Education, Languages, and Power

2.1 Introduction

This chapter's focus is to situate this study in the wider field of critical multilingual education research by drawing from educational and applied linguistics literature. Its aim is to elaborate the underlying framework of power mechanisms, as well as explicit and implicit language education policies, in schools in order to analyze and interpret study subjects' perspectives on and experiences with language hierarchies and ideologies thereafter. First, the relationship between power and education in a broader sense will be discussed, which will serve as the study's theoretical foundation (2.2). Second, the aspect of language will be integrated into the discussion of power relations in order to demonstrate how language can both connect culturally diverse groups and improve mutual understanding, but how it can also create barriers and engender social exclusion (2.3). The role of English in particular, as *mediator* or *troublemaker*, is examined in section 2.4, following a relatively new research paradigm of *(unequal) Englishes*. These power dynamics are further elucidated through the concept of *critical multiculturalism* (2.5). Plurilingual identities are analyzed with regard to individuals' linguistic repertoires and the concepts of *heteroglossia* and *translanguaging* in section 2.6. Finally, ways in which multilingual education can be practiced through different pedagogic approaches, such as *translanguaging* or *content and integrated language learning (CLIL)*, are presented.

2.2 Education and Power

> The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 324)

The two fundamental principles of democracy and equality constitute the modern education system's overt basis (Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006; Noddings, 2013). As critical research in educational science has shown, however, schools often actually reproduce the social order characterized by unequal stratifications rather than promoting these values among their students. Schools actively impose patterns of power relations that resemble "a common-sense world" shaped by the values and interests of the socially and culturally dominant classes; these values and interests remain unquestioned and are accepted as such by the dominated groups (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 468; Nash, 1990; for a critical response see Pennycook, 2010). This study attempts to contribute to a larger movement that interrogates social, public structures with the intention of unraveling and questioning their underlying power mechanisms. It advocates for a critical thinking approach that aims to disrupt the self-sustaining circle of elitism, on the basis of privilege, and works toward the flattening of existing hierarchies due to (the lack of) different types of capital or resources. This section draws primarily from the work of Bourdieu, Gramsci, Delpit, and from other critical thinkers for its analysis.

According to Bourdieu, the world can be depicted through the concepts of *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*. First, habitus is "a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 12 [emphasis in original]). Individuals are influenced by previously acquired dispositions on which they base daily decisions, their behavior, and their beliefs. A certain behavior or belief does not, however, result from the habitus itself, but instead needs to be considered as bifurcating the relation between the habitus and the field. The *field*, sometimes called *market*, "may be seen as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14). Importantly, actions within the fields are oriented at maximizing the individual's capital of any sort (e.g., cultural) which can then be exchanged for a different kind of capital (e.g., economic) (Bourdieu, 1972). These fields are 'governed' by:

> 'symbolic power', an 'invisible' power which is 'misrecognized' as such and thereby 'recognized' as legitimate…the exercise of power through symbolic exchange always rests on a foundation of shared belief…they [actors in the field] fail to see that the hierarchy is, after all, an arbitrary social construction which serves the interests of some groups more than others. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 23)

This implies that the cultural capital possessed by dominant and non-dominant groups is unevenly distributed and is acknowledged as such by the working mechanisms of social institutions. This structure reinforces the privileged status that the dominant groups already have and increases the standard against which non-dominant groups are measured. Fraser (2003) defines status as "an order of intersubjective subordination derived from institutionalized patterns of cultural value that constitute some members of society as less than full partners in interaction" (p. 49). The public school represents a large social institution that is run by the government and in which this process of unequal reproduction of social order and status is officially legitimized and presented as the social norm. Put differently, schools teach and transmit the covert knowledge, that is, the way in which the institutions work and how hierarchies and orders are (unjustly) created and reproduced within the educational setting, to its students who absorb this as 'official knowledge' (Apple, 1993).

Apple (2012) later complicates this claim and points out that in order for this 'official knowledge' to be absorbed, and for the reproduction of social orders to be acknowledged, all students would need to be "passive internalizers of pregiven social messages" (p. 13) In fact, students neither simply absorb and internalize what is presented to them in class nor do they content themselves with the authoritative structures with which they are presented. They often judge and interpret the input based on their previous knowledge and belief system and either (partially) accept or reject the information.

Another point unaccounted for by mere reproduction is that "it undertheorizes and hence neglects the fact that capitalist social relations are inherently *contradictory* in some very important ways" (Apple, 2012, p. 89 [emphasis in original]). Schools, therefore, "sort, select, and certify a hierarchically organized student body…and they maintain an inaccurate meritocratic ideology and, therefore, legitimate the ideological forms necessary for the recreation of inequality" (Apple, 2012, p. 89; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Street, 2001). Furthermore, 'official knowledge' can only be transmitted if teachers act convincingly and actively support the curriculum that they implement (Apple, 2012; 2019). In so doing, they adopt the ideology and carry out guidelines created by policy makers and by other authorities. While schools recreate the unequal social structures and reproduce only the knowledge that they decide to include in the curriculum, schools also create new knowledge and produce new groups of stu-

dents who do not accept the long-established routines, but who instead develop a critical attitude.

Understanding these processes of the state apparatus involves gaining control over the cultural capital that is distributed unevenly throughout society. It is the acceptance of daily practices, conducted in social institutions and commonsense meaning-making processes, that constitutes hegemony. Gramsci (1971) developed a theory of *(cultural) hegemony* based on subaltern[1] groups' acquiescence to hidden power that was exercised by the dominant class. The establishment of consent is achieved by the former coercing the latter into accepting their world view and ideology as both dominant and legitimate. They do so by manipulating the society's belief and value system through social and political systems of daily life. Similar to Bourdieu's 'common-sense world,' this worldview constitutes the dominant group's interests, but is neither questioned nor rejected by subaltern groups, no matter whether it serves them or not (Erickson, 1996; Fuller, 2015). Subaltern groups can be deceived because they lack a critical reflection of the world and of themselves: "When one's conception of the world is not critical and coherent but disjointed and episodic, one belongs simultaneously to a multiplicity of mass human groups" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 324). Thus, subaltern groups are incapable of discerning that they are involved in, approve of, and actively support hegemonic processes that serve the dominant group's interests exclusively because they acknowledge them as the established norm. For Gramsci, individuals need to be aware of the underlying mechanisms of coercion in order to overcome the hegemonic processes taking place, and that go by without comment, in every sphere of daily life. They need to develop an understanding and consciousness in order to defend their own interests and to create social equity combining the interests and needs of every group within the society to an equal extent. Gramsci (1971) continues:

> To criticise one's own conception of the world means therefore to make it a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world. It therefore also means criticism of all previous philosophy, in so far as this has left stratified deposits in popular philosophy. The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory. (p. 324)

Thus, we need to be aware of and 'know' ourselves in order to critically reflect and better understand the circumstances in which our identity is socially embedded.

1 Gramsci uses the term 'subaltern' to describe a group of people who lack autonomy and access to the hegemonial parts of society and who are characterized by structural and economic marginalization.

Such an inventory needs to be created in order to determine diachronic power relations and their impact on daily social practices.

Freire (2005, p. 5) elaborates further on the concept of this much-needed awareness, which he calls *conscientização* or *critical consciousness/attitude*. It requires one to actually "intervene with reality" (Freire, 2005, p. 5), to participate in and transform it, instead of being merely a passive bystander. People without this critical attitude will be overpowered by dominant, sometimes more critically aware groups in society instead of changing the world and integrating their own interests and viewpoints. Being able to critically evaluate one's situation, individuals discover their potential and realize the impact of the underlying mechanisms: "Society now reveals itself as something unfinished, not as something inexorably given; it has become a challenge rather than hopeless limitation" (Freire, 2005, p. 10). This is the counterpart to the "culture of silence" practiced unknowingly by subaltern groups. According to Freire, the public education system's task is to help develop the necessary criticality to question and to assess underlying reproductive mechanisms. The main objective is to liberate oneself from oppression and to become a critical subject that is both responsible for and conscious of one's own potentials, rights, and duties.

This study argues that these hegemonic processes exist within Swiss society and that they obfuscate its citizens' perspectives and understanding of their own viewpoints and of the societal value and belief system. These underlying, invisible ideologies can be illustrated in the nation-wide debate on language learning in Swiss schools. Zurich's decision to reverse the traditional order of language learning, focused on national languages and to introduce English first instead, can be seen as a hegemonic mechanism. Paradoxically, although a few French-speaking journalists and educators felt betrayed or disappointed and contributed to the mediatized debates, the vast majority (including the Italian and Romansh linguistic regions) complied with this decision rather defenselessly. Arguably, one might assume that most individuals support Zurich's decision and the arguments provided to change the language order, due to the lack of heavier reactions or any contesting of the decision by referenda or other political actions. Individuals left out of this policy decision could be said to also want the same reform, either for themselves personally or for their children. In fact, this decision also led to the adoption of the new language order in the cantons in central and eastern Switzerland. Yet, the responsible educational authorities in the French- and Italian-speaking cantons have seemingly, until today, been very much influenced by tradition- and ideology-driven policies and have remained hegemonized in their decision-making processes due to their dependency on German-speaking Switzerland.

These individuals become trapped in these power mechanisms which divide societies into groups of elites and subaltern by adopting the hegemon's viewpoint, not speaking out for themselves, and thus practicing a "culture of silence" (Freire, 2005). As pointed out by Gramsci, these viewpoints or the reasoning thereof by the subal-

tern groups is incoherent and illogical. Their rationales and motivations to act in a certain way, while following different personal convictions or perspectives, can sometimes seem contradictory. That is, by being strongly influenced by the dominant viewpoint and decision making, they might not even be consciously aware of the fact that they would in fact also like to be able to choose, even though they might argue otherwise.

Since these processes impact language education policies implemented in the education system in this case, these are felt by and consequential for many young individuals who are excluded from the decision-making processes. Therefore, this study aims at unveiling such obscure hegemonic processes in order to make them more transparent and inclusive to individuals that are directly affected thereby. This can be achieved by engaging in and developing critical thinking and awareness strategies that can detect biased, power-laden discourses and manipulations which benefit only a small group of people and which also exacerbate inequity within the society. A closer analysis of how language, education, and power are inextricably intertwined can help to support the integration and amplification of every individual's voice in these power dynamics and can serve to flatten the existing hierarchies. The following section will deal with and clarify the interconnectedness of *language*, education, and power.

2.3 Language, Education, and Power

> Every time that the question of language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore: the formation and enlargement of the governing class, the need to establish more intimate and secure relationships between the governing groups and the national-popular mass, in other words to recognize the cultural hegemony. (Gramsci, pp. 183–184)

Gramsci's concept of *linguistic hegemony*, Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic power*, and Delpit's concept of *culture of power* all represent different facets of the relationship between education and power from different cultural, regional, ethnical, and academic viewpoints. Gramsci (1891–1937) as an Italian Marxist philosopher, journalist, and linguist advocates for a counter-hegemonic approach in order to challenge so-

cial structures based on capitalist power. The primary Gramsci source used in this study – the Prison Notebooks – are the result of his imprisonment by Mussolini's regime and which are considered a unique contribution to 20th century political theory. Bourdieu (1930–2002), a French sociologist and one of the most influential and important representatives of France's intellectual public life in the 20th century, investigates social power dynamics as a critical response to idealism in Western philosophy. Throughout his analyses of social structures, he developed different theories such as *theory of habitus*, *field theory* or *theory of capital and class distinction* and the forms of capital, linked to language, represent a particularly interesting aspect for this study. Finally, Delpit is an American educator, author, and researcher in the field of race, minority groups, literacy, and language in education. She is known for her commitment to creating equitable educational practices for all students and for challenging the *status quo* by raising awareness of *the culture of power*. All three thinkers highlight language's importance as being inextricably linked to both education and power. Each of the three concepts is elaborated in the sections that follow.

2.3.1 Gramsci's Linguistic Hegemony

Gramsci's concept of *hegemony*, understood as the formation of consent whereby subaltern groups are coerced into adopting the dominant group's world views, manifests itself in an ideology with a focus on institutions and, in seemingly inconspicuous, daily practices. A society's value and belief systems relate to a larger set of ideologies that are spread and supported by institutions. As these institutions become increasingly involved in daily practices and activities, the ideologies tend to become transmitted through them rather implicitly and unconsciously. The primary medium of such transmission is language (Phillipson, 1992). Language is a very important daily practice and plays a major role in school settings, either as the medium of instruction or as the subject as such. Language itself is inseparable from the speech community's culture and history (or civilization in Gramsci's terms) (Tsui & Tollefson, 2004). It is therefore "a continuous process of metaphor…with respect to the meanings and the ideological content which the words used had in preceding periods of civilization" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 450). That is, language exists as a continuous, diachronic process of meaning-making in which historical features of hegemony, power, and prestige become incorporated (see also Blommaert, 1999). Language is not a static entity but develops and changes, particularly when it comes into contact with other languages (and therefore with other cultures and histories). It takes on new forms of meaning and replaces older cultural residues within the language:

> Language is transformed with the transformation of the whole civilization, through the acquisition of culture by new classes and through the hegemony

> exercised by one national language over others, etc., and what it does is precisely to absorb in metaphorical form the words of previous civilizations and cultures…The new 'metaphorical' meaning spreads with the spread of the new culture, which furthermore also coins brand-new words or absorbs them from other languages as loan-words giving them a precise meaning and therefore depriving them of the extensive halo they possessed in the original language. (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 451–452)

Gramsci uses the example of a national language taking over other already existing languages through hegemonic processes that are accepted as legitimate by the subaltern groups. What becomes clear from the quoted passage is that speakers belonging to subaltern groups of the society are led to believe that the newly introduced forms are more prestigious than, and are superior to, their speech variety. As a consequence, subaltern groups adapt their language and adopt new 'metaphorical' meanings. It must be taken into consideration, though, that Gramsci was referring to the standardization of the Italian language in 20th century Italy.[2] In the Swiss context, all four of the national languages have each undergone these standardization processes, albeit to different degrees. While the Swiss Italian and French varieties have largely abandoned their regional dialects, in an effort to assimilate to the neighboring standard varieties, Romansh and Swiss German have resisted standardization to a greater extent. In the case of Romansh, different local varieties continue to be used in accordance with a (more recent) standardized written language for the purposes of both administration and instruction. Swiss German enjoys a much higher status and popularity amongst its speakers and is used as a means of communication, regardless of socioeconomic status. However, certain contexts (such as educational settings) require speakers to switch to SSG. The different regional Swiss German varieties have never been standardized and do not exist as an official written code, whereas SSG is a standardized and codified language and counts as the official language.

