attitudes to status and solidarity values with regard to regional factors (father's and mother's place of birth, participant's residence). Regarding competence in Catalan, participants who self-reported higher language skills in Catalan were likely to evaluate it more highly. Regarding French status and solidarity, gender was found to play a role, with females more in praise of the instrumental value of French. Overall, French is evaluated as having higher status and solidarity values than Catalan: 'Whether people feel attached to Catalan as a language of solidarity or not, they are still likely to have high solidarity views of the French language. Given the strength of centralist French language ideologies, it is hardly surprising that French should be seen as the language of status by all. But the fact that it is also arguably the language of solidarity for all (even for self-declared Catalan speakers) is greatly interesting, and speaks to the power of the existing ideological hegemony. (p. 93)



The quantitative sociophonetic analysis links language attitudes and phonetics. Interestingly, positive attitudes towards Catalan with regard to status are linked with ‘supralocal’ phonetic variants; whereas positive views with regard to solidarity are positively correlated with local variants. Hawkey concludes:

“Participants who view Catalan as a language of status, utility, and potential overt prestige are aligning themselves with supralocal norms, characteristic of areas where Catalan is already a prestige language. Likewise, participants who view Catalan as a vehicle of solidarity are more focused on heritage concerns, and thus there is greater symbolic capital in adopting local variants, to be used to convey a credible identity that places a high value on attachment to Northern Catalonia, rather than other Catalan-speaking areas.” (p. 141)

The qualitative analysis explores participants’ responses in terms of Catalan in its geographical, social and political space. Geographical space is discussed with regard to (linguistic and other) differences within Northern Catalonia and its external boundaries. Regarding social space the research finds that Catalan can act ‘as an anchor to local culture’ (p. 158) for those who are proficient in the language. However, ‘support for the preservation of local customs is tempered by instrumental concerns linked to social advancement (framed by Bourdieu in terms of *cultural capital*), as well as by the existence of a sense of French national identity’ (p. 159). Participants do not seem to feel ambivalent about having two linguistic and cultural identities (Catalan, French). However, the two languages have clear social functions:

“French not only fulfils instrumental, ‘status’ roles, but also is able to act as the primary ‘language of identification’ (to borrow a term from the Generalitat de Catalunya’s questionnaires regarding linguistic usage). The Catalan language and culture are perfectly capable of serving as an identity marker, but are not seen as rich enough in Bourdieusian cultural capital to operate convincingly as a tool of social advancement.” (p. 159).

The discussion chapter applies the findings to debates around regional and minority languages, rights and education and links these to current language rights in Northern Catalonia. The short conclusion gives concise responses to the research questions based on the findings of the study.

The book addresses important sociolinguistic and political questions. The case study of Catalan in Southern France serves as a useful vehicle for the debate of language minority rights, language attitudes and language ideologies. The strengths of the book lie in its incorporation of qualitative as well as quantitative data and its inclusion of phonetic analysis. Both are highly innovative for a study of language attitudes. The different areas of expertise – sociolinguistic, sociophonetics, discourse analytic, historical, political – are merged into a convincing argument that reveals the complexities surrounding language attitudes without ever losing coherence. I highly recommend this book to all students of Catalan, as well as to those of sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis.

Review of the book:

Ndhlovu, Finex. (2018). *Language, Vernacular Discourse and Nationalisms: Uncovering the myths of transnational worlds*. Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 978-3-319-76134-3, €96.29.

Ian Davies

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This is a passionately written book which raises vitally important questions. The “book addresses key issues and cross-cutting themes around the evolution of discursive practices, identity narratives and vocabularies of race, culture, ethnicity and belonging that tend to be framed in ways that contradict popular assumptions about the existence of a transnational world. It brings to the limelight the social construction of national identity, which is often seen as a product of political processes. The argument is that the focus on the political has led to the marginalisation of the social side of national identity construction” (px-xi).

