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**(In)-Between a rock and a hard place:  
notes for an ecology of language policies from a complementary school  
for Eastern European immigrant children in Portugal**

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# Abstract

The present study takes an ecological approach to language policies and ideologies in order to see how discursive spaces for languages other than the official language of instruction are being constructed in Portugal today. The research setting – a complementary school for children of Eastern European immigrants in a town in central Portugal – provided a unique opportunity to examine how language and literacy ideologies from different symbolic places (e.g. educational discourses in Portugal and home post-Soviet states, European discourses on multilingualism and integration of immigrant children, heritage talk and migrant parents' "opinions on language" (Billig 1986)) interacted and were negotiated in the complementary classroom and around the site. The study draws from a combined theoretical perspective of research on language socialisation (Kramsch 2002; Lemke 2002; Scollon 2002; Bayley and Schecter 2003 etc.), within a sociocultural approach to literacy and learning (Vygotsky 1978; Rogoff 1991; Barton 1994; Lave and Wenger 2003 etc.), in multilingualism studies (Shohamy 2006; Heller 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Blommaert 2006, 2010; Lytra and Martin 2010; Pennycook 2010), in spatial studies (Latour 1996; Low and Zuniga 2004; Brandt and Lincoln 2002), and research on bilingual and multilingual education (Hornberger 2002; García 2009). Methodologically, it represents a longitudinal ethnography of language and literacy practices (2004-2012) which attempts to find connections between the micro-level of diverse language and literacy teaching and learning practices around the complementary school, with the teaching and learning Portuguese as a non-native language in mainstream schools, and to situate them within the macro level of European, post-Soviet and Portuguese state language policies and practices. The study constructs a descriptive and analytical perspective using an array of research methods, such as textual analysis of policy documents, multimodal analysis of literacy artefacts and visual data (ethnographic photographs), as well as participant observations and semi-structured interviews with policymakers, parents and children. The critical stance of this ethnographic study consists in not only describing the distribution of symbolic power in top-down language and literacy policies and ideologies but also in identifying the spaces of its contestation in the local practices, which may emerge into new policies of higher scales.

The research findings fall into several categories: 1) trends in top-down language policies and practices; 2) contestation and emerging trends in bottom-up language policies and practices; 3)

theoretical and methodological reflections toward a construction of new frameworks on multilingualism.

## Resumo

O estudo que se apresenta adapta uma perspectiva ecológica em relação às políticas e ideologias de língua de forma a compreender como espaços discursivos para as línguas que não a língua oficial de instrução são presentemente construídos em Portugal.

O contexto de pesquisa, uma escola complementar para imigrantes da Europa de Leste numa cidade no centro de Portugal, forneceu uma oportunidade única para ver como ideologias de linguagem, escrita e leitura de diferentes locais simbólicos (e.g. desde discursos educacionais em Portugal e estados pós-Sovéticos, discursos europeus acerca de multilinguismo e integração de crianças imigrantes, debates sobre heranças culturais e linguísticas até às "opiniões acerca da língua" dos pais migrantes (Billig 1986)) interagem e eram negociadas na sala de aula da escola complementar e nos lugares à volta dela.

O estudo assume uma perspectiva teórica inspirada pelo estudo de socialização linguística (Kramsch 2002; Lemke 2002; Scollon 2002; Bayley e Schecter 2003 etc.), enquadrada numa perspectiva sociocultural em relação à literacia e aprendizagem (Vygotsky 1978; Rogoff 1991; Barton 1994; Lave e Wenger 2003 etc.), em estudos de multilinguismo (Shohamy 2006; Heller 2007; Blackledge e Creese 2010; Blommaert 2006, 2010; Lytra e Martin 2010; Pennycook 2010), em estudos sobre construção de espaço social (Latour 1996; Low e Zuniga 2004; Brandt e Lincoln 2002), e estudos sobre educação bilingue e multilingue (Hornberger 2002; García 2009).

Em termos dos métodos, este trabalho representa uma etnografia longitudinal (2004-2012) de práticas de linguagem, escrita e leitura que tenciona encontrar ligações entre o nível micro das práticas diversas da linguagem, ensino/aprendizagem de escrita e leitura na escola complementar, com as do ensino e aprendizagem de português como língua não-materna em estabelecimentos de ensino regulares, e situá-las no nível macro de políticas e práticas linguísticas em estados europeus e pós-soviéticos.

O estudo constrói uma perspectiva descritiva e analítica utilizando um espectro de métodos de pesquisa, e.g. análise textual de documentos legislativos, análise multimodal de artefactos literários e dados visuais (fotografias etnográficas), assim como dados interaccionais, de observação participada e entrevistas semi-estruturadas com legisladores, pais e crianças.

A posição crítica deste estudo etnográfico não se limita em descrever as políticas e ideologias da língua e literacia e a distribuição de poder simbólico da perspectiva top-down, mas procura

também identificar os espaços de contestação nas práticas locais, que podem potencialmente dar lugar às novas políticas de escalas superiores.

Os resultados da investigação enquadram-se em três categorias: 1) tendências em políticas e práticas de top-down; 2) contestação e tendências emergentes em políticas e práticas de bottom-up; 3) reflexões teóricas e metodológicas em torno de construção de novos enquadramentos para multilinguismo.

# Chapter I Introduction

This thesis is about change and tradition - where a change emerges from tradition and where tradition persists. It is about being on the move while staying put, and about living in a local community while being globally connected. It is about spaces between the rock and the hard place, and those in-between - inhabited by people, filled with their expectations and projects for the future -- *yet also* about the ways in which these spaces constrain the courses these expectations and dreams may run. It is about language as a noun, as an adjective, and as a verb. It is about children who learn to read in Russian in order to spend more time with their immigrant parents, and about parents who organise a Russian school to get in touch with their own childhood memories.

Back in 2007-2008, when I was embarking on this thesis, public discourses across Europe buzzed with 'integration'. With this word, European states were trying to make sense of the intensified complexity in migration and mobility patterns and usher change in policy responses for the unified Europe. 'Complexity' has become the point of reference in descriptions of European societies (Eriksen 2007), as "new conjunctions and interactions of variables [...] have arisen over the past decade" (Vertovec 2006: 2). Stephen Vertovec has coined the term 'superdiversity' to capture the new level of complexity in diversity across Europe, in which the author has distinguished factors such as, "*country of origin* ([...] ethnicity, language[s], religious tradition, regional and local identities, cultural values and practices), *migration channel* [...], *legal status* (determining entitlement to rights), *migrants' human capital* (particularly educational background) [...]" (Vertovec 2006: 31, original italics).

'The sudden and intense' (Baganha *et al.* 2004: 95) flow of immigration from Eastern European<sup>1</sup> countries to Portugal in the beginning of the 2000s brought about by major geopolitical changes across Europe represents one of the expressions of superdiversity. Before 2000, over 70 per cent of immigrants came to Portugal from one of the many Portuguese-speaking countries (*ibidem*). In

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1 Eastern Europeans in Portugal are referred to as "*imigrantes de leste*" [immigrants from the East] or "*imigrantes de leste europeu*" [immigrants from the east of Europe]. Being based on the unclear geographical and/or geopolitical criteria, this designation is a controversial term, as some authors apply it to speak of immigrants from post-Soviet states while others expand it to include people from the former Warsaw bloc countries. Further EU advancement to the east makes the term lose its descriptive and comparative value. Several studies in Portugal have found it problematic, and attested that immigrants themselves rejected it (Baganha *et al.* 2010; Mendes 2010). (Mendes 2010) has proposed to take it as a discursive category.

2004, Ukrainian citizens became the second most numerous immigrant population in the country (*ibidem*: 98). The new groups of immigrants, most of whom “had never heard of Portugal” (Mendes 2010: 379; also in Baganha *et al.* 2010: 61), and came from home countries with “no particular economic, historic or cultural links to Portugal” (Santos *et al.* : 2009), had to be somehow 'integrated' into the Portuguese societal fabric.

An authoritative Migrant Integration Policy Index, launched in 2004, uses 148 policy indicators to assess integration in both social and civic terms, which is considered to rest “on equal opportunities for all” on labour market, in mobility, family reunion, long-term residence, political participation, access to nationality, and education (MIPEX 2013). Since 2007 and until now, Portugal has proudly occupied the 2<sup>nd</sup> place in the ranking of best policies of integration. This fact should be nevertheless held in a critical light against the research evidence of the institutional discrimination of immigrants in Portugal (Santos *et al.* 2009; Mendes 2010; Baganha *et al.* 2010), of the practices of negative stereotyping of immigrants in the Portuguese media (Silveirinha and Cristo 2004; Solovova 2004), and of the increasing loss of their professional qualifications in the Portuguese society (Baganha *et al.* 2010).

Recent analytic studies of policies of integration in Europe (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009; Triandafyllidou 2013) have established that most European states, including Portugal, traditionally associate success in integration with certain proficiency in their official language(s)<sup>2</sup>. This premise underlies the Portuguese state legislative documents and practices in immigration, citizenship and education; it is also implicit in research on schooling of immigrant children in Portugal (Martins 2005; Brito 2008) and is particularly evident in studies that examine migrant languages in view of an ease or difficulties in learning Portuguese language (Ança 2007; Silva 2009; Ferreira 2012).

This was the social and ideological scenario in which a group of immigrants from former Soviet Union states (FSU) in central Portugal founded an association on the basis of an informal school for their Russian-speaking children. This school was the research setting of my MA project and simultaneously served a pilot for this PhD. The linguistic ethnography<sup>3</sup> within the MA project

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2 For Portuguese specialists in migration studies, Portuguese language proficiency is an indicator of functional integration of immigrants: “*Um dado importante a conhecer as condições de integração dos imigrantes refere-se ao seu nível de conhecimento da língua portuguesa. É através de domínio da língua que os imigrantes conseguem estabelecer e manter formas de relacionamento mais regulares, intensas e completas com os cidadãos portugueses e com as diversas instituições da sociedade portuguesa*” (Baganha *et al.* 2010: 111)

3 Linguistic ethnography combines ethnographic methods with those of linguistic anthropology, i.e., combines the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography with analytical frameworks provided by linguistics. A linguistic ethnography of literacy looks at how people actually use literacies in their lifeworlds and everyday routines (Creese 2010: 139)

accompanied for 18 months six children of different ages and nationalities as they were becoming biliterate in Russian. New literacy practices of the children were found to emerge from their own previous literacy experiences and in interactions with their family members, peers and other key figures in their social networks. The learners were found to assert their biliterate identities by exploring the connections between the Russian and Portuguese writing systems in a creative process of assessment and negotiation of the personal, immediate and broader contexts. On the whole, the use of multiple languages and literacies, as well as the learning paths developed by the participants were shown to reflect not only the immediate environment, but also the relations of power within the larger sociocultural context.

The influence of these relations of power became even more pronounced as the informal school gained its institutional identity<sup>4</sup>. In fact, the very fact of the association having been funded by immigrants is treated in sociological theory as evidence of their integration (Heisler 1992; Ireland 1994 *ibidem* Pires 2004: 2). In sum, the complementary school within the association of immigrants provided a unique opportunity to tap into the official discourses of integration, immigration and education of both Portuguese and various post-Soviet states, without losing the sight of voice negotiations through uses of languages and literacies in the learners' immediate and interpersonal contexts. In Ricento's words, the school represented a site where discourses and ideologies on languages and literacies, on pedagogies and multilingualism were "reflected, reproduced and contested" (Ricento 2006: 15). Besides, it provided a possibility to empirically demonstrate the language governmentality, i.e. how power operates at the micro-level of diverse practices (Foucault 1991 *ibidem* Pennycook 2006: 64).

So the scope of the study has been broadened to examine how decisions about languages and literacies regulated multilingual and multiliterate practices of the students of the complementary school, through a range of instruments (books, regulations, exams, articles<sup>5</sup>). These decisions are viewed across diverse institutions (education, academia and law) from a top-down perspective, yet I also take heed of the ways in which participants of the complementary school resist some established policies and reproduce and negotiate others, thus pointing to "incipient and emergent

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4 Unless specifically stated otherwise, I am going to refer to the informal school organised by Eastern European immigrant parents as 'complementary' school (as opposed to 'heritage language school' or 'community school'). The arguments for this labelling are provided in the methodology chapter.

5 These and other instruments that mediate action, cognition and emotion and that bear traces of individual or collective meaning-making through literacy are referred to as 'literacy artefacts', and constitute integral part of cultural artefacts of a given society. Bartlett (2004: 3) explains as follows: "Cultural artefacts are objects, symbols, narratives, or images inscribed by the collective attribution of meaning. Examples of cultural artefacts include the Cinderella story, the crucifix adopted by many Catholic faithful, the image of the rainbow [...]"

cases of language planning from the bottom up” (Canagarajah 2006: 154).

Methodologically speaking, the study represents a longitudinal ethnography (2004-2012) in an attempt to build an ecology<sup>6</sup> of language policies, as it seeks to connect individual and interpersonal learning spaces with the wider socio-political environment while taking into account the ideologies that pervade language choice and language policy (Creese and Martin 2003: 164). It is also a critical ecology of language policies (Tollefson 2006), as it is (a) presents critique of mainstream approaches to language and language policies; (b) aims at producing social change; and (c) builds on critical Marxist and neo-Marxist theory (Bakhtin 1982, 1986; Bourdieu 1990, 1991; Foucault 1991a, 1991b; Deleuze and Guattari 2007 etc.).

The description and analysis seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the driving forces that led to the creation of a space for children of Eastern European immigrants outside the mainstream education in Portugal?
- 2) What are the language ideologies and practices that triggered its discursive construction as the Russian school, despite the strong presence of other local languages?
- 3) What are the lived practices with languages and literacies that sustain the existence of the Russian school and its consolidation within an association of immigrants?

In an attempt to find answers to these questions, in the next chapter (Chapter 2) I provide a brief review of theoretical frameworks that jointly help formulate a lens on multilingualism and learning as a social practice. In chapter 2, I aim to identify the competing and conflicting ways in which Western societies think and speak about languages and literacies. For this, I take a look at the hegemonic discourses which view languages as codes and bounded systems while literacies as neutral technologies. Then I contrast them with theories that envision languages and literacies as fluid, open and lived practices which are integral part of human activity. I trace monolingualising tendencies across academia and education while explaining how these help sustain modern nation-states and close ideological spaces for multiple languages. Afterwards, I address the issue of literacies in multiple languages and how they can be conceptualised within a pluriliteracies approach (see II.4.3). I continue the chapter by drawing the reader's attention to the significance of metaphors in channelling concepts and ideas within the theory and exemplify my point with a brief analysis of divergences and convergences between two major fields in linguistics that aim to describe and analyse language and literacy learning, namely language acquisition and language

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<sup>6</sup> For a definition of ecology, see II.6.2

socialisation. Finally, I stop to look at the latest developments in sociolinguistic theory and applied linguistics against the backdrop of the impact of globalisation on communication and learning.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to methods and research procedures. I open the chapter with a reflection on the impact of metaphors in ethnographic research and explore the differences between a multi-sited and a longitudinal ethnography. Then I pause to reflect how my own identity as a researcher was constrained by expectations and class considerations of other research participants. Finally, I move on to describe the process of collecting and presenting the data, while stressing the importance of working together with participants to build a collaborative framework.

Next chapter, chapter 4, takes the reader across space and time for an introduction and analysis of language policies and ideologies in the Russian Empire, the USSR and the post-Soviet states of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. This chapter helps trace historical, geopolitical and social processes that shaped language ideologies shared among the adult participants of the study. I use this chapter to illustrate the conflicting ideological dispositions that characterised language policies across the Russian and Soviet empire, namely the policy of nativisation and the imposition of the single official language; the creation of a supra-ethnic identity etc. I underline the need for a historical analysis of language ideologies in this geopolitical space in order to reveal the complexity of its sociolinguistic landscape. After looking into the processes that lead to the dissolution of the USSR, while exploring the continuities and ruptures between the language policies and language-in-education policies in the USSR and in the post-Soviet states. I close the chapter by examining the ways in which the new patterns of migration in a globalised world have changed both the policies of the Russian language and the ways it is being conceptualised.

Chapter 5 makes a brief overview of the main documents within European official discourses in order to examine how the education of immigrant children and symbolic spaces for their linguistic resources have been imagined across Europe. Besides this, in this chapter I aim to trace the creation of an agenda for a new multilingual and competitive Europe. The final section of the chapter looks at the MIPEX indicators to identify ideological spaces for other than official languages in mainstream education in Europe and in Portugal. In short, chapter 5 aims to pave ways for the following two chapters by answering two questions: What are the implementational spaces for introducing languages other than Portuguese? What are the main ideological assumptions that sustain them?

Chapter 6 zooms the lens in to focus on the Portuguese societal context. It opens with an analytical perspective of the two main thematic categories in documents and policy texts: a) on immigration,

intercultural education and integration and b) on provision of Portuguese as a non-native language. Further, the chapter presents the first selection of ethnographic data, namely texts collected at the Portuguese government agency for immigration and intercultural dialogue, interviews with national and local agents of policy for intercultural education and promotion of Portuguese as a non-native language, and interviews with parents and children of the complementary schools. In this chapter, I aim to identify the actors, agents and spaces for other languages than Portuguese, as well as to see how these spaces are configured by dominant ideologies. I conclude the chapter by presenting four main categories of scenarios created by the interaction of competing discourses, i.e. ideologies that place the Portuguese language at the centre of the language decision-making vs. those that consider its place alongside other linguistic and semiotic resources.

The following chapter – chapter 7 – takes the reader deep into the micro-level of negotiating between competing language ideologies within and around the site of the complementary school. The chapter opens with a description of the setting and an account of symbolic discourses that permeate it. Then it provides a characterisation of the community of practice of the complementary school in terms of class, ethnic and linguistic aspects, as well as schooling trajectories (e.g. models of bilingual education). It also lists main expectations of the immigrant parents regarding education of their children. The chapter moves on to examine, through a variety of interview, observation and visual data, how the space of the complementary school is produced and reconfigured in the interactions that take place in it. On the other hand, it takes a phenomenological stance to consider how the changing spatial design of the classroom and literacy objects (e.g. blackboard) have conditioned language and literacy interactions and meaning-making of the children and adult participants. Further, the chapter attempts to identify local and global connections in identity work through heritage talk and across languages, literacies in multiple modes of signification. The final section of the chapter zooms in for a macro frame as it presents an account of one literacy event that took place in the complementary classroom. In this section, I look at the choices of means of representation and their spatial design in two versions of dictations produced by two Ukrainian girls. Then I make an attempt to trace a link between these choices and family histories of language and literacy socialisation being embedded in their wider socio- and geopolitical contexts. In this chapter, I aim to give an account of language and literacy practices shaped by conflicting ideological discourses in a highly stratified space of the complementary school.