English as a non-national language brings an additional dimension to Switzerland's multilingual landscape. In fact, it seems to hegemonize structures of how national languages are both spoken and taught. It does so not only by taking over other languages' positions, but also by infiltrating these languages' vocabulary and cultural values. Importantly, Gramsci argues that languages are not prescribed by a certain authority (e.g., state or government) as official media, but that they are instead introduced through *hegemony* and *seemingly* on the basis of a freely made choice. In a second step, languages then become codified and obtain institutional support. As presented in this manuscript's introductory chapter, the same can be said of English in Switzerland. English had become a matter of societal interest which led to

2 For a more detailed description of the 'trasformismo' movement, see Ives, 2004a, pp. 103–105.

the revaluation of its status in Swiss schools and, finally, even to its introduction as a mandatory FL. A certain standard for everyone in the same speech community is set through the codification of language in grammar books and dictionaries. Certain institutions, such as government or schools, are responsible to first serve as a yardstick in applying the 'correct' standard variety and second to create language policies and to ensure that their implementation by teachers is executed, for instance. More importantly, Gramsci also provides an explanation for why dominant groups succeed in hegemonizing language policy and its use within a society. Two types of grammar constitute his theory of *linguistic hegemony* (compared to *historical hegemony*[3]): *spontaneous grammar* and *normative grammar*.[4] For Gramsci, "hegemony is the relationship between spontaneous grammars and the prevailing normative grammar" (Ives, 1997, p.99). Each of the two sub-sections analyze these two schools in turn.

2.3.1.1 Spontaneous Grammar

Spontaneous grammar describes the kind of grammar chosen voluntarily, without being influenced by any external forces or any set of rules – characteristics that would usually be connected to the concept of *descriptive grammar*. These grammatical structures can be understood as "patterns we follow while speaking that are unconscious and *seem* natural: 'There is the grammar 'immanent' in language itself, by which one speaks 'according to grammar' without knowing it'" (Ives, 2004a, pp. 90–91 [emphasis in original]). Although spontaneous, a certain adherence to an underlying structure is inevitable because of language's historical development, which is now understood as common sense. This is where language's diachronic or historical dimension becomes important. The following sentences can serve as examples of this distinction:

1. How long have you been waiting for?
2. For how long have you been waiting?

These two sentences illustrate spontaneous grammar in its diachronic dimension. Whereas certain descriptive grammarians would argue that sentence one is grammatically incorrect, and that only sentence two respects established grammatical rules, sentence one is used (more) frequently by native speakers of English. When

3 'Historical hegemony', sometimes simply called 'hegemony', is defined as a state of predominance or control in terms of politics, economics or of a state or country's military over others. The type of hegemony that Gramsci is coining, which is applied in this study, is a 'cultural' or 'linguistic hegemony' meaning the dominant class's manipulation of the society's belief and value systems and, therefore, hegemonizing the way of thinking and belief structure of the dominated class.

4 'Spontaneous grammar' is sometimes interchangeably called 'immanent grammar'. For the sake of simplicity, I will only use the former.

asked whether their usage is correct, many speakers tend to agree that sentence two is 'more' correct and standard-like, which demonstrates that they still adhere to diachronic language forms, even though they are becoming increasingly archaic (Ghomeshi, 2010). The first example sentence corresponds to the descriptive or spontaneous use of grammar, whereas the second example sentence falls into the category of descriptive or normative use of grammar. Speakers are influenced by those prescriptive grammar rules that are passed on historically, often through the educational system, while the way of applying grammar is always in flux and adapting to new forms of speech style. These linguistic innovations can be triggered or manifest a society's historical and cultural progress (Gramsci, 1985).

We all unconsciously follow certain patterns that bear characteristics of the development of language and the historically established standard: "But this 'spontaneous' expression of grammatical conformity is necessarily disconnected, discontinuous and limited to local social strata or local centers…the subaltern classes try to speak like the dominant classes and the intellectuals, etc." (Gramsci, 1985, pp. 180–181). Thus, (subaltern) individuals unconsciously internalize and adhere to a certain prevalent standard because their own 'spontaneous' language resources are perceived as being rather 'limited.' Furthermore, they are often unable to see the close intertwining between historical development and synchronic language norms. These synchronic language norms correspond to how language has come to be used contemporarily, even while the diachronic dimension is not readily discernable and the etymological process is mostly opaque. That means that they are disadvantaged in using their own idiolect, given that subaltern individuals do not receive the same opportunities to develop their critical awareness or language skills as dominant groups. They (try to) adopt the contemporary standard without recognizing that these linguistic forms are the result of previous, historically established dominant groups dictating the way in which individuals are supposed to speak. This obscures the hegemonization and coercion processes that lead the subaltern groups to adopt a certain standard, seemingly voluntarily. In addition to this linguistic standard, they are also accepting what is incorporated by it: the status of 'dominant classes' or 'the intellectuals.'

This study responds to the need for more profound understandings of these implicit and explicit mechanisms of standardization and language contact situations, especially in multilingual Switzerland. Greater awareness is needed to acknowledge the artificiality of socially constructed standards, that is, understanding that these standards which dictate correct language use have been established by a small group of elites and that individual speech naturally differs therefrom. Linked to this is the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity which can be a consequence of trying to adhere (unsuccessfully) to such standards. Linguistic insecurity is a complex feeling of self-consciousness, shame, lack of confidence, or anxiety based on one's individual use of language and the perception of linguistic standards and expecta-

tions. Speakers who feel that their own speech is 'inappropriate' or that it 'deviates' from the prescribed standards can become (linguistically) insecure. This can have felt consequences on the individual's psychological and physical health (Labov, 2006; Lippi-Green, 1997; Meyerhoff, 2006; Niedzielski, 2010). For instance, Demmerling and Landwehr (2007) illustrate that being ashamed of one's linguistic skills, because they are considered 'deviant' or 'deficient' or because they are not attributed the same social and economic value as other prestigious languages, can result in linguistic insecurity. If the feeling of shame persists or reoccurs continually, individuals can develop severe shyness or even an inferiority complex. They further found that speakers of minority languages with low social prestige often stop using their language in public and in official contexts, suppress it entirely, or even develop speech impediments due to humiliation and fear.

Finally, Gramsci argues that every person is equipped with their own individualized grammar that serves as the basis for everyone's idiolect (Gramsci, 1985) in contrast to Chomsky's (1965; 1986) later attempts to analyze language as a 'universal grammar.' In his theory, Chomsky postulates that certain structural rules are innate to humans (under certain conditions, such as regular sensory activity and language exposure) which develop further into specialized language-specific grammars with more linguistic input and stimuli (Chomsky, 1965; 1986). He argued that when humans follow a regular language acquisition process, the language that they develop will have certain characteristics and properties that are universal (e.g., nouns and verbs or content and function words[5]). Nevertheless, Chomsky has received substantial criticism for his theory since it is said to ignore neo-Darwinian evolutionary principles or to oversimplify linguistic variation in languages (Jackendoff & Pinker, 2005).

2.3.1.2 Normative Grammar

In addition to *spontaneous grammar*, Gramsci developed the concept of *normative grammar* which focuses on the formation and the implementation of grammatical norms and standards. Normative speech behavior is achieved when speakers adhere to the prescribed rules and where they employ them accordingly in their speech. They acknowledge them as legitimate and use them to adjust their individual communicative patterns to fit certain norms and in order for others to understand. This is achieved through a process that he describes as follows:

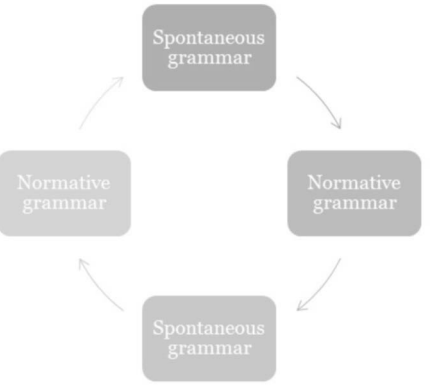
> [The normative grammar] is made up of the reciprocal monitoring, reciprocal teaching, reciprocal 'censorship' expressed in such questions as 'What did you

5 Content words carry semantic content/meaning, e.g., nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Function words, conversely, are primarily employed to signal grammatical relationships between content words, e.g., prepositions, pronouns, or conjunctions.

> mean to say?', 'What do you mean?', 'Make yourself clearer', etc., and in mimicry and teasing. This whole complex of actions and reactions come together to create a grammatical conformism, to establish 'norms' or judgements of correctness and incorrectness. (Gramsci, 1985, p. 180)

The central element here are those social processes that take place in daily interactions that shape and define grammatical norms. Gramsci uses a *descriptive* approach deducing patterns from actual speech (bottom up), in contrast to typical *prescriptive* grammarians and linguists who are in favor of imposing rules and standardizing speech behavior from the top down. These 'judgements of correctness and incorrectness' also demonstrate the power relations transmitted through language. Deviations from the norm are judged as incorrect by people or institutions which represent the linguistic standard. Importantly, while Gramsci distinguishes between two types of grammar, he does not separate them as two isolated systems. They are better understood as a cycle since spontaneous grammars are influenced by certain opaque, diachronic norms and continue to be measured against socially constructed linguistic norms.

Figure 4: Cycle of spontaneous and normative grammars



As shown in Figure 4 historically spontaneous grammar started out as the individuals' use of language and way of speaking. The language variety of a certain dominant group (royal family, famous writers, inventors, or privileged regions as in North versus South) was often given a nation-wide official status that depended on the individual's status and power, as well as the speech community's sociopolitical

environment. The non-dominant groups were forced to modify their own spontaneous grammar and to adopt elements of the imposed normative grammar in order to qualify as legitimate members of a given speech community. Over time, as can be seen in the boxes increasingly losing intensity in color in Figure 4 above, these sociopolitical embeddings of the standard language are becoming more opaque and more invisible. These two types of grammars are interdependent and develop out of each other.

Importantly, Gramsci's writings are not against a standardized language *per se*. He argues that having limited linguistic resources (only speaking the dialect of a restricted geographic region for example) is equal to having a limited or 'provincial' understanding of the world (Gramsci, 1971) and, therefore, also limited access to economic resources supervised by mainstream capitalism (Cazden et al., 1996). Yet, this does not mean that dialect speakers should give up their linguistic and regional heritage altogether. Gramsci convincingly promotes multilingualism by advocating that these language resources bear different meanings and resources for each speaker. He clearly recognizes the social, cultural, and economic advantages that a common vehicular language brings, whereas dialects may support identity construction and provide a sense of belonging (Gramsci, 1971). Individual spontaneous grammars need to be taken into consideration in order to achieve an equal standard without imposing rules onto the entire society or by electing one particular (prestigious) variety as the national language. According to Gramsci (1971), a national standard language should integrate every idiolect within the society in order to ensure that everyone's voice is heard and represented. Instead of accepting an imposed language, people should respond with a 'linguistic revolution' demanding that their way of speaking be included in the formation of a common language (Gramsci, 1971). Interestingly, Gramsci goes on to argue that this cannot happen successfully without the state's participation as well as by its social institutions. The state should, therefore, be involved in language policy and planning in codifying and officializing people's decisions. This does not imply, however, that individuals should rely on the state in order to become active. Rather, they should speak up for themselves and contribute to the policy and decision-making processes.

Whereas this approach certainly advocates for social justice, by leveraging non-dominant social groups and by promoting linguistic and cultural diversity, it does not necessarily account for the people's interests or for realistic opportunities. The assumption is made that individuals actively want to be unified linguistically and have access to social, cultural, and economic advantages within these approaches, as illustrated in Gramsci's theory of *cultural hegemony*, for instance. One striking counterexample by which to demonstrate that individuals' personal interests, feelings, and desires do not always follow the logic of achieving greater access to socioeconomic opportunities is that of Grisons, Switzerland.

In an effort to promote its minority language Romansh at an official level, the trilingual canton of Grisons opted for the graphization[6] of the three biggest Romansh idioms by *creating* Rumantsch Grischun (RG). This language constitutes common features of the three biggest idioms while simultaneously excluding two smaller ones.[7] Its implementation at government and school level has proven rather difficult, however. This is partly due to the very controversial reactions and attitudes toward the imposed and artificially constructed standard language. For instance, teachers refused to employ newly developed teaching materials in RG or even to use it as a standard language in class, despite sociopolitical and legal pressure. Furthermore, although 83% voted against the use of RG in the public media, it has been made the language for regional news and radio nonetheless (Coray, 2009; Berthele, 2015; Berthele & Lindt-Bangerter, 2011). Whereas the underlying objective was to support linguistic minorities and to give them a chance to compete with the surrounding dominant national languages (as suggested by Gramsci), the initiative was not supported by the individuals who were supposed to benefit from it.

In sum, Gramsci's work provides a very well-suited framework for this study's interests which includes an analysis of students' and teachers' perspectives on language against the concepts of *normative* and *spontaneous grammars*. Furthermore, as contained in the first, fourth, and fifth research questions, it will first deal with the romantic idea of expressing one's voice and identity through a certain variety. This aspect of singularness, as Gramsci argues, often deviates from the standard language. In Switzerland, Romansh, Swiss German, and their different local varieties (as well as other HLs) can be positioned within this category. Second, it will compare the romantic idea of language with the instrumental one aiming at social, cultural, and economic advantages which are often attached to hegemonic power mechanisms and dominant groups. English, as an international *lingua franca*, SSG, and RG all incorporate these advantages and attributes especially well. As Ives (2009) argues, in the case of ELF: "from a Gramscian perspective, the spread of English is a problem to the extent that its role within particular hegemonic blocs prevents subaltern social group consciousness from developing and creating critical and counter-hegemonic responses" (p. 663). Keeping this in mind and also applying it to the question of the relationship among English, national languages, and other HLs in multilingual Switzerland, the study employs Gramsci's analysis of hegemony in the field of education.

6 Graphization refers to the development of scripts and orthographic conventions in language planning, (Hornberger, 2006).

7 These five Romansh idioms are Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Putér, and Vallader. They developed due to the inaccessibility and isolation of villages and valleys in the past. Each idiom exists in a non-standardized spoken and written form.

Gramsci convincingly argues for a multilingual, inclusive, and equal approach toward integrating every social group's use of language so that they might defend their own voice. He helps us to visualize the underlying power dynamics in language, not only when used as a medium of communication but already in its constitution, by not separating the two types of *spontaneous* and *normative grammar*, and by showing language's important historical development. As Ives (2004b, p. 176) puts it poignantly: "In Gramsci's terminology, all language takes place within normative contexts, however spontaneous they may appear."

