(De) capitalising students through linguistic practices. The case of Villababel educational linguistic programmes'[1]

A comparative analysis of new educational programmes in a global era

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1. Reconfiguring the linguistic map in a new socio-political and economic context

This paper is part of a long term study carried out over the last decade by a group of researchers in Madrid (Spain), seeking to better understand the role played by linguistic practices in the implementation of educational programmes, and particularly, new educational linguistic programmes (such as the Spanish as a second language programme for descendants of non-Spanish-speaking migrants) in maintaining, justifying and legitimating social selection processes in contemporary Spain (see, Alcalá Recuerda 2011; Patiños Santos 2011; Mijares & Relaño Pastor 2011). Within this frame, my personal research has taken into account the rising dropout rate of the immigrant population at the conclusion of obligatory education and of their premature entry into the job market as unskilled workers, focusing on the role of the schools, and particularly on the role of linguistics practices in the classrooms, in the construction of social inequality (Martín Rojo 2010). This paper is a further contribution to that research. New linguistic programmes, aimed at the whole school population, and particularly at students who are considered above average, are also included in the analysis (in this respect, see also, Mijares & Relaño, 2011). Thus, a comparative analysis of the different programmes has been made to examine whether a hierarchization process of the different linguistic programmes (and hence of the students) is taking place.

To shed some light on the interest raised by the social, economic and educational changes that have taken place in Spain in recent decades and, in particular, their impact on language management in schools and its social implications, this paper begins by opening the doors to a classroom in the Madrid Region to see just what is happening in relation to the distribution and management of linguistic and cultural capitals by participants, and the potential consequences of this. The following excerpts illustrate some of the developments in schools over the last few years that have arisen from the attempts to adapt education to new communicative and neoliberal demands (following related work by Duchêne and Heller, 2011). This adaptation is governed by certain principles, of course, and follows specific national and economic guidelines that will be analysed in this paper.

Excerpt (1)[2] introduces us to a common classroom situation, illustrating the kind of programmes which have been designed to deal with social transformations and with increasing social and linguistic diversity. This excerpt comes from a History and Geography class in the second year of compulsory secondary education (ESO) in a school in a working class neighbourhood south of Madrid.

In this history class, the language of instruction is no longer Spanish, but English. Moreover, the teaching focus has changed: the teacher does not consider the class content as the sole aim of his educational task, but also the linguistic form, specifically the students' English pronunciation. As shown in line 15, where the teacher explicitly points out the problem to the student and what he might need to do to prevent potential confusion.

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    Except 1     Mario: teacher; David A: student
 1  David A      he find an unknown
 2  Mario        he what?
 3  Student      he found
 4  David A      he found
 5  Mario        thank you
 6  David A      [he found]=
 7               [he found
 8  David A:     =an unknown new continent between
 9  Mario        Mm
10  Alex         he found
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[2] Ref. recorder: MIRCO-ELMA Corpus: T081016SL.

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11  Mario        ok I think I need I need your
12               pronunciation / here a better
13               pronunciation here I understood
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This English-Spanish bilingual programme is relatively recent.[3] In primary schools, it is based on a whole-school approach, that is, all children at the school have the same educational opportunities, regardless of socio-economic status or other circumstances. In secondary education, however, bilingual education is not offered to the whole school, but is only available for those students considered to be competent in the two languages of instruction, Spanish and English. Thus, in this secondary school there is only one group taking the bilingual programme in each grade. The students in this group have either successfully completed a bilingual programme in primary education or have demonstrated sufficient competence in both languages to enter the secondary education programme. This condition represents a de facto selection of students regarded as above average. The facts and figures show that in secondary schools, those enrolled are mainly Spaniards and, occasionally, Spanish-speaking newcomers from Latin America. Other newcomers, arriving from non-Spanish-speaking countries, such as India or Pakistan, could be denied access, despite their knowledge of English, if their written and spoken skills in Spanish are not considered sufficient for them to attend classes given in this language (such as Spanish language or mathematics).

Over the past five years, the Madrid regional government has made great efforts to promote the knowledge of other European national languages (mainly English), and to overcome the former monolingualism in the education sector. This greater openness to other languages is rooted in the conviction that the monolingual tradition inherited from the Franco era created a burden on the educational, cultural and scientific development of the country, and an obstacle to the personal and occupational advancement of its people. The bilingual evolution, however, has not benefited the languages of immigrants, or the other languages used in Spain, but it has rather

[3] A pilot programme run by the Spanish Ministry of Education and the British Council has been operating in state schools since1996.

strengthened the position of English, a language from another EU nation-state, and one that is already highly valued.

As we see in Example 1, this new programme for bilingual instruction has been developed, using a content-based approach,[4] known in Europe as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning; see Eurydice 2006, for an overview of the implementation of this programme in the EU). This model contrasts with the Content-based Programmes implemented in Canada and the USA, where the target language is an international language of prestige that is not the language of origin of any of the country's minorities. This fact underlies some of the fundamental characteristics of this programme, such as its undeniable prestige and elitism. For example, on comparing what happens in the dual language programmes, in Spanish and English, implemented in cities like New York, the commodification of Spanish as a language to open up career opportunities and enable a certain degree of upward mobility, is still in its infancy, while in the case of English-language instruction in Madrid, this is an established phenomenon. In New York, on the other hand, Spanish is the language of the Hispanic minority, and has a corresponding association with certain social and ethnic sectors, and with the lower standing in which they are generally regarded.

In the Madrid Region, the bilingual programme began to operate in 2004/5 in primary education, and in 2008/2009 in secondary education. During 2008/09, there were about 180 such bilingual schools, at primary levels, distributed throughout the Region.

Excerpt (2) presents another kind of linguistic education programme, one that coexists with the first in Madrid schools. The aim of the programme is to teach Spanish, as the language of instruction in Madrid schools, to incoming students from non-Spanish speaking countries. In this particular class, the students are mainly from Morocco.