Finally, in conclusions, I summarise the findings across the previous chapters and provide a concise account of the tensions identified in theoretical frameworks and in the ethnographic data. These tensions may in fact open up implementational spaces for multilingual and multiliterate practices in mainstream school. I conclude my thesis by mapping directions for further theory and research development.

Overall, this thesis is based on the premise that language policies are constructed in practice in all societal domains. The challenge for the researcher consists in finding the theoretical and methodological instruments in order to grasp the complexity of these practices. In Ricento's words, the challenges include:

- 1) having a clearly articulated view about the nature of language, and a broad understanding about language varieties and processes of language change;
- 2) having an understanding how power is represented and reflected in various language policies at all levels of societal structure and processes;
- 3) having a position on the role of the researcher as an “interested” participant in research; and
- 4) adhering to high standards of research, especially with regard to the representativeness, depth, and breadth of data and the degree to which the findings support – or disconfirm – clearly articulated theoretical assumptions. (Ricento 2006: 19).

That is the agenda that I aim to accomplish with this thesis in Modern Languages and Literatures (Sociolinguistics), in an attempt to show how major theoretical debates about the nature of language and literacy, about the legitimacy of certain language and literacy practices can take place in an association meeting, in an interaction in the complementary classroom, or in a single artefact produced by a learner.

# **Chapter II Literature Review: Multilingualism and learning as a social practice**

## **II.1 Introduction**

This chapter opens with a brief overview of theoretical frameworks that may help formulate an understanding of multilingualism and learning as a social practice. First I look into ways in which languages and literacies are defined and how these conceptualisations are implicated in nation-state construction. Then I focus on the significance of metaphors in development of theories of language and literacy learning, namely contrasting language acquisition and language socialisation. Finally, I mention the latest developments in sociolinguistic theory and applied linguistics against the backdrop of the impact of globalisation on communication and learning.

## **II.2 Control over language as societal building**

Being a social construct, language has long been implicated in the struggles over the political authority and legitimacy, becoming “a tool for the manipulation of people and their behaviours” (Shohamy 2006: 23). Elites have concentrated efforts on guarding and regulating access to specific linguistic registers and genres that could provide a potential of social promotion. Long before the appearance of nation-states, the societal order was partly determined and social groups were divided (and constructed, in that sense) by the rules of exclusive access to particular and very specialised linguistic resources, which were passed from generation to generation within the family, in the process of language socialisation. For example, sons of clergy were raised as clergymen (and would learn to read Latin); children of craftsmen would become craftsmen through the institute of apprenticeship (which would entail learning specific semiotic resources and technologies), etc. Young women had a very particular place in the social economy as their resources would be generally further restricted, i.e. some trades and crafts were constructed as exclusively for women. Only a few people were allowed to transcend those divisions and learn resources of the higher symbolic value (e.g. scribes). Overall, as Blommaert puts it, “Societies do reflect and sustain the sociolinguistic regime in a country, that is, the relative hierarchies normatively maintained and the dominant ideas surrounding them” (Blommaert 2006: 243). In such a way, group membership was determined by the ways in which people deployed their linguistic resources; people living close to one another physically and geographically could develop

similar sets of resources within their occupational and social circles. This does not mean, however, that those codes were identical, since people continued to use their own individual means of expression and created “meaningful connections in order to co-exist socially, economically, cognitively and emotionally” (Shohamy 2006: 23).

Stephen May (2001) states that “Empires were quite happy for the most part to leave unmolested this plethora of cultures and languages subsumed within them: as long as taxes were paid, all was well” (May 2001: 130). Imperial Christian missions and colonisation projects often shared an interest “in organising distinct and linguistically defined communities into identifiable administrative units” (Stroud 2007: 26). However, cultural reforms of the Russian tsar Alexis (ruled 1645-1676) were oriented towards “the creation of a universal cultural norm for the Orthodox world” (Uspensky 1987 *ibidem* Pivovarov 2006: 96). This cultural norm did not always tie up with the single and unique language, since conversion into the Orthodox faith was also done by missionaries who spoke the 'native languages' of the indigenous populations. The Russian imperialist project rather relied on preserving social privileges for national elites, providing those with (limited and controlled) upwardly potential (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004; Pavlenko 2008).

This example serves to show that “language behaviour and social policy are ideologically encumbered” (Ricento 2006: 11), so that any research on language as a policing tool has to indicate which groups are benefited and what are the societal costs. The decision-making about language (Schiffman 2006: 112), in other words, efforts of the governing bodies towards language policy, regulate the ongoing power debate between interests of different social groups. Elana Shohamy traces the connection between language policy and planning procedures and language ideologies as follows:

In most political entities, language policy (LP) is the primary mechanism for organising, managing and manipulating language behaviors as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society. It is through LP that decisions are made with regard to the preferred languages that should be legitimised, used, learned and taught in terms of where, when and in which contexts. Thus, LP acts as a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between different ideologies” (2006: 45-46).

Following the division between the language policy and language planning in the 1950s-1960s, theoretical models merged into the joined area of language policy and planning (LPP) studies. Nancy Hornberger (2006: 29) summarised two main axes of the widely accepted conceptual distinctions between LPP types and approaches in an integrative comprehensive framework. Hornberger distinguished models which are about *form* (a policy planning approach) from those

about *function* (a cultivation planning approach). In terms of types, she distributes LPP models into three groups: 1) *status* planning (about uses of language, its use and choice); 2) *acquisition* planning (about users of language), and 3) *corpus* planning (about legitimate language forms and structure). Shohamy (2006:50) points out that language policy measures can be explicit, overt – stated through official documents, codified and manifest and implicit or covert, i.e. informal, unstated, de facto and grass-roots (*ibidem*). Before Spolsky (2004) proposed an expanded framework of language policy, LPP studies overlooked the issues of policy implementation. Spolsky argued that practice should be included in analysis since policy without practice is just an indication of intentions. In Spolsky's model, language policy is made up by language beliefs (ideology), language practices (ecology) and language management (planning). In this way, LPP activities incorporate ideology and practice, so that language policy emerges as a dynamic and interrelated process.

As far as global orientations within LPP models are concerned, Russian linguists Vakhtin and Golovko (2004) argue that societies in human history have shifted between two major models in language policies: the pro-diversity eastern model and the pro-unification western model. However, in my view it is important to stress that the change between these two models should not be understood as the simple switch from one model to the other, but rather that both models coexisted in a dialectical dynamics at certain moments in history of a given country or state. Thus the change in the policies would represent a gradual shift from one model to the other, and even when the shift could be seen as completed, there still would be places where the new model had not totally replaced the old one. Moreover, the dominance of the new model is always conditioned by the issues dealt within the old one. After all, argues Heller (2007) “social constructs by definition have to get constructed, and processes of construction can be long and complicated. People do not necessarily agree on what to construct or how to construct it, and even if they do, it takes time to find the way there” (Heller 2007: 14).

Likewise, the distinction between the pro-diversity and the pro-unification model does not imply that all language groups within either model have equal status, and each model thus should be seen as a complex network of layered regimes of linguistic and other symbolic resources which aims to sustain the social fabric (along with its differences and inequalities) of the historical and political period of a given society.

## II.3 Western philosophy, rise of nation-states and linguistic theory

The base for the western model was laid out in the Early Modernity by John Locke who had argued for an abstraction and 'purification' of language "as part of the program of rationalist and detached individualism, central to modernity" (Blommaert 2006: 242). Becoming detached from folk tradition and oral vernaculars, this 'purified' language was to become the 'standard' language. Thus the inferiority of oral speech before the written word was reinforced in philosophical discourses, being later reinterpreted by German Romanticism and Herder as 'national character' and the 'genius of a people' (Woolard 1998: 16). In 1772, Johann Herder wrote the treatise "On the Origins of Language" where the philosopher formulated the famous triad 'people-language-territory'. In fact, Herderian ideology builds on the earlier work of the French philosopher Étienne Condillac (Woolard 1998: 17) and can be traced back to Francis Bacon (Blommaert *ibidem*). The nationalism ideology gained its full swing by late 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries and dominated state policies of European nation-states well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century; its echoes can still be found nowadays.

The onset of nationalism ideology, in a sense, determined the course of European history. On the one hand, it conceptualised 'language' as a decontextualised object that could be 'had' – counted and named - thus also distinctly identifiable. On the other hand, the new framework viewed 'language' as a territorially bound unit, thus laying the foundation for nation building, where nation is "a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights" (Smith 1996: 107).

These two premises opened the ways for the emergence of linguistics as a language science. With the emergence of the nation state there was a need for legitimating boundaries between the groups while developing the question of belonging. The need to divide and unify raised the demand for language descriptions which helped enclose certain linguistic resources, label them as languages, and more importantly, classify them as different from other languages (Shohamy 2006; Pennycook 2010). Thus groups of people could get defined through their language, understood as autonomous bounded linguistic system, as a 'common code'. Thus the territorial fixedness led to the creation of the term "native speaker". Multilingual speakers, within this ideology, were seen 'switching' from one bounded code to the other.

It is important to stress that the existing class divisions did not disappear as the differences between languages were described. On the contrary, as descriptive linguistics chooses which varieties would be included within or excluded from the particular language, different social

varieties (sociolects) become marked as “colloquial”, “low-educated”, and “vulgar” use (as opposed to the norm, which is associated to the educated elites) thus making class divisions run even deeper, and naturalising them. For example, what is known as 'French language' nowadays was constructed by unifying certain French dialects (Hobsbawm 1990; Bourdieu 1991; Alpatov 1997); whereas regional varieties of French became associated with low classes and turned into *patois* (marginalised, corrupted and vulgar speech) (Medina 2005). Mühlhäusler (2001) stresses that the very notion of 'language' is a culture-specific European notion which makes little sense in many traditional multilingual societies in Asia and Africa (cf. also Shohamy 2006: 11). Suresh Canagarajah, while writing on language policy within English teaching worldwide, pointed out that as 'western' communities do not have a “long history of engaging in linguistically and culturally plural life”, they have not developed complex sociolinguistic constructs for dealing with life at that level (Canagarajah 2005: 17). These sociolinguistic constructs are included in what Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Menezes call 'epistemologies of the South' (Santos and Menezes 2009).

Historians and political theorists distinguish two types of nation-states. First, there are the early unified nation-states, like Portugal, England, France, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands, which “were developed under the domination of one ethnic culture” through absolute monarchy (Hroch 1996: 61). Then followed countries which “ha[d] to try and catch up, under the impact of revolution: the German-speaking states, Italy, the Hapsburg domains, the Balkans, the countries of Tsardom, Ireland, Scandinavia apart from Sweden” (Nairn 1996: 89). Multi-ethnic empires, such as Austrian Habsburg empire or Russian empire were operating under the “conquer and unify” rule, where the languages of the ruling elites were being increasingly positioned as the official languages of the nation.

The primacy of language or politics in the social construction of a nation appear to be disputed by scholars within social sciences. A renowned British sociologist Anthony Smith, specialising in nationalism studies, states that “[l]anguage groups are usually regarded as the basic network of nations, along with religious sects and “certain kind[s] of historic territory”. (Smith 1996: 108). Smith appears to posit languages and identification through language as *a priori* existent. By contrast, a linguist Stephen May claims that languages were “created” out of the politics of state-making” (May 2004: 13), thus asserting the primacy of the politics. This tension may suggest, in Blommaert's opinion, that nations and states cannot be synonymous. He advised to separate between nations as a result of nationalism on the one hand and states as formal systems of

institutions on the other. Their combination as 'nation-state' "needs to be established empirically" (Blommaert 2006: 239).

## **II.4 Paradigms of nation-state ideologies of language: time, space, or timespace?**

The spread of printed word spurred on the construction of nation as an "imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 1991: 5-6). In Anderson's words:

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitations that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. (Anderson 1991: 6-7)

The advent of print provided nation-states with a solid foundation for the construction of "horizontal comradeship", since a written word is more permanent, can be easily controlled and be carried across time and space (Tusting 2000, cf. also Brandt and Lincoln 2002). Bourdieu argues that the construction of modern nation-states included political struggles for monopoly of a "standard language" (Bourdieu 1991: 45) which is perpetuated in writing.

Paradoxically, despite being territorially bound, imagined communities lost their locatedness, i.e. could not tackle the local meanings and uses of the official language, since languages of the peripheries had to be defined via the central language. A tension thus was created between the normative code of the centre and the linguistic code of several regional varieties (e.g. English vs. english – Ashcroft *et al.* 1989).

Bourdieu points out that linguistic accounts that study language as an ahistorical and asocial code privilege the official languages: "To speak of the language without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language as a political unit" (Bourdieu 1991: 44-45). Bourdieu thus warns against the political implications of formalist and structuralist accounts which contribute to maintaining the *status quo* of the given society and to creating the illusion of equality – "the picture of language as a universal 'treasure' in which everyone can partake equally" (Medina 2005: 117).

The modernist paradigm was oriented towards time, towards efficiency and uniformity through

use of numerical abstractions (Canagarajah 2005: 18). The paradigm continues to persist nowadays in linguistic theory, in Kroskrity's words: the “surgical removal of language from the context produced an amputated 'language' that was the preferred object of the language sciences for most of the twentieth century (Kroskrity 2001: 5). Language learning is still seen by modern linguistics as evidence of acquisition of 'linguistic input', while language teaching as providing input through decontextualised training which aims at an acquisition of linguistic or cultural code - the target language/culture. This view is still informed, as Lefebvre astutely puts it, on a “bidimensional linguistics” of Jakobson and Saussure (Lefebvre 1968: 186), that overlooks the symbolic value of each of the dichotomies within the linguistic system (e.g. signified-signifier).

Within this linguistics, multilingual speakers are categorised according to the linear succession of acquisition of a 'native language', mother tongue or L1, followed by their 'second' and 'third' language. Block (2003:57) stresses that the very concept of a L2 or second language and successive language acquisition is based on “the monolingual bias, the compartmentalised view of languages and the oversimplified view of context”.<sup>7</sup>

This paradigm continues to inform language policies of English-only (Canagarajah 2005) and “Portuguese as non-native language”, where integration of people from other cultures is linked directly with acquisition of the target Portuguese language (cf. Ança 2007). Other languages, in this perspective, are worthy of interest as long as they facilitate or complicate the process of a language shift which is similarly represented as a gradual movement from one bounded code to the other within the time frame (cf. Leiria *et al.* 2005). By focusing on form and competence, such descriptions end up neglecting “other processes and practices that always accompany communication” (Canagarajah 2007: 98 *apud* Pennycook 2010: 83). Lefebvre (1968: 172) supports this view stressing that even most rigorous linguistic analysis tends to bracket the “extralinguistic fields” in such a way that most aspects of the social life escape the analysis. He argues for complexifying the analysis “*que só pode realizar-se restituindo os factos da linguagem (língua e linguística) à globalidade social*” (*ibidem*).

Current approaches to diversity and multilingualism often operate by enumerating languages and romanticising the plurality (for example, (Ferreira 2003: 47) refers to the difference between languages as “something factual and simultaneously beautiful”, or even “dazzling and marvellous” (*ibidem*: 62); see also chapter 5 on European Commission discourses on multilingualism). Pennycook argues that while opening up issues of diversity, “such approaches continue to use the

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<sup>7</sup> For a well argued and detailed critique of the concept of “second language” in SLA, read chapter 3 in Block 2003.

underlying ideology of countability and singularity, where language-objects are physically located in concepts of space founded on a notion of territorialization” (Pennycook 2010: 82). Heller and Duchêne (2007) put a relevant question in this regard: “why [do] we hold on to the ideas about language and identity which emerged from modernity” and suggest that we should examine “who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is at stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition” (Heller and Duchêne 2007: 11). Bourdieu's conceptualisation of communicative contexts as “linguistic market” (1991) to reflect the socio-economic dimension of exchanges, as well as the understanding of communicative resources as “linguistic capital” could help in such analysis. In Medina's words, “the distribution of linguistic capital in a community is established and maintained by a complex networks of social and cultural practices and institutions” (Medina 2005: 120). These networks, in their turn, are situated in the person's individual history and in the collective history of the community, thus being shaped and projected simultaneously across time and space.

Immanuel Wallerstein goes further and points out that the the future of social sciences should be associated with challenging the very separation of time and space:

I believe that the meaning of time and space in our lives is a human invention, and that different groups of people define them differently. I believe further that time and space are irremediably locked together and constitute a single dimension, which I shall call TimeSpace. And I believe that not only can we affect them in significant ways, but that all of social science has involved one vast interpretation, and therefore manipulation, of TimeSpace (Wallerstein 1997).

Wallerstein distinguishes five TimeSpaces (TS) depending on the explanatory scale of time and space, from the episodic geopolitical TS, which describes immediate short-term contexts to the eternal TS which emphasises the irrelevance of time and space for the facts and events in discussion. By contrast, the transformational TS is situated in a very particular time and space frame yet contains a “a profound effect on major institutions” thus having an enormous potential of changing the course of history. The cyclico-ideological TS and structural TS map the immediate history onto the longer term history and may throw the light on the very “kind of historical system in which we live as well as its boundaries in time and space”. In practice, Jay Lemke (2002) and Jan Blommaert (2010) introduce a notion of 'scale' to deal with the gradual zooming out of Wallerstein's TimeSpaces. If we were to apply this framework to, say, an analysis of language ideologies and policies in a given society, we will have to 'zoom out' the lens to the maximum to arrive at the eternal TS – in search of the universals of human communication (e.g. that all humans

have an articulatory device which is capable of emitting a certain range of sounds)<sup>8</sup>. Habitually, studies of ideologies take a medium range of focus when they explain local phenomena in terms of institutions and societal organisation. However, much more exciting for a social scientist would be to detect a budding potential by looking at micro-changes in the ways in which people conceptualise language and literacy.

#### **II.4.1 Monolingualism as an 'ideal' model of society**

In nation-states, linguistic diversity is often tackled through discourses of “nationalism – different from nationalism – [as it ] is primarily concerned not with ethnic authenticity but with operational efficiency” (Fishman, 1968: 113 *apud* Hornberger 2001: 31). Therefore in a multilingual state, language policies are dictated by creating an efficient communication across space between the centre and the peripheries. Alpatov points out that “[i]n a situation of multilingualism, two needs, which are both natural for every man yet contradictory, operate. Let us call them a need for identification and a need for mutual understanding<sup>9</sup>” (Alpatov 1997: 10). Ideally, both needs for identification and for mutual understanding should be realised, yet they “cease to be contradictory and are satisfied automatically only within a fully monolingual society” (Alpatov 1997: 11).