Yet, the concept of two types of grammar and the idea of basing the *normative grammar* on many individual *spontaneous* ones does not account for the speakers' language ideologies, needs, or perspectives. These might lead them to favor an unstandardized variety, knowingly renouncing personal or economic benefits. A standardization of one's own variety – as has been quickly outlined in the RG-example provided before – can also misrepresent the interests and voices of certain social groups even if the intentions are to attribute more power thereto and to make them more equitable. Finally, although the study fully supports Gramsci's advocacy of critical, social change, it also follows Friedman's (2009) suggestion to combine Gramsci's approach to *cultural hegemony* with Bourdieu's (1991) theory of *symbolic capital*, which "offers us a unique insight into the obstacles faced by agents of progressive social change and, in so doing, sheds light on the limitations of Gramsci's approach" (Friedman, 2009, p. 355).

2.3.2 Bourdieu's Symbolic Power

Another important concept of the study's underlying framework is Bourdieu's theory of language as *symbolic power*. Very much in line with Gramsci and other critical language theorists (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2001; 2010; Delpit, 2006; Blackledge, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010), Bourdieu argues that language standards are artificial constructs created by linguists within a linguistic field who deem certain varieties to be more valuable and seek to legitimize their status through criteria created by themselves. The linguistic field is defined as "a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital (or, to put it another way, of the chances of assimilating the objectified linguistic resources)" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 57).

As a consequence, the society is split into two groups: One is the dominant group that provides the norms for *the* national or standard language and simultaneously accrues linguistic capital in the process; the other is the dominated group being disadvantaged because they do not match the official norms which, therefore, diminishes their chances of compensating and competing. Once the dominant variety establishes itself as being superior, the dominant group constantly and almost effortlessly gains more linguistic capital and is able to manipulate the system to its ad-

vantage. This cycle can be seen as the reproduction of symbolic domination. It leads to a distinct social position for the dominant group, one which becomes visible in every social interaction. For them, language is a very powerful tool to dominate processes in every social sphere, whereas the dominated group continuously struggles between expressing their own (ethnic or regional) identity and speaking 'appropriately' and 'correctly.' Moreover, language is also employed "to impose the legitimate definition of the division of the social world and, thereby, to *make and unmake groups*" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 221 [emphasis in original]). Groups or spaces are distinguished by criteria such as ethnicity, religion, and culture where access is either granted or denied depending upon the correspondence between one's own speech variety and the prevailing standard. As Bourdieu (1991) observes:

> ...this struggle is not only personal but also economic:
> Linguistic exchange...is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit. In other words, utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed. (p. 66 [emphasis in original])

A linguistic exchange is thus never neutral. What is also important to highlight here is that utterances,[8] which serve primarily to communicate and make meaning, are likely to contain and convey different underlying characteristics or messages such as *wealth* and *authority*. In order to read and understand these signs, the 'consumer' must acknowledge them as such. The problem here is the consumer's seemingly voluntary submission to the norms set by dominant speakers. If these rules were not accepted and recognized as superior, then linguistic exchange would not equate to an economic exchange. Additionally, the submission does not only apply to the linguistic norms, but is also valid for the social and economic position that the speaker occupies. The speaker's social and economic position and language are inextricably intertwined. The relationship is twofold: the higher the position, the greater access the person has to the official speech; the more proficient the person is in using the official language, the higher the position. Individuals who do not have sufficient exposure to the official language, and who therefore do not possess the linguistic capital required, are excluded or 'censored' from these positions. According to Bourdieu (1991):

8 In linguistics, utterances refer to different units of speech.

> Among the most effective and best concealed censorships are all those which consist in excluding certain agents from communication by excluding them from the groups which speak or the places which allow one to speak with authority. In order to explain what may or may not be said in a group, one has to take into account not only the symbolic relations of power which become established within it and which deprive certain individuals (e.g., women) of the possibility of speaking or which oblige them to conquer that right through force, but also the laws of group formation themselves (e.g., the logic of conscious or unconscious exclusion) which function like a prior censorship. (p. 138)

An individual's survival can depend on a person's ability and permission to speak in extreme cases. Censorship can revoke this permission and can suppress an individual's voice. This can either be due to external sociopolitical pressure imposed onto individuals or can be the result of linguistic insecurity, where people consider themselves unworthy of speaking (a certain variety, in a certain place, to certain people, etc.) (Butler, 1997).

The principles of censorship, linguistic exchange, and the reproduction of symbolic domination can be applied in the present study in various ways. There seem to be inequalities in the approaches to language learning where the accumulation of linguistic capital is overtly ascribed to certain social groups, whereas 'certain agents' (e.g., teachers) are effectively excluded from decision-making processes. Not including their expertise and understanding can create tensions, misunderstanding, and inequity. Teachers might refuse to carry out imposed policy decisions so that (possibly well-intentioned) social transformation cannot be achieved. Conversely, including their perspectives, beliefs, and informed opinions about language teaching into policies might reveal that, in fact, these policies do not serve to actually ameliorate teaching and learning experiences. They could primarily pursue a political agenda while ignoring the actual needs and interests of the actors involved in education. Hence, it is important to find out the ways in which certain languages' prestige and status contribute to the reproduction of symbolic domination (Abendroth-Timmer & Fäcke, 2011; Bourdieu, 1999; Gogolin, 2007). With this information, policy makers and educators can then attempt to render access more equitable and can either shift or redirect the distribution of linguistic capital (Rudby, 2015).

Although Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and the *symbolic power* that he attributes to language fit the study's underlying theoretical framework well, it lacks crucial elements and is inapt to advance critical, social change. As Friedman (2009) summarized it poignantly: "The consequences of Bourdieu's emphasis on the forces of social reproduction over those of social change have been widely remarked upon, often by way of contrast with Gramsci" (p. 362). For instance, Bourdieu's concept does not properly account for other personal factors or social justice approaches that influence language learning, use, or promotion such as emotional or affective factors or

minority language advocacy. As Bartlett (2007) observes: "Theories of language and power that draw on Bourdieu identify the politics of communicative practices, but they have ignored the intense and important influence that emotions have on the interplay between language, individual experiences and social structures" (p. 560). Problematically, Bourdieu bases his analysis almost exclusively on an institutional, market-based approach that exposes language hierarchies ranging from highly valued, prestigious varieties to economically irrelevant ones. In so doing, he does not take the fact that language is inextricably linked to one's identity and that a certain linguistic behavior can be irrational into consideration and, therefore, inhibits efforts aimed at maximizing one's linguistic capital. Put otherwise, instead of sending their children to additional classes in the official, regional language, some migrant parents might decide to prioritize HL learning in order to transmit their heritage culture and values. They do so even though their children's future opportunities might be financially more advantageous if they were to study the language(s) taught at school more to a more significant degree.

Furthermore, this more empirical/humane perspective, which language typically also incorporates, is generally rather lacking in Bourdieu's concept. Language is largely seen as a 'good' that creates opportunities or exclusion, but rarely as something unique and precious to an individual person. Concepts such as *linguistic pride* or *insecurity* need to be taken at least as seriously as *symbolic power* and considered on an individual basis. Finally, languages are always applied and never remain on a theoretical dimension only (Keller, 1994). What Bourdieu is missing in his concept is a level of intra- and intersubjective exchange or communication that provides an authentic setting in which languages are negotiated based on real-life experiences. Furthermore, a clear distinction between dominant and non-dominant groups is hardly realistic in complex societies. Individuals can be members of multiple groups and *act* or *perform* to a certain extent as though they pertained to a certain group based on poststructuralist performativity (Butler, 1999). As Butler argues, group membership and one's identity are embedded in a process of constant social construction through performative habitual speech acts[9] and nonverbal communication (Austin, 1962), which *per se* (re)produce power and authority through discourse.

In his study on English usage at workplaces in Switzerland, Lüdi (2016) argues that the shift from national languages to English is not based on empirical results or recommendations to modify language policies but on ideologies. This issue is especially interesting in workplaces with multinational employees. His results show that English is increasingly climbing in importance as a corporate language, but that it does not replace already existing (national) languages. It is employed as a

9 Typical examples of performative speech acts include inaugurations or legal sentences (Austin, 1962).

highly individualized *lingua franca* and demonstrates traces of other L1s. Generally, international employees make use of their full linguistic repertoire and do not adhere to a monolingual language policy when at work. As a consequence, employees benefit from a linguistic and cultural exchange and can contribute within their own linguistic limits (Lüdi, 2016; see also Lüdi, 2010). Grin, Vaillancourt, and Sfreddo (2009) investigated the economic added value of Swiss professionals' language competences for the first time ever in political economy research.[10] The LEAP ("Langues étrangères dans l'activité professionnelle" [Foreign languages in professional activity]) project's main result is that multilingualism in Switzerland creates a competitive advantage of 10% of the GDP or 50 billion Swiss francs yearly (Grin et al., 2009). Bi- or multilingual employees are hugely profitable and are twice as indispensable for Swiss companies as monolingual co-workers. This is not only true for companies oriented toward exportation or tourism, but particularly in Swiss corporate service and informatics domains. The added value of multilingualism is more than 22% in the corporate service and informatics sectors alone. At the same time, it is individually financially lucrative for employees to speak more than one language. As Grin et al. (2009) point out, Swiss German professionals who also speak French earn 10% more than their colleagues with similar training and experience, except for the language skills. For employees from the French-speaking part of Switzerland who can speak German this advantage increases to 14%. Another important point raised by the authors concerns the diversification of language skills: It is more advantageous to focus on internationally economically important languages, such as Mandarin or Hindi, than concentrating time and financial resources on (the more widely spoken) English, for instance (for more details see Grin, Sfreddo & Vaillancourt, 2010; Duchêne & Del Percio, 2014).

2.3.3 Delpit's Culture of Power

In addition to Gramsci's (1971) concept of *cultural hegemony* and Bourdieu's (1991) concept of *symbolic power*, this study also draws from Delpit's (2006) concept of *culture of power*. Her theory is well-suited and accounts for a valuable, more innovative, and contemporary part of the scholarly literature on the study's topic and examines the relationship among language, culture, and power. Whereas Bourdieu argues that determining the appropriate linguistic means to communicate is an unconscious act, Delpit capitalizes upon the training and raising of awareness about these unconscious linguistic choices. Linguistic and cultural practices can be internalized and learned in order to apply them appropriately and to take part in the culture or

10 Earlier studies had focused on this issue in Switzerland, but had not provided such conclusive and wide-ranging data (Grin & Korth, 2005).

society through training and awareness. Delpit's (2006) *culture of power*, which comprises the following five main components, addresses power issues in educational settings:

1. Issues of power are enacted in classrooms;
2. There are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is a *culture of power*;
3. The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power;
4. If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier;
5. Those with power are frequently least aware of – or least willing to acknowledge – its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence (p. 24).

These five theses are explained below and are contextualized in the present study's setting. First, issues of power in classrooms are typically enacted by several actors and according to factors: teacher-student relationships; the power of both publishers and curriculum designers transmitted through intentionally chosen content in textbooks and curricula; the state determining (compulsory) schooling; and the society imposing a certain standard. The school's responsibility as an institution is also to prepare students for the job market and pre-selecting possible entries, depending on academic achievements. Second, Delpit's (2006) concept of the *culture of power* is linked to linguistic codes and rules directly, which symbolize membership in a certain group of power. Using a specific linguistic code can, therefore, be equated to participating in and belonging to the culture of power. Third, since these codes and rules are tied to institutions such as schools, the achievement accredited by these institutions depends upon the acquisition of the codes and culture of those who determine them. Thus, students socialized in the culture of power are automatically higher achievers than those who are first exposed to it at school. Fourth, Delpit contends that knowledge of any culture, of how to participate in a certain culture, and of how to become a member is typically transmitted implicitly among members. This implicitness can be the source of cross-cultural miscommunication and a lack of understanding since the cues detected by members may not be visible or even accessible to members of any other culture. She argues that making these cues for how a given culture works should be made explicit in order to simplify cross-cultural communication and the adaption to other cultures. In the contexts of school, students who are less well-equipped with the right linguistic and cultural codes should receive proper and detailed training about how to better understand the requirements and to gain access to the culture of power. Fifth, the imbalance of power is most acutely felt and visible for those with less power, while the more powerful individuals are

often ignorant of their superior position. Since the culture of power's *status quo* reinforces a given power dynamic's 'normalcy', it also often remains unquestioned by those who are in the position to change the dynamics. At school, policy makers might be unaware of the power they impose on school leaders, which they in turn impose on teachers, which they in turn impose on students. To sum up, in order to interrupt this cycle, awareness needs to be raised of implicit power dynamics and corresponding linguistic and cultural patterns for everyone to participate in the culture of power legitimately and competently.

These appropriate linguistic codes are expressed through the correct form of the language (i.e., the sentence structure and grammar) which allows for a rather simple distinction to be drawn between 'standardness' and 'non-standardness' (Delpit, 2006). Although standard speech is essential in order to access the culture of power and to achieve social status, "language *use* – the socially and cognitively based linguistic determinations speakers make about style, register, vocabulary, and so forth" (Delpit, 2006, p. 49) is particularly important in linguistically diverse school environments. Focusing on language use rather than form is crucial when cognitive development, as well as raising awareness and recognition of the linguistic diversity among students, are the objectives. Furthermore, Delpit (2006) argues that learning these new codes or entire languages "comes with exposure, comfort level, motivation, familiarity, and practice in real communicative contexts" (p. 49). Drilling students to adopt a new language with which they cannot identify or with which they are not familiar or not comfortable will reduce their ability to (re)produce these linguistic codes. It can have a negative impact on both their cognitive and affective development and can cause issues with group identity, which is important to their well-being (Delpit, 2006).

Thus, for immigrant students and learners of FLs, who may or may not be proficient in the school language(s), it is not so much the learning of the form, but rather the language's use that has more profound effects on them. For instance, not being allowed to speak their L1, suppressing it in official contexts, and being penalized for possibly 'wrong' pronunciations or 'deviant' sentence structures in the local language can all be interpreted as a personal failure or can be negatively linked to their family and community of origin. That being understood, Delpit, like Gramsci (1971), also emphasizes the equal need for a formally correct language learning of the standard language since students would be socially and economically disadvantaged if they lacked these skills entirely. She suggests that language classes pursue an integrated approach that combines students' other L1s, which are crucial to their identity, *and* the standard languages that are important for socioeconomic success. She invites teachers to explicitly acknowledge students' language repertoires, expose them to standard language input, and to provide authentic, but sheltered, opportunities for them to engage in exchanges with peers or other language activities, such as drama or role-play.