In this programme, the language of instruction is "Spanish only" (see Martín Rojo and Mijares 2007). In fact, this class is Spanish as a second language for newcomers, who need to learn the language in order to integrate fully into the school. Nevertheless, as we see in the excerpt, the class cannot be seen as monolingual; rather, the students contribute their linguistic capital, or at least try to do so, as part of the

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[4] In many of these schools, English is offered as a core subject and as the main language of instruction for other subjects, like History or Biology, to be studied, together with Spanish language and mathematics.

learning process (see Fatima's contribution at lines 7 and 11 and the teacher's immediate and deliberate disattention to this form of capital as a means of truncating it in favour of her educational agenda: Spanish only).

Excerpt 2 [MIRCO-ELMA Corpus, M090427AE]
Alicia: teacher; Fatima: student

1	**Alicia**	*¿dudas?*	any questions?
2	**Todos**	*muchísimas*	lots
3	**Alicia**	*pero si no has empezado a leer*	but you haven't even started reading
4 5 6		*{risas, que se mantienen durante las siguientes intervenciones}*	{laughter, continues during the following items}
7 8 9	**Fatima**	*¿sabes qué es dudas en árabe / profe?*	do you know what questions means in Arabic / miss?
10	**Alicia**	*qué*	what
11	**Fatima**	***&gusanos***	&worms
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	**Alicia**	*&gusanos es / bueno pues / mira / gu- / no gusanos no tenéis / no estaba entre los animales que he copiao / pero la MARIPOSA / tiene una etapa de su vida que es **gusano** // pues fíjate / tiene una etapa de su vida que es dudas / la mariposa*	worms is / well then / look / wo- / worms you don't have to / that wasn't among the animals I copied out / but the BUTTERFLY / has a stage in its life when it's a worm // so think about it / it has a stage in its life that is **questions**/ the butterfly

This second example is taken from a class set up as part of an educational programme which began to operate in Madrid in 2002.[5] In fact, it wasn't until this year that the first specific programme for the children of immigrant workers was set up, namely the "Welcome Programme", in which a fundamental role is played by the Spanish as a Second Language programme, called "Bridging Classes" (for an in-depth study of this programme, see Martin Rojo 2010, Martin Rojo and Mijares 2007, Pérez Milans 2007a & 2007b). The focus of this programme is to develop skills in the language of

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[5] *Instructions from the Madrid Region Deputy Secretary of the Department of Education*, which regulates the Welcome Classes under the 'Welcome Programme' so that foreign students can join the educational system.

instruction, so that students with limited proficiency in this language may make the transition to mainstream instruction as rapidly as possible. In order to do so, the students attend mainstream classes and receive additional periods of instruction aimed at developing language skills in the language of instruction. In this respect, the Madrid Region parallels the general trend observed in many European countries. In terms of general approaches to supporting students with limited proficiency in the language of instruction, a surprisingly homogeneous picture emerges (see the PISA Report 2003: Tables 5.4a and 5.4b).[6] On many occasions, the aim that this programme should facilitate the transition to mainstream schooling is not achieved, and students are transferred from this programme to others that lead to early entry into the labour market. As I have observed previously, the orientation applied to language teaching in these classes, and the fact that emphasis is not placed on preparing the content and language skills required in the subjects studied in the mainstream groups, is one of the main reasons why full integration does not take place (Martin Rojo 2010).

Thus, in both cases, the English/Spanish bilingual programme and the Spanish as a Second Language programme, a linguistic goal is established, which for the students means they must master a new language of instruction. Both programmes feature the underlying assumption that the provision of a second language increases the students' chances of academic success and social integration (in the case of English) and of socio-integration (in the case of Spanish and the migrant newcomers). Furthermore, in spite of the common goal proclaimed for the two programmes, they differ: (i) in the financial support received from the Regional government (one in three of all primary schools in the area are now "bilingual"); (ii) in the teaching procedures, methods and goals (Content Based LT vs. Spanish as SL) practiced by the teachers; (iii) in the students targeted: the Spanish as a Second Language Programme provides the instructional language to newcomers to the educational system, while the Bilingual Programme provides an additional language of instruction to students who are already within the educational system.

In view of this, the following questions arise:

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[6] Diverse programmes are offered, including immersion (students with limited proficiency in the language of instruction are taught in a mainstream classroom), immersion with systematic language support in L2 (students receive additional classes in specified periods of instruction aimed at the development of language skills in L2), immersion with an L2 monolingual preparatory phase, transitional bilingual education and maintenance bilingual education.

- 1) To what extent do everyday linguistic practices increase the differences between the two programmes? In particular, how does this occur through the way in which capitals are distributed and managed, and through processes of capitalisation and decapitalisation?

- 2) To what extent is the introduction of these two programmes changing Spanish schools? Could the prestigious BEP be contributing to devaluing the SSL programme? What about the monolingual track? In particular, is the commodification of languages creating new programme hierarchies? And how is this hierarchisation of programmes being acknowledged (and voiced) by the participants (teachers/students)?

- 3) Is it possible that both the way in which the administration is managing these programmes and the way in which they are being implemented, i.e., the distribution of linguistic resources in the classrooms, are reinforcing social stratification and producing a social selection process? If so, how is social stratification taking place? And what are the consequences of these practices and ideologies for students coming from different backgrounds?

The main focus of this paper is to address the above questions.

In section 2, I present the socio-educational context of this reconfiguration of the linguistic map. The analytical approach and the ethnographic site are presented in section 3. In order to understand how these social processes take place, section 4 makes a comparative analysis of the educational linguistics programmes implemented in a Madrid secondary school, in which both linguistic programmes were provided simultaneously until 2010, when the Spanish as a second language programme was almost withdrawn. Section 4 analyses the interactional dynamics within the classrooms (participants' linguistic choices and practices, linguistic norms, interpretation of the linguistic choices by participants, etc.), showing how symbolic capital is managed in both programmes, and enabling us to consider whether this management could give rise to processes of capitalisation and decapitalisation among the students studied (see also for these processes, Martín Rojo 2010).The implementation of these new linguistic programmes in education has influenced the definition of "language of instruction", but could also have a broader impact on how language and cultural capitals are valued, on students' trajectories, and on how schools organise their activities. In section 5, some

conclusions are drawn on the social implications and on the linguistic ideologies which shape linguistic practices and the contradictions and inconsistencies which emerge.