The very idea of existence of “a fully monolingual society” is challenged by scholars (Loveday 1982, cf. also Edwards 2004, Ellis 2006, Blommaert 2010, Pennycook 2010). Edwards elucidates his point of view as follows: “Everyone is bilingual. That is, there is no one in the world (no adult, anyway) who does not know at least a few words in other languages than the maternal variety” (Edwards 2004: 7). Moreover, if we take into account all the social and linguistic variation within the same language, e.g. dialect, colloquial, archaic and scholarly use etc., we can see that even the most 'monolingual' speaker is in fact unilingual but bidialectal (Ellis 2006: 175). However, usually the term “language” is reduced to the normative scope of “contemporary literary use”, thus turning a blind eye both on the evolution of linguistic resources over time and space, and on the very idea of use.

As a result of European nation-state discourses, monolingualism is seen as a norm, as an unmarked case (Ellis 2006). Blommaert and Verschueren explain this as: “‘best’ society is suggested to be one without intergroup differences. In other words, the ideal model of society is monolingual, monoethnic, monoreligious, monoideological” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 195).

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8 Eternal TimeSpace might be a productive way of looking into affective spaces (see chapter 7)

9 My translation. Throughout the thesis, all the sources which are originally published in languages other than English (e.g. Russian, Portuguese) will be translated by the author.

Silverstein (1996) coins a term 'monoglot' ideology for this phenomenon. In his conceptualisation of a sociolinguistics of globalisation, Jan Blommaert points out that monoglot ideology “makes time and space static, it suggests a transcendent phenomenology for things that define the nation-state, and presents them as natural, neutral, a-contextual and non-dynamic” (Blommaert 2010: 165). While such 'ideal' society might hypothetically be extremely efficient in terms of political rule and for implementation of social policies and economic planning, this view comes against the actual reality of linguistic, ethnic, religious and ideological diversity in contemporary societies. As Harré *et al.* (1998: 171) put it: ““although there is a widespread perception that speaking the same language reduces conflict, this commonsense view cannot be upheld on closer inspection”.

#### **II.4.2 Monoglossic views in education**

The monoglot ideology has an impact on the ways in which languages are conceptualised and incorporated into educational policies and practices, as well as projected into academic practice. It also shapes the ways in which people identify themselves. Bourdieu states a decisive role that is played by educational systems in the imposition of legitimate language(s). As well as “producing and reproducing the official language”, the educational system works on building “the common consciousness of the nation” (Bourdieu 1991: 49).

Blackledge and Creese argue that education in England has become “one of the most powerful domains in which English is misrecognised as the sole legitimate language” (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 9). This holds true for contemporary Portugal (Pinto 2008) and is becoming increasingly evident in the post-Soviet multiethnic Russia. Politicians and educators in these countries often share the view that having “too many languages in the classroom” makes life too difficult for teachers. Multilingual schools are seen as impractical, costly and inefficient, and even as a “threat to 'national unity' and 'identity' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 10).

Drawing on Bourdieu's work, Basil Bernstein (1996) in his theory of pedagogical discourse identified mechanisms by which the symbolic domination of the powerful groups and the societal hierarchy is reproduced. By creating, via biological metaphors, 'horizontal discourses of solidarity' “which emphasize what all groups share, their commonality and apparent interdependence” (Bernstein 1996: 9), education produces an illusion of integration of various social groups into education while preserving its 'vertical cleavages'. Simultaneously, the mythological discourse of education disconnects the internal hierarchies within the school from the external class-based hierarchies underlying them. The student's success or failure at school becomes linked with

biological (cognitive, affective, etc.) reasons rather than social ones. For this study, Bernstein's ideas can provide insights into mechanisms by which languages other than Portuguese become constructed as a 'natural' condition of immigrant children while their academic progress is consequently connected to their languages. Moreover, due to their nature, supranational European discourses on education result in promoting 'horizontal solidarity' in schools across Europe.

As we have seen earlier, monolingualising discourses find their way into second language acquisition (SLA) (Ellis 2006, cf. also Block 2003). Ofelia García in her book "Bilingual education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (2009) dedicates a whole chapter to "monoglossic beliefs and practices" in bilingual education. These beliefs and practices are based on views of "multiple languages in isolation from each other" (García 2009: 220) and include the following models of bilingual education (BE):

- transitional BE (shift to a majority or colonial language);
- maintenance BE (enrichment of speakers of minority languages);
- prestigious BE (enrichment of social elites);
- immersion BE (enrichment of language majorities).

These models of bilingual education use theoretical constructs borrowed from structural functional linguistics that view bilingualism from the perspective of different social functions performed by languages and language varieties. These models operated Ferguson's concept of *diglossia* (1964), which situated languages and varieties within the societal hierarchy of status and prestige, where the 'high' language was linked to institutionalised functions and valued resources, and the 'low' language was associated to everyday life and solidarity among marginalised groups. Likewise, the often used in these models Fishman's concept of *domains* (1968) connected linguistic resources to institutionalised and ritualised activities such as work, education, family, religion, etc. Monica Heller, as she formulates a critical approach to bilingualism, argues that the structural-functional perspective "remained resolutely committed to a paradigm in which languages are understood as whole, bounded systems, associated, moreover, with whole, bounded communities" (Heller 2007: 11).

The problem with the monoglossic models of bilingual education, highlights García, is that they seek legitimacy in practices of monolinguals, and associate the desired outcome with monolingual norms (García 2009: 115). By orienting their teaching and assessment processes towards

monolingual practices, the ideological action of these models results in delegitimising the actual fluid linguistic practices of bilingual and multilingual speakers that fail to “neatly correspond to separate domains” (Heller *ibidem*). Mukul Saxena (1994) and Braj Kachru (1982) provide examples of such fluid linguistic practices. For instance, Kachru describes a short telephone exchange between two educated Kashmiri men which was held in Kashmiri, English and Hindustani (Kachru 1982: 33) regardless of the fact that both men shared at least one language and no identity issues were apparently in question. So this kind of multilingualism appears to have little in common with the “alternate” use of two or more languages (Weinreich 1953: 1).

The community school organised by Eastern European immigrant parents which became the fieldwork site for this ethnography can be categorised as a school operating within one of the monoglossic BE models, specifically the maintenance model. Both immigrant parents and community school teachers have often compared the competences of their children and students with those of Portuguese and Russian monolingual peers. This orientation towards monolingual norms is often supported by teachers in Portuguese schools and is implied in the language-in-education policy of 'Portuguese as a non-native language', as well as in the official model of linguistic immersion. In such a way, with the cooperation and consent of immigrant adults, 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu 1991: 51) is unleashed.

## **II.5 Ideological approach to literacy**

### **II.5.1 Literacy as a social practice**

Being literate used to mean to be able to write one's name (Scribner and Cole 1981: 51). As demonstrated earlier, access to writing as technology as well as to particular written registers and genres, for instance in religious practices, was strictly regulated and controlled in traditional societies. In the times of colonisation, missionaries 'brought' literacy to “illiterate” peoples to find out that these people had developed their own writing systems long before the contact with the Western civilisation. So being literate in that historical context meant being familiar with Western alphabetic writing (Kress 2000: 15; Barton 1994: 21). Being simultaneously the forefront of action for building of imagined communities and one of the expressions of national belonging, writing has always been connected with struggles for power and voice. Blommaert (2012) suggests that writing should be seen as sociolinguistic subject as its use poses the classic question of sociolinguistics on patterns of distribution.

In our days, the standardisation of varieties of Cape Verdean creole through a creation of the unified alphabet (ALUPEC: *Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Caboverdiano* [Unified Alphabet for Writing in Cape Verdean]) and its use to index national belonging, as well as the ongoing heated debate on *Acordo Ortográfico* in Portugal provide examples of writing as a mode of identification. Most recently in post-Soviet Russia, the confrontation between pro-Latin and pro-Cyrillic alphabet movements in post-Soviet Tatarstan, which resulted in the consequent Russian state coercive action imposing the Cyrillic alphabet for all languages within multilingual Russia<sup>10</sup>, reflect the current geopolitical and symbolic divide within Russia. In Sebba's words, it could be interpreted either as “the struggle between the imperial centre and a wayward peripheral state which the centre felt it must bring to heel” (Sebba 2003: 18) or a debate over the rights and obligations of states, language communities and individuals (*ibidem*).

Any of these examples may illustrate that orthography and literacy practices are far from “neutral technology” (Street 1984; Woolard 1998), being rather “a site of negotiation and transformation” (Street 1994: 142) as conceptualised by the New Literacy Studies group. This group of scholars aims “to grapple with the power relations that pervade literacy practices, to find new ways of linking the linguistic, the cognitive, and the social” (Collins 1995: 80). A focus on language ideology allows to relate cultural manifestations to considerations of power and social inequality, to connect discourse with lived experiences.

However, education still operates the “autonomous literacy” model “which isolates literacy as an independent variable and then claims to be able to study its consequences [...] classically represented in terms of economic “takeoff” or in terms of cognitive skills (Street 1984: 2). Literacy within this model is seen as a decontextualised uniform set of techniques and uses of languages, with identifiable serial stages and clear consequences for culture and cognition (Barton 1994). That is perhaps why Ferreira (2003: 365) considers writing in language learning to be “freezing of the language, a denaturalisation of its most authentic features” and dedicates a whole section of her extensive analysis to the “literacy devastating effect” (*ibidem*: 557)

Lately this trend has shifted towards a functional approach that takes literacy in terms of understanding its functions, goals and means for their achievement by the learner (Neves and Martins 2000). The functional literacy approach goes beyond mere decoding capability, as literacy is viewed as an ability to comprehend and use all forms and types of written communication required by the society and its individual members (Sim-Sim 1993). Even though this approach

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<sup>10</sup> For a detailed account and analysis, see Sebba 2003, cf. also Chapter 4.

aims at locating literacy within its social context, it still views it in terms of competence which suggests operating bounded units of techniques and uses.

Evidence from Charmian Kenner's research (2004) on cultural differences in scribbles produced by Chinese, Arab, Hebrew and Spanish preschoolers (3-5 year-old children) foregrounds several significant moments in discussion of literacy as a social practice. It underlines the sociocultural nature of literacy by indicating the differences in processing associated with different cultures (Scribner and Cole 1981). Furthermore, Kenner's data reflect the interactive nature of becoming literate, both the learner's interaction with artefacts in his/her print environment and with more knowledgeable people. They disclose the active role of learners in the process of learning literacy, as they act on the basis of their socioculturally embedded knowledge about writing, its nature and functions. Finally, such differences at this age suggest that children start learning literacy well before entering school, despite the common assumptions which consider learning to read and write to be exclusively schooled activities (Goodman 2003). These conclusions do not seem to fit any more within the cognitively universal understanding of literacy, they call for a theory of literacy as a social practice.

'Practice' in relation to language and literacy, explains Pennycook, "is not a mere doing of things, but rather a combination of thought and action" (Pennycook 2010: 21). It is also not just the opposition to theory. The space of practice is situated at the level of mediating the social activity, between the local and the global, between the social structure and the individual action and thus is very useful to explore. Practices are groupings of activities organised into coherent ways of doing things which are part of broader social world. Baynham (1995) provides an elucidating illustration of literacy as a social practice: reading aloud in a primary school and in a Quranic school "is not the same thing, even though a psychological approach to literacy might well regard them as demonstrations of the same processing skills" (Baynham 1995: 41).

Being embedded in cultural and social practice, literacy practices and artefacts have history. This equally include changes in the ways we communicate brought on by "technological changes affecting devices of communication" (Shohamy 2006: 9) leading to development of communication through electronic and social media. Forms and genres of literacy are constantly evolving, both in terms of structure and content – by way of example, we can perhaps think of the style differences between a hand-written letter and an email message, or of the difference in temporal terms between a posted letter and a text message.

Furthermore, literacy practices combine multitudes of individual histories. Each participant of a

literacy interaction has her own literacy experience which emerges from the history of her family and social group. The historical trajectory of artefacts and texts can be traced through analysis of changes in meaning making process in two ways: 1) as textual objects, reflecting meaning-making process, and 2) as material objects, reflecting physical processes (Ormerod and Ivanič 2000). I am going to address the issue of learning later on in this chapter but now I would like to point that the way to unravel the history of an artefact/text, according to Gunther Kress (2000), is to take the learner's perspective and her previous knowledge as a starting point for its interpretation. Kress states that the new knowledge arises out of what exists already, produced in interaction with the learner's interest. At the same time, the learner changes himself as his interests become directed to something new.

When we examine social practices as activities shaping up and shaped by social relations we "focus on the point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action" (Scollon 2007: 615). If we take a concrete interpersonal interaction, the examined action may throw light both on long established social relationships on larger scales and may evidence historical trajectories of the emerging and silenced; it may give evidence of the co-existing and co-interacting regimes and uses of language and literacy for each participant in the interaction (for a detailed analysis of concrete events through this lens, see Keating 2005; Keating and Solovova 2011).

Being situated in people's relations, literacy practices reflect the issues of power and interests, values and attitudes linked to it. Consequently, there are different literacies which are related to different activities, institutional discourses and social groups. These differences are "increased across different cultures or historical periods" (Barton 1994). Some of the literacies and associated practices are more dominant, visible and influential while others become marginalised, made invisible and rarely acknowledged as literacy at all.

Which literacy practices may become marginalised? Elsie Rockwell provides an example of unofficial writing and reading that takes place in schools (e.g. exchanging notes, writing on the margins of notebooks, desk graffiti, sneaky reading, etc.) (Rockwell 2003; Maybin 2007). Dulce Pereira gives an account how the 'egalitarian treatment' of Portuguese and creole speakers in educational and healthcare institutions make languages and literacies in Portuguese-based creoles virtually invisible (Pereira 2002). This last example takes us to the question of symbolic power relations between literacies in different languages in the contemporary multilingual Europe.

## **II.5.2 Multilingual literacies in mainstream and bilingual education**

Literacy is “an emphatically normative field” (Blommaert *et al.* 2006: 35) as it is seen as a visible expression of symbolic belonging, because “what may be tolerable in speech may be symbolic issue if visible in chalk or print” (Hymes 1996: 69). Written language is considered more permanent (Tusting 2000: 41) and lasting; the investment in particular literacy practices overtime is seen community-shaping. Different forms of literacy point out to social status, identity and social relations.

Despite the increased flows of migration and mobility across Europe and the multilingual realities of European countries in a globalised world, the European state institutions in general and mainstream education in particular still insist on reinforcing the monoglot ideologies. Ideologies around literacies form evaluative regimented networks of linguistic and semiotic signs, which are implied in the practice of literacy teaching. Immigrant children from a different literacy background are brought into these regimented networks of educational environments where they have to make meaning of those implicit semiotic groupings. They have to make sense of which configuration of resources counts as 'language' and 'literacy' and which are disqualified as such. Teachers in mainstream education often make a direct connection between the immigrant identity and language 'problems' (Blommaert *et al.* 2006). By association, any attempt of meaning making through mixing in writing is equally categorised as 'literacy problems' associated to immigrant identity. Immigrant children are considered 'integrated' in a host country's educational system when they are capable to demonstrate the monoglot literacy standard in the language of the country.

Literacy introduction is one of the central, if not the principal one, areas of curricular action for early childhood educational establishments and primary schools, both within monolingual and bilingual education. Ethnographic research on induction into literacy in various educational sites in the US (dual language programme – García 2009; Glupczynski Spencer *et al.* 2011) and in Belgium (Dutch language primary school – Blommaert *et al.* 2006) provides evidence of the extent to which semiotic resources brought into literacy learning by immigrant multilingual children can be disqualified. As reported by Blommaert's research team, whenever the immigrant children attempted to painstakingly record their own accents in writing, their work was penalised. Equally penalised were their efforts to capture their teachers' regional variations within the 'native speaker' accent. In chapter 7, I bring an example of similar literacy intervention by a Ukrainian parent into her son's homework for the complementary Russian school. By disqualifying forms of

literacy produced by children literate in other languages than the language of the educational setting, the school communicates to these children that “their very cultural beings may not be fully realised in schools” (Glupczynski Spencer *et al.* 2011: 121).

Literacies in different languages exist within socially constructed and negotiated boundaries, which are closely watched. These boundaries could be established in time or be associated with a particular physical space (home, school, etc.) or, rather, with particular activities within those spaces. For example, García (2009) describes monoliterate bilingual arrangements: the teacher gives the gist of a lesson either in Filipino or English, and then explains it to the students in the local vernacular; the vernacular is never used in written form (García 2009: 297). As such, schooling in this setting is linked to writing in dominant languages.

In actual lived experiences of people living in multilingual environments, these boundaries are not “hermetically sealed”, thus forming “interstices” where the different literacies may co-exist (Martin-Jones and Heller 1996: 7-8). Home is one of the examples of such interstices: even though a bilingual family may make it a rule not to speak the dominant language at home, dominant literacy will nevertheless make inroads in form of bills, letters from school, publicity materials, etc. (Saxena 1994, cf. also chapter 7).

In school and state institutions, transliteration can be seen as an additional resource for negotiating the meaning-making processes in multiliterate learning (Al-Azami *et al.* 2010). In my view, transliteration can be explored further to examine the multiple roles it can play in a globalised world: firstly, it can represent a coercive action by which state institutions such as passport offices inscribe individuals into institutional networks (e.g. transliterating one's name according to one of the current diplomatic agreements on the state official transcription). In this sense, transliteration agreements and state practices reflect major geopolitical changes in a globalised world (e.g. after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the newly independent post-Soviet states established new transliteration rules). Secondly, children, teenagers and adults use transliteration to create 'new languages', i.e. novel ways of secret communication, as well as to exchange informal messages in digital communication in social media and texting practices. These practices sometimes represent subversive and resistant acts aiming to implode the regimented uses of literacy in educational settings. Finally, learners can recur to transliteration as an intermediary between two different scripts in their environments (Al-Azami *et al.* 2010, Conteh and Brock 2011, cf. also chapter 7). Yet its potential is often completely overlooked and even delegitimised by teachers in mainstream and informal schools.

### **II.5.3 From literacy in a second language to biliteracy and pluriliteracies**

Traditionally, the use of two or more languages for reading and writing was represented in terms of a sequential or simultaneous acquisition of literacy in one or/and other language. Supporters of the sequential view (Kessler and Quinn 1982; Cummins 1999; Genesee 1999) consider that literacy in the second language should not be introduced until the child has acquired competences in speaking, reading and writing in her first language (so-called 'Threshold and the Developmental Interdependence hypotheses' by Cummins, cf. also Grosjean 1982; Homel *et al.* 1987). This hypothesis attempted to generalise across bilingual environments to predict outcomes for cognitive functioning in the bilingual child. It also pointed to the necessity of evaluating the child's performance in L2 in terms of development and acquisition of L1 (Sim-Sim 1998: 276).