Promoting linguistic diversity is not only beneficial to those who have different L1s, though. Delpit (2006, p. 54) convincingly argues that "it is possible and desirable to make the actual study of language diversity a part of the curriculum for all students." It is important to point out that the promotion of linguistic diversity in class must not be forced onto students. Their choice of how to express themselves, their identity, and their culture must be respected. The linguistic tools provided by the teachers ought to be seen as a pragmatic enlargement of their language repertoires in an attempt to provide equal opportunities for all students, despite their different L1s and the social prestige associated therewith. According to Delpit (2006), the classroom should be seen as a safe space in which students receive appropriate exposure and training as well as "the opportunity to practice that form *in contexts that are nonthreatening, have a real purpose, and are intrinsically enjoyable.*" (p. 54 [emphasis in original]). Teaching should therefore not only focus on the correct form, but should also train students to choose the appropriate way of speaking according to the context. The broader their linguistic repertoires from which they can draw, the easier it will be for students to adapt to varying social requirements without having to suppress their linguistic and cultural identities altogether.

For students who already are proficient in the standard language, being sensitized to different ways of speaking and corresponding social contexts can enhance understandings of linguistic and cultural diversity and issues and difficulties with which only certain groups of individuals are confronted in society. This awareness might further contribute to their understanding that certain individuals *have to* adapt and to adhere to socially constructed requirements whereas others do not. Delpit's underlying intention, when calling for the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity in classrooms, is a change of mentality. Educational settings can no longer simply *tolerate* diversity and try to integrate and assimilate students into one homogenous group, but should rather embrace and legitimize their 'otherness.' According to Delpit (2006, p. 67), "all teachers must revel in the diversity of their students and that of the world outside the classroom community." Existing personal and language hierarchies among actors in the classroom can be flattened by opening themselves up to linguistic and cultural diversity. For instance, this can be achieved when students present their L1s and cultures in class or when the curriculum leaves room to include poems, stories, songs, or television shows from another linguistic and cultural background. The culture of power can be fully shared and equitable only when all languages and cultures receive recognition. It must also be kept in mind that the classroom represents a safe space in which these hierarchies can be showcased and flattened, which does not necessarily always mirror the reality outside. Occupying the interface of theory and praxis, it is the teacher's job to prepare their students for this reality where much attention is paid to correct, standard language and where certain cultural backgrounds are privileged over others. As Delpit (2006) puts it:

> While linguists have long proclaimed that no language is intrinsically 'better' than another, in a stratified society as ours, language choices are not neutral. The language associated with the power structure – 'Standard English' – is the language of economic success, and all students have the right to schooling that gives them access to that language. (p. 68)

Importantly, an integrative approach to language diversity opens the way to the social recognition of less prestigious languages and of their disadvantaged speakers. Disadvantages can be turned into advantages by raising awareness and understanding of such language hierarchies, and the direct consequences they incur for certain groups of individuals. When pluralism becomes the new norm, then linguistically and culturally diverse students will be able to benefit from their repertoires, "gain access to the global culture" (Delpit, 2006, p. 69), and transform the long-established culture of power. Linked to this is a mindset associated with (geographical, i.e., national) borders and a fixed *status quo*. What is much more needed in contemporary schools is a dynamic mentality that incorporates different cultures and languages, which transforms students into "citizens of the global community" (Delpit, 2006, p. 69).

2.4 (Unequal) Englishes

> To achieve equality within a given language, it would never be enough to change the way people speak. One would have to change what the way people speak is taken to mean. In this regard, one can hardly avoid the thought that a latent function of schools has been to define a certain proportion of people as inferior, even to convince them that they are so, and to do this on the seemingly neutral ground of language. (Hymes, 1980, p. 110 [emphasis in original])

This section addresses the unequal and increasingly diverse nature of English (and its many local/regional varieties). It discusses existing definitions, including English as a *lingua franca* and the economic variables associated with the different varieties.

2.4.1 (Unequal) Englishes – Concepts and Definitions

(Unequal) Englishes is a rather new research paradigm which, by using the language English in the plural, incorporates the increasing diversity lived through language and its speakers. It establishes that language should not be viewed as one homogeneous, autonomous entity, much like a static system that is identical for all speakers and which places the 'ideal native speaker' (Chomsky, 1965) as a standard model in the center. Instead, this pluralist approach promotes the idea of language being dynamic, interpersonal, and culturally (co-)constructed in contexts by speakers (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Daryai-Hansen et al., 2015; Lüdi & Py, 2009; Pennycook, 2010). A mentality of deficiency and linguistic insecurity are created by aiming at native-speaker proficiency, which is still a pursued goal in public schooling, albeit very often an unreachable one. This goal has been challenged by the (unequal) Englishes paradigm, especially with regard to plurilingual individuals. Canagarajah (2007) also promotes this idea and argues that speakers make use of their whole linguistic repertoire and social environment, especially in *lingua franca* communication.

With the spread of English and its uncontested place as the most commonly taught FL worldwide, English has been conceptualized in several manners to account for its increase in popularity and usage: *English as an international language* (McKay, 2003), *global English* (Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006), *world Englishes* (Canagarajah, 2007; Kachru 1990), *English as a lingua franca* (Seidlhofer, 2005; Jenkins, 2007) or even *hypercentral language* in De Swaan's (2001) global language system (for an overview see Crystal, 2003; Görlach, 1998; Graddol, 2006; McArthur, 1998; 2004; Jenkins, 2015; Schneider, 2007; 2011; Widdowson, 1997; for a critical response see Mufwene, 2010). Despite their specific differences, the common underlying argument is the same: English is learned by non-native[11] speakers for international

11 The terms *native* and *non-native* are used here only due to a lack of better terminology. The concept has received substantial criticism for creating an artificial dichotomy between different groups of people, focusing more on ethnocultural differences than on linguistic features. Arguably, if every native speaker of English were tested on their language skills, they would possibly not meet all the required criteria needed for non-native speakers of English to pass such an assessment. In fact, a study conducted by McNamara (2011) found that air traffic communication is in fact most often hindered by pilots whose L1 is English; this is caused by their disregard of the communication protocol based on simple English and phraseology. Such terminology is also often used as a means to discriminate against people who do not qualify as 'native-speakers', whereas language is only employed to cover other non-desired qualities or characteristics of a person in job- or visa-seeking contexts. The concept has also been criticized for basing the norms and standards to be followed on one small group of people that are equated with a given language's native speakers. In reality, language functions more like a continuum of different competence levels for L1 speakers and learners. However, it is also true that the differentiation between native and non-native is a concept on which many peo-

and sometimes intranational communication. More recent definitions also include native speakers of English when speaking to non-native speakers (Jenkins, 2015). In so doing, new varieties of English that are characterized by their adoption of local linguistic features are emerging. That is, English spoken in China by Chinese nationals, for instance, typically differs from so-called 'standard' varieties such as British English (BE) or American English (AE) in grammatical features and vocabulary.

When referring to English in educational settings, English is often referred to as *English as a second language* (ESL) in so-called 'Outer Circle' countries (see below).[12] In countries in which English is neither a national nor a former colonial language, the so-called 'Expanding Circle' countries, the term *English as a foreign language* (EFL) is still most currently used (Kachru 1992; Yano, 2009; Rajadurai, 2005; Bruthiaux, 2003; Mollin, 2006; Park & Wee, 2009). One important characteristic of ESL and EFL is that they (still) aim to develop a linguistic competence in 'standard' English in order to use it in the English native speakers' countries of origin, e.g., in the UK or USA, Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Thus, EFL classes typically have monolingual and monocultural transmission of knowledge as their objective. This approach and the conceptualization of static English varieties and groups has been called into question because of the growing diversity and dynamism that English is incorporating and representing. It has also been interpreted as a sign of postcolonial resistance (Lok, 2012). Lok (2012) drawing on the work of Said (1978; 1994) emphasizes "the dangers that are posed by the alliance of language, knowledge and culture in essentializing differences, an oppressive alliance that is both a product and accomplice of the imperialistic ambitions of governments…and the necessity to foster…cultures of resistance" (p. 420). ELF as an umbrella term for authentic, real-world English communicative practices has been suggested by many researchers (Jenkins, 2009; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011) following the paradigm shift of deconstructing languages as fixed entities and focusing on individual speakers' translingual practices instead (Canagarajah, 2013; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

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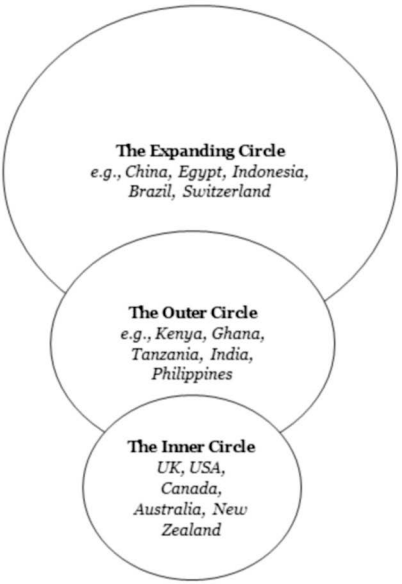
ple rely and use in daily practices in the educational and professional sectors to assess their language skills (Anchimbe, 2006).

12 Kachru developed a theory of three concentric circles of language to specify how English is used in different country contexts. He distinguishes between the 'Inner,' 'Outer,' and 'Expanding Circle.' The 'Inner Circle' is the site from which English originates and in which it is spoken as L1, e.g., the UK, USA, and Australia. The 'Outer Circle' represents former English colonies or other important historical ties linked to the English language. Countries that fall into this category are, for instance, India, Nigeria, Kenya, or the Philippines. The third circle, the 'Expanding Circle,' incorporates countries without any historical ties to English-speaking countries. English here is a foreign language and is commonly used as a means of intercultural communication between, say, China and Germany or between Switzerland and the USA.

Figure 5: Three Concentric Circles of English, adapted from Kachru (1985)



2.4.2 English as a Lingua Franca

In contrast to ESL or EFL, ELF attempts to provide a solid linguistic base for intercultural (inter- and intranational) communication, rejecting any hierarchical order of different English varieties. Seidlhofer (2011, p. 7) defines ELF as "*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*" [emphasis in original]. She further points out that "EFL learners become ELF *users*" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 187 [emphasis added]) because of their rapid applicability and adaptability within – but not exclusively – their own country contexts. Learning ELF implies using ELF, since its language acquisition process is not centered on faultless language skills, but rather on applying the language and communicating through it. The interesting idea behind this concept is that ELF is supposed to be detached from any native-speaker norms and, therefore, can provide a 'neutral' terrain in which linguistic and national borders are deconstructed. Speakers engage in a common meaning-making process based on finding a consensus and mutual support, especially because they both face comparable difficulties expressing themselves in a language which is not their L1 (Seidlhofer, 2004). Another of ELF's innovative characteristics, mentioned by Meierkord (2004), is its

formation on the basis of interaction between speakers of different L1s who do not apply specific ELF norms. Therefore, as she continues to argue, ELF may never be a standardized or codified variety of English, but will always be spontaneously produced with a different composition depending upon the speakers' L1s and on their specific linguistic features. ELF may be a variety of English that not only reduces language barriers and creates global interconnectedness, but also teaches its speakers cultural sensitivity and communicative strategies.

Importantly, language and power mechanisms are inextricably intertwined, however, as Marácz (2018), referring to Bourdieu (1991) and Ives (2015b), emphasizes. These power mechanisms do not simply disappear when the communication takes place in a *lingua franca*-setting among speakers of different L1s. Marácz (2018) considers the equality among languages an 'illusion' since a liberal approach to languages, in which languages are primarily individual resources and have no fixed boundaries or norms, will not resolve linguistic injustice. This is particularly true for institutional language use and learning that not only incorporate and transmit norms, but which also measure students' achievement by their adoption of such norms (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Marácz (2018) continues to argue that minority languages in particular, which would typically be dominated by English in ELF situations, rely upon the concept of language hierarchies. If they were to be flattened or declared non-existent, then language policies, which aim at establishing equitable linguistic diversity and supporting minority languages' revitalization and their speakers, would be 'superfluous.' Finally, flattening power dynamics by opting for language use regardless of sociolinguistic norms does not remove the underlying hegemonic processes that attribute power and status to given groups of speakers. Rather, by adopting an 'anything goes'-attitude, minority and HL speakers in particular are disadvantaged because they lack the necessary English language skills that are practically demanded by sociopolitical norms (Marácz, 2018) even as English is hegemonizing and endangering their very own HLs and cultures (Phillipson, 2018).

Furthermore, as convincingly stated in Seidlhofer's (2011) own definition, attention needs to be drawn to the fact that when English is used in intercultural communication, speakers most often do not have a choice. Being the only option reflects unequal power dynamics that are represented by varying language skills and, therefore, linguistic capital. ELF (like any other language) is thus never neutral; this is especially the case in linguistically unequal interactions between a non-native and a native speaker of English (Wierzbicka, 2014), but also between two non-native speakers of English (Delpit, 2006).

Moreover, it is worth pointing out Grin's (2018) argument that ELF may not be the kind of English variety that learners wish to acquire, given the Swiss educational context in which this study is embedded. Learners, as well as language course providers and schools, often seek native-speaker instructors as their 'model speaker' (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). This, of

course, has to do with the prestige that is still attributed to 'standard' varieties and to their speakers. Unquestionably, this needs to be considered when promoting ELF on a pedagogical basis.

Another important – yet somewhat simplistic – feature of ELF's definition is its predominant focus on communication. This study argues that language cannot be reduced to this function only.[13] It also serves as a regional, national, ethnic, and/or cultural identity marker and creates a sense of belonging (Kramsch, 2009; Edwards, 2009). It further carries information about a person's education, socioeconomic status, and position within society. In addition to this, language mirrors linguistic struggles over standardization, historical development, and political decisions (Ives, 2009). Another characteristic that is in need of critical reflection is the historical and etymological meaning of the term *ELF* itself. As Phillipson (2007) points out, *lingua franca* originally refers to the language of the Franks, whose goal it was to eliminate Islam. He draws the link to English 'in disguise' pretending to bring democracy and economic success, when in reality it endangers minority languages and creates linguistic barriers. Although this is not necessarily in line with ELF researchers who first introduced the term in the field to describe a far-reaching vehicular language among speakers of different L1s (House, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005; Jenkins, 2007; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009), from a critical perspective, this term should still be used precisely because of its (abiding) negative connotation. Applying and problematizing the term ELF can raise awareness of its 'covert mission' or can at least 'uncover' it and point out the impact that English has on language communities, particularly smaller, endangered communities where it is not an official language (historically). Other terms, such as *English as an additional language* (EAL), *English for speakers of other languages* (ESOL) or *languages beyond English* (LBE), have been coined to account for speakers for whom English is not necessarily the second but any language acquired after the first (Wright, 2010; Cunningham, 2019).