2. The socio-educational context

Spain's migration flows changed radically in the last third of the 20th century, as the country evolved from its traditional role of sender to that of being a destination country for foreign workers, mostly from North Africa and Latin America, and for well-to-do immigrants from other EU countries.[7]

Since the 1970s, several changes in immigration policy have taken place in Spain: from light regulation to strict policies of controlling immigration flows under the 1985 Immigration Act, to, ultimately, a broader-based view of immigration taking into account intercultural relations and social integration (this approach is still in the initial stages of implementation) (for more information about this evolution, see Martín Rojo 2010: 15-51). In relation to these integration-focused policies, schools play a significant role, and have introduced new programmes, as well as modifying former procedures.

The current incorporation of students from a migrant background and the evolving multilingualism in schools are both taking place within a broader context of socio-political and economic changes, in which Spain is part of a global economy. Within a services-oriented economy, tourism is one of the main pillars of national income. Moreover, there has been a notable increase in the international presence of Spanish companies, including banks, large construction companies, telecommunications and energy (old and new). There is also a greater impact of transnational companies and organisations, which has led to a greater demand for staff who are fluent in one or more international languages. Therefore, and within the European framework for languages, new programmes have been created to meet this demand.

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[7] In Spain, local authorities **now** (referència temporal, veure comentari anterior) have more than three and a half million registered foreign residents, making up 8% of the total population. There were just over 540,000 registered immigrants in 1996, and so Spain has received over three million immigrants in the last decade. According to the National Statistics Institute, more than 2,700,000 immigrants hold residence permits. Of these immigrants, approximately 28% come from the European Community, while 72% come from other parts of the world, principally Latin America, North Africa and the non-EU countries of Europe. Spain's autonomous communities (regions) with the largest numbers of immigrants are Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia and Andalusia. EU residents are concentrated mainly in Andalusia and Valencia, while non-EU immigrants, who are subject to the general regulations, reside mainly in Catalonia and Madrid (see the Report *20 Years of Spain in the European Union* (1986-2006) for more data).

During the last 20 years, family life, types of households, gender relationships, social benefits, population structure and other aspects of Spanish society have all undergone dramatic changes. A formerly rigid social order has become more flexible, in part due to universal education and the implementation of new laws (pioneering legislation and policies relating to gender equality; legalisation of same-sex marriage and adoption). Nevertheless, society remains stratified, and both schools and linguistic differences play a role in this stratification. The school drop-out rate, during the stage of obligatory education, is still high, and higher still among the children of immigrants (Franzé 2002; Carrasco 2004; Serra 2004; Serra and Palaudàrias 2007).

Within this socio-political and economic transformation, notable changes in the organisation of the State have also taken place. Under the 1978 Constitution, Spain was politically and administratively decentralised, and regional governments now play a crucial role in education and in incorporating the immigrant population (see Martín Rojo 2010: 25 and ss.). On the basis of this legal framework, and in accordance with the distribution of competences in the education sector in Spain, each Autonomous Community (region) has drawn up its own legislation developing the basic laws set out by the national government. This development has been unevenly implemented; in some regions, specific regulations and programmes have been approved for students with special needs; in others, no legislation at all in this respect has been passed.

In the following pages, I will focus on the Madrid region, one of the richest in Spain, in which new economic forces and changing migration flows seem to have had most impact. In this region a neoliberal policy has been implemented for over ten years, and particularly so since 2004, with the election of regional president, Esperanza Aguirre, representing the (conservative) Popular Party. Madrid has traditionally been a destination for migration from other parts of Spain, and is now one of the preferred goals of workers from other countries, mainly from (and in this order) Ecuador, Colombia, Romania, Peru, Morocco, Bolivia, China and the Dominican Republic. The proportion of immigrants to local inhabitants in the city of Madrid is approaching that of other European cities like Barcelona, London, Paris and Amsterdam. According to the data published by Madrid City Hall, students of foreign origin now represent around 15.5% of the total school population in the Madrid Region, while in the city centre this figure rises to 34% (see Madrid Plan for Social and Intercultural Relations, 2005). In consequence, the cultural and sociolinguistic environment has also evolved and school

populations are less homogeneous than they used to be. Indeed, over 50 languages can now be heard within the primary schools in the region (Broeder and Mijares 2004).

This brief introduction highlights the extent to which Spain in general, and Madrid in particular, reflect the impact of the current social transformation and changes in the economy, and specifically, the diasporic and migration-related mobility of individuals around the globe, together with the demands of professionals trained to work in a global market. Thus, the schools in Madrid, as in other parts of the world, are being transformed.

It is in the context of these trends – increases in population flows, and a progressive incorporation into a global economy – that the two new educational linguistic programmes, described above, have been implemented. These programmes are, in fact shaped, by the linguistic Regional policy. The regional government has not publicly declared its linguistic policy, although it has made significant interventions in the language field, focusing on Spanish as the transaction language in social services and in the administration, and promoting the incorporation of other languages related to tourism and other economic interests.

Within this framework of a rapidly evolving society and economy, the aim of this article is to explore the role played by languages in these changes, and their consequences for language policies and educational programmes. The implementation of these new linguistic programmes in education has influenced the definition of "language of instruction", but could also have a broader impact on how language and cultural capitals are valued, on students' trajectories, and on how schools organise their activities. In order to understand how these social processes take place, we carried out a comparative analysis of the educational linguistics programmes implemented in a Madrid secondary school, in which both linguistic programmes were provided simultaneously until last year, when the Spanish as a second language programme was withdrawn.

Analysis of the interactional dynamics within the classrooms, and of in-depth interviews with teachers and students, shows how symbolic capital is managed in both programmes, and enables us to consider whether this management could give rise to processes of capitalisation and decapitalisation among the students (Martín Rojo 2010).