Genesee's claims (1989) that bilingual children develop differentiated language systems from the beginning opened a way for an inquiry into a simultaneous acquisition of literacy in two languages. Research findings of studies of literacy learning in two languages, such as Edelsky (1986), Hudelson (1999) and Kenner (2004) provide evidence that children are capable to develop literacies in two languages simultaneously, in different combinations of scripts and separate educational contexts. Edelsky and Hudelson described how Spanish-English bilinguals learned to deal with writing and reading in English in US school contexts. Kenner accompanied for over a year the progress of six younger Arabic, Spanish and Chinese children in London, as they learned to write in their family languages at home and community schools, as well as in English in their primary schools. Their research established that children were capable of using their languages in contextually sensitive ways. Dworin (2003: 179 *apud* García 2006) stresses the bidirectionality of biliteracy, which is "a dynamic, flexible process in which children's transactions with two written languages mediate their language learning for both languages". This view breaks away from examining biliteracy as a combination of two bounded systems of technological skills replacing it with a vision of a biliterate repertoire shaped in interaction with different scripts as well as with literacy ideological discourses associated to them.

Nancy Hornberger first proposed the term "biliteracy" to refer to "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around written material" (Hornberger 1990: 213). As it emerges from the conjunction between literacy and bilingualism, both shaped and shaping up social practice, "each instance [of biliteracy] is peculiarly defined by a specific context, at the individual, situational, cultural, and societal levels" (Hornberger 1988: 23). Over the

last three decades, Hornberger *develeped* a theoretical framework of continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 1989, 2003) which aim to reflect the complexity of the multilingual environment. The continua model captures the major social, psychological, linguistic, and political issues within development of biliteracy. It has been influential in literacy research, and can also be explored in constructing pedagogy, as well as in literacy policy and planning in multilingual contexts. Hornberger distinguishes four intersecting dimensions in biliteracy (Figure 1):



Figure 1. Power relations in continua of biliteracy. Source: Hornberger and Link 2012: 266. For a full description of the continua of biliteracy, see Hornberger 2002.

Rather than presenting the dimensions of bilingualism and literacy as oppositional pairs – as these often get presented by scholars, practitioners and policymakers – the continua model highlights that they are endpoints of a continuum, each of which interacts with other continua, and thus forming highly complex and fluid interrelated spaces. A change along and across the continua triggers consequent changes in others. By linking together the contexts, development scenarios, media and content in her model, Hornberger aims at challenging the traditional views of bilingualism and literacy:

“Since educational policies and practices often and overwhelmingly privilege compartmentalized, monolingual, written, decontextualized language and literacy practices, the continua of biliteracy lens offers a vision for contesting those weightings

by intentionally opening up implementational and ideological spaces for fluid, multilingual, oral, contextualized practices, and voices at the local level” (Hornberger and Link 2012: 265; cf. also Hornberger 2002; Hornberger and Johnson 2007).

Earlier work by Hornberger (Ricento and Hornberger 1996) and its recent development (Hornberger and Johnson 2007) help practitioners find the implementational and ideological spaces for fluid multilingual practices. Ricento and Hornberger argue that the processes of language and literacy policy and planning are multilayered constructs and propose a top-down perspective from the legislation and state institutions to classroom practitioners. The later work by Hornberger and Johnson focuses on agentive spaces from bottom-up perspective. In my view, even though both articles offered a vision of structural and agentive spaces, the metaphor of 'onion layers', which the authors had chosen to represent those spaces, ended up undermining somewhat the very intention of presenting those spaces as fluid, intersecting and changing. Indeed, it is not clear how layers, being bounded and finite, can interact with each other. In my view, the metaphor of a kaleidoscope applied by other scholars such as Kalaja *et al.* (2008) and Clara Keating (2001) will do a better job of capturing the multilayered yet interrelated nature of those spaces.

In order to emphasise multiple rather than two languages and literacies, Marilyn Martin-Jones and Kathryn Jones coined the term 'multilingual literacies' (2000). For these authors, the notion of multilingual literacies also captures the complexity of communicative purposes and different genres and registers in people's repertoires.

The increasingly complex ways in which people learn and communicate across the world nowadays include not only different genres and registers but also modes, channels of communication and semiotic systems (Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Kress 2003). When mapped onto the global flow of people, goods and ideas (cf. transnational literacies – Warriner 2007), it signals the need for a paradigm shift in literacy studies. The new “pluriliteracies” framework advanced by García *et al.* (2006) aims at “an integration of the sociolinguistically grounded work being done in biliteracy and multilingual literacies, the sociocultural scholarship of new literacy studies and multimodal literacies, and the burgeoning field of plurilingualism” (García *et al.* 2006: 10). Sociocultural and ideological approach to biliteracy is integral to the pluriliteracies approach. The new framework builds on the concepts of hybridity and heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981) of languages and literacies, and in doing this, moves away from representing languages as compartmentalised entities and understands them as overlapping, intersecting and interconnecting. The authors summarise the

main ideas of the pluriliteracies approach as follows:

Our pluriliteracies approach, then:

- emphasizes the integrated, hybrid nature of plurilingual literacy practices;
- highlights the continuous interplay of multiple languages, scripts, discourses, dialects, and registers;
- calls attention to the ways in which multilingual literacies are enmeshed and rely upon multiple modes, channels of communication, and semiotic systems;
- adopts from new literacy studies a constant awareness of the ways in which cultural contexts and social relations influence literacy practices;
- and attends to the development of literacy practices beyond the school, even as work within this vein endeavours to bring theoretical insight to bear on pedagogical developments. (García *et al.* 2006: 12-13).

The new pluriliteracies approach posits that the uses of languages and literacies in the globalised world go beyond “markers of national or ethnic identity, but have become a form of economic and social capital in integrated markets and a globalised world” (García *et al.* 2006: 12). This development goes in line with a recent trend on language commodification (Heller 2003; da Silva *et al.* 2007).

## **II.6 Learning and agency in multilingual contexts**

### **II.6.1 Metaphors on language, teaching and learning**

According to Nietzsche (2005), metaphor is essential to language. The first metaphor, in Nietzsche’s view, relates to the process of transferring a nerve stimulus into an image; the second metaphor refers to the transformation of the image into a sound. From this perspective, every meaning-making act through language is metaphorical as it is mediated through subjective experiences.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) underline that metaphors structure both the way we speak and how we think, experience the world and act in it. Even though abstract concepts like 'language', 'literacy' and 'learning' can be structured only partially, they can be systematically grouped as they get organised around a set of central binding metaphors. In this sense, theoretical frameworks start to unravel once the central metaphor has been chosen. For example, Milani examines how the metaphors of language as a tool/ key and a bearer give structure to the language ideological debate about Swedish language in Draft action programme for Swedish language (Milani 2007) by bringing to the surface the competing yet co-existing voices. Whereas the tool/key metaphor underscored the endangered position of Swedish in communicative contexts in relation to English

in a globalised world, the bearer metaphor foregrounded the symbolic function the language played in public participation and imagining a Swedish nation (Milani 2007: 192). For the policy of Portuguese language, we can perhaps identify the following structuring metaphors: 1) 'lusophony', which ascertains the common cultural and linguistic heritage of the lusophone countries which nowadays is becoming increasingly connected with 'economic values' of Portuguese; 2) 'host', which determines the dominating position for Portuguese language in 'immigrant integration' in Portugal (for examples, see chapter 6), and 3) 'tool' in discourses of linguistic provision of Portuguese abroad, which underlines the cultural capital provided by the Portuguese language and culture, and reinforces the connection to the Portuguese state in evaluative and teacher-training discourses (cf. Keating *et al.* 2013).

### **II.6.1.1 Language acquisition and language socialisation**

Language teaching and learning discourses, and especially SLA studies have long been dominated by the metaphor of 'learner as computer' (Ellis 1997). It is particularly evident in the Input-Interaction-Output (IIO) model (Gass and Selinker 1994; Long and Doughty 2011) that is based on structural 'bi-dimensional linguistics' (Lefebvre 1968). Discourses organised around this metaphor represent the language learner as an information processor that receives the input from caretakers, teachers and peers, analyses the input against existing knowledge systems and then produces measurable output as the learner incorporates the input into the knowledge system. The chosen metaphor organises conceptualisation of the learning process in terms of 'acquisition', 'skills' and 'competence', and associates the crucial part of the process -interaction- with the cognitive assessment of the previous linguistic evidence. The success is viewed in terms of mastery of linguistic and communicative skills of the target language. Social and affective variables are acknowledged as important "but relatively minor in impact in both naturalistic and classroom settings" (Long 1997: 319 *apud* Block 2003: 125).

By contrast, studies within the sociocultural approach to language and literacy that draw from a range of discipline areas like linguistic anthropology (Hymes 1972; Gumperz *et al.* 1979, Duranti 1997), cultural psychology (Vygotsky 1978, 1986; Scribner and Cole 1981; Lave and Wenger 1991) and education (Rogoff 1991) underline the primary importance of meanings that are negotiated in contexts. According to Ben Rampton, socialisation, as the negotiation of power and identity through language, becomes an integral part of acquisition (Rampton 1995).

Lev Vygotsky in his theory on the social origins of thought (Vygotsky 1978 – first published in 1928)

aimed to bridge the gap between a cognitive and social development. He pointed out that cultural influence on individual thinking consists in managing, organising the thinking by providing (1) goals of development, and (2) means for their achievement. (Vygotsky 1991). Learning of the different types of “cultural behaviour (such as language, literacy, numeracy, etc”. -- *ibidem*) consisted in its gradual internalisation and automatisisation. Vygotsky’s simple model constituted the basis for the three-level activity theory (AT). Each level (activity-action-operation) is directed by motive, goal and instrumental conditions respectively. Instrumental conditions include artefacts and cultural resources, such as tools and signs. As the learner seeks out to acquire “cultural behaviour”, s/he engages actively with mediating artefacts and cultural resources formed historically within the culture in order to achieve culturally developed goals. This process takes place in the learner’s zone of proximal development (ZPD), i.e. which is constituted by the difference between the actual level of the learner’s competence and the level attainable with the social support. The results of the interactions are reflected in the creation of artefacts by the learner (Engeström *et al.* 1999; Anderson and Teale 2003). In sum, research within Vygotskian tradition indicates that children – and adults learn first on the social plane, and later internalise the social into the psychological plane.

Pierre Bourdieu, in his interview to Roger Chartier on people in history (Bourdieu and Chartier 1989), traces a link between his notion of 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1991) and a Vygotskian view on language acquisition. Bourdieu points out that, from a Vygotskian perspective, children come to school knowing how to use the language, yet they are taught grammar so that to have access to practice, which in fact is a metapractice (Bourdieu and Chartier 1989: 57). This metapractice constitutes part of their habitus which has to be situated “in the history of their community and the power struggles that sustain it” (Medina 2005: 116).

So another metaphor is used to describe the process of learning, i.e. 'learner as apprentice' in a community of practice, or in Lave and Wenger's words, “legitimate peripheral participant in adult social worlds” (1991). Research within this approach is related to the field of language socialisation, which looks into how “children and other novices learn to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively” (Ochs 1996 *apud* Kramsch 2002: 2).

Earlier research on language socialisation was focused on very young children socialised into their family languages (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Heath 1994). In the recent years, the study of language socialisation has broadened to include how children, teenagers and adults learn to use language in a familiar or other culture (Eckert 2000; Gee 2008) and in a variety of bilingual and

multilingual settings – in households, at schools, in communities and peer groups and in the workplace (cf. the research collection in a volume edited by Bayley and Schecter 2003).

The major difference between the two frameworks lies in the learner's agency: within the language socialisation framework, language is not just an information input but a tool with which the learner makes meaning of the world. Knowledge about language goes beyond grammar structures and vocabulary choice but is mapped onto actual language practices of community members (Kramsch 2002). Being embedded in social practice, language and literacy learning is seen as situated (Barton *et al.* 2000; Gee 2008) and represents 'learning by doing' (Keating 2005). As we have seen, both language and literacy are far from being ideologically neutral, so by taking part in or by observing interactions centred around language and literacy, learners accumulate ideologically loaded meanings of what counts as language or literacy.

In this respect, research on language socialisation stems from two concepts developed by Mikhail Bakhtin. One of them is the assumption that language is inherently heteroglossic, i.e., that each language utterance is filled “with echoes and reverberations of other utterances” (Bakhtin 1986: 91). Bakhtin stresses the inherent tensions and the historicity of language: “It represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth, all given a bodily form. These “languages” of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying languages (Bakhtin 1982: 291).

Another concept that is influential in the field of language socialisation is 'ideological becoming' from Bakhtin's essay “Dialogic imagination”(Bakhtin 1982). The notion refers to how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas, in Bakhtin's words, our 'ideological self'. The child inscribes herself into the authoritative wor(l)ds of others by populating them with her own semantic and expressive intentions, with her own accent (*ibidem*: 294). So the child's language socialisation is situated in-between the individual agency and sociocultural and historical world.

In his brilliant conceptualisation of the 'social turn' for studies of language acquisition in light of the sociocultural theory of language and literacy, David Block (2003) summarised views of sociocultural theory on learning as follows:

1. Learners are historically and sociologically situated active agents, not just information processing machines [...].
2. Learning is about more than the acquisition of linguistic forms; it is about learners actively developing and engaging in ways of mediating themselves and their

relationships to others in communities of practice.

3. Learning can be as much about failing to develop as succeeding, and this failure may be in the form of non-participation [...]

4. Agency is not an individual phenomenon; rather, it is always co-constructed via interaction with other agents.

5. Learning is part of the ongoing construction of self-identity and the consequent ongoing construction of a personal narrative (Block 2003: 109-110).

As we can see, socialisation, as the negotiation of power and identity through language, becomes an integral part of acquisition. Kramsch (2002) goes further to state that nowadays language acquisition and language socialisation represent converging fields. In Kramsch's words: "the more the goal of language acquisition is expressed in terms of functional, communicative competence, and appropriate social and cultural performance, and the more socialisation is dependent on precise grammatical and lexical ability, the more difficult it is to separate acquisition and socialisation" (Kramsch 2002: 2).

### ***II.6.1.2 A scenario of child socialisation in multilingual contexts: from family language policies to languaging***

Drawing from a language socialisation theoretical framework inspired by socio-historical psychology by Vygotsky (1978; 1986, 1991), cultural psychology of literacy by Scribner and Cole (1981), situated learning and communities of practice by Lave and Wenger (2003), apprenticeship in thinking by Rogoff (1991), social turn in SLA by Block (2003), and Situated Learning Matrix by Gee (2008), we can formulate the following interpretative scenario for the child's socialisation in multilingual and multiliterate environments.

School and family are indispensable sites of socialisation of a social subject. Here the child is introduced into a system of relationships with other people, learns to interact with them and observes others use resources in different modes and channels of communication. These interactions form patterns, while their forms often become naturalised as rituals and formulas. Being inserted into a network of power which is constantly developing in a dialectic configuration, these interactions provide children with a vision of socially approved, legitimate ways of doing things with languages and literacies and discourses – modes of talking about those ways. Children are simultaneously participants in those networks and learners of a whole range of models, including socially approved expressions of parental love and teacher authority, as well as ideologies of learning, literacy and language. These expressions and ideologies are part of

patterned cultural artefacts of the given community of practice, the children's 'ideological environment' (Bakhtin 1978: 14 *apud* Ball and Freedman 2004), since "human consciousness does not come into contact with existence directly, but through the medium of the surrounding ideological world" (*ibidem*). As children participate actively or in observation of expert others in interactions, they gain embodied and situated experiences and memories over their personal history. These experiences and memories could be creatively deployed in interactions with others and become part of people's own, unique multimodal and multilingual repertoires, i.e. idiolects which represent "the whole language of experience of the person, including the ability to translate from one language to another" (Scollon 1977 *apud* Scollon 2002: 130), and we should also add the ability to translate from one mode to another. Since the embodied experiences and memories are formed through dialogue, image, and action in actual contexts (Gee 2008: 36), they are accessible to an ethnographer.

Family is one of the key contexts in child's socialisation. Recently, a new field of family language policies has emerged to acknowledge the crucial role the family plays in shaping the child's linguistic and cultural environment<sup>11</sup>. In general terms, it focuses on the ways in which "languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families" (King *et al.* 2008: 907) Family environments act out the three components of language policies at the community level, identified by Spolsky (2004) as follows:

"language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management." (Spolsky 2004: 5).

Despite the fact that families and schools configure, to a great extent, language and literacy practices and ideologies available for children learners within the environment, children take an active position in their socialisation. They spot incongruences between different semiotic resources, practices, discourses and genres in mainstream classrooms (Rockwell 2003; Maybin 2007) and in complementary schools (Lytra 2010). There is a growing evidence on the ways in which children resist the traditional 'socialisational teaching' (Wei and Wu 2010) by "posing challenging questions and making fun of classroom activities" (*ibidem*: 43; cf. also Blackledge and Creese 2010; Hancock 2012). In multiliterate environments, children are reported to employ English transliteration as a bridge to scripts they are learning (Kenner 2004; see also chapter 7 for

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11 For a comprehensive review on the emerging field of family language policies (FLP), see Schwartz 2010

examples of Portuguese-informed transliteration for Russian alphabet).

The overwhelming research data on the creative ways in which children and adults use and transform<sup>12</sup> their linguistic and other semiotic resources prompted various authors to re-imagine languages as fluid codes or even as discourses, i.e. ways of talking and writing within a context (Hopper 1998 in García 2009). Shohamy (2006), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), as well García (2009) propose to view language as practice which mediates the human activity, by which the very term 'language' changes the grammatical category and becomes a verb. It also shifts from a 'tool' metaphor to something we actually do (Pennycook 2010). In this sense, 'linguaging' refers to "language as language practices, linguaging as a resource of imagination, linguaging without bridles, linguaging without prejudices, in its full realia of modes and meanings that are supported by technology today" (García 2009: 40), in short to linguaging as "multiple discursive practices" (*ibidem*). Pennycook (2010: 125) points out that if we talk in terms of linguaging rather than language, "we can think in terms of time and memory, rather than system and structure".

When we look at bilingual and multilingual practices trying to comprehend how the different semiotic resources, models are used from the perspective of users, we refer to 'translinguaging' (García 2009; Wei 2011). Li Wei notes that "translinguaging is both going *between* different linguistic structures and systems and going *beyond* them" (Wei 2011: 1222, my emphasis). In other words, by conceptualising language as practice, scholars shift the attention away from socialisation as mere accumulating resources, modes and genres to focus on the transformational and dynamic effects that the active interaction with those resources, modes and genres bears on the ways we communicate our ideas and identities. Such conceptualisations also view mixed resources as thoroughly valid and legitimate as they are examined in terms of "everyday language practice of the majority world" (Pennycook 2010: 133) rather than occasional use (e.g. 'language crossing' in Rampton 1995; 'polylingual linguaging' in Jørgensen 2008). Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) goes even further and questions why we continue to view languages as autonomous linguistic systems when they could "more fruitfully be understood as sets of resources called into play by social actors under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations as well as the production of new ones" (Heller 2007: 518).