English in Switzerland can be said to hold a hybrid status, one positioned on a continuum between ELF and EFL. While it is officially *taught* as an FL using BE or AE in class, its *use* among speakers of different languages within the country and translations of official documents on a federal level correspond more to its *lingua franca* function. Since EFL and its underlying teaching objectives emphasize the dichotomy of 'foreignness' versus 'nativeness,' this approach seems incompatible with the linguistic diversity of today's classrooms and students' familiarity with English. Rather, the paradigm of *Global Englishes*, which combines EFL and ELF and also "incorporate[s] many peripheral issues associated with the global use of English such as globalization, linguistic imperialism, education, language policy, and planning" (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p. 224) seems more suitable. Instead of promoting English

13 A more detailed definition of 'language' and the way it is used in this work can be found in section 1.3.

as a target language to acquire, in a manner similar to its native speakers, language teaching can enforce the idea of an 'additional resource' (Saraceni, 2009) that can be appropriated by both teachers and students as part of their proper idiolect.

2.4.3 The Economic Nature of (Unequal) Englishes

Having access and exposure to and being proficient in the 'right' variety of English can enhance one's linguistic capital and therefore one's socioeconomic status, as has been shown. English is nowadays often seen as *the* incorporation of linguistic capital and the ability to speak it fluently (or in a 'native-like' manner) is often equated with a bright future and both symbolic and material success (Phillipson, 2007). However, empirical findings suggest otherwise. English does not provide the same social, cultural, and economic advantages to everyone evenly (Ricento, 2015a). This is partly due to the inequitable access, availability, and quality of English instruction in different parts of the world. Meanwhile, it has also been shown that, English no longer counts as a distinct skill to ameliorate one's career opportunities – a process which Grin (2015, p. 129) has called "the *banalization* of English" [emphasis in original] since the English language industry has created a huge number of proficient language users. As a consequence, English (most typically a 'prestigious' variety such as AE or BE) in combination with other 'valuable' (either economically important ones or rare ones) languages *and* other relevant qualifications are needed (Ricento, 2015b). English's increasing predominance leads to ever more people wanting to learn and benefit from it, which guarantees the language's value as a prestigious FL to be learned. By the time non-elitist groups are also given the opportunity to learn English, it has already lost some of its value, which can only be compensated by other economically relevant qualities and skills (Ricento, 2015a). This process, Ricento (2015b) argues:

> is conditioned by and correlates with processes of economic globalization and expansion of the digitalized knowledge economy, which greatly, and disproportionately, benefit some workers in some sectors of the formal economy in certain geographical regions, but mostly benefits the corporations that employ those workers. This preference has a secondary effect on the utility of local/nondominant languages in local and regional economic development that, in the long run, will influence the status and viability of nondominant languages in those societies. (p. 41)

Although almost all countries are impacted by the effects of a highly economically and digitally connected world, officially multilingual countries, which already deal with differing proportions of speakers and different language groups, experience a greater difficulty. First, this is due to the complexity of capturing the linguistic differences and rights in special policies. Second, officially multilingual countries need to guarantee mutual understanding among language groups and simultane-

ously keep up with globalization movements and international linguistic influences. Looking at Switzerland and how English, as a language incorporating the digitalized knowledge economy and neo-capitalistic mechanisms of globalization, interacts with local or even national languages will be examined in the present study.

The expansion of neo-capitalistic, economic, and digital globalization focusing on instrumental values such as efficiency, output, and standardization, as represented through the global spread of English (Ricento, 2015a; 2015b), will most likely end up coming into conflict with ethnic or national identities, heritage, cultures, and languages. For instance, English might interfere with qualities L1s have materialized through cultural capital, an identity marker, and a connection to their regional or traditional heritage. Furthermore, for some individuals, personal voices, and experiences, tied to their position within the society, can only be properly expressed in their L1. In fact, they are often unable to translate or to verbalize them in another or universal language such as ELF. Williams (2015) argues that the individual's identity as belonging to an ethnic or national group becomes "a collective subject that is, simultaneously, a political subject" (p. 100). Language is an important element in identity construction and is a binding element for ethnic or national groups that share this piece of identity with other members of the same community (Edwards, 2009).

In Switzerland, language is considered to be a very strong marker of both national and regional identity with not only four national languages, but many more regional and local varieties which create a connection between speakers and their communities or regions (Haas, 2010). English, not being a national language in the setting of this study but used as an AL in almost all educational institutions or as a *lingua franca* intra-nationally, further complicates its status among national and other HLs. This does not mean that English cannot function as an innovative identity marker within the Swiss linguistic landscape, but it does imply that the Swiss linguistic landscape cannot be maintained in the way it is currently being maintained. The change being brought about by digitalization, economic globalization, and migration is rapidly transforming tradition-based territories and taking over functions and meanings that had been attributed to a smaller local market previously (Ives, 2015a; Bale, 2015; Brutt-Griffler, 2002). English is part of similar phenomena that rearrange the economic order by deterritorializing national 'products,' i.e., local dialects, minority languages, and other linguacultural artifacts[14] (Williams, 2015).

These (neo)liberal movements consequently 'destabilize' and 'reproduce' formerly established 'national linguistic norms' (Bale, 2015) as well as the nation-state. An interesting point is raised by Kubota (2015) who observes that in non-

14 Linguacultural artifacts are objects or traditions that are shared by a certain culture or speech community related to their language behavior. For instance, collaborative narrative practices can be seen as a linguacultural artifact (Odegaard & Pramling, 2013).

English-speaking countries "the perceived omnipresence and usefulness of English in the world is paradoxically contrasted with the local expectation for immigrants to acquire the locally dominant language" (p. 22). In fact, although the Swiss local population is often eager to learn English and to be closely involved in internationalization processes, the Swiss language policy still imposes national languages upon the immigrant population. They expect certain linguistic competences to be held by immigrants, whereas a significant part of the local population prioritizes English over other national languages themselves for seemingly ideological reasons. Linguistic integration in this case seems to be a marker of the community's cultural identity that is exclusive to those who have sufficient knowledge of the local language. People without this specific linguistic competence, even if they have English language skills, are censored from this kind of identification process and are excluded from the community. A 'natural' reaction to this is to protect one's ethnic or national identity and one's linguistic rights. One solution for which societies opt, in order to reduce overt inequality and maximize equal, official status involves the formal creation of language rights. However, this does not account for all of the varying interests among speakers and is again an imposition on their individual rights and language use. As Bale (2015, p. 74) sums it up: "Ultimately…language rights are unable to resolve discrimination because there are too many discrepant stakeholders exploiting language rights to satisfy too many competing interests." Moreover, "linguistic regulation not only *reflects* racialized neoliberalism but in fact can *drive* it" (Bale, 2015, p. 91 [emphasis in original]). Having the state develop and impose language rights can exacerbate and legitimize discrimination among groups. Paradoxically, the state is needed or considered responsible for managing and controlling access to, and the quality of language instruction in, most societies. With regard to ELF, Williams (2015) argues rather unconvincingly that ELF does not endanger national languages because it is not to be understood as an identity marker, but as a deterritorialized, communicative tool.

The approach proposed by Wee (2011), which can be defined as liberal multiculturalism, focuses on individual rights in a deliberative democratic framework (see also Pogge, 2003), relevant to Switzerland as a deliberative democracy. Its underlying principle is that "individuals may and should have the ability to question, challenge, and renegotiate the norms of their own or other's culture" (Wee, 2011, p. 198). What is needed is mutual respect, appreciation, and the integration of different voices in the public discourse. This is important to account for the dynamic nature of linguistic and cultural diversity. Kubota (2015) and other critical applied linguists have expanded the concept of *liberal multiculturalism* by adopting a critical perspective. Critical multiculturalism, its conceptualization, and its connection to the study's underlying theoretical framework and setting are presented in the section that follows.

2.5 Critical Multiculturalism

> All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others. (George Orwell in Animal Farm)

Linguistic standards need critical (re)examination in addition to raising awareness of one's own rights, the integration of different voices, and the questioning of the *status quo*. Kubota (2015) argues that critical multiculturalism is based on "critical recognition of and enactment against power, inequalities, and discrimination that affect not only individual members of society but also groups of people divided by various social categories" (p. 28). According to May (2009):

> A critical multicultural approach can thus foreground sociological understandings of identity – the multiple, complex strands and influences that make up who we *are* – alongside a critical analysis of the structural inequalities that still impact differentially on so many minority groups – in other words, what such groups *face* or *experience*. (p. 42 [emphasis in original])

According to Tupas and Rudby (2015), the ideologies about English's high prestige and standard speech relate back to colonization transforming the former colonial legacy into an unquestioned and legitimate symbol of global interconnectedness and economic success (see also Holliday, 2008; Pennycook, 1994; 2001; Phillipson, 1992). One major task non-English-speaking countries face is the democratization of English, that is, its liberation from former inherent power mechanisms involving personal appropriation of the language for an individual's own benefit (Canagarajah, 1999; 2013; May, 2012; Pennycook, 2010).

This circumstance, as Kubota (2015) argues, is intensified by 'neoliberal academic activities,' which on the one hand acknowledge a pluralist view of English (e.g., research conducted in the field of ELF and World Englishes), but that also undergird the unequal nature and hierarchization in the field on the other. Such activities include English-only conferences and journals that require non-native academics to present and publish in English in order to be competitive. Another interesting point that Kubota (2015) makes concerns liberal multiculturalism's current, dominant approach. The paradox that she describes lies in the fact that both 'sameness' and 'otherness' are accepted and respected equally. Whereas this approach might seem honorable on the surface, it hides the actual struggle of unequal power dynamics. The socially constructed categories of class or ethnicity, for instance, are blindly acknowledged out of good will and are not examined critically. Therefore, liberal multiculturalism should be seen from a critical theory perspective that is combined with elements of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Bonilla-Silva, 2015). More precisely, as Kubota (2015) observes, "racism is conceptualized as not only individual

intolerance but also structural inequalities and racially biased social and academic knowledge…critical race theory also examines intersectionality among race, gender, class, sexuality, and other social categories that shape our lived experiences" (p. 29).

Individuals can develop the reflective competences needed to appropriately assess the society and culture in which they live by engaging in critical thinking. The meta-level perspective is useful to critically assess the circumstances in which we live and our positionality within the prevailing sociopolitical and economic mechanisms. Adding critical race theory to the framework of multiculturalism provides yet another dimension that considers aspects of race, power, and law. It promotes a race- and color-*conscious* approach to social transformation and diversity-engagement, instead of colorblindness and acceptance (Magno, Becker, & Imboden, 2022).

This study adopts critical multiculturalism as its underlying theoretical foundation. It advocates for the 'mutual accommodation' (Nieto & Bode, 2018) of dominant and non-dominant social groups alike, instead of the unilateral acculturation of the latter to the former, to increase equity and emancipation. The study attempts to uncover and to sensitize people to structural inequalities and power mechanisms that split society into groups of privileged versus marginalized. The same critical awareness is needed regarding the teaching and using of English. Instead of doing away with norms, as is often the case in ELF or translanguaging approaches, a critical multicultural approach would argue that these norms should be addressed in educational settings in order for learners to understand and deconstruct them. As Kubota (2015) points out further, the reality of language teaching often requires a set of rules, which is why it is better to problematize them than to either ignore or uncritically acquiesce to them. In order to do that, teachers and students need to be aware of today's social norms' embeddedness in historical, sociopolitical, economic, and ideological processes. The common understanding, according to Kubota (2015), which needs to be created for speakers of any given language, and particularly within educational institutions, is that standard language is a socially constructed norm with no 'native-speakers.' All speakers of any official variety inherently speak their idiolect, which is some deviated form of the national standard. The national standard is usually determined by a small group of elitist individuals who do not necessarily prescribe *de jure* language norms, but are imitated by the majority of people who attempt to adjust their speech to the socioeconomic or politically dominant class (Milroy, 2001). (English) language teaching could adopt this view and present it not as somebody's language, which in the case of English is often done with reference to the 'Inner-Circle-English,' but as an additional linguistic resource that is open to everyone (Saraceni, 2009). Standard language is a political construct that enables institutions to separate and select people (Milroy & Milroy, 1999). A shift toward a pluri-dialectal and plurilingual society should be initiated by acknowledging that every individual has distinct linguistic features (Candelier, Daryai-Hansen & Schröder-Sura, 2012). Language teaching can set an example of an influential atti-

tude change by applying integrated approaches where artificial and discriminatory categories are deconstructed (Ladegaard, 2000; Hilgendorf, 2007; Davis, 2003). Holliday (2008) argues for de-centering English language instruction in the following:

> There is a need for decentralized research which records the realities of home settings, and for de-Centred curriculum content in which students are exposed to the ways in which English relates to their communities. This content might include interaction between English and local languages, the politics of English, translations and literature authored in English by non-native speakers, the representation of native English cultures as 'one among many', texts written by English-speaking Western people from diverse ethnic backgrounds which discourage simplistic images of speakerhood, the writings of critical linguists in English and other languages, the de-Centering of textbooks with local teachers [*sic*] own realities, moving away from Western universities and publishers. (pp. 125–126)

Strikingly, more than ten years have passed since Holliday's suggestions about how to de-center English language instruction. However, a study conducted in the meantime in which non-native English language teachers favor 'Inner Circle' varieties and Western textbooks over transcultural or local approaches in English (Rai & Deng, 2014) indicates that the mentality has not (completely) shifted yet. Other studies still report discrimination against non-native ESL/EFL teachers, due to their linguistic and ethnic background (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Sung, 2011; Braine, 2010). It becomes clear then that more research promoting attitudinal change is needed. It is essential to raise critical awareness among students, teachers, and policy makers to finally overcome any hegemonic processes through English (or any other language) that are still ongoing, due to its perceived necessity and utility for socioeconomic success. People need to be able to counteract the global capitalist movement created by the monopolization of English in economically important sectors of everyday life (Rudby, 2015). The importance that English is attributed around the world, as visible in language policy and planning (LPP) for instance, "through promoting the extensive use of English in education, [has] contributed to the creation and maintenance of a new global economic and political imperialism" (Rudby, 2015, pp. 53–54).

Importantly, a clear distinction needs to be drawn between the type of English required to access these global political and economic markets and the one typically acquired through regular teaching in schools. The language proficiency usually achieved after compulsory education is rather applicable to low-income employment (if needed at all) or to consumerism, whereas particularly fluent and authentic language use is (still) rather reserved for "the cosmopolitan community of well-educated scholars and technocrats and by the transnational, highly mobile elite of executives and top-level professionals" (Carlucci, 2017, p. 133; see also Ricento, 2015b). This is highly problematic since the internationally relevant and respected variety of

English is becoming a 'good' that is only accessible to those who can afford prestigious (private) schools, additional tuition, and linguistic exchanges in 'Inner-Circle-countries.' By investing time and money in the proficiency of English, "they are legitimizing their privileged social position through meritocratic rhetoric" (Carlucci, 2017, p. 134).