3. A sociolinguistic ethnographic approach to explore a social process of selection through linguistic practices in Villavabel Secondary school

In order to study the linguistic and educational transformation of schools in the Madrid region, the team involved in this R&D project on educational linguistic programmes implemented in Madrid carried out ethnographic fieldwork in a secondary school in SE Madrid, in a traditionally working class area. This area has experienced the arrival of diverse groups of migrants over the years, both national i.e., people who originally lived in Spanish regions other than Madrid, such as Andalusia, Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura, and who settled here in large numbers in the 1960s, and foreign immigrants, who have been coming in different waves since the early 1990s, and who now form an important proportion of the population in this neighbourhood. Migrant students, mainly from Ecuador, Morocco and Romania, represent 25% of the student population. The school has a pyramidal structure, with 7 groups in the first grade of compulsory secondary education (ESO) and only 1 group in the top grade (Bachillerato), reflecting the high dropout rate between ESO and the advanced levels. Students in the English bilingual programme constitute only 180 of the 780 students in the school, and only 7 of them are from a migrant background. Some 20 students, in 2 classes, were enrolled in the Spanish as a second language programme when this study was carried out. In addition, a considerable number of students (around 30%) were taking special programmes, with curricular adaptations to the regular syllabus. Following a critical approach, in analysing the data compiled, I will explore the links between local discourse practices (such as interactional routines in classrooms) and wider, complex social processes, such social selection processes. Thus, I develop a broad, encompassing approach, seeking to integrate a Sociolinguistics, critical discourse studies and ethnography perspectives, conflating the analysis of classroom interactions and the discursive representations which emerge in agents' discourses, both of these factors being addressed through ethnography.

The analysis of linguistic practices enables us not only to capture the results of a social process of selection – for example, if students of a certain origin suffer exclusion – but also to reveal how in social agents' everyday practices such a selection takes place. My proposal, therefore, is that the analysis should focus on how symbolic capital is managed in the classroom[8]. From this analysis, we can both falta verb: witness, potser

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[8] Bourdieu identifies three dimensions of capital each with its own relationship to class: economic, cultural and social capital. These three resources become socially effective, and their ownership is legitimized through the mediation of symbolic capital. Economic and cultural

these practices and also achieve a better understanding of the social process of selection itself. In this particular case, what the analysis shows is that social selection occurs not only when access to a certain social field, such as education and specialised programmes in the field, is hampered, being reserved for those who meet the capital requirements established (in the academic world, the mastery of two languages), but also in day to day interaction, whereby speakers try to gain capital, to position themselves, to improve their situation and to learn. However, these capitalisation moves may be constraint or even impeded by other participants. In fact, in social selection processes, the impact appears to be particularly strong when the capital required in an educational programme (for example, the academic variety of the language of instruction) is not presented, or when social agents are prevented from gaining capital (see Section 5). It is precisely this phenomenon, that of not providing and of preventing the capitalisation of social agents, which I term "decapitalisation."

Thus, my analysis will be focused on the distribution of symbolic capitals in the class. In order to do that, I shall apply Goffman's (1959) distinction between backstage and front stage (also used in classroom research by Heller and Martin-Jones 2001a). Furthermore, this spatial metaphor allows us to see the class from a perspective which is not teacher-centred and also to take into account tensions and conflicts among participants (see also Duff 2002: 220). Front stage is where the performance takes place and where the performers and the audience are present. When teachers decide who is a ratified participant and what is a relevant activity, a legitimate topic and a legitimate language to be used, they are also deciding what can be placed at the front. In the backstage, on the other hand, there may appear facts, contributions, topics and languages which are not considered a legitimate part of the class. Given that students in the backstage manifest their loyalty as team members, resistance usually emerges here. However, in the course of resistance sequences, students might conquer the front stage and impose new topics, languages and activities, as we will see in the   following examples (see, example 3 and 5).

With this encompassing approach I address the question I designed to explore

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capital have their own modes of existence (money, shares; examinations and diplomas); whereas symbolic capital exist only in the "eyes of the others". It inevitably assumes an ideological function: it gives the legitimized forms of distinction and classification a taken-for-granted character, and thus conceals the arbitrary way in which the forms of capital are distributed among individuals in society (see Bourdieu 1986; 1987).

how the distribution of symbolic capital through linguistic practices takes place:

> What languages, knowledge and participants can enter the scenario? That
> is, which elements are allowed front stage and which are forced backstage.
> This placement encompasses: (i) the languages and topics allowed;
> (ii) the knowledge presupposed and the inferences required; (iii) the patterns
> of participation allowed; (iv) the teaching materials employed.

The data analyses made are interactional-based (focused on some examples from the 65 classroom interactions recorded in both programmes), but going beyond the fine-grained scrutiny of language practices in education. The corpus compiled for this research also includes the institutional documentation of the school and the educational programmes (School Projects, subject syllabuses, information on the composition of the student body, etc.); focus groups with the students, and two in-depth interviews with the teachers; and data on students' marks and trajectories (triangulation).

4. The management of linguistic resources: a comparative analysis

In order to study the management of symbolic capitals, in this section my analysis focuses on which resources can enter the front stage in both programmes. Excerpt (3) comes from the History and Geography class in the second year of compulsory secondary education in the English/Spanish bilingual programme cited above (as Excerpt 1). The teacher and the students are reading a text about Christopher Columbus, in which it is stated that America was an "unknown new continent". In line 5, Mario interrupts the reading. As the IRE (Initiation/Response/Evaluation) pattern shows, the teacher's focus is on the production of a "correct" linguistic form (line 6), which is validated by the teacher in line 7 (thank you). This interactional pattern characterises the language-centred interactions, rather than content-centred ones (in Kasper's [1986] terms), because, as the previous IRE pattern shows, the teacher's focus is on the production of a standard or "correct" linguistic form. Seedhouse (2004) has studied this type of exclusively form-focused or accuracy-focused classroom activities, in which the organisation of interaction, and

students' contributions, although perfectly acceptable in "natural"conversations, are strongly constrained.