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12 See, for example, research by Moore (2012) among young learners of indigenous language (Kiksht) in Warm Springs Indian reservation in Oregon and the ways in which they transformed the ancestral language by introducing into it new and specialized functions.

### **II.6.1.3 Economic metaphors for language and literacy socialisation**

Children live in a rapidly changing globalised world. Martin-Jones (2007) identified three dimensions of globalisation regarding their impact on language and education, namely:

1) the rapid expansion of the new economy; 2) the increased flow and mobility of immigrants, refugees, migrant workers and elite workers within the global capitalist system; and 3) the relentless spread of English (Martin-Jones 2007: 176-177). The overall effect for education, language teaching and learning calls for a redefinition of language identities and the very concept of language and literacy.

The growing language industry has been sustained by the discursive process of 'language commodification' (Heller 2003; da Silva *et al.* 2007) across and within unified Europe. It should be reiterated that neither an access to linguistic resources nor relations between them in the world and human society have never been equal (Bourdieu 1991). However, the emerging globalised economy has created the need for redefinition of language as a measurable skill, hence the proliferation of language testing systems and the creation of specialised language teaching programmes (business language; language for specific purposes, etc.). State policies of Russian language and Portuguese language have embraced this trend, for example, by elaborating standard testing systems to fit into a unified Common European Framework Reference for Languages.

Another illustration of the globalisation impact could be provided by newly emerging stratified and strictly regulated regimes of language testing for citizenship and long-term residence procedures in the European Union states. Heller and Duchêne point out that by introducing the compulsory language testing, the nation-states accomplish a double goal “they protect internal coherence (increasingly under threat from both local and immigrant sources of diversity)”(Heller and Duchêne 2007: 10), and “protect themselves with respect to other strong actors on the world stage” (*ibidem*).

Linguistic and communicative competences, as well as accents, genres and alphabets are becoming re-evaluated according to their marketable value, especially in relation to the value of English-based resources. Blommaert (2010) provides an example as to how American English accent was being promoted in online business language courses associated to leadership and success on global market, whereas 'ethnic accents' are positioned as hindering communication. In post-Soviet countries, the global “stampede towards English” (de Swaan 2001: 171) has created a powerful English language teaching industry dominated by British and American language institutes. Latin-based scripts are being increasingly used for public signage in shops, hotels, restaurants, business

companies, private hospitals etc. in post-Soviet countries. At the same time, local linguistic identities become re-evaluated and sometimes reinforced, as they get associated to particular potentials of social and cultural mobility (e.g. hip-hop culture – Pennycook 2010; see also Bilaniuk and Melnik 2008 on the Ukrainian music scene).

The logic of the market makes people invest in learning particular linguistic resources rather than complete 'languages'. Bonny Norton in her research on identities and language learning in bilingual environments captures this idea in the concept of 'investment' "which conceives of the language learner as having a complex history and multiple desires. An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, which changes across time and space" (Norton 1997: 411; Norton 2000). Being sensitive to changes in a global symbolic market, language learners adapt their repertoires to fit the latest market trends in order to guarantee themselves a place in the global market.

In the field of literacy socialisation, the increased role of the new media is transforming certain digital literacy skills into marketable ones. Drawing on the metaphor of apprenticeship, we can observe an ongoing change in traditional parent-child relationship. On the one hand, children and young adults are socialised into the new literacies, often simultaneously acquiring new identities of intermediaries in the process of induction their parents' and grandparents' into digital literacy learning. In this sense, children's family members become their apprentices. On the other hand, parents act as "sponsors of literacy" (Brandt 1997) for their children as they get to choose which literacy and language learning skills the family should invest in. In this sense, parents can dictate their rules in the ways literacies and languages are managed in their children's ideological environment<sup>13</sup>. However, these rules are not set in stone, and "each generation appropriates language anew; [...] negotiates their meaning with the expressive potentialities that language gives them" (Lecercle 1990: 104).

## **II.7 Emerging emphases in research on learning and multilingualism**

In the final section of this literature review, I would like to briefly focus on the issues that have become influential in language studies over the last years and may point to future directions in sociolinguistics. While I intend to take up these issues in some more detail in the next chapter, here I aim to identify the tensions between these frameworks.

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<sup>13</sup> For examples of children as intermediaries in their parents' digital literacy learning and of parents as sponsors of literacy for their children, see chapter 7.

Scholars have long looked for alternatives for overused concepts like communities, contexts and domains. The problem with 'community', notes James Paul Gee (2005), is that it seems to suggest that a categorisation is created for a group of people in accordance to what they do, what they believe in or what their interests are. By this, researchers look how groups of people are inscribed into social spaces rather than how those spaces are constructed by their ways of doing things and talking about them. 'Community' also implies a close-knit group of people which is internally homogeneous and static (cf. Jaffe 2007), thus making it entirely unclear what might sustain their homogeneity across time and space, especially when applied to schools and workplaces. It also poses questions of access and membership criteria, which could be problematic and contested in case of multilingual communities. In this sense, 'community' is a depleted term since it has to rely on another term to become operational: e.g., speech community, discursive community, community of practice.

Notions of domains and contexts equally seem to imply bounded finite spaces, wherein languages and literacies are used in certain ways which also differ drastically from one another. Once again, rather than producing the locality (Pennycook 2010), languages and literacies appear to be tied in to places. People's activities within the contexts or domains are seen as 'snapshots' within stable spaces (Blommaert 2010). No movement is implied. As such, there is no accounting for where fluid practices might belong and how they come about. May they appear in-between contexts and domains? Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) and Hornberger (2007) speak of 'interstices' and of 'implementational gaps' respectively.

### **II.7.1 Phenomenology and social spaces of language and learning**

Several alternatives have been proposed to address the problems with communities and contexts. One answer might be offered by taking up a phenomenological stance (Kramsch 2002). We learn about the world through corporeal schema which is the convergence of our body as the point of perception and the world is perceived and mediated through our bodies (Merleau-Ponty 1969 *apud* Kramsch 2002: 10). There is no apparent separation between the subject and object in corporeal schema. In this, it connects to the notion of 'historical bodies' in Japanese philosophy (Nishida 1966) which asserts that "we, as subjects, are submerged in our environment and have there our historical bodies" (Nishida 1966: 57-58). Body and the world are both object of ordering and discipline (Foucault 1991) yet are also situated in an active frame of creating history. As such, spaces and objects are simultaneously socially produced (Lefebvre 1995) by people and producing

social meanings for them (Latour 1996). In fact, citing Husserl, Lefebvre underlines that the subject cannot distance oneself from oneself; because if he tried it, he would either objectify himself or would find himself in the act of objectifying (Lefebvre 1968: 164). By stressing the inevitable reductionism of a scientific analysis, Lefebvre simultaneously addresses two issues: while challenging the objectivity of a scientific approach, he foregrounds the subjectivity of the researcher (see III.6.2).

One of the central insights of the phenomenological studies is the concept of mediation. Latour (1996) posits that objects/artefacts created by people can be equally significant in mediating human activity, as these objects carry with them the sedimented history of previous uses, and language emerges from semiotic activity through affordances in active engagement with material, social and discourse processes (Kramsch 2002: 20). By shifting attention from people to spaces (Gee 2005, cf. also Pennycook 2010), we can address issues of ways and motivations of using the space, ways of populating it with intentions (Bakhtin 1982), in short, how 'space' is constituted in social interaction. A good illustration of such a study represents Gee's research leading to the notion of semiotic social space (SSS) and its further theoretical development towards 'affinity spaces' in (Gee 2005)<sup>14</sup>. Gee's concept of SSS offers an analytical lens at how learning works in online game spaces in contrast with classroom and other learning sites. It points out the changing modes of learning through active participation that may make traditional classrooms look "pale by comparison. It may seem to lack the imagination that infuses the non-school aspects of their lives" (*ibidem*: 14). I have made an attempt to apply this concept to the collected ethnographical data in VII. 5.

McIlvenny, Broth and Haddington (McIlvenny *et al.* 2009), in their review of studies on space, place and mobility in social interaction, underline the conceptual differences between the place and space. The authors note that "place [...] includes the dimensions of lived experience, interaction and use of a space by its inhabitants" and "space' usually refers to the structural, geometrical qualities of a physical environment" (*ibidem*: 1). As a result, they conclude that 'place' would be the more appropriate concept within a suitable framework for understanding embodied interactions within their physical environment. Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) argue that both

<sup>14</sup> Gee defines a semiotic social space as follows: "To define any SSS, we need first to start with some content, something for the space to be "about" (remember, it's a semiotic social space). I will call this a generator for the SSS [...] an SSS is composed of one or more generators (of signs and their possible relationships), an emergent internal grammar and an emergent external grammar. But one more thing is needed to define a SSS, namely one or more portals with which to enter the SSS (remember, it's a type of space, not a group of people). A portal is anything that gives access to the signs of the SSS and to ways of interacting with those signs, by oneself or with other people" (Gee 2005: 218-220)

concepts are valid in terms of understanding how localities are produced. They stress that they “are interested in how people form meaningful relationships with the locales they occupy, how they attach meaning to space, and transform ‘space’ into place’. We are interested in how experience is embedded in place and how space holds memories that implicate people and events”(Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 13). Samina Hadi-Tabassum's ethnographic research (2006) seems to be based on the same premise, as the researcher examines the spatial practices in a dual language bilingual classroom from the perspective of space-place-power mediations. She describes how students transform the classroom space into a place of redefining the relationship between English and Spanish, “thus transforming themselves from social actors to social agents” and “opening up the possibility of transcending beyond the Spanish/English structural binary found in dual immersion classrooms and moving toward a hybrid, third space where the subjects can situate themselves in-between the two languages and not identify themselves with solely one absolute language” (Hadi Tabassum 2006: 273-274).

## **II.7.2 Ecological approaches to language and multilingualism**

Just like the research within the phenomenological tradition and research on social production of space, the line of research based on the metaphor of ecology also aims at a holistic understanding of the dynamic nature and character of relationships between the individual and the social environment. Claire Kramsch (2002) notes that this metaphor appeared in the 1960s and appealed to researchers in a number of fields, e.g. in systems theory (an ecology of mind- Bateson 1972); education (ecology of human development - Bronfenbrenner 1979), linguistics (ecology of language - Haugen 1972; ecolinguistics - Mühlhäusler 2001), and was also developed recently by the Portuguese sociologist Sousa Santos in his theoretical framework on '*ecologia de saberes*' [ecology of knowledges] (Santos 2007, 2012).

Overall, the metaphor of ecology attempts to capture the interconnectedness between organisms and their environment, viewing all the parts within the ecology as complementary and interdependent. The ecology of language, for Haugen, was “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment”(1972: 325), including both psychological (“its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers”) and sociological aspects (“its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication”) (*ibidem*). Similar approach to language learning is proposed in Chichorro Ferreira's intercultural ecolinguistics (2003), which the author considers to be deictic, 'post-scientific' and 'neo-filological' (Ferreira 2003:

64). From Ferreira's holistic perspective, “*a gramática e as línguas necessitam de ser escrutinadas [...] no que toca às finalidades mais básicas do uso da linguagem, repensando-as à luz de uma mundividência ecológica*” (*ibidem*: 87). Despite admitting the interventional and ideological character of ecolinguistics, the metaphoric image of a bird chosen by Ferreira for 'future flights' (*ibidem*: 626-648) appears to fall short of recognising its political importance.

However, the ecology of language goes beyond the mere description of these aspects to look at the effect they have on the language itself. To provide some examples of research in the fields relevant to this study and which has taken aboard an ecology-based theoretical approach, we can mention Lam and Kramsch (2003) on the ecology of SLA in computer-mediated environments, or Lemke's identity analysis embodied in ecosocial semiotic systems (2004).

In multilingualism studies, Nancy Hornberger takes up a premise of multilingualism as a resource and applies the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 1989) to develop an ecological multilingual approach to language planning and policy (Hornberger 2002). Ricento (2000: 208) points out to the importance of linking together the patterns of language use in particular contexts with the “effects of micro-sociopolitical forces on the status and use of languages at the societal level” (Ricento, 2000: 209). Creese and Martin (2003), and work by Blackledge and Creese (2010) describe an ecology of multilingual classrooms, which links classroom environments with the wider socio-political environment while taking into account the ideologies that pervade language choice and language policy. For Hornberger, the ecological approach helps reveal “the ideological underpinnings for a multilingual language policy” (*ibidem*: 35) and is essentially about “opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible” (*ibidem*: 30). The author identifies three significant themes within the ecology metaphor, namely:

- 1) language evolution – languages evolve, grow, change, live, and die in an ecosystem along with other languages;
- 2) language environment – languages interact with their sociopolitical, economic, and cultural environments, and
- 3) language endangerment – languages become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them vis-à-vis other languages in the ecosystem (*ibidem*; cf. also Hornberger 2003).

To authors like Hornberger, Martin and Creese, the main aim of the ecology-based research goes beyond mere study and description of the interactions between the languages and their sociopolitical environments, towards “unnaturalising” and counteracting language loss (Hornberger 2003: 296), towards developing effective and transformative bilingual pedagogies

(Blackledge and Creese 2010: 202). Kramsch (2002: 8), as well as Santos (2002) see in an ecological perspective a possibility to account for phenomena that would otherwise go unnoticed, as it is considered non-existent, negligible or made invisible. Santos (2002: 258), however, underlines the need to amplify the lens even further in order to look for an emerging knowledge and practices.

### **II.7.3 Alternatives to ecology of language**

Critics of the theoretical model of ecology of language point out that while the ecological metaphor “has the advantage of highlighting the complex interrelationships between linguistic, social and material conditions that affect language choice” (Jaffe 2007: 68) and may be a “useful way of understanding language diversity” (Pennycook 2010: 91), it is not unproblematic and could be misleading. They see the danger underlying the use of biological metaphors to study languages in essentialising them as countable codes (Jaffe 2007; Duchêne 2008; Blommaert 2010) and in naturalising the inequalities thus “promoting a political quietude towards language politics” (May 2001; also Bernstein 1996; Pennycook 2010).

Most researchers within the ecological framework seem to be well aware of these dangers. They draw a line between applying the metaphor critically, i.e. by seeing languages as complexly interrelated within a linguistic ecosystem and highly adaptable to their social environment, and between taking the metaphor literally, which may consider languages as threatened species and linguistic diversity as equivalent to biodiversity. Claire Kramsch (2002: 4) explains that ecological research needs to “voice the contradictions, the unpredictabilities, and paradoxes that underlie even the most respectable research in language development”.

Furthermore, if we recognise the interrelatedness between languages and their social environment, we need to remind ourselves that languages are constructed in complex cultural and social practice. As a shift in language practice (e.g. with introduction of literacy, with a change in written style in electronic messaging or with joining a social media network) can change the way we talk about social phenomena and our relationship to the world, the same shift will be gradually lead to changing the social structures. That is why, suggest Pennycook (2010) and Hancock (2012), we need to think about an ecology of local language practices rather than an ecology of language. If we view language as a local practice, argues Pennycook (2010: 108-109), we can see that language “is always part of the everyday, repeated activity, of social organisation”. That is why, she underlines, the work of groups of people on maintaining certain language and cultural practices should be viewed in the whole societal context (health, employment, education etc.), rather than

merely as their effort on preserving those practices through education.

Finally, the new holistic frameworks on language and the total complex of the environment have to reflect, argues Blommaert (2010: 5), both the 'translocal' and 'deterritorialised' forms of language use (e.g. e-mail communication, Skype, twitter, social media etc.) in immigrant and diasporic communities and the emerging forms of language innovation in terms of literacy forms and design. To do this, sociolinguistics has to move away from the 'fixedness' of languages and people in space in time, from sociolinguistics of variation and distribution to what Blommaert (2010) calls the sociolinguistics of mobility, sociolinguistics of globalisation. Rather than being concerned with 'languages' (i.e. codes and systems), the new sociolinguistic paradigm needs to study "actual language resources deployed in real sociocultural, historical and political contexts" (*ibidem*). Social spaces within this paradigm are organised and produced both horizontally and vertically, that is, every neighbourhood, school, town or country is also stratified by social, cultural and political norms of linguistic and semiotic differences. These differences are transformed into social inequalities, so as the person moves across space, e.g. a child goes from home to school, she enters spaces "filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal language use and what does not" (Blommaert 2010: 6).

So mobility within this new sociolinguistics of mobility represents trajectories from one stratified and controlled space to another. In the following chapters I am hoping to follow the trajectories of immigrant children from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus to Portugal in Europe, from their Portuguese mainstream schools to their homes, and to a complementary school.

## Chapter III Methodology and research procedures

### III.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the method I chose for my research and the undertaken research instruments and activities. I open the chapter with a description of the setting while discussing the reasons that helped me make this choice. Then I move on to provide arguments in favour of ethnographic research in general and of longitudinal ethnography in particular. Afterwards I reflect on how the emic approach takes me to a linguistic ethnography and use of ethnographic photographs. I pause to reflect on the role of subjectivity in my ethnography and how my own identity as a researcher was constrained by expectations and class considerations of other research participants. I describe the process of collecting and presenting the data, while stressing the importance of working together with participants to build a collaborative framework, as well as provide an outline of the ways in which the bulk of data leads to theory building.

### III.2 Description of the setting and the motivation.

*Every Saturday for the last 6 years had started in a similar way for me: an early morning, collect my books, notes and the laptop, pick up some children on my way driving to the "Russian school". On the arrival, our small group will be met with a tidal wave of kids and adults: children would arrive with their parents or grandparents; other teachers would come with other kids, parents would leave. As the Russian school teachers gather for a minute to greet each other and organise their hours ahead, the kids chat, run about, show each other new toys, magazines and boast new clothes, exchange sweets, listen to the music sharing earphones, play the guitar and the synthesiser. Finally everyone goes to their rooms leaving the corridors empty. If you linger in the corridor, you can hear children voices coming from two rooms where two groups of children usually have activities at the same time.*

The "Russian school" appeared thanks to the initiative of immigrant parents who wanted to find a space where their children could meet other children who had migrated from different countries of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova). Driven by the urge to keep up their children's motivation to speak, read and write in Russian, as well as to gain some cultural knowledge about their countries of origin, some of them tried to home-school their children. Then the parents started to look for other families who would share this idea. As a mother to a 9-year-old son, and a qualified Russian and foreign language teacher, I was invited to teach Russian to these children.