As outlined above in Gramsci's theory of *linguistic hegemony*, every individual's voice should be heard in daily sociolinguistic exchanges and norms established by the dominant group in question. The same goes for the English language industry that offers exclusive, authentic language classes to socially high-positioned individuals and certifies their participation to enhance their career possibilities further (Kubota, 2015). Although this process of privileging is seemingly accepted, and becoming a part of it is considered unrealistic by subaltern groups, its consequences are clearly visible and felt especially in terms of economic capital and the job market. Possessing less linguistic and economic capital can decrease one's career opportunities drastically and can lead to dissatisfaction and protectionism (Carlucci, 2017). Carlucci (2017) argues that this can turn into nationalism and measures to exclude foreigners from the job market and, therefore, make it less competitive in the long run.

What is essential is, first, a critical attitude to question and unveil these institutional mechanisms of reproducing and legitimizing the privileged status of a few selected languages and their speakers, and second, linguistic confidence and relativity. That is, languages need to be recognized as equal and should no longer be juxtaposed against artificially constructed standards or varieties incorporated by socioeconomically high-positioned speakers. It is the present study's aim to elucidate these institutional mechanisms, which are depicted through long-established power discrepancies, individual perspectives (and stereotypes), inequitable language policies, and the challenge of heterogeneous, multilingual classrooms. It further promotes a critical attitude to detect and reverse such mechanisms and offers an equitable approach to multilingualism. Language teaching needs to rethink its mission and (re)include social justice in its agenda in order to flatten the language hierarchies, based on socioeconomically important and prestigious languages. This is where innovative language education policies can shape and improve individuals' future opportunities and ultimately their lives.

2.6 Plurilingual Identities, Heteroglossic Linguistic Repertoires, and Multilingual Educational Approaches

> Bilingual education has the potential of being a **transformative** school practice, able to educate all children in ways that stimulate and expand their intellect and imagination, as they gain ways of expression and access different ways of being in the world. (García, 2009, p. 11 [emphasis in original])

This section expands upon the concept of *language* in 21st century, super-diverse multilingual societies. In contrast to traditional English language instruction, based on 'standard' varieties such as BE or AE, teaching in the Global Englishes paradigm tries to level language hierarchies and provide a medium of communication for everyone regardless of their sociocultural background and linguistic competences. That is, without any native-speaker rules to be followed, but many diverse linguistic repertoires of speakers of other languages to integrate, the main goal is successful, intercultural communication. In line with critical multiculturalism, however, ignoring existing (that is, socially visible and felt) hierarchies does not diminish the fact that English (like any other language) is not a neutral language to be applied freely without any inherent characteristics of power and inequality or learned without any rules to which to stick in educational settings. These uneven power distributions among dominant and non-dominant languages have been challenged by Bakhtin's (1981) concept of *heteroglossia* as well as García's (2009) concept of *translanguaging*, among others. Due to their importance and impact on the 'multilingual turn' (see below), these two notions will be discussed in the following sub-sections and the study's stance toward the concept of *language* will be explained further.

The section also includes a discussion of linguistic identity because these two concepts focus strongly on the internal, subjective dimension of language experiences, and perspectives. The concept of *linguistic repertoire*, based on Bakhtin's (1981) understanding of heteroglossia, is defined in line with how language is experienced and how individuals engage with language. The aspect of how languages as named entities are constructed and used within a society are analyzed in addition to the subjective dimension of language. Finally, especially innovative integrative methods, such as the didactics of plurilingualism and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), are promoted by this study and these multilingual approaches are discussed *vis-à-vis* school settings. Importantly, the promotion of multilingualism must not be done blindly or uncritically hailing it as the ultimate goal to be achieved.

Rather, a reasonable approach that includes a vision of how languages are used in real life and what values and hidden messages they can transmit, is indispensable.

2.6.1 The Multilingual Turn

The study's primary focus on the concepts of *plurilingual identity* and *multilingual education* need to be understood within the 'multilingual turn' (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), which occurred in Europe around the year 2000. Importantly, as Meier (2017) points out, this development is not limited to the European context; instead, it encompasses the global education sector and can be attributed to the wider field of critical pedagogy. The 'multilingual turn' as a critical development in education advocates the rethinking of long-established concepts of *language*, *learners*, and *language learning*. Generally, the 'multilingual turn' postulates that languages are always embedded in status and power mechanisms. Learners are seen as "diverse multilingual and social practitioners" and language learning accordingly "as a multilingual social practice based on theoretical pluralism, consistently guided by critical perspectives" (Meier, 2017, p. 131). Since the study is situated in Central Europe, it will focus on the European development and policies. Reified in the CEFR, the intention to form plurilingual European citizens for better cultural understanding and social cohesion among the different member states spread across the European countries and is continually adopted in other non-European countries as well.

The Council of Europe (CoE) (2001) published the CEFR to standardize language competences of FL learners across Europe as one of the major results of the project 'Language Learning for European Citizenship'. The underlying reason was to protect and foster European diversity of (minoritized) languages and cultures as well as to enable and facilitate mutual understanding and respect while simultaneously relying on a common (European) value and belief system. These objectives are meant to reduce discrimination, stereotypes, and protectionism. By promoting the learning of at least two languages in addition to one's L1 in all European countries, while paying special attention to individual speakers' communicative needs, the goal is to create an open, welcoming linguascape for unrestricted mobility, cooperation, and exchanges in education, science, and culture as well as trade and industry. Mutual comprehension and respect (are meant to) reduce xenophobic movements or nationalist political orientations, which endanger democracy, free border traffic, and the European community in general. To sum up, common underlying values and beliefs as well as mutual respect for diversity are necessary, according to Coste and Simon (2009, p. 169), for a "'sustainable development of the species.'"

The CoE distinguishes between pluri- and multilingualism by adopting a more speaker-oriented, that is subjective, approach to language learning.[15] The latter, according to the CoE, corresponds to the linguistic situation on a societal or institutional level. Typically, Switzerland is (commonly cited as) a stellar example of a multilingual country. On a societal level, multiple languages benefit from a *de jure* equal official status and are used for public and administrative purposes. Swiss residents, however, are not necessarily *plurilingual* despite the country they live in being *multilingual*. Multilingualism can typically be influenced and encouraged by language education policies that determine which FLs are learned, at what level, by whom, and so on.

Plurilingualism, conversely, refers to one's personal lived experiences of language including the language(s) one speaks at home, within the society, etc., and the implications thereof on a subjective level. Languages are not (primarily) counted as separate entities, but as linguistic experiences that transform into communicative skills that are stored within the individual's linguistic repertoire. These skills are interrelated, interactive, and dynamic. This understanding of interconnectedness and dynamism is also true for *pluriculturalism* in which the concept of *plurilingualism* is embedded. The more varied the linguistic repertoire, the more speakers have access to different cultures and peoples. A greater variety also facilitates and enriches the cohabitation of diverse cultures within contemporary, multicultural societies. These cultural experiences and skills act as dynamically as languages. They are not stored as entities but are compared and connected to previous knowledge and tradition so that the more intercultural exposure individuals have, the more pluriculturally competent their identities can become. Likewise, the more language exposure one has, the more plurilingually competent one's linguistic repertoire (see below) can become.

However, there is no fixed or static objective to eventually 'complete' one's linguistic repertoire. Therefore, the level of 'ultimate attainment' attached to 'native-speaker ideals', as a legitimate concept in curricula or learners' biographies, can be questioned (Lambelet & Berthele, 2015). That is, as a curriculum objective, it is neither very likely nor desirable to obtain a 'native-speaker' competence of an AL to which students are only exposed in class. The concept of *plurilingualism* refutes such descriptions because knowledge about language, even in one's L1, can only ever be partial. There are huge differences in language competences across the entirety of a speech community. To be sure, the language proficiency among speakers of the same L1 varies greatly so that a 'native-speaker' comparison with learners is rather meaningless. The CEFR's aim is therefore to develop, assess, and certify skills based on *can-*

15 This distinction is particular to the European-centered literature. Research conducted in the field of comparative education on language issues published in North American scholarly literature typically does not make this distinction (Benson, 2013).

do statements[16] that emphasize the learners' progress in a positive way (what I *can* already *do* in the new language) in contrast to a deficiency orientation that points out the discrepancy between a learner's and a native speaker's competence. The overall linguistic objective of each level[17] and area of competence within the CEFR is to fulfill one's communicative needs without imposing a necessary proficiency in all areas of all linguistic experiences:

> a plurilingual and pluricultural competence presents a transitory profile and a changing configuration. Depending on the career path, family history, travel experience, reading and hobbies of the individual in question, significant changes take place in his/her linguistic and cultural biography, altering the forms of imbalance in his/her plurilingualism, and rendering more complex his/her experience of the plurality of cultures. This does not by any means imply instability, uncertainty or lack of balance on the part of the person in question, but rather contributes, in the majority of cases, to improved awareness of identity. (CoE, 2001, p. 133)

Thus, the objective of the LPPs established by the CoE is to form 'social actors' with a plurilingual and pluricultural competence; this is comparable to an additive, dynamic collection of experiences and skills that interact with each other and provide the flexibility to understand and act competently in increasingly more complex, intercultural situations (Coste & Simon, 2009). These different situations have a varying impact on each individual's language repertoire as well as identity construction. Beacco (2005, p. 20) compares the concept of *identity* to that of *crossroads*, where several influencing factors meet, interact, and are flexible enough to continue in different directions. It can be influenced by language policies and/or education where either, to remain with the metaphor, roads can be closed off, repaired, or built upon. Similarly, the linguistic repertoire is highly dependent on environmental factors as the individual absorbs different varieties under varying circumstances. The following section elaborates on these two notions in greater detail.

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16 Example of a *can-do* statement: As an intermediate user of a certain language, I *can* understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters (school, work, etc.).

17 The six different levels to pass in the CEFR include the following:
A1: Breakthrough
A2: Waystage
B1: Threshold
B2: Vantage
C1: Effective Operational Proficiency
C2: Mastery
These levels contain descriptive criteria in the areas of oral and written comprehension as well as oral and written production that need to be fulfilled (usually assessed in certified exams) in order to achieve a certain level of linguistic competence.

2.6.2 Linguistic Identities and Repertoires

In a globalized, 'super-diverse' world (Vertovec, 2007), familiar patterns that have been internalized during one's early socialization and learning processes (Vygotskij, 1978) are increasingly becoming more insufficient to managing today's social heterogeneous complexities. Not only are more innovative communicative strategies constantly required, to which only individuals with the right and sufficient linguistic capital have access (Bourdieu, above), but the linguistic variety and its corresponding cultural qualities also impact every speaker's own (national, regional, social) identity. Language, according to Edwards (2009), is one of the primary markers of identity.

Thus, one's L1(s) and the status it provides more generally, specifically the prestige or connotations it has within the society, play a major role in defining and shaping identity. For instance, speaking Portuguese at home, but not being allowed or able to use it in other public or official contexts, has an impact on one's linguistic and social identity (Little, 2012; Krumm & Plutzar, 2008). Speakers of multiple languages can develop linguistic insecurity in communication with monolingual speakers if they perceive their own language skills to be 'inferior' or regarding specific registers typically used for official purposes. That is, non-native speakers are hugely disadvantaged whenever they are exposed to official communication contexts involving authorities, politics, or law, where the expectation prevails to express oneself particularly eloquently (and to be 'native-like'), and to adopt a certain context-specific register. They are less certain about how to express themselves adequately so that they might refuse to enter these spaces altogether or when they do, they might not be taken as seriously or made justify themselves more so than native speakers. Additionally, a sense of belonging and cultural heritage often established through language can be lacking or weakened if one's L1 is devalued, suppressed, or even forbidden.

2.6.2.1 Linguistic Identities

A language of identity, as Beacco (2005) defines it "is a linguistic variety chosen and/or accepted in order to signal or designate membership of a community" (p. 11). It is typically one's L1, which is often simplistically assumed to be identical with the national language. The process of learning one's first or any additional language in one's surroundings does not necessarily happen voluntarily. A language can be imposed on the individual and still be crucial for identity construction (Derrida, 1996).

Yet, languages are not only important media of communication and modes of expression, but they also carry implicit meaning. They are transmitters of cultural memories, norms, and a value and belief system. Identities seem, therefore, to be socially constructed (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005b; 2008; Foucault, 1972; Fuller, 2015;

Heller, 2007). Cultural identities are not seen as innate or stable, but always "as shared self- or hetero-categorisations that social actors develop, activate or modify in the…historical or social circumstance, according to the specific interest that prompts them to act as a group" (Beacco, 2005, p. 7). For speakers of more than one language, this requires a constant positioning on an identity continuum of assimilation and accommodation (Hu, 2003b). The impact that this has on identity formation is particularly important for minority language speakers or speakers of languages that are generally considered less prestigious or devalued in any form. The missing social respect and appreciation can have a negative effect on one's self-confidence (Cummins, 2000; Hu, 2003a; 2003b; Kramsch, 2009) and cause linguistic insecurity (Lippi-Green, 1997). Abendroth-Timmer and Hennig (2014, p. 28), drawing on Krewer and Eckensberger's (1991) concept of *identity*, define categories that determine the individual's linguistic, cultural, and social identity:

- Self-concept: What languages does the individual speak in which contexts and in which situations? How does the individual define him- or herself as a linguistic or cultural person? How does the individual describe and define his or her (plurilingual) communication practices? In which social contexts does the individual live? What is his/her (socioeconomic/linguistic etc.) status in society?
- Self-esteem: What value and prestige does the individual assign to his or her languages and the respective (socio-)cultural contexts and in what way is this estimation influenced by migration contexts or intercultural contact experiences? How is the individual viewed by people having more/less access to power in society?
- Self-confidence: How does the individual perceive and evaluate his or her competences with regard to his or her different languages? How far can the individual contribute to changes in society?

Therefore, linguistic awareness as well as the concept of "a diversified experience of otherness" (CoE, 2001, p. 34) are of major importance for one's own identity construction. Reflecting on questions regarding one's self-concept, self-esteem, and self-confidence and sharing lived experiences can help establish a more equitable understanding of languages. Their embeddedness in one's personal language and culture biography, which especially nowadays is often intercultural and plurilingual, requires a dynamic, fluid, and flexible concept of *identity*. The incorporation of different languages and cultures to varying degrees replaces the notion of the static monolingual and monocultural identity. "Forms of imbalance in [a person's] plurilingualism" (CoE, 2001, p. 133) represent the complex social diversity, as well as the prevailing chaos, rather than restrictive order (Maxcy, 1995). Importantly, a conscious appreciation of one's own linguistic repertoire is needed to overcome linguistic insecurity or the notion of "imbalance" and become more self-confident.

Language education can promote this shift toward plurilingual and pluricultural identities by integrating and supporting various linguistic and cultural resources, which students already bring with them (CoE, 2001). What is relevant for multilingual education is a better understanding of the linguistic repertoire and how it can be integrated into language teaching.