Alex intervenes, and again the teachers open a new accuracy-focus sequence in lines 2-3. David tries to continue, in line 6, and then the teacher interrupts again, this times focusing on the words "an / unknown". This sequence is interrupted by another student in line 13 with a statement in which we can see how Spanish erupts in the class and that this expression in colloquial Spanish , together with items in English, greatly amuses the class (line 14).

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     Excerpt 4⁹        Mario: teacher; David A and Mario: student
  1  Alex              he found
→2  Mario             ok I think I need I need your pronunciation / here a
  3                    better pronunciation here I understood
  4  David A.          he faund
  5  Mario             he faund
→6  David a.          an / unknown
→7  Mario             an unknown ok make it clear an unknown
  8  David a.          an unknown a new continent between
  9
 10  Mario             ok too many ans in here
 11  Student           an unknown continent
 12  Mario             an unknown new continent / a new unknown continent
→13 Student           pero unknown del todo no era
→14
                      Everybody laughs
 15  David A.          Yes
 14  Mario             yes it was [ well u-unless you think that the Vikings
 15                    reached there which is really possible]
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Furthermore, and what seems to be more significant, taking into account the other examples analysed in each of the linguistic programmes, is the fact that the teacher and the students share their interpretation of the communicative intent, with both languages emerging and coexisting in the class. The language shift is a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982), which marks a feature of particular interest to the students, and an attempt to change the activity, from reading to a more interesting debate. Mario's answer in 28, and the acceptance of the student's remark as a new topic

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[9] Ref recorder MIRCO-ELMA Corpus: T081016SL_H: 31.

for the class, shows that for the teacher and in fact, for all the participants, this contextualisation cue does not index a change in the communication frame, from a class activity to a side-play event, or from involvement in the class to a show of resistance.

Naturally, this management of linguistic resources could be explained, at least in part, by the fact that all the participants share a knowledge of Spanish, and by the fact that Spanish is the traditional language of instruction in monolingual areas in Spain, and in Madrid in particular, it is seen as the language of the nation, as well.

However, it is important to note that the appearance of Spanish is not exceptional in these lessons; on the contrary, it undertakes an important role as a working language and for learning.

In this regard, it is interesting to compare what happens in the above class with others where activities are not so teacher-focused. Thus, I have analysed how Spanish is integrated into the development of more complex activities, which the teacher uses to activate and assess different language skills. Of particular interest is one that continued over several sessions, involving cooperative work in which students had to first gather and classify information on the different professions in the services sector. They were then asked to write an essay on one of these professions, and finally to present it to the rest of the class.

The analysis shows how the management of linguistic capital was not the same in the different stages of the activity. Thus, in the first session, in which the teacher explained the task to the students and how it would be evaluated, it was the teacher himself who encouraged the students to state – in Spanish – the service-sector professions they were aware of, and in which they were interested: "*you will give me / all the Spanish words you don't know / we will put them on the blackboard / and you will have an opportunity to say / how they are / said in English.*"

In this class, Spanish is often used as a learning tool for the students, but also for the teacher; moreover, when it is used, it is under the assumption that the students already possess some knowledge about the professions in the third sector economy, and they need to learn vocabulary.

At other moments in the development of the activity, the presence of Spanish acquires a different value. When the lesson material is being compiled by the student teams, the working language is Spanish and only isolated terms in English are employed. Nevertheless, the teacher does not insist on the use of English as the working

language. Finally, when the class presentations are made, Spanish appears, framing the activity, though only among the students, for comments, jokes, or to reduce nervousness, while the actual presentations are given in English.

Thus, the type of activity and the degree to which its development is teacher-centred, or whether it requires more or less cooperative work, influences how the two languages are used, and the roles they play. However, in all these cases, the teacher and the students take the same approach and believe that translinguistic practices (such as translation, language change, code-switching or code-mixing) do not impair the students' involvement in the activity (García 2006, 2007:xiii).

In the Bridging class mentioned above, in example 2, we have seen how the students – in this case students from Morocco, who have lived in Madrid for some time – are still in the bridging programme and are working and recalling to other languages. Nadya, Fatima and Zaynab have been given a reading exercise but do not understand what they have to do. Alicia, the teacher, has instructed them to read about certain animals (dragonfly, chameleon, starfish, koala and butterfly). After reading the texts, the students were supposed to explain to each other in their own words what they had understood. In this excerpt, they are sharing an anecdote about animals in Arabic and are laughing amongst themselves).

In line 1 of the excerpt (2), Alicia, the teacher asks ¿duda? (any questions?). The pronunciation of 'duda' in Spanish corresponds to the word 'worm' in Arabic. In lines 7 and 8, we see that the student informs the teacher of the meaning in Arabic of the Spanish word and of the misunderstandings that could thus arise. The teacher seems to respond to this attempt by the student to bring her closer to the learning process; indeed, the teacher plays with the double meaning of the word in line 22. In example (4)[10], line 24, Nadya initiates a narrative sequence, but the teacher ignores this attempt, refocusing on the activity in the next turn, and failing to take advantage of the linguistic resource offered by the student, to develop a possible activity based on animal names in the two languages, or perhaps on a related grammar subject that might be of interest, such as false friends, homonyms or polysemy. Thus, Arabic does not enter the front stage, although the girls do play a part in this management of the languages, as shown in the continuation of the interaction in the class.