The “Russian school”, as it was labelled by the parents from the very start, had changed the format and place throughout the years. Having started off in 2004 as a home school, in 2006 it moved on to become an informal school which shared space with a Ukrainian class, both of which gained its institutional identity in 2007 as a school within an immigrant association. Due to the high mobility of children in and out of the school, it is quite difficult to specify the number of student attendances. In the early days, there were 6 children in one group, later on the number varied between 10 and 20. If we were to count how many different children took part in different school activities on somewhat regular basis throughout these years (2004-2012), we would have to include up to 60 children. Their ages ranged from 2 to 16 and they came from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Latvia, Moldova, Kazakhstan and Portugal<sup>15</sup>.

Being a parent myself, a Russian speaker, a teacher at the school, and for some time a member of the immigrant association direction, I found myself in a privileged position in terms of participant observation and action research. My contacts with the families were more immediate; I was able to take part in teaching, planning, administrating and establishing inter-institutional contacts, able both to observe classes and decision-making events and processes, as well as to have an easy access to documents. Moreover, my prolonged presence on-site offered a unique opportunity of tracing the whole process of the school’s foundation and institutionalisation from inside, from the first decisions within the group to official contacts with the Portuguese institutions and institutional agents, to the latest and most recent trends in the scope of school’s activities.

Given my initial interest in multilingual literacies and learning, I had chosen this school to be the fieldwork site for the MA project, in which I accompanied 6 children of different national background as they were becoming biliterate in Russian and Portuguese. As I was getting increasingly interested in the way various discourses constructed and situated the school and the learning dynamics within it, as well as in the role educational institutions and lived experiences of schooling played in multilingual literacy practices, I felt that this site offered a vast potential since it captured the diversity of Eastern European immigration in Portugal, along with a variety of migration trajectories, language and schooling histories. So the 6 individual case studies within the MA formed a pilot study for a larger PhD project, in which the Russian school itself is seen as a case study, which in its turn, could be divided into several case studies of family language policies. The “Russian school” can be viewed as a case study since it has always been bounded around a certain notion of learning, around common practices and beliefs about languages and schooling. Its

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15 The setting is described in more detail in the opening section of chapter 7.

participants created artefacts and produced/reproduced discourses, in a way that they have all collaborated in creating a culture of the setting. In D'Andrade words: "for something to be cultural it must have the potential of being passed on to new group members, to exist with some permanency through time and across space" (D'Andrade 1992: 230 *apud* Merriam 1998: 14).)

### **III.3 Reflections on the nature and on the method for the setting**

#### **III.3.1 Culture of the setting**

A certain permanency, recognisable across different community school contexts in different countries (Hornberger 2003; Lytra and Martin 2010; García 2010; Conteh and Brock 2011), could be observed in the Russian school characteristics as it moved through time and across the town. In 2004-2010 the "Russian school" has travelled from my house to a parish gym, to a school, and finally to a church building. This trajectory seems to capture the very nature of community schools, as these are situated in-between the official school and a family, and their activities are limited in time to the after school, the extracurricular and weekends and in space – to the improvised, temporary, and unusual use of places. And yet, despite its makeshift and provisional character, "the Russian school" has continued to exist over the years. This apparent paradox may partly explain my interest in the setting, the desire to understand what makes school a school, which processes and discursive mechanisms contribute to its continuity and structure, especially when there is no specific "setting", no physical place to associate the school to. Which discourses and practices help inhabit a given space, say, a gym, and transform it into a school, even if for a few hours? Which discourses and practices are recognised by other people as those of school, rather than those of a cultural centre or a language course?

On the other hand, in this apparent permanency lies a danger of falling into a trap of considering the 'culture' of the setting as a bounded system with fixed values and prescribed roles. Blackledge and Creese (2010) warn against taking language and culture as bounded categories and urge to study them as discursive categories. Indeed, the pilot study data (Solovova 2006) showed how values and attitudes were negotiated in interactions, and how the children acted upon working hypotheses constructed through participation in literacy events. It also suggested that, rather than examine languages and cultures as fixed systems of rules, it would be more productive to view them as fluid and shifting, as well as emergent in the participants' lived experiences. So gradually, research questions for the PhD project came to be formulated as follows:

- 1) What are the driving forces that led to the creation of a space outside the formal education for children of Eastern European immigrants?
- 2) What are the mechanisms that triggered its discursive construction as the Russian school, despite the strong presence of other local languages?
- 3) What are the lived practices that sustain the existence of the Russian school and its consolidation within an association of immigrants?

As I have been able to observe how the Russian school emerged and grew, I felt that an interpretive orientation (Merriam 1998) to the setting made sense. It was clear to me that the Russian school should be seen as a site of lived experiences of the people who had contributed to its construction and who had taken an active part in it, those who had planned and negotiated its format and nature: teachers, school organisers and local policy makers and gatekeepers. It was also been a place where their lived experiences interacted with and influenced/co-constructed lived experiences of the school's students and their families and friends.

In making the above questions, I aimed at moving from a sociocultural interpretive orientation to a critical one, in which "education is considered to be a social institution designed for social and cultural reproduction and transformation" (Merriam 1998: 4). That means that the interaction between lived experiences should be seen as an unequal one and based on multiple social realities, power dynamics and ideologies. For example, throughout all the years of the ethnography, people on and around the site referred to the school as a "Russian" school despite the fact that its students had come from different countries like Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Lithuania and Moldova and had spoken/ had been exposed to other languages besides Russian. There had even been a time when Ukrainians were a majority, and as a result, Ukrainian language was used on-site, yet the school persisted to define itself as "Russian". This naming strategy indicated an existence of an ideological process which might have resulted from a possible projection of Soviet language ideologies and an interpretation of a distribution of power between Russian and other languages in the post-Soviet countries and in Portugal (such as Ukrainian, Belarusian or Moldovan). The critical orientation to the research would mean not only circumscribe or describe the culture of the setting, but also to uncover mechanisms which sustained ideological processes, so as to gain an in-depth understanding of their workings.

As the "Russian school" had to find its place in institutional networks, another important issue had to be explored: the choice of term to describe the school to the others, to situate it in a formal discourse. Should it be seen as an informal, complementary or community school, considering the

ideological charge of these terms?

The term “informal” presupposed an existence of a “formal” to depart from or build upon, to dialogue with. It proved to be the case with the “Russian school”, as various formal school systems reflected in its practices: both the experiences in the Portuguese schools attended by the children, in schools in their countries of origin and, finally, in the Soviet schools familiar to their parents. Besides, the “informal” assumed a lack of certification and allowed for a more flexible structure of activities. So the research design should address the issue of informality of the setting, its relation to formal schools in Portugal and countries of origin.

“Complementary” or “supplementary” are also terms used for this type of schools in the UK and US. According to Creese and Martin (2006: 1), it highlights “the positive complementary function between these schools and mainstream schools for those who teach and learn in them”. Like ‘informal, the term ‘complementary’ similarly worked from a notion of the official school, yet this time the ‘supplementary’ school could be viewed as a setting that added something that could not be provided within the formal education, giving ‘contribution to political, social and economic life in the wider community’ (*ibidem*). The notion of complementarity also highlighted the school's position in time, as it could function only outside the formal school timetable. García *et al.* (2006: 604) argues that ‘complementary schools can offer an informal means to prise open a ‘crack’ in the educational homogenisation’ (as cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 3-4). In the case of my ethnography, the overarching issue can be formulated as follows: what is it that is provided within the Russian school that cannot be provided within the formal school? In asking this question, I consciously steer my research toward the ‘sociology of absences’ and ‘sociology of emergences’ proposed by Boaventura Sousa Santos (2002), who warned against the “*desperdício da experiência*” (*ibidem*: 238) and stressed the importance of making visible and legitimate the alternative movements and initiatives (*ibidem*).

The term “community” school immediately poses the problem of definition of a community. Whose community? Who categorises it as a community? what are the criteria of its membership? Above all, ethnographic approaches to literacy presuppose an account of practices as they are embedded in the sociocultural context of the community (Barton 1994; Barton and Hamilton 1998). Each participant can be a member of different social groups and of different communities; for example, belonging to a professional community, to a national minority group, joining a local reading group, etc. In a similar way, each participant of this research project displayed membership in various social groupings, which were constructed discursively in different formal and informal

settings (e.g. a larger immigrant community in relation to the Portuguese host society; Eastern European immigrant community, Russian-speaking community; etc.). “The sociocultural context” thus emerged as an intricate and complex web of relationships, identities, networks and communities. From this point of view, the participants were members of different speech communities defined as “a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech”(Hymes 1994: 14) and communities of discourse. However, as I pointed out earlier, the choice of the term “community” entails some fixedness and membership issues, which are not clear in the case of the 'Russian' school.

It could also be argued that the network of relationships surrounding the “Russian” school can be described as a “community of practice” (Lave and Wenger 1998; Wenger *et al.* 2002). Practice is seen as socially defined ways of doing and goes beyond sharing an interest, as it is built around constructing common knowledge and creating documents on the basis of this common knowledge. As far as the research design is concerned, it should target the tacit knowledge within such a community.

The group of parents, children and educators which has emerged around the Russian school could also be characterised, after Barbara Rogoff, as a “community of learners”, whose members have common endeavours, share a central purpose in activities - children’s learning. Such a community is characterised by some stability and has a history (Rogoff *et al.* 2002).

Independently of the specifying term (whether it is of discourse, learners or practice), what distinguishes a community from any kind of informal network is its relative stability, existing membership structure, knowledge and practice construction and common sets of activities that revolve around shared interests, understandings and beliefs. In short, it constructs common ways of action in repeated activities which thus constitute a sedimented action.

Another distinguishing aspect has to do with its relation with and to other institutions and communities, since it is recognised as a community by other social organisations/groupings, and it also shares some core features with communities of the certain type (e.g. other community schools in different countries and contexts in our case). In this way, the term “community” seems to be important as it captures the local character of developing practices and yet allows to link its activities to sociocultural developments at the levels beyond local.

And still, as Fine and Weis warn that “A full sense of community is fictional and fragile, ever vulnerable to external threats and internal fissures. A sense of coherence prevails only if our methods fail to interrogate difference (Fine and Weis 2002: 272). In their analysis, Fine and Weis

chose to “delicately move between coherence and difference, fixed boundaries and porous borders, neighbourhoods of shared values and homes of contentious interpretations” (*ibidem*). Throughout my research, I was constantly aware of the need to compromise between overgeneralising and complexifying, of the necessity to outline the area where a chosen term might apply.

In sum, terms “informal”, “complementary”, and “community” altogether might contribute to a more precise description of the Russian school setting. However, as we have seen above, none of these terms is either straightforward or ideologically neutral. Moreover, it would be quite a challenge to incorporate all of them into the research design, so that the design could (1) address the relation of the setting and its practices to the formal schooling; (2) reflect its relative stability, commonality and sharedness; (3) trace its history within local and national context and relate it to global trends.

### **III.3.2 The choice of linguistic ethnography as a method**

In terms of research design, the challenge consisted in accounting for the fluidity and adaptability of the setting to the social conditions, for the people’s mobility within it, as well as in addressing a great diversity of lived experiences and sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds of its participants. Besides, since the pilot study (Solovova 2006) revealed both the great importance of the parents’ and peers’ schooling experiences and language attitudes and the active role of the children in their learning trajectories, the research design had to take into account individual experiences and attitudes, while situating them within the setting and relate those to the developments in social and linguistic landscape and history of those individuals, of their home and host countries. In short, the idea was to trace individual and family trajectories through time and across different contexts while looking for the common trends, experiences and interests that made those trajectories meet within the setting of the “Russian school” and sustained its practices, contributed to its ‘culture’. This overarching idea, which is anthropological and holistic in its nature, had led to the choice of linguistic ethnography as a method.

Ethnography – because this method has long evolved beyond (that is, if it ever was) the mere ‘description’ and concerns itself with interpretation of the data, nature of the described phenomena and epistemology of that description (Blommaert 2001; Blommaert and Jie 2010). Any phenomena examined in the process of ethnography is viewed as a situated, dynamic and evolving one. Ethnography deals with real people, their actions and materialities, and constructs a dialogic

representation of those people, actions and materialities. As Angela Creese puts it, “ethnography has typically stressed a situated and contextually driven agenda of being 'on site' and geographically locatable” (Creese 2010: 143-144). Blackledge (2012) posits that the relatively recent research trend of linguistic ethnography emerged because of the joins methods of linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication (Gumperz and Hymes 1986), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1990) and microethnography (Erickson 2004b) and, which offers a greater set of analytical tools than each discipline might offer on its own (Blackledge 2012: 151). Language in ethnographic research is seen as a social, historical, cultural and political resource deployed by different social groups to particular end, rather than an apolitical and ahistorical system of rules. Having emerged as an alternative to the positivist approach in social sciences, ethnography is guided by principles of collaborative research *with* the participants rather than *on* them (cf. also III.3.2). As the ethnographer gets increasingly involved in the 'setting', she discovers a constant change and conflict both within the very setting and in her own choice of terms of description for the setting. So context, for an ethnographer, is not a mere static setting; attitudes and directions of communities and cultures are captured in their variability and complexity. In this sense, ethnography runs a course which appears contrary to the traditional scientific analysis: rather than trying to find general trends in a complex reality, ethnographic research embraces its complexity, diversity and changeability; rather than seeking to confirm hypotheses, ethnography hopes to generate them through the fieldwork (Blommaert 2001; Canagarajah 2006). Despite the scientist's best efforts towards creating a holistic project, the scientific analysis might be doomed from the very beginning: being based on pre-selected metaphors and operating pre-defined categories of a particular method, each and every analysis is inevitably and inescapably reductionist. In Lefebvre words: “*A linguagem depende de análises diferentes, que a atacam diferentemente cada uma do seu ponto de vista, que a dividem diferentemente e classificam diferentemente os seus elementos, mas nenhuma pode declarar-se exhaustiva*” (Lefebvre 1968: 204). By way of example and from this point of view, Ferreira's ambitious ecolinguistic approach (2003) that considers evidence from various scientific fields and includes common sense and poetics strikes nevertheless as utopian.

For this linguistic ethnography, I aimed at constructing a *critical* linguistic ethnography, which views communities and setting as different, unequal and situated in power relations. Ethnography has an advantage, says Geertz (1983), in that it combines the “experience-near” and “experience-far” views: while ethnographers attempts to capture the local knowledge construction, they

interpret it in light of their own worldviews and experiences and larger perspectives on the world (Canagarajah 2006: 163; cf. also Caria 2002).

Canagarajah points out that ethnography might appear to contradict the mission of language policy and planning studies: “while language and policy planning is about how things “ought to be”, ethnography is about what “is” (*ibidem*: 153). Language and policy planning studies usually take a top-down approach and examine how the official policies are implemented in local contexts<sup>16</sup>, often from a positivist rational perspective. However, we have seen that, when viewed from a sociohistorical perspective, languages themselves have never been neutral means of human communication; the issues of language access, needs, distribution and mobility have always been implicated in power struggles. Post-modern research posits that “it is not possible to assume or predict a particular, or even necessary, relation between a given language (or language variety) and the role(s) it might play in a given setting, whether local or national/supranational” (Ricento 2006:4). This is where ethnography comes into play. Ethnography as a method can complement language and policy planning studies by offering a bottom-up perspective, “a thick description of policy interpretation and implementation at the local level” (Hornberger and Johnson 2007; also Cunha and Lima 2010)<sup>17</sup>.

Critical ethnography research helps reveal not only the ways in which official policies are implemented, but more importantly, ways in which those are contested and resisted; such ethnography can not only identify groups of people who share common interests but show how these groups may overlap. In this sense, ethnography provides an opportunity to “refocus on action” (Scollon and Scollon 2007), as it creates a partnership between the ethnographer and the participants. While breaking away simultaneously from the positivist research and common sense, an ethnographer, in line with the post-modern research, creates “an informed common sense” (Caria 2002: 11; cf. also Santos 1989). In sum, ethnography illuminates the complexity of language policies and ideologies by highlighting a) the agency of actors at the local level (a broad category which includes both teachers, parents and caregivers in general); b) policy as a dynamic ideological process (Johnson 2009<sup>18</sup>; Canagarajah 2006). As a result of such ethnography, which underlines the

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16 for an example of such informative study from a top-down perspective, see for example, Ricento and Hornberger 1996

17 Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) explore the issue of the ethnographic findings of the consequences for multilingual education of the 1994 Bolivian educational reform and on those of No Child Left Behind Act in Pennsylvania schools)

18 Johnson (2009) elaborates a heuristic model of ethnography of language policy, based on a multi-sited ethnography in School District of Philadelphia, that includes 1) agents; 2) goals; 3) processes; 4) discourses which engender and perpetuate the policy, and 5) the dynamic social and historical contexts in which the policy exists.

fluid and porous boundaries between different groups of people with impact on language policies, language policy studies can no longer assume the dichotomy between policy creation and implementation, between the policy and practice (Johnson 2009: 156). It helps delineate a dynamic and fluid space of practice – which Kris Gutiérrez called a “third space” (Gutiérrez *et al.* 1999) – “an intermediate place between the script of the serious official, school talk and the “counterscript” of student resistance in the classroom” (Erickson 2004a: 488). Blackledge (2012: 144) argues that linguistic ethnography is best suited for studying language ideologies and policies in multilingual contexts, for it is focused primarily on practice, language uses and functions, and situates them politically and historically. Yet the ultimate validity test for any qualitative study consists in the idea whether the categories and topics identified in the grounded work are seen as relevant by the ethnography participants (Erickson 2004a: 492).

### **III.4 Catalogue of research activities and data collected**

Since all individual and family trajectories met within the “Russian school”, its setting became the main site for the ongoing longitudinal linguistic ethnography. This setting could also provide an illuminating account of the ‘newly rediscovered’ multilingualism in Portugal, both in terms of uses of linguistic varieties of Russian, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Romanian and English and which concerned their negotiation around the site, as well as ideologies underlying those uses and negotiations. It could also help ‘question monolingualising accounts often found in political, media, educational and other public and elite discourse’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 11).

Research activities included (1) artefact collecting; (2) discourse data collecting; (3) participant observation; (4) note taking (fieldnotes and research vignettes); (5) ethnographic photographs; (6) semi-structured interviews. Apart from the ‘Russian school’, some of those activities were undertaken in local and national policy-making institutions and in the participants’ households.

During the pilot study stage, as the main focus of the study had constituted biliterate practices of the children participants, the research was more literacy-oriented. As a result, almost all the research activities had been clustered around artefacts and explored the process and circumstances of their emergence. In practical terms it meant that had I started out by collecting ready-made literacy artefacts from the Russian school, observed literacy events where those artefacts had been produced and negotiated both in Russian school and in families, had asked parents to keep their children’s writings and, finally, had asked children to write something for me.