The book can be summarised as follows:

“collectively, all nine chapters in this book demonstrate that instead of diminishing the appetite for mobilising the nation-state as rallying point for identity narratives, social cohesion and collective sensibilities as projected by twentieth-century pessimists, contemporary forces of globalisation and transnationalism have, in fact, reinvigorated the resolve to safeguard nation-state authority, national sovereignty and national interest. Nation-states are increasingly seeking to square national autonomy with deep involvement in regional alliances, trading networks and international organisations—while at the same time doing so in a manner and language that betrays the centrality of the interests of individual countries over those of a perceived transnational community” (p.343).

There are 5 parts to the book. Part 1 (setting the scene) has 2 chapters: ‘introduction: theories, concepts, debates’; and ‘emergent political languages, nation building, social cohesion’. In part 2 (Language, Vernacular Discourse, Narrow Nationalisms) there are 2 chapters: ‘language policy, vernacular discourse, empire building’; and ‘language, mobility, people’. Part 3 (Citizenship, Indigeneity, Economic Empowerment) has 2 chapters: ‘Chimurengas, Indigenisation, Black Economic Empowerment’; and ‘Alternative language of development and economic empowerment’. Part 4 has 2 chapters: ‘Migration, Integration Discourse, Exclusion’; and ‘Australia’s Operation Sovereign Borders – a world without others?’ Part 5 is made up of a conclusion – ‘Transnationalism or resurgent narrow nationalisms?’

The author is well-placed to write the book. He has a distinguished academic career in several countries (including universities in Africa, Australia, US and elsewhere). He focuses on policies and wider social and political developments which in relation to language are establishing particular perspectives. He focuses in particular on vernacular discourse. He explains this to mean: “Vernacular discourses are conceived here as every day or mundane ‘...texts or forms of speech and conversations that emerge from discussions between members of self-identified smaller communities within the larger civic community’ (Ono & Sloop, 2012, p. 13)”. The argument is played out by reference to various cases studies which include “the language of land reform, nationalisation and indigenisation of the economy in Zimbabwe; language policy making and citizenship in Zimbabwe; the language of black economic empowerment, land reform, social transformation and concomitant discourses of xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa; and the language of migrant integration and border protection policies in Australia” (p. 28).



There is a strong argument about the role of culture and language: “Multiculturalism policies have produced what can be termed multiple monoculturalisms, multiple monolingualisms and multiple monolithic identities that exist side by side in a shared geopolitical space known as the nation-state.” (p.108). He suggests there are: “high-sounding neoliberal promises of redress, equity and social justice. Yet, beneath this powerful sense of social romanticism lies an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world. In fact, the neoliberal language of indigenisation and economic empowerment joins the litany of other so-called progressive and liberal frameworks—modernity, emancipation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and globalisation—that reinforce social class and privilege by masking endemic inequalities, narrow forms of ethno-nationalisms and xenophobia” (p.198).

In light of these injustices he suggests a way forward. “A much broader understanding of the notion of language is proposed—one that covers any or all of the following: dialect continua, cultural practices and identities, discursive practices, electronic mediated communication practices, traditions, customs, social relationships, connections to the land and nature, religion, spirituality, worldviews and philosophies, proverbial lore and so on. In other words, the concept of language should be seen as not always referring to a noun; it can be an action word or even a describing word.” (p.125).

The book is both academically coherent and the argument is very assertive. I confess that I welcome the relatively little space given over in this book to technical language issues. There is a very wide ranging argument with critiques of some of the interpretations of the work of established academics such as Soysal and Giddens. Brexit, Trump - and much else - comes in for sharp critique. There are one or two slips (e.g., the UK politician who has recently resigned as foreign secretary is Boris not Nigel Johnson; there is some repetition).

This is not a tightly focused empirical study with judgments hiding behind endlessly qualified phrasing. It will not be to everyone’s taste. But it presents an argument that is worth reading. I recommend the book.