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[10] [MIRCO-ELMA Corpus, M090427AE]

	Excerpt 4	Alicia: teacher	
		Fatima and Nadyar: students; Laura: researcher	
(...)		*(…)*	(...)
32		*5 minutes later*	
33	**Zaynab**	*{riéndose}: (() maˤeftš*	*({riéndose}* ( )) I
34		*ˤela men kanfetšu (())*	don't know what we're
35		(3")	looking for here
			(3")
36	**Nadya**	*((estás muerta de*	((literally, you're
37		*verdad))*	really dead; I haven't
38			a clue))
39	**Alicia**	*{hablando consigo*	talking to herself}:
40		*misma}: a ver / eeh*	let's see / eeh
→ 41	**Fatima**	kantfeker e-nnhār	I remember that day
42		*(2") {los estudiantes*	(2") {the students
43		*se ríen y hay mucho*	laugh and there is a
44		*ruido en la clase.*	lot of noise in the
45		*//llegan varios alumnos*	class
46			// several students
47			come in
→ 48	**Nadya**	*menin kuntiI meˤa yemak*	when you were with you
49			mother
50	**Fatima**	*((menin gālt lek))*	((when she told
→ 51		*detha el essbitār dial*	you...)) I took her to
52		*e-ssbeniol*	hospital (.) Spanish
→ 53			Spanish
→ 54		*{cuando menciona la*	{when she
55		*palabra "español" o*	mentions the word
56		*"España", se oye una*	"Spanish" or "Spain",
57		*gran carcajada}*	there is loud laughter}
58			
→ 59	**Nadya**	*e-ttbiba katqul liha*	the doctor asked her if
60		*waš ˤandek ši duda u*	she had any questions
61		*hiya katqul liha duda*	(duda) / and she
62		*ej*	answered QUESTIONS?
63			(¿DUDA?) how
→ 64			disgusting!!
65		*{Laura se ríe}*	{Laura laughs}
66	**Alicia**	*{hablando consigo*	{talking to herself}:
67		*misma}: vale*	ok
68	**Nadya**	pero *¡tiene que decirla*	but you have to say it
69		*en español qué ((tu*	in Spanish! what ((you
70		*hablas))*	speak))!
71		*{se ríen de fondo las*	{students laugh in the
72		*estudiantes}*	background}
73	**Fatima**	*ġultlek sāfi*	I've told you this is
74			enough
75	**Nadya**	ella no sabía como dice	she didn't know how to

17

```
      76                        en español / y le dice      say it in Spanish /and
      77                        aal médico / ¡es duda!       she tells the doctor /
      78                                                     it's doubt (duda)!
      79

      80                        (4") {varias                (4") {some students and
      81                        estudiantes y Laura se       Laura laugh}
      82                        ríen}
      83          Nadya          ((nunca lo voy a           ((I'll never forget
      84                        olvidar))                    it))
  →   85          Fatima        sāfi sāfi                    (ok, stop, enough

      86          Alicia        {ahora dirigiéndose a       {now addressing the
      87                        las estudiantes}: vale      students}: ok /from
      88                        / de aquí para abajo        here on you don't have
      89                        no↓ / ¿vale? porque         to read /ok? Because
      90                        estos son todos nombres     these are all
      91                        científicos->               scientific names->
      92
      93
  →   94          Nadya         ¿esto no voy a leerlo?      so I don't have to read
      95                                                    this?
      96          Alicia        no=                         no=

      97          Nadya          Waja                       ((ok))
  →   98                             [=porque estoo         ([=because this
      99                             noo=]                  isn'ttt=]
     100          Alicia
     101          Nadya          [(no hace falta)°]         [(there's no need)°]
     102

     103          Alicia        =de momento no vas a         =right now you're not
     104                        ser bióloga                 going to be a biologist
     105
     106                        {se ríe alguna              {a student laughs
     107                        estudiante en bajito}       softly}
```

In line 41, Fatima reinitiates the narrative introduced at the beginning of the class (excerpt 2), which was not followed up by the teacher, and this time Nadya joins her to co-construct the narrative, by adopting the role of story-recipient and animator (in 48). This time she starts to construct the narrative in Arabic. These two students play the most active role in the group co-construction of the narrative in the following turns. They are supposed to complete the activity designed by the teacher, while the teacher seems to be absorbed preparing more materials for the class. In lines 50-53, Fatima presents the main character and the scene of the narrative ("she took her mother to the hospital"), and we see how the whole group can anticipate what is about to happen during the doctor's examination when she said the hospital was a Spanish one. The whole group has some knowledge of both languages and of the misunderstandings that

may occur. They also seem to know about Fatima's mother lack of competence in Spanish. In this line it is significant how at the same time, she is dispossessed of agency ("I took her to the hospital"). Her role in the narrative is to represent a lack of knowledge "as I didn't know…"). The whole anecdote is constructed out loud, without pretence, and during it the students switch between Arabic (41-63, 73, 85) and Spanish (68-72, 75-84) at different moments. In fact the narrative ends in Arabic, with Fatima attempting to return to the set task. The researcher, Laura (who understands Arabic), participates in the co-construction of the story, laughing at the climax, when the mother tells the doctor "¿DUDA?,how disgusting!". As a whole, this narrative reflects not only bilingual language competence, but also that a knowledge of both languages is positively valued by the students.

In this second attempt to build this narrative, the teacher seems to have changed her position of ratified participant to unaddressed participant, and her lack of visible orientation to the students shows how she has chosen not to attend the discourse but to position herself as a bystander. One might think that this is because she is unfamiliar with one of the languages involved. However, as we saw in the example above, both Fatima and Nadya previously tried to include her in this exchange, and to advance the narrative to the front stage. The teacher remains untouched by the exchange, concentrating on her class papers, while the girls work, and talk about what has happened and laugh out loud.

Taking participation into account enables us to understand the internal organisation of the story, but also to see how these local practices reflect larger social and political processes connected to globalization. This story is linked to a course of action and is part of the educational process. Thus, it sheds new light on the erasure of other languages (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38), non-Spanish ones, which are relegated to the backstage. In the meantime, the students' insistence shows how they manage the linguistic resources of their growing repertoires. This ideological erasure is in part derived from the fact that a monolingual norm is often enacted in these classes, as shown by the sign on the wall. Students have contested this sign stating this norm, writing the same message in standard Arabic beside the Spanish, and this contestation has been in some way allowed. Thus at least the fact that these students are not monolingual is stated anytime in the class. Is this bilingual message really ONLY about a monolingual norm? Whatever the case, it shows an institutional ideology, but the fact that it is in two languages makes it rather contradictory to me. And some of the verbal

contributions by the teacher, in which she asks the students to use Spanish and/or Arabic disattends their move to change activity when this is done in Arabic and distracts the teacher from what she sees as her pedagogic agenda.