This stage of the research, having been informed by theories of social cognition and still very contaminated by traditional educational discourses, included some action-research activities, namely test-like tasks ‘words in unknown language’ and ‘alphabet traffic lights’. Interviews during this stage were centred around interpretation of artefacts and task results. Participant observations were done mainly throughout Russian classes, filtered through my own powerful position on the site of the teacher and the researcher. Later on these were complemented by field notes written during family visits. Elite discourses of policy-making and institutional agents informed the study yet were not considered as data. Even though on the PhD research stage artefact-collecting no longer played the central role, the artefact data still were considered as indicative of (often) conflicting language ideologies in the personal histories of language socialisation.

The last years of the MA research (2005-2007) coincided both with intense changes in immigration, citizenship and naturalisation policies in the European Union and Portugal and with gradual institutionalisation of the Russian school as an association. So the scope of research activities had to be amplified accordingly to account for ‘integration’ discourses on various institutional levels. As it meant construction of new categories in institutional discourses, data from various sources (legislation, government agency brochures, Portuguese and Russian-language newspapers and online media, etc.) had to be included in data sources, to help determine main language ideologies and possible institutional actors. By providing discourse categories, discourse data influenced somewhat research activities such as participant observations, interviews, and similarly informed artefact collecting and ethnographic photographs. Along with interviews and observations, these constituted the core data.

### **III.4.1 Text-based and interactional data**

Participant observations followed trajectories of emerging language policies onsite, which were influenced both by institutional discourse categories in the making and those situated in participants’ histories of interacting with different institutions. That is why the observations included on-site and off-site observations: classroom interactions, teacher and parent meetings, outside school events, etc. The observations were accompanied with note-taking, which were done on a more or less regular basis, either directly while observing an event or straight after it. The type of note-taking depended mostly on my role in the particular event, since an active part in the event rendered the immediate note-taking quite impossible. Field notes represented a

description of the event, its setting, the participants' verbal and non-verbal reactions, as well as contained researcher comments on those issues. Observations of the events which deemed particularly interesting from the point of view of the research were also complemented, whenever possible, with ethnographic photographs taken by the researcher. Ethnographic photographs as part of the research design will be described later on in this chapter.[III.3.2]

Apart from the field notes, research vignettes were drawn as 'stories about individuals, situations and structures which can make reference to important points in the study of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes' (Hughes 1998: 381). They were produced upon some reflection and reading, and could be informed by either participant observations within the larger community, the identified discourse categories from the discourse data, or by artefacts, interviews or bibliography, taken separately or altogether. Research vignettes depicted anonymous (but existing within the community) situations and scenarios and were used to elicit participants' opinions on various topics (e.g. the role of Russian in the modern Portuguese society) during interviews. They were particularly helpful while dealing with sensitive topics, for example, finding out about parental attitudes towards children's bilingualism and biliteracy. From a methodological point of view, they represented a form of preliminary analysis.

Some of the classroom observations were audio recorded, as the tape recorder had been given to a parent or the teacher. The participants were free to tape whatever they considered relevant. In a sense, these recordings might also have tapped into the adult participants' expectations and representations of the research project on children's multilingualism, thus constituting valuable data.

Interactional data were also registered using other methods of representation. First, I made a note in the fieldwork notes of a literacy event a discussion on literacy, languages or learning I was able to witness. Sometimes I had come across or had been provided with a literacy artefact and acted on trying to unravel the interaction behind its construction. So the register was based on the participant's account of a particular interaction. In this way, the interactional data was indirect as it had been mediated by my own or by the participant's own lived experiences with languages.

Participant observations and discourse data allowed to identify people to be further interviewed. Due to the nature of the contact, the researcher position regarding the interviewee and the stage of the project, interviews varied in terms of the procedure and format. For example, interviews with policy makers had a more rigid structure and took place mostly in formal settings. At the same time, parent and grandparent interviews were more relaxed in terms of structure and setting.

Interviews with children had been arranged through their parents.

Despite the differences, all the interviews were conditioned by the prior consent on the part of the participant. Policy makers had given their consent via email, upon receiving the requested information about the research project in one of the previous messages and having all their questions answered. As for children participants, their consent had been obtained in two stages. First, as I explained the aims of the project and the participant's roles and their rights regarding their interview and other data, children gave their oral consent days before the planned interview. Then this permission was also subject to their parents' written consent.

Two languages were employed in the process of interviewing: Portuguese for national and local policy makers and both Russian and Portuguese – for adult and child migrants. The consent form for the migrant participants was bilingual (see Annex A): Russian language was used to describe the project rationale and the data collection proceedings, as well as the participant's rights and roles throughout the data collection, procession and dissemination; the information in Portuguese rendered the institutional position of the researcher. Finally, the very message of the consent was in both languages, with blank spaces for the name, date and signature of the participant.

Four different interview guides were developed for different categories of participants: two in Portuguese for national and local policy makers and two in Russian for adult and child migrants (Annexes B-E)<sup>19</sup>. Despite the difference in the guides, some core topics/scenarios were nevertheless common to all of them: e.g. the first days of a student whose home language is different from the language of instruction; the imagined and lived experiences of students of Portuguese as Non-Native Language [*Português Língua Não Materna (PLNM)*], uses of languages and literacies by multilingual adults and children in their everyday lives and histories, role of informal schooling provision. Interview treatment procedures were also applied equally across different categories of participants: they were all anonymised, transcribed and coded. A description of the processing procedures will be given further on.

Even though interviews with both groups were semi-structured, based on a previously established set of questions, the resulting interviews ranged greatly in formality and length. As mentioned above, interviews with national policy makers had to stick mainly to the guide questions – due to the time constraints and because of the terms established by the interviewees themselves prior to the interview. As a result, these interviews came out generally shorter and had almost preserved

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<sup>19</sup> Annexes are distributed as follows: A – consent form; B – interview guide for policy-makers at the official national level; C – interview guide with teachers; D – interview guide with immigrant parents, and E – interview guidelines with immigrant children.

the strict question-answer format. The field notes registered the apparent urge, on the part of the interviewed policy makers, to reproduce the exact official wording and discursive formulation of the discussed language-in-education policies. To ensure this, the policy makers kept referring to the concrete laws and legal categorisations. The interviews with local policy makers had a less rigid structure yet still used the specifically worded questions. Similarly to the policy makers at the national level, local policy makers consulted folders with legal and official descriptions. Both groups of policy makers offered me brochures and leaflets which they had considered relevant to the research topic. Some of these will be analysed in sections VI.3 and VI.4 of the analysis chapter. Adult migrants' interviews were largely more fluid and informal. They represented narratives revolving around topics delineated by the interview guide rather than answering the specific questions. Interviews with children were more conversation-like and were based on photographs and artefacts produced by those children.

### **III.4.2 Use of ethnographic photographs for a collaborative and democratic research**

Ethnographic photographs, even though not a central part of the fieldwork data, played an important role in it, both as a data collecting and a data eliciting tool. As a data collecting tool, I took photographs myself in order to capture or illustrate an event or an artefact. Gillian Rose (2007: 247) called this technique "capturing the 'texture' of places. Rose explains that "[t]his is partly because photos can carry so much visual information; they can show us details in a moment that it would take pages of writing to describe" (*ibidem*). By taking a photograph of an event or interaction, I aimed to register the setting (the type and its literacy landscape), the number of participants and to capture their body language and positions towards other participants. In short, I aimed to convey the feel of those places.

Inspired by the numerous uses of photographs in ethnographic literacy research (Hodge and Jones 2000: 317) When I took a picture of an artefact/s, I was inspired by the work wanted to record the features of a cultural product, the uses that the participants (people or institutions) made of the available semiotic resources while configuring them into a particular representation. On the one hand, this type of ethnographic photographs played a role of photo-documentation, and on the other, it was a step towards analytic interpretation. The researcher-taken photographs allowed to 'freeze' the time and space and 'fix' the participants' and the researcher's agendas in a particular time frame, thus making them an invaluable resource for reflection and analysis. Photographs

were also used to elicit more data, when offered for a comment from the fieldwork participants. For example, I could ask a parent to comment on a photograph of an artefact produced by his/her child.

In taking photographs, I became aware that photography as a method was far from realistic and objective, since the reality “is only ever conveyed through socially conditioned forms of perception” (Bourdieu 2009: 164). Photographs were more than a recording tool, since the photography owes its 'objectivity' and legitimacy to the social definition of the objective vision (*ibidem*). As such, it remains a culturally inspired and socially approved transcription of reality, therefore an ideological and never neutral representation of reality (Tagg 1988; Watney 2009).

Being a teacher and a university researcher, and thus placed by external discourses into a privileged and powerful positions (Rose 2007: 253), I was equally concerned about providing an authoritative account (Toohey 2008: 182). So I looked for more collaborative methods of research, i.e., a research done *with* the participants rather than *on, about or for* them, as an alternative to a positivist research. Cameron *et al.* (1992) term this kind of research “democratic”, and define its principles as follows:

- Persons are not objects and should not be treated as objects.
- Subjects have their own agendas and research should try to address them.
- If knowledge is worth having it is worth sharing. (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 131)

This research agenda is based on the assumption that participants are involved as co-researchers on the various stages of collecting and interpreting data and could define the research agenda (Hodge and Jones 2000: 301). For that, I implemented the method of photo-elicitation, which meant that I asked the participants to make photographs of of ‘languages in their lives’ – events, people and artefacts to illustrate the uses they make of languages and literacies. Photographs taken by the ethnography participants aimed to endow them with a more active stance, as they were provided with an opportunity to take pictures of themselves and of their worlds on their own terms. In doing this, the participants produced representations guided by their own expectations and hypotheses of the researcher role and of the researcher's agenda. Even though the researcher-taken and the participant-taken photographs appear to be different from the procedural point of view, they are similar in that they use photographs as evidence to be interpreted (Rose 2007: 244).

### III.4.3 Research with children

Qualitative research with children is a particularly challenging task since there is nothing 'natural' in an adult 'hanging out' with children (Fine and Sandstrom 1988). The observing adult is instantly placed into an authority position, while "children quickly become masters of impression management and are quite adept in what they reveal" (Fine 1981 *apud* Fine and Sandstrom 1988: 9). Besides this, any interpretation or analysis done by an adult researcher of the data obtained with children will be inevitably adult-centric (Milstein 2010: 11-12). The key, point out Fine and Sandstrom, resides in finding a compromise between "romanticizing the secrecy in the name of avoiding "bias" (Fine and Sandstrom 1988: 62) and "giving up some of one's adult prerogatives and occasionally shelving some of one's "adult" dignity" (*ibidem*: 22). The adult presence should not be disciplinarian, and if the question of discipline arises, it should be guided by the adult's personal concern rather than by her institutional role. Given the power issues underlying any adult-child relationship, all data collected from children should be "examined for artifacts arising from adult presence" (*ibidem*)<sup>20</sup>.

At the planning stages, I tried to address these issues in my ethnography. In order to give the children an opportunity to express their voice within the research while reducing the effect of my presence, I had decided to use visual methods, as they place the child in the author position. So I had distributed disposable cameras to the children participants, asking them to take photographs of "languages in their lives". The resulting photographs taken by the children were used to initiate a conversation on the research topic with them. In fact, I did not interview any of the children before they had made and handed in their photographs, because I wanted to avoid leading them to their answers. Hodge and Jones (2000: 316) add that photography turned out to be "a particularly effective way to facilitate a child's ownership of research into her own social practices". Waller and Bikou (2011: 15) agree that the use of photography in research with children aims beyond empowering children participants and point out, as follows: "[t]he photographic and video images do not empower children on their own. It is the shared construction of knowledge around conversations with the children that can enable children's meanings to prevail". In this sense, over the stages of fieldwork and preliminary analysis, the children participants became co-researchers rather than "researchees".

Photography as a method of participatory approach, nevertheless, proved largely unsuccessful

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<sup>20</sup> Here the term "artifacts" is used in a different sense from the rest of the thesis; specifically as a trace, "an accidental effect that causes incorrect results" (Merriam-Webster dictionary online: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/artifact>).

with the youngest children (6-year old) as they had been unable to handle the technical part of the photo-taking. As a result, they had either sought help from adults, which inevitably undermined the children's voice representation in the end result, or ended up taking photographs that could not be used in the research for their poor quality.

Evidently, if I wanted to complement my field notes and classroom observations with more data from the younger children, I had to look for an alternative to the use of collaborative photography. Sheena Gardner, Reader in Educational Linguistics and a member of the MOSAIC Centre of Research on Multilingualism (University of Birmingham) suggested trying a researcher-initiated role-play, which had proved successful in a study of early reading practices among multiliterate children (Gardner and Yaacob 2012). This method could not, however, be implemented in the case of this ethnography because the Russian school did not correspond to all the methodological requirements. Specifically, finding two adults who would be familiar to the children yet not involved in the school activities proved quite impossible, since all the adults were engaged in school activities in some way or another. That is why the datasets with younger participants were less extensive.

### **III.5 How it all comes together: from description to conceptual ordering**

The amount of data collected over the years helped to build a more well-informed description of the site. However, being convinced that qualitative research should aim to go beyond description, I took some steps towards developing theory. The first step consisted in 'conceptual ordering' (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 19) which means "classifying events and objects along various explicitly stated dimensions" (*ibidem*: 25). The focus of the conceptual ordering somewhat shifted, because of the difference in the research interests at the MA stage (pilot) and the PhD stage.

During the pilot stage, I observed six case studies of children who had participated in the setting of the Russian school. The pilot study had been informed by a sociocultural neo-Vygotskian framework (Engestrom 1999; Rogoff 1991; Scribner and Cole 1981; Davydov 1999), New Literacy Studies (Barton 1994; Barton and Hamilton 1998), person-in-history (Holland and Lave 2001) that take a particular interest in intersubjectivity that represents a backdrop for learning, where intersubjectivity is understood as a shared engagement in the process of learning. At the PhD stage, as I was looking into ways individual and collective identities (*'alunos de Leste'*, 'Russian-

speaking families' and *'imigrantes de Leste'*) are discursively 'integrated' into teaching and learning practices as speakers of different languages and representatives of distinct cultures, I decided to distinguish several 'interactional dimensions'<sup>21</sup>. These dimensions represent levels where language learning and schooling ideologies are being constructed and negotiated discursively and interactionally.

The first two dimensions are inspired by the Activity Theory, Vygotsky' ZPD concept, and Holland and Lave (2001) person-in-history approach, as they represent a child-in-history dimension, where the child is viewed in his/her own personal cognitive and social history, and an interpersonal dimension, where the child constructs and negotiates his/her learner identity interacting with other people in his life. In this dimension, I found it important to distinguish between (1) face-to-face interaction and (2) group interaction, since group dynamics can be different from that of a face-to-face interaction. Looking at the interaction and the discursive construction in those dimensions, we should also keep in mind that peer interactions are characterised by competitiveness between children, while child-adult interactions are marked by power inequality.

The following interactional dimensions set out to examine the language and culture criteria used to create discursive categories of *'imigrantes de Leste'* in Portugal as 'bounded social groups' (Scollon and Scollon 2007), both by immigrants themselves and by the host society. These criteria constitute the basis for homogenising ideologies, which are evoked by popular opinions about immigrants and official migration policies in order to create otherness and to dictate the conditions of immigrant integration into the host society (which is in itself an unequal premise). The language and culture criteria are also evoked by immigrants to defend their right for otherness (carve out place for themselves within the host society) and socialise their children into it. In short, these criteria are used to construct a homogeneous 'community'. Following Scollon and Scollon in Boasian and Hymesian tradition (2007), I would like to focus on the action as a unit of analysis and therefore see a 'community' as a "metaphor of joint partnership in common endeavour" (Scollon and Scollon 2007: 5). It would help me to examine languages and cultures as discursive categories, and collective identities as their representations in various discourses. So, the 'community and cultural practice' dimension examined the ways in which the community of "*imigrantes de Leste*" and "Eastern Europeans" were delineated and legitimated in Portuguese and European discourses and positioned against other cultural communities in Portugal and in Europe. These discursive

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21 'Interactional dimension' is my term which is inspired on Goffman's interaction orders (1983) but cf. also Moyer and Martin Rojo (2007).

processes were also positioned as to the community counter-discourses, that is, how these representations were viewed and contested from within the community and how ‘*imigrantes de Leste*’ and ‘Eastern Europeans’ carved out a place in those discourses for themselves. This dimension allowed to delve into language and culture ideologies.

Next, the institutional dimension looked at the ways in which community schools were constructed and negotiated discursively, both in Portugal and in Europe. On the one hand, the institutional dimension examined which discursive positions 'community schools' find to position themselves as opposing or complementing formal education in Portugal and home countries. On the other hand, the institutional dimension explored how these discursive positions could be compared to positions occupied by other types of informal language learning and schooling provision. In this sense, the dimension focused on ideologies of schooling.

And finally, the policy dimension traced the ways Eastern Europeans were represented in migration policies at different levels (local, national and European). It also explored how home countries constructed discursive categories for migrants from and to those countries.

A brief summary of the dimensions and corresponding research activities is presented in Table 1 below:

No	Interactional dimension	Research activities	Themes explored
1	<b>Child in history</b> (individual cognitive and social development): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Me-now</li> <li>• Me-then</li> <li>• Me-in-the-future</li> </ul>	Participant observation; artefact collection, parent interviews	Development and history
2	<b>Interpersonal:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Face-to-face (child-child and child-educator)</li> <li>• Group (peer group and family)</li> </ul>	Participant observation, fieldnotes, researcher-initiated photos, photo-based interviews	Negotiation and intersubjectivity
3	<b>Community and cultural practice</b> Russian-speaking community vs other language communities in Portugal Russian-speaking community vs other language communities in other countries	Artefact collection Researcher vignettes Parent interviews Participant observation	Language and culture, representation and socialisation
4	<b>Institutional (schooling)</b> Russian school vs. other schools+ formal schools in Portugal and home countries Russian school vs. other social organisations (clubs, ATLS, associations)	Ethnographic photographs; Artefact collection Researcher vignettes	Situated representation
5	<b>Policy across contexts (municipalities, church, migrant organisations)</b> Local, national, European Union Global (home countries, UK, USA, Canada and other countries)	Artefact collection Researcher vignettes Policy-makers interviews	Migration Multiculturalism Multilingualism Diversity Integration

*Table 1. Interactional dimensions and research activities*

Depending on the nature and features of a given interactional dimension, the type of undertaken research activities might have had a different prominence along the fieldwork course. For example, the interpersonal dimension was rather more participant observation- oriented than the policy dimension. Data obtained through research activities at a given dimension complemented each other, thus providing an in-depth description of a particular setting-related context embedded in the history of its development.