2.6.2.2 Linguistic Repertoires

The concept of *linguistic repertoire* was originally coined by Gumperz (1964) and focused primarily on interactions among speakers in a certain speech community (see also Grosjean, 1985). Conducting research in one town in India and one in Norway, he analyzed everyday-communication and the correlation between the words chosen by the speakers and the meanings that they intended to convey in their message. This is what Gumperz considered to be the linguistic repertoire: Making use of the language, dialect, style, registers, and speaking routines that individuals acquire during the process of socialization with certain grammatical and sociopolitical constraints. Put differently, in his view, speakers are free to choose among all of the linguistic elements stored in their repertoires except for the limitations established through grammatical and social norms. Grammatical norms here represent an accepted societal standard for speaking. For example, speakers who say '*I ain't going*' instead of '*I'm not going*' do not (want to or know how to) adhere to the established grammatical rules of speech. The context in which the utterance is made determines the appropriateness of what is being said. This depends on register, (specific) vocabulary, political and grammatical correctness, and formality and is assessed by the speakers' surroundings. The underlying idea of the linguistic repertoire promoted by Gumperz (1964) is that it is an open, versatile, and changing resource of which speakers make use to position themselves within an interactional space. The grammatical and social constraints notwithstanding, they voluntarily employ elements of their repertoire to individualize their way of speaking.

What is missing from this concept, in my view, are the bodily and sociopolitical consequences which result out of inappropriate speech behavior. For example, speakers who use *ain't* instead of *am not* (as described above) can either benefit from this behavior, that is, they can be accepted as members of a certain speech community (in-group), or they can be penalized by being excluded from several privileges reserved to standard speakers only (out-group) (see Bourdieu, section 2.3.2.) Another element that is necessary to account for are the speakers' individual characteristics. However extensive or substantial an individual's linguistic repertoire is, speakers will almost always also be assessed and (de)valued depending on their race, gender, and class. That is, their ways of speaking will most likely have to match expectations that exist about the speech style of a person with a given race, gender, and class.

Drawing on the *interactional linguistic repertoire* (Gumperz, 1964) as well as on the concept of *heteroglossia* as described by Bakhtin, Busch's (2017b; 2017c) conceptualization of the linguistic repertoire is a more contemporary and convincing one, which will be adopted in this study. Busch (2006; 2010; 2014; 2017b; 2017c; 2018) adds a poststructuralist dimension that establishes that individuals form themselves and are formed through language and within discourse. The linguistic repertoire is, thus, an expression of the self and comes into being when individuals engage in meaning-making processes with each other (Busch, 2017a). I would argue that not only do inter-subjective processes help individuals to form and position themselves, but that also intra-subjective processes do likewise because plurilingual individuals in particular often adopt and express more than one voice and identity (Becker, 2021). The poststructuralist orientation is better suited for a globalized, dynamic, and pluralist *community of practice* (Wenger, 1998), in which daily language practices are shaped by migration and transnational communication.

According to Busch (2017c; see also Busch, 2012; 2014), the linguistic repertoire is *not* to be understood as "a set of competences, a kind of toolbox, from which we select the 'right' language, the 'right code' for each context or situation. The range of choices available to a speaking subject is not limited only by grammatical rules and knowledge of social conventions" (p. 356). Rather, the linguistic repertoire incorporates, as defined by Busch (2017c):

> particular languages or ways of speaking [which] can have such strong emotional or linguistic-ideological connotations that they are unavailable or only partly available at particular moments. Our repertoire is not determined solely by the linguistic resources we *have*, but sometimes by those we do *not* have; these can become noticeable in a given situation as a gap, a threat or a desire. The linguistic repertoire can be understood as a heteroglossic realm of constraints and potentialities: different forms of language use come to the fore, then return to the background, they observe each other, keep their distance from each other, intervene or interweave into something new, but in one form or another they are always there. (p. 356 [emphasis in original])

The linguistic repertoire is embedded in a biographical approach that concentrates on the subjects' lived experiences of their language use and relation to given sociopolitical circumstances from an internal perspective, rather than looking at languages or varieties as independent systems of first or second languages. It combines language's biographical and historical-political dimensions with a focus on the internal features of language and speakers emphasizing subjectivity, feelings, thoughts, and desires. It avoids categorization of languages or dialects and leaves it up to the speakers to define their linguistic repertoires (Derrida, 1996). This approach also implies that no one is monolingual or mono-dialectal because we have all learned (vol-

untarily or not) to adapt our speech to external conditions (e.g., interlocutors, sociocultural settings) (Bakhtin, 1981; Wiater, 2010).

Importantly, it is not so much about how proficient one individual is in a specific language, such as French for instance, but rather how a certain variety, dialect, or code represents a voice within the individual and either can or cannot be expressed depending on ideological or sociopolitical constraints. Speech communities can vary enormously, and speakers can find themselves taking part in several linguascapes simultaneously employing different elements out of their linguistic repertoires, especially in a more globalized and interconnected world shaped by digital communication. Nevertheless, as Busch mentions in her definition of the linguistic repertoire (see above), the choice of which linguistic element to employ is not free. Each *social space*[18] (Lefebvre, 1991) in which communication takes place "has its own language regime – its own set of rules, orders of discourse, and language ideologies – in which linguistic resources are assessed differently" (Busch, 2017c, p. 343; see also Kroskrity, 2000). The notion of space is also taken up by Blommaert (2008) who defines the concept of the *polyglot repertoire*. According to him (2008), the polyglot repertoire "is not tied to any form of 'national' space, and neither to a national, stable regime of language. It is tied to an individual's life and it follows the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker" (p. 16).

The rules predominating the regime of language are always both context- and culture-dependent, which consequently requires a more fluid and flexible linguistic repertoire (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). Busch (2017c) claims that the repertoire is "formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other" (p. 346) and is not itself part of the individual. That is, it is not a static or given entity, but is developed and shaped externally in social interactions. This implies a "shift of perspective: from discourses that form the subject to the subject itself that is enabled, through its very formation, to perceive, feel, experience, act, and interact, thus, to position itself vis-à-vis others and with regard to discourses" (Busch, 2017c, p. 349; see also Martinez, 2015; Spies & Tuider, 2017). Linguistic repertoires that incorporate both individual language biographies and identities are, therefore, inextricably interconnected and are always in flux. The more plurilingual and pluricultural encounters individuals experience, by either moving to different places, working abroad, or simply being part of a multicultural society, the more their identities are shaped by those. Consequently, each linguistic repertoire and the different languages, experiences, and the competences that it combines are unique (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009; Jenkins, 2015).

18 According to Lefebvre (1991), space within human society and its underlying interactions among individuals is necessarily social. A social space allocates actual and figurative places to social relations and functions as such as a product of social life.

According to Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015), these unique repertoires ought to be seen as *idiolects*, as one's personal language which should be used freely without adhering to any socially- or politically constructed boundaries or categories. This is in line with the postmodern way of thinking in which individuals continuously (need to) reposition themselves, integrate new elements into, and reconstruct their identity. This is an important aspect worth highlighting, especially when it comes to debates of language learning in which many actors and institutions have tended to regard language as something purely instrumental (Kramsch, 2009). Language is strongly connected to one's identity and can be linked to positive and negative emotional experiences, which can then either facilitate or hinder acquisition processes and identity formation. The study's focus on teachers' and students' personal language biographies and experiences in a (restrictive) multilingual context is an attempt to fill the gap in research on this topic and to stress its importance in an increasingly interconnected world. That is, the more people travel and move across the globe, the more their linguistic repertoires expand and become fluid. Their trajectories are not only captured in their passports, but significantly shape both their linguistic biographies and identities. This deserves some reflection before passing national language laws discriminating against and limiting people when the social reality calls for the recognition of a more dynamic and mobile polyglot repertoire. Therefore, a more holistic approach is very valuable when it comes to prescribing rules that concern one of people's most precious identity marker – language.

2.6.3 Heteroglossia

Individual biographical trajectories and their link to the linguistic repertoire and language's lived experiences are nicely and adequately captured in the concept of *heteroglossia*. Heteroglossia consists of the two Greek words: *hetero* which means 'different' or 'other' and *glóssa* meaning 'tongue,' 'language', or 'speech.' It is the translated version of the Russian term *raznorečie,* coined by the literary analyst and language philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin in his essay "Discourse in the Novel" in 1934/35.[19] It refers to different speech types within a language, i.e., its 'internal stratification' of dialectal, professional, or generational differences (Bakhtin, 1981). However, less emphasis is put on actual linguistic differences in form. The primary focus is on speaker-oriented sociolinguistic variation. By coining the term *raznorečie,* Bakhtin's intention was to raise awareness of and promote the legitimacy of intralingual variation within the Russian language, due to individuals' socioeconomic position or their rural and ethnic origin. This variation was judged negatively because these

19 Bakhtin's oeuvre remained unavailable under Soviet regimes until it was first published as a compilation of four essays in 1975. The notion of heteroglossia first received scholarly recognition after the publication of the English translation by Emerson and Holquist in 1981.

'speech types' deviated from the official standard norm. According to Ivanov (2001, p. 95), the concept of *heteroglossia* describes "the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs," i.e., what has been described as intralingual (social) variation; "the tensions between them, and their conflicting relationship within one text" (Ivanov, 2001, p. 95).

Of particular interest to this study is the link between the simultaneous use of different languages, i.e., multilingualism, and the sociopolitical implications that derive from tensions and conflicts. Similar to Gramsci's *linguistic hegemony*, a major source for conflict is the tension between standardization and the individualization or localization of (national) languages. As Bakhtin (1981) put it:

> The centripetal forces of the life of language, embodied in a 'unitary language', operate in the midst of heteroglossia [while] the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward. (pp. 271–272)

These two forces constantly act on language and language users. It is important to note, though, that these forces act within a heteroglossic space, which is the default state according to Bakhtin. Therefore, multilingualism represents the (societal) norm for Bakhtin, yet it is always influenced by unifying forces that impose a certain (national) standard variety. Providing space for social diversity and multi-voicedness, he prefers the modern novel over other genres since it can include, and therefore depict, multiple perspectives of genuine social life better than others. He argues for the integration of multiple voices to create an authentic space in which every idiolect regardless of the social recognition it receives can be included and heard. Yet, he is concerned that the obstinate homogenization and officialization of language, based on 'verbal-ideological thought' (within the novel but very much so also in real life), endangers the linguistic variety that individuals bring to a society.

Moreover, the ideological embeddedness of language and the speakers' positioning within this ideology-laden space renders languages' neutrality impossible. Every word only exists in and derives its specific meaning from a certain context that is shaped by extralinguistic, sociopolitical, and historical forces. Again, in a similar vein to Gramsci (1971), Bakhtin (1981) argues that:

> unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but is always in essence posited [*zadan]* – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. But at the same time it makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and

> crystalizing into a real, although still relative, unity – the unity of the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, 'correct language.' (p. 270)

Here again, Bakhtin points out that heteroglossia displays the reality, whereas any attempt to unify or standardize individuals' idiolects is a mere imposition; doing otherwise neglects the variety of unique characteristics. In addition to the imposition of a language norm usually representing a certain prestigious variety, a certain way of thinking, that is, a specific world view, is transmitted as well (e.g., which terms are appropriate, what ideas are allowed to be exchanged, etc.; see also Gramsci, 1971).

Heteroglossia is a very well-suited foundation to develop the concepts of *plurilingual identity*, *linguistic repertoire*, and *multilingual education* further. It serves as an instrument to analyze language in its web of diachronic sociopolitical relationships and struggles. While not focusing on the linguistic form but emphasizing the ideological and sociopolitical forces that drive language use and policies, heteroglossia can be seen as describing the linguistic situation of multilingual Switzerland quite well. The diglossic situation of SSG in particular and the plethora of existing Swiss German variants are captured well in the concept of *heteroglossia*, given that each of the dialects represents their very own regional voice, thereby contributing to the diversity and tradition of the German-speaking part of Switzerland. On a social macro-level, constant centrifugal and centripetal forces are shaping political debates on national cohesion as well as language learning and curricula in *de jure* monolingual schools facing a multilingual reality (Bakhtin, 1981).

2.6.4 Translanguaging

In this section, the concept of *translanguaging* is presented as a possible alternative to regular, isolated language learning approaches in schools. It provides the opportunity to engage in inclusive, student-oriented, and multicultural and multilingual learning. Translanguaging is a suitable approach to capture and promote multilingual and multicultural practices in a pluralist society that aims at an equitable representation and usage of every individual's linguistic repertoire. Originating from two Welsh educationalists, Cen Williams and Dafydd Whittall, translanguaging was coined in the 1980s to describe a Welsh-specific language learning strategy employing two languages – one for input and one for output – to foster acquisition and cognitive processes (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012). It has since been used in wider educational (research) settings with a focus on bi- *and* multilingualism despite its original intent to foster *bi*lingualism.

2.6.4.1 Definitions and Conceptualization

More recently, translanguaging has been typically associated with *multi*lingualism, although García (2009), for instance, employs bilingualism as an umbrella term. Among the numerous definitions available, the present study adopts the following: Translanguaging means "*using one's idiolect, that is, one's linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially or politically defined language labels or boundaries*" (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, p. 297 [emphasis in original]). Although the emphasis has commonly been placed on bi- or plurilingual speakers, it needs to be highlighted that 'monolingual speakers' also possess a broader linguistic repertoire than what would typically be referred to as one named language and can also be said to use translanguaging techniques. That is, there are different registers, styles, sociolects, and dialects, which the speaker adopts according to the appropriateness of the communicative context within the 'monolingual repertoire'. However, 'monolingual speakers' can also face certain limitations, due to grammatical or sociopolitical constraints, since L1 competences can vary enormously and not everyone has learned standard speech, for instance. Nevertheless, the restrictions are more severe for bi- and multilinguals. Following monolingual language policies, they must always suppress a large part of their linguistic repertoire to act according to the expected social norm. Translanguaging, as defined above, provides a space free of language hierarchies where speakers can use their linguistic repertoire without being assessed or discriminated against.

Translanguaging, according to García and Li (2014), "works by generating trans-systems of semiosis, and creating trans-spaces where new language practices, meaning-making multimodal practices, subjectivities and social structures are dynamically generated in response to the complex interactions of the 21st century" (p. 43). Swiss schools can rediscover language teaching without long-established cultural and linguistic stereotypes and outdated concepts, which target native speaker accuracy and consider monolingualism as the norm by applying the approach of translanguaging, instead of imposing socially and/or politically constructed categories of named entities such as *French* or *German*, for example (Gogolin, 2008). Importantly, the use of translanguaging in educational practices must not be understood as an 'anything-goes' attitude or deviances from the target language to be learned. Translanguaging is neither an incoherent or imperfect 'learner variety', nor is it meant to be a temporary support to facilitate the FL acquisition, but is instead an approach to strengthen every learner's idiolect in a value-laden classroom setting. (García & Li, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015).