Figure 1. Sign posted in the classroom, and re-designed (contested) by students..

Although the monolingual norm is imposed in the classroom through interaction, in this class the students do not renounce the use of these language varieties. Thus, the instances of code-switching that take place – i.e. the "juxtaposition of grammatically distinct subsystems to generate conversational inferences" (Gumperz 1982: 97) – constitute a discursive practice which is not identically valued and interpreted by the different participants. In the frame of Gumperz' conversational inference theory, code-switching comprises a contextualisation cue that "index[es]" or "invoke[s] a frame of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterance" (Gumperz 1996: 379), and through which communicative intentions can be negotiated.

In this case, the students' use of Arabic as a learning tool and as part of the activity, and the lack of response by the teacher, shows, in the first place, a different valuation of languages. Let us recall, these students, like those in the English/Spanish class, are bilinguals in progress, and they also need to recall their home language as a learning strategy that allows them to collaborate and increase their involvement in the lesson. Translation, word games, highlighting 'false friends', comparing the linguistic features of the different languages… these are all means of helping resolve doubts or of enabling the students to catch up with the class when they get lost, or of improving their performance (see Martín Rojo 2010: chapter 6). It is interesting to note that while these linguistic resources are typically used in the so called bilingual programme to facilitate acquisition, to raise students' awareness of linguistic and cultural differences and to enhance their cognitive and transferable skills, among other aspects, in this learning environment they are often ignored despite the students' efforts to the contrary. Might they be ignored as a result of the teacher's lack of competence in both languages and lack of training for this specific programme? Or might it be the result of the underlying ideology of the programmes? For the teacher, Arabic is not a language of instruction in Spanish schools, especially when a student "has to learn Spanish", and when it is considered that maximum exposure to Spanish is required. Nevertheless, these students live in Spain and they are exposed to Spanish in many different places.

Depriving students of these learning tools has in fact a decapitalising effect. Ofelia Garcia has shown similar effects drawn from the lack of adaptation of pedagogical practices to students' translingual practices (forthcoming). Data from a study of a secondary school for emergent bilingual students show how a pedagogy that builds on the fluid languaging of bilingual children holds much promise to meaningfully educate bilingual students, especially those from minority communities. In the same direction, Elana Shohamy analyses how students' multilingual functioning receives no attention in language testing practices, and this has a clear negative impact on their marks (see, among other publications, Shohamy 2011).

.With the concept of decapitalisation, I refer to the acts of discouraging capital formation, such as in the previous examples. If students do not learn Spanish, their access to higher education would be impeded, and they will be oriented to vocational educational programmes and to unskilled jobs in the labour market.

In this particular class, we see that, on the contrary to what happened in the bilingual class, the teacher and the students differ in their interpretation of code-switching. For the students, it clearly indexes a pedagogical frame, by means of which they try to follow the activity and to learn more. For the teacher, however, language switching does not seem to index a learning activity, but rather an in-group conversation, as evidenced by the teacher's lack of attention and response from the beginning of the narrative until line 85. This different interpretation can easily lead to misunderstanding, by means of which teachers' lack of attention can be seen as a lack of interest in the students' learning process, and the co-construction of the narrative can be seen as a lack of involvement in classroom activities.

Divergence in the interpretation of the students' multilingual practices activates an asymmetrical frame. In the cases examined, asymmetry is not due so much to the degree of linguistic knowledge as to diverse valuations of the different languages involved. The monolingual norm discourages students from assuming greater control over their own learning goals (Cummins 1984: 28), and limits their access to linguistic resources, and shows how control is exercised with respect to what learners can speak, in which spaces (front stage vs. backstage), how much they speak and what resources they can use (see Norton Pierce 1995: 12).

5. Social mobility, linguistic ideologies and education programmes

Although many such examples have been analysed previously in this and in

other similar research, the focus of attention in this paper concerns the consequences on the learning process itself, on the management of students' linguistic capital, and the social implications.

Bourdieu explained how schools perform this role in social stratification, through processes that "convert" economic relations into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977:195). By means of this "conversion", relations of dependence are presented as the consequence of inequalities of talent or educational ability. The concepts of "conversion" and "capital" immediately bring to mind others proposed by Bourdieu, namely those of "value", "measure", and "market". This value-giving process is inextricably bound to the representation of students as legitimate or non-legitimate participants in the education system. Furthermore, social and cultural conditions are changing and there is currently a great deal of tension and contradiction in the evaluation and legitimisation of knowledge-capital, including languages.

As an effect of these changes, English language is a new required capital for success in Spanish schools. As Heller (1992, 1995) has shown, dominant groups rely on norms of linguistic resources and practices to maintain symbolic domination, while subordinate groups may use linguistic resources and practices, such as code-switching in everyday interactions within multilingual communities, to accommodate to a heterogeneous world, but also to resist or redefine the value of languages as symbolic resources in the linguistic marketplace. In fact, a pattern of imposition of new demands and standards and how they could be challenged and resisted by students' attempts to gain capital is what we observe in the examples analysed and seems to be the key to understanding the social implications of educational programmes, in particular in explaining educational failure in programmes based on a deficit approach (see Martin Rojo 2010 for a detailed analysis of imposition and resistance in these educational programmes). The bilingual programme not only introduces new demands for success in education, but also provides some students with this capital. In this sense, a process of capitalisation can be detected in everyday practices in this programme.

Through the proposed concepts of capitalisation and decapitalisation (i.e. acts of subtracting capital and of discouraging capital formation), it can be understood how processes such as the dissimilar evaluations of linguistic resources and requirements, the deprivation of capital, and the enforcement of new and more demanding norms, take place within everyday exchanges. And, what is more significant, through this kind of analysis, unified and static interpretations of the linguistic market concept are avoided.