Data across different dimensions contributed to a holistic description of the setting situated socioculturally and historically. The whole point of the research fieldwork was to trace connections from point to point ‘among nexus of action’ (Scollon and Scollon 2007: 618) and give the participants an active role in this process. This movement was intended to render a detailed analysis of action and probe outward to its origins and future projections.

The research activities at the various dimensions differed in terms of the researcher involvement in the data collection. My role as a participant observer in this linguistic ethnography at times took on a more active or passive position, ranging from that of an onlooker to the more active roles of a friend or action researcher (Merriam 1998). It can be illustrated, for example, by the process of artefact collection, which ranged from a passive action of picking up a ready-made artefact (a child drawing left behind after a class, a newspaper article, an institutional leaflet) to looking actively for an artefact (for ex., asking a parent to hand in an artefact produced in the observed event), or even to initiating an artefact creation (asking a child to make a photo, a drawing, etc.). Sometimes project participants offered artefacts to the researcher after an interview or a meeting (a newspaper article, a leaflet, a note, a drawing, etc.). Once after an interview with Alice, a grandmother of one of the 'Russian school' students, she handed me three bags full of back issues of two immigrant community newspapers that she had bought over 5 years, with the words “they might interest you”.

Overall, given the circumstances of the fieldwork and my own shifting positions on the site, I aimed at incorporating the collected data into some kind of narrative constructed around a family case study, and nested within the school case study. Inspired by the collaborative research method of biographical workshops<sup>22</sup> called this researcher narratives “resonances”, as they showed how the participants' interviews resonated in my own lived experiences. For all effects, this researcher narrative represented none other than my personal interpretation of the collected data from the

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22 The research method of biographical workshops has been described in a considerable detail in Lechner 2013.

perspective of my own learning and schooling trajectory. So while my choice of methods had been oriented towards an emic perspective, it in fact inescapably became a reflection of myself. Barwell (2003) argues that ethnographers write themselves explicitly into their research texts, so that these analyses are much about the researchers as well as about the data. So in a way, this ethnography was also an ethnography of my own practice. The researcher narrative was thus both an attempt of creating an analytical interpretation of the data yet also identified affinities between the lived experiences and ideologies of the researcher and those of the participants.

Any family case study could be 'read' in two ways. If we were to take a look across the interactional dimensions or dimensions at a particular time, we would be able to see how the case study was situated synchronically within the larger case study of the school, as well as to explore its relations within the multiple dimensions of the social context. At the same time, a more detailed look within any chosen dimension offered a diachronic perspective, helped trace a its trajectory in time, as the ethnography had spanned several years. Finally, a combined look – both across the dimensions and within the chosen one – represented a holistic 'reflexive project' situated in time and space.

## **III.6 Justification of research strategy**

### **III.6.1 Longitudinal ethnography or multi-sited ethnography?**

At the earlier stages, the idea behind the project had been to find a possibility to complement a longitudinal ethnography with a comparative approach. The comparison was viewed within the institutional dimension, i.e. (1) between uses of languages and literacies at the Russian school and at one of the formal schools that most of the Russian school students went to; or/and (2) between uses of languages and literacies at the Russian school and at another community school in Portugal. In this way, a multi-sited ethnography could be implemented – multi-sited in its literal definition as the ethnography where participation and observation are done simultaneously on several sites guided by the same research questions (Marcus 1995: 95). In such studies, the obtained data from the multiple sites is later compared or juxtaposed so that to help identify most significant discursive categories and language ideologies. Most importantly, they help challenge the seemingly fixed division between the levels of practice (e.g. local, national and global). Lytra (2010), as well as Blackledge and Creese (2010) present brilliant examples of a multi-sited team ethnography of multilingual classroom practices and policies. Both of the ethnographies were

done by a team of researchers, where each of the sites (e.g. 4 case studies in 8 complementary schools in Blackledge and Creese (2010)) was observed by two researchers. Another example of a multi-sited ethnography of the polyvalent policies of Portuguese language in migrant contexts in Portugal and in the UK is provided by Keating *et al.* (2013).

At the stage of the planning the fieldwork for this study, several contacts had been made with schools in Portugal and abroad. Three schools in Portugal (a formal Portuguese school and two Russian-speaking complementary schools) and a Russian complementary school in the UK had been contacted. At the first contacts, the administrations of those schools were quite receptive. They appeared to manifest an eager interest in exploring the possible practical implications of the existing differences between the home and schooling languages. They were rather helpful in providing information about their institutional interpretation of public policies. However, as I tried to implement the method of linguistic ethnography, thus aiming beyond the superficial and performative side of the discourse and practice, closer to actual on-site policies and ideologies, the administration staff became less receptive and more protective of the face of the institution. Few of the school administrators were direct enough to articulate their blunt refusal to any kind of participant observation on the respective sites: in one of the administrators' words, "we and our parents would not feel right if anyone observed our classrooms". Overall, I felt that my presence on-site was not welcome and would be further sabotaged as it was considered intrusive. Since the research design became jeopardised, I had to withdraw from those sites and use the possibilities I had already had, namely the access to the Russian school site. Besides, by the time of the withdrawal I had collected some public discourse data from those schools that could inform my research.

This particular turn of the events made me reflect on time and space as research dimensions; and specifically, on the significance of time in general and timing in particular in a study of local policies on the one hand, and on the division between public and private space in educational settings on the other. It made me think whether in qualitative research of multilingualism comparative approaches across time (a longitudinal ethnography) should be really seen as opposed to comparisons across space (a multi-sited ethnography). In fact, over the 8-year long fieldwork I became convinced that, due to the constant renegotiation of the researcher identity (see the next section III.5.2 for a more detailed account of the process), a longitudinal ethnography can be also considered to be multi-sited. The answer lies in the definition of site. If it is seen as a strictly delineated seat of practice, a research setting, however complex and diverse, then a multi-sited

ethnography represents a possibility to explore multiple self-contained and bounded settings. However, if the site is considered to be a bundle, cluster or nexus of sedimented practices, then a multi-sited ethnography examines all the complexity and diversity of practices and ideologies of the site in relation to the various spatiotemporal scales. In this sense, the researcher can travel around multiple (spatiotemporal) sites without physically moving away from one research setting. In simplified terms, all she has to do is to change the zoom and focus of her analytic lens.

In case of my study, I was able to watch symbolic identities, values, ideologies and rules emerge, develop and change while being interrelated and interdependent – very much in line with the ecological model of learning (Kramsch 2002) and a theory of multilingual subject (Kramsch 2009, cf. also Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). The longitudinal character of my multi-sited ethnography (2004-2012) has enabled me to observe the dynamic changes in (1) in children's identity decisions – as they were gradually becoming more conscious, articulated and pronounced; (2) the parents' attitudes towards multilingualism – as these were turning more open, less restrictive and flexible; (3) policy-making discourses – as they increasingly and repetitively foregrounded the role of the Portuguese language in schooling, and, finally, (4) in my own stance towards the object of the study, as it evolved into a more reflexive, reflective and less judgemental one. Moreover, also due to the longitudinal ethnography I was able to compare the oldtimers' vs. new arrivals' perspectives on the site and its established practices. Besides, the participants had gradually got used to my presence around the site, so that their reactions and actions were becoming less controlled. The long duration of my fieldwork gave me a possibility of 'cycling' between the data (Barton 1994), which meant, for example, returning to the parent participants with my interpretation of a certain fragment of their family data -- an interview excerpt, an artefact produced by their child – and taping the resulting discussion and negotiation of the proposed interpretation. The same approach was adopted with the teenagers from the setting. In this way, almost every parent and teenager was interviewed more than once.

The longitudinal ethnography was equally useful regarding the discursive data, first by enabling me to trace the evolution of certain discursive categories and concepts, and helping challenge the common top-down view on language policies. It allowed to observe how local actors could 'open up or close down agentic spaces for multilingual education as they implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy initiatives' (Hornberger 2009: 199). So, rather than predicate the research on the claimed gap between the global and national policies on the one hand and their implementation on the other, this ethnography exposed their interrelatedness. I was able to see

how these agentic spaces were constructed and contested in interactions by parents, educators and children themselves. These spaces were fluid, constantly shifting and changing over time.

In sum, thanks to the longitudinal character of this ethnography I was able to watch certain opinions about languages and learning emerge, grow, take shape, transform into ideologies and policies, travel across different dimensions of the social context and, sometimes, die out. The long presence in the field allowed me to trace their connections to local, national and global language ideologies and migration policies as well as situate them in personal histories of the project participants. In this sense, the longitudinal ethnography transformed into a multi-sited one as it “cross-cut dichotomies such as the “local” and the “global”, the “lifeworld” and the “system” (Marcus 1995: 95), since the ethnography design followed the “circulation of signs, symbols and metaphors” (*ibidem*: 108), which is evident in the multiple dimensions of the research design.

### **III.6.2 Negotiating the researcher’s identity and acknowledging subjectivity in ethnographic research**

Throughout the fieldwork, I had to account for the constant re-negotiating of my own identity in interactions with the project participants. It was being viewed differently across different interactional dimensions (interpersonal, community and cultural practice, institutional and policy across contexts). It also adopted several subject positions within the same dimension: for example, within an interpersonal dimension I could be positioned as a teacher, an expert, a mother, a speaker of Russian, a member of the association -- sometimes in the course of the same interaction. This fact had to be acknowledged in the research design by amplifying a reflexive stance (researcher notes and observation comments) through which I had to try to understand what in the interaction could have triggered a shift in the subject position. The choice of words and discursive constructions in the interview guides as well as in my interpretations of the data had become subject to a very controlled effort, as certain words could trigger certain ‘chains of discourse’ (Bakhtin 1986, Fairclough 2001). Additionally, in order to address the shifting and adjusting subject positions I aimed to collect data from various sources from each participant (artefacts, interviews, photographs, etc.)

The access to the field was somewhat facilitated by my status of a Russian-speaking parent and a teacher. Being accepted as a member of the community, I was apparently positioned as an ‘insider’, so I had no problem in obtaining parental permissions to interview their children. In fact, some of the adults confided their lives to me quite openly. It was a great responsibility for me to be

trusted in this way. This trust had at times put me in an uncomfortable position when I had to take decisions as to how much could be revealed in a given situation, for example, in anonymising the data or when presenting my research.

On the other hand, there had been situations where I was clearly positioned as an 'outsider', from my appearance to my linguistic competences in Russian, Portuguese and English, neither of which fitted the stereotypical ones. Often I was positioned as an 'expert': some parents wanted to know my opinion about the books they had got for their children thus appealing to me as a literacy and multilingualism expert. At other times, parents justified their choice of this particular informal school by my competence in 'proper Russian', as I happened to be a speaker of one of the two norms in the Russian language, the Moscow norm. Moreover, just like inhabitants of other capitals of the world, Muscovites are considered to be somewhat privileged, so this had also set me apart from the rest of the Eastern European immigrant community.

My personal, as well as my family migration trajectory diverged somewhat from the habitual patterns for the most of the immigrant parents. In the course of the fieldwork, I had to accept this and be prepared that the informants would not be willing to share with me something they would share with their peers. Some of them admitted to me to be ashamed of their actual humble position in the Portuguese society, others excused their Russian during the interview and asked me to 'correct the mistakes' when transcribing their interviews.

Some of the ethnography participants considered that my outsider's position had provided me with a position to speak for the community. So they would use me as a intermediary between the community and different institutions. Some of the project participants had gone as far as to ask me to 'tell them at the Ministry of Education', thus providing me with a 'mission'.

The subject position of 'a woman with a mission' appeared to become common for my researcher identity before the immigrant community and before institutional actors. Endowed with the voice by the community, I felt that it was my obligation to 'carry the message'.

In the institutions, I was often met and treated as a chosen representative from the community, as a delegate. By speaking to me, institutional actors considered themselves speaking to the entire community of '*imigrantes de Leste*', as homogeneous as they had imagined it. Marcus (1995: 113) calls this stance "ethnographer as circumstantial activist", and explains the term as follows:

"In conducting multi-sited research, one finds oneself with all sorts of cross-cutting and contradictory personal commitments. These conflicts are resolved, perhaps ambivalently, not by refuge in being a detached anthropological scholar, but in being a

sort of ethnographer-activist, renegotiating identities in different sites as one learns more about a slice of the world system" (*ibidem*).

Indeed, my personal involvement into the fieldwork site and the collection of the research data on institutional discourses led to my collaboration in formulating, writing and promoting several of the Eastern European immigrant association projects. Two of them got to be funded: one, a school-based project received the financial support of the Russia national government agency for compatriots abroad ("Russky Mir"), and another one, a library-based, was provided for by the Gulbenkian foundation in Portugal.

In institutional contacts, my identity of a delegate from Eastern European immigrants was often judged against the stereotypical representations of '*imigrantes de Leste*' in Portugal (e.g. Ukrainian, formerly illegal, doing menial jobs). As a result, there were situations when institutional actors had re-assessed my nationality as well as my linguistic competence and treated me accordingly. People at institutions had expected me to be Ukrainian or/and speak or understand the Ukrainian language. So, in their view, to be a legitimate delegate, I had to fit the migrant stereotype perfectly. On the other hand, because of my class and academic position (a researcher from a university), other Portuguese institutional actors had made the point of explaining to me that I was not a migrant but rather a foreigner. Consequently, I had been perceived as mobile professional rather than a migrant. It should be stressed, however, that the class issue affected my relations within the community in a far more prominent way than in those with institutions. In institutional contacts, my competence of written and spoken Portuguese, or rather my repertoire of an educated Portuguese speaker turned out to be one of the trumps in interaction. It literally opened doors.

In the course of my fieldwork, I realised that being a Russian speaker who had grown up and finished most of her education in the Soviet Union and who had had some teaching experience in Russian schools in the late 1990s earned me the insider's status among the Eastern European immigrants. Yet the very same facts of my personal lived experiences guaranteed my outsider's status in contacts with Portuguese institutions. In this way, my personal schooling trajectory acted as a denominator that indicated diverging ideologies about languages and learning.

Overall, this ethnography has made me aware of the role of subjectivity throughout the whole process of ethnographic research. Alan Peshkin (1988: 17) compares it to "a garment that cannot be removed" (cf. also Lefebvre 1968 on the objectification of scientific analysis). Peshkin underlines that even though social scientists usually acknowledge the role of subjectivity in their research, they are rarely prepared to fully clarify it. He proposes to fully explore one's own subjective

reactions and leanings in ethnographic research on the path towards developing theory and creating categories. However, so as not to allow the ethnography to transform into an entirely autobiographical project and not to “mute the emic voice”, Peshkin (*ibidem*: 21) urges ethnographers to tame and manage the researcher's voice.

Belgrave and Smith (2002: 48) go further and distinguish at least two dimensions in subjectivity. The authors explain this distinction as follows: “The primary dimension is the researcher’s interpretation of the respondents’ definitions and subjective understandings of what occurred. A secondary dimension of subjectivity is a researcher’s experience as (a) a sociologist and (b) a person with a unique biography”. In my account of the researcher's identities that I have given so far, I aimed to underline how the subjectivity permeated the whole research process from the initial contacts to committing the research to paper. Besides, I made an effort to account for both dimensions of researcher's subjectivity as I documented my interpretations of the participants' accounts and observed interactions as well as registered and checked my emotional reactions to them (resonances). In this process, I made a point of highlighting which parts of my subjectivity (e.g. parent, teacher, immigrant, learner etc.) may have helped me arrive at those interpretations and cause those reactions.

### **III.7 System for presenting data: sorting out, anonymising and coding**

The long years of data collection had yielded an enormous bulk of raw data, which included articles from Internet sources and website printouts, newspaper clippings, photographs and artefacts. These were sorted into different folders according to the settings they had been obtained from: Portuguese institutions, Portuguese newspapers or newspapers of the immigrant community, the Russian school, the association or the families. During the MA, I kept a separate folder for each child participant, which contained literacy artefacts from different literacy contexts of the child. Being more interested this time round in the lived experiences and ideologies of language and learning within immigrant families, I clustered the data around the families and organised them into family datasets. I have kept a dataset inventory for each family, where I entered every new item of data. The inventory was divided into 5 columns: 1) research questions; 2) data collection (e.g. parent narration); 3) type of data (e.g. interview transcripts, translated from Russian); 4) data analysis (e.g. emergent themes); 5) ethics and researcher identity. An excerpt from three family datasets is provided in Table 2 for illustration:

	<b>Family 1</b>	<b>Family 2</b>	<b>Family 3</b>
<p><b>Research question 1:</b> What are the driving forces that led to the creation of a space for children of Eastern European immigrants outside the mainstream education in Portugal?</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> The child refused to speak Russian to parents on the Portuguese school's premises</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Traumatic accounts of discrimination in Portuguese schools because of the linguistic origin</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Having to adapt to dominant ways of doing things yet leaving the space to carve your own identity Homeschooling in Russian</p> <p><b>Children:</b> Awkward situations with the child's name written by the Portuguese teachers A mistaken identity</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> A conviction that an immigrant student has to be times better than a Portuguese one in order to succeed in life Homeschooling in Russian</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Portuguese classmates interested in Russian pop-music</p>
<p><b>Research question 2:</b> What are the language ideologies and practices that triggered its discursive construction as the Russian school, despite the strong presence of other local languages?</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Being educated in Russian in a Soviet national republic of Belarus; Having been written out of the national language class by the father due to the alleged lack of mobility across the USSR</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Enjoys Russian classes yet rarely does the homework</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Being educated in Russian in a Soviet national republic of Ukraine; Personal blunt refusal to learn the national language in the post-Soviet period because of the imposed nativisation policy</p> <p><b>Children:</b> Hypercorrection in writing in Russian</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Being educated in Russia: children from the national republics had to learn Russian properly; Russian language seen as the most important subject in the community school</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Languages have to be separated in different contexts</p>
<p><b>Research question 3:</b> What are the lived practices with languages and literacies that sustain the existence of the Russian school and its consolidation within an association of immigrants?</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Homework as a workload for the student, to be done in a neat presentation</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Rare hours spent rewriting homework together with the mother (emotional ties)</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> Memories and lived experiences of Soviet schools: demanding teachers, a systematic approach to learning; A 'proper' course-book Father and mother specialising in different subject homework</p> <p><b>Children:</b> Competing over parental attention during classes at the Russian school</p>	<p><b>Parents:</b> If it's not the highest mark, you fail Our children use the 'Unicode'</p> <p><b>Child:</b> Written work has to be impeccable Hours spent together with parents while doing Russian (emotional ties)</p>
<p><b>Data collection processes:</b></p>	<p>Parent narration Literacy artefact collecting Household observations