2.6.4.2 Translanguaging as Empowerment

By defining it as the desired state of the (language learning) classroom, translanguaging can increase power and amplify voices of (plurilingual) students. Students gain feelings of security, confidence, and willingness to speak up for themselves af-

ter having been allowed and able to express themselves without any covert or overt language policies, which would typically silence them. This is needed to stop the circle of acquiescing to the unequal power relations found in education and other authorities. This equitable and inclusive approach creates a space of empowerment in which students can freely construct their (linguistic/cultural) identity, ameliorate their language skills in more than just the target language, and can develop a more profound understanding of multicultural diversity. García and Li (2014) summarize this succinctly as follows:

> Translanguaging offers a way to do this by transgressing educational structures and practices, offering not just a navigational space that crosses discursive boundaries, but a space in which competing language practices, as well as knowledge and doing, emerging from both home and school are *brought together*…translanguaging *transgresses* and *destabilizes* language hierarchies, and at the same time *expands* and *extends* practices that are typically valued in school and in the everyday world of communities and homes. (p. 68 [emphasis in original])

The integration of language practices from the school and home contexts in the language classroom are the key to doing away with language hierarchies. Students need to see their HLs as valued in an official context. Those who also speak the official school language as their home language can learn more about other languages and cultures. That said, schools need to raise awareness of the sociolinguistic reality, in addition to the promotion of equitable language learning and the destabilization of language hierarchies within the classroom setting. Students must learn about how their linguistic repertoire can be applied appropriately within a society that is based on monolingual standards and favors prestigious languages. They need to be conscious about their choices, opportunities, and how they can best 'market' their repertoire. A translanguaging approach would be illusory without this step of painting a realistic picture of the social reality. This is especially relevant for multilingual contexts in which seemingly more prestigious languages, such as English, dominate other important national and heritage languages. Translanguaging can even function as a mediator in the heated battle of languages that ought to be learned in Swiss schools. As García and Li (2014) observe:

> A theory of translanguaging offers educators a non-competitive perspective between 'languages' of instruction….by doing away with the distinction between an L1 and an L2, a translanguaging theory offers educators the possibility of understanding that bilingual practices do not compete with each other because there is but one system from which students select appropriate features. (p. 73)

2.6.4.3 Toward Equitable Language Teaching

Translanguaging is very well suited to addressing the problem of inequitable opportunities of language learning in schools. It attempts to create social cohesion by involving speakers in a common meaning-making process and by inviting them to make use of their language repertoires without adhering to socially constructed standards against which they would be juxtaposed (Gal, 2012; Kubota, 2015). Translanguaging changes social conceptions and structures by legitimizing the value of what were previously called deficient or non-standard linguistic competences (Quirk, 1990). "In so doing, orders of discourses shift and the voices of Others come to the forefront, relating then translanguaging to criticality, critical pedagogy, social justice and the linguistic human rights agenda" (García & Li, 2014, p. 3).

Translanguaging is an innovative, transformative approach that tries to capture and include the contemporary multilingual reality in schools which continue to impose monolingual standards, thereby impeding plurilingual identity formation and language learning. It intends to eliminate hierarchies, discrimination, and prejudice based on languages and advocates the recognition and appreciation of all languages. As has been pointed out by García and others to a certain extent, the reality, especially in an institutional classroom context, often differs hugely. I would go further and claim that translanguaging is not a pedagogical strategy that can be applied by teachers, for which trainings or workshops can be organized or exercises in textbooks developed easily without a more profound paradigm change. In fact, translanguaging can probably better be described as a *mentality* that is more easily adopted by people whose linguistic repertoire consists of more than one language and who frequently engage in multilingual communication. Even within plurilingual individuals, they might not always be aware of or want to use the different linguistic competences they have to hand. These might be triggered by their surroundings, linked, or restricted to certain interlocutors and/or contexts or cause feelings of shame, conflict, or insecurity (Becker, 2021). Speaking different languages can also be restricted by sociopolitical factors that punish individuals either explicitly or legally, or implicitly – by exclusion or discrimination. I support Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015) in their call for empowerment especially for speakers of minority languages and for their integration into an equitable, multilingual classroom. However, I believe that translanguaging cannot (yet) happen regardless of these sociopolitical constraints as they state in their definition (see above). On the contrary, I would argue that individuals have internalized social and political attributes that languages possess during their acquisition and socialization processes and have learned how to employ their linguistic repertoire as successfully as possible through their lived experiences of language. It might, therefore, be their personal choice not to use a certain language in a certain context.

2.6.5 Content and Language Integrated Learning

Coyle, Hood, and Marsh (2010) apply the translanguaging framework to another innovative multilingual approach, which is also important for this study. Using content and language integrated learning (CLIL) in a translanguaging framework can reduce the tensions in the sometimes-heated debate about FL instruction. By allowing the use of more than one language in the classroom and thus (institutionally) integrating students' heterogeneous language repertoires, translanguaging is beneficial for more students who would otherwise be excluded or disadvantaged due to their linguistic competences. That is, instead of insisting on the use of FLs in the FL classroom, the switch among several languages can release the pressure and increase students' participation (Berthele, 2010). It has also been established that education can highly improve the status of a language and influence people's language beliefs (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). To better understand how CLIL can be useful in this study, its concept will be explained in the following sub-section.

2.6.5.1 Definitions and Conceptualization

CLIL, as defined by Coyle et al. (2010, p. 1), "is a dual-focused educational approach in which an **additional language** is used for the learning and teaching of both content *and* language" [emphasis in original]. The additional language (AL) can be any second or foreign language in which the teachers are either trained or have sufficient linguistic resources. What is particular about this approach and what differentiates it from already-existing approaches, such as bilingual or immersive education, is its primary emphasis on content and the fact that the medium of instruction is most often a 'foreign' language, i.e., a language without any official status or function in the country in which the school is situated[20] (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, & Llinares, 2013). CLIL is less focused on language learning and more on specific topics such as technology or environment which are dealt with in class in an AL. This does not imply that (foreign) language learning is neglected altogether. It simply occurs more naturally through content-driven input and a more active engagement with corresponding vocabulary and grammatical structures. Often, CLIL is realized in co- or team-teaching with a subject and a language teacher to guarantee that both areas are covered. The language teacher typically facilitates interaction and does not necessarily teach language-related topics, such as grammar, in isolation. AL exposure can vary, depending on the model used. In extensive programs, more than half of the curriculum can be taught through CLIL (Coyle et al., 2010). Other programs may limit CLIL to a certain time frame or might choose only a few subjects to be taught in an AL.

20 For example, English is taught as a foreign language in Swiss schools, whereas Italian is typically referred to as a second language for all non-Italian-speaking Swiss students.

This shows that CLIL cannot (yet) completely replace separate language classes, unless the school's curriculum is entirely based on CLIL and where its methodology has long been established (as is mostly the case in Luxembourg, for instance).

2.6.5.2 Student-Centered and Future-Oriented Language Teaching

CLIL incorporates the necessity to shift from static, inflexible, curriculum- and teacher-oriented teaching methods toward a more integrated, participatory, and contemporary approach representing the needs, experiences, and interests of the students and the challenges of 21st century education. As Ricento (2015) points out, since CLIL instruction is mostly conducted in English, it also serves the interests and the spread of the 'knowledge economy'. Intensive use of and reliance on technology and the internet have also impacted teaching practices. The constant and immediate availability of information ready to be consulted from anywhere in the world changes what and how we teach. The mentality has changed from "'learn now for use later' [to] 'learn as you use, use as you learn'" (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 10; see also Coste & Simon, 2009). Another characteristic of modern education is the move toward integration and inclusion. CLIL combines these aspects in preparing students not only in relevant societal issues but, on top of this, in a vehicular language which students can use in international – and in the case of Switzerland – even in national exchanges. The integration of content and language is, thus, an efficient way to incorporate real-life experiences into teaching. The table below taken from Coyle et al. (2010, p. 17) summarizes CLIL's advantages.

Table 1: Common reasons for introducing CLIL

Context	Preparing for globalization, e.g., developing the whole school curriculum through the medium of other languages. Accessing international certification, e.g., outside a national examination system such as International Baccalaureate. Enhancing school profiles, e.g., offering CLIL gives strong messages about plurilingual education.
Content	Multiple perspectives for study, e.g., modules in history where authentic texts are used in different languages. Preparing for future studies, e.g., modules which focus on ICT which incorporate international texts. Skills for working life, e.g., courses which deal with academic study skills equipping learners for further study. Accessing subject-specific knowledge in another language.

Language	Improving overall target-language competence, e.g., through extended quality exposure to the CLIL language. Developing oral communication skills, e.g., through offering a wider range of authentic communication routes. Deepening awareness of both L1 and CLIL language, e.g., those schools which offer 50% of the curriculum in other languages in order to develop a deeper knowledge and linguistic base for their learners. Developing self-confidence as a language learner and communicator, e.g., practical and authentic language scenarios, such as vocational settings. Introducing the learning and using of another language, e.g., lessons which are activity-oriented are combined with language-learning goals, such as in play-oriented 'language showers' for younger learners.
Learning	Increasing learner motivation, e.g., CLIL vocational courses which explicitly target confidence-building through the use of the CLIL language where learners feel they have failed in traditional language-learning classes. Diversifying methods and approaches to classroom practice, e.g., courses integrating learners who are hearing impaired, where the sign language is the CLIL language. Developing individual learning strategies, e.g., upper-secondary courses in science which attract learners who are confident in the CLIL language, but much less confident in science, who might not otherwise have opted for further study in the L1.
Culture	Building intercultural knowledge, understanding, and tolerance, e.g., module of psychology on causes of ethnic prejudice. Developing intercultural communication skills, e.g., student collaboration on joint projects across nations. Learning about specific neighboring countries/regions and/or minority groups, e.g., 'school hopping', which engages students and teachers in border regions in sharing resources and curricular objectives. Introducing a wider cultural context, e.g., comparative studies involving video links or internet communications.

Taken from Coyen et al., (2010, p. 17)

Table 1 vividly shows how multiple and diverse the advantages of CLIL instruction are. Not only can students' language skills, linguistic awareness, and self-confidence be improved, but they can also benefit in terms of preparation for future studies or work life and can obtain precious intercultural knowledge in an authentic way. On a general basis, the CLIL method is embedded in a globalized context and considers this as the default circumstances in which the students will be studying and working in the future.

2.6.5.3 CLIL and Empirical Studies

CLIL teaching approaches have seen a rise in research in the last few years. Serra (2007) conducted a longitudinal study in Switzerland to assess CLIL and oral production in the second language (L2) in three classes of German-speaking primary schools. Fifty percent of the mathematics curriculum was taught in Italian or Romansh as an L2. Serra's (2007) findings show that language alternation between L1 and L2 proved most successful and has produced positive results for CLIL's implementation. It was important to make meaning and to make oneself understood to also guarantee the adequate instruction of content. The results achieved in mathematics were comparable to monolingual classes. Proficiency in students' L1 and L2 was high. This bilingual model is now open to more students, particularly immigrant children with different L1s. This "confirms the non-elitist avenue this bilingual programme has taken" (Serra, 2007, p. 601). It needs to be pointed out again, though, that this bilingual program only focuses on two languages (German and Italian or Romansh) and neither automatically incorporates multilingual teaching nor includes other L1s spoken in the classroom. A more recent study by Pfenninger (2016), which received scientific awards and public criticism by former EDK president Christoph Eymann (Pichard, 2018), interrogates the relationship among early English learning, CLIL, and motivation in 200 grade 12 students (between 17 and 20 years old). Half of them followed a CLIL curriculum and EFL classes and the other half was only exposed to regular EFL classes. She found that students who start later in CLIL classes can catch up to students who started earlier in CLIL classes, which is probably due to the oral-based, communicative approach and its primary focus on vocabulary knowledge and fluency. This finding is hugely important for the debates in Swiss primary schools and the prevailing question of when to start teaching ALs. Notably, it contradicts arguments used to introduce English *before* another national language in primary schools. On the contrary, the study also shows that morphosyntactic[21] accuracy does not improve in CLIL classes. Motivation to learn an FL, however, is increased in CLIL classes (Pfenninger, 2016). Pfenninger highlights CLIL's positive influence on secondary school students' motivation to learn FLs and calls for a better implementation in Switzerland's established curriculum. An interesting aspect to bear in mind was raised by Heinzmann's (2010) study, which analyzes the impact English-before-French-learning has on students' motivation to learn French in school. Her results show that the teaching of early English in primary schools has neither a positive nor a negative impact on the motivation of subsequent French learning. It is, however, influenced by "the learners' language attitudes, their self-concept, gender and the language background of learners" (Heinzmann, 2010,

21 In linguistics, morphosyntax refers to the area of grammar that analyzes how forms or inflections of verbs, nouns, etc. (morphology) interact within a given sentence structure (syntax).

p. 7). This is especially relevant for the present study as particular attention is paid to students' and teachers' perspectives on language learning.

In sum, introducing CLIL as a pedagogical strategy to combine language and content learning has many advantages. These include, for instance, international certificates, diversification of teaching methods and content, an increase in motivation, and multilingual learning experiences or preparation for tertiary education. However, CLIL is most often *bilingual*, as was pointed out in Serra's (2007) study exemplarily. CLIL also typically incorporates prestigious media of instruction, such as English or French. Often, other L1s, especially HLs, are not included in the CLIL setting. This is partly due to the lack of teaching material in these languages and teachers' lacking linguistic skills and training in (the inclusion of) HLs.

I argue that CLIL can serve a specific function in the study's setting of multilingual Switzerland, however. Two of the central arguments in the language debate of FL teaching concern the *order* in which the languages are introduced and the *number*. Certain actors in the debate argue that too many languages at an early age are overwhelming and impede language learning. The other crucial factor is which AL (a national one *or* English) is introduced first. I argue that CLIL in either a national language or English can help to alleviate the tensions among the different linguistic regions concerning language learning at school. It can do so by combining language and content learning and can, therefore, reduce the number of (language) lessons, something which can be used to teach both languages. Furthermore, CLIL taught in either a national language or in English can compensate for the fact that one was introduced before the other. The CLIL language can certainly change depending on the teachers' and students' needs and objectives. This is more feasible since teaching materials in these languages exist and at least German and French are mandatory languages to be learned in all of Switzerland. Italian and Romansh learning materials exist, but these subjects are often taught as voluntary options only – if at all. The more volatile factor is the teachers' linguistic competences to teach in either English or in other national languages. This requires personal and logistical efforts by the schools' actors to ensure the provision of these multilingual offers, something which can be supported and subsidized by cantonal and federal organizations.