The analysis of the distribution of symbolic capital between the front stage and the backstage, related to capital evaluation, and legitimacy. Bourdieu draws a parallel between the concept of symbolic capital and legitimate capital; because it is symbolic capital that defines what forms and uses of capital are recognized as legitimate bases of social positions in a given society. The effectiveness of symbolic capital depends on real practices of communication. Thus, the analysis of communicative practices reveals the participants' agency not only in reproducing, but also in challenging and resisting the value of symbolic resources and their social distribution in the linguistic marketplace.

Decapitalisation is seen to be a complex phenomenon which encompasses various aspects: firstly, the process by which value is assigned to linguistic varieties and communicative practices (for an in-depth analysis of the decapitalising effects of this educational focus and the selection of topics and methodologies, see Martín Rojo 2010: 172-180). In relation to this, an analysis of processes of inference can also contribute to a better understanding of the different values assigned to the same linguistic practices by participants, and their differing interpretations of the activities in which they are engaged, and the different positions taken in relation to these activities and the distribution of capitals.

The concept of decapitalisation refers to acts of subtracting capital, such as the lack of valuation of students' previous schooling, languages and knowledge, but also to acts of discouraging capital formation, as illustrated in the previous examples, the tendency for educational programmes to orient students towards unskilled jobs and toward lesser positions in the labour market (for the definition and functioning of this concept see Martín Rojo 2010).

If students from a migrant background achieve no more than an ESO diploma that gives no access to university education, but merely to unspecialised vocational programmes, they will reproduce a social class position in the wider social system, one of foreign workers with little access to skilled jobs. This social logic in the educational field may contribute to reproducing a social order that assigns foreign workers and their descendants a weak social position. Similarly, although the process of decapitalisation does not necessarily lead to school failure, it may contribute to the rising dropout rate of the immigrant population at the conclusion of obligatory education and to their premature entry into the job market as unskilled labour.

The role of the school is analysed in a sociodemographic context that threatens

the cultural homogeneity formerly observed in southern European schools. In this context, moreover, there seems to be occurring a progressive ethnic stratification[11] of the job market and of society as a whole (Cachón 2002; García Borrego 2007). If the educational programmes oriented to the integration of the students with a migrant background fail, schools would have a role in this stratification (Franzé 2002; Carrasco 2004; Serra 2004; Serra and Palaudàrias 2007).

The figures provided by the Ministry of Education[12] for this year (see Table 1) support this affirmation. That is, in everyday practice, older immigrant children are indeed propelled toward vocational and occupational studies related to an early entry into an increasingly ethno-stratified labour market..

Table 1: Foreign students in the general non-university education system, as a proportion of all such school students. Figures for the school year 2009-2010.

Average proportion of foreign students in all non-university education: 9.65%

Nursery Education **6.94%**
Primary Education **10.97%**
Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO) **12.09%**
Initial Professional Qualification Programme **(PCPI) 18.52%**
Occupational Training (FP) **7.39%**
Bachillerato (pre-university entrance) **5.83%**

(Source: CREADE-IFPIIE 2010)

The total figures for secondary studies after ESO by foreign students (FP: 7.39%, and *Bachillerato*: 5.83%), are 5 percentage points below those for all students enrolled in PCPI (18.52%) - the vocational training programme below the secondary education level. Lopez Blasco (2007:37) stated that the educational level achieved by non-EU immigrants in their own countries was not being maintained by their children in Spain. This had also been observed some years previously, when Angulo (2006:50) commented that only one in ten children of immigrant parents was enrolled in high school, while three times as many native Spanish students were so enrolled. This is evidence of a clear and disproportionate symbolic gap between the two student communities.

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[11] Some authors call this phenomenon "ethnic segmentation of the job market" (Bassarsky 2009); or even "ethno-fragmentation" (Pedreño 2007; García Borrego 2007).

[12] Data form the research: Evolución y situación actual de la presencia del alumnado extranjero en el sistema educativo español (1999-2010). CREADE-Instituto de Formación del Profesorado, Investigación e Innovación Educativa (IFPIIE): https://www.educacion.es/creade/IrASubSeccionFront.do?id=1201

In relation to the research questions of this paper, it seems, therefore, the way in which the administration is managing these programmes and the way in which they are being implemented, i.e., the distribution of linguistic resources in the classrooms, are reinforcing social stratification and producing a social selection process. The sons and daughters of immigrants not only inherit the 'immigrant status' of their parents, defined as a subordinate social status, but also, ultimately, the unskilled jobs reserved for them (López Blasco 2007:36).

The ethnographic data collected about students' educational trajectories confirm, at least in part, the potential effects of this decapitalisation process. In fact, our investigation clearly reveals society's lack of expectations, as a whole, regarding the schooling of students with a migrant background. Examination of the academic results obtained by such students at the schools visited shows there is a strong trend for them to leave school immediately following the obligatory stage, and a tendency towards early incorporation into the labour market (this has been corroborated by other studies).

In relation to the second research question addressed by this paper, we see hat this new requirement, to master English and Spanish in an academic domain could be contributing to devaluing the monolingual track and the SSL programme by creating new programme hierarchies.

In interviews, teachers highlighted the social implications of this new requirement to be English and Spanish bilingual in school, and remarked on the extent to which this contributes to a lower valuation of students and programmes in Spanish, and to the construction of inequality in Madrid society. Some of these remarks are summarised in excerpt (6).

Excerpt 6
" until you (the author) mentioned it we didn't realise we can have the same targets as the bilingual programme"
" BEP is a separate elite section within the same school"
"BEP is creating asymmetries among teachers and students"

It is precisely through new linguistic demands and requirements that a new process of hierarchization of educational programmes and educational tracks is taking place. But it is in everyday practices that social agents enforce or resist these demands, in their

management of linguistic and learning resources.

The academic credentials, to be in a bilingual program (cultural and symbolic capital), is **convertible** back into economic capital on the job market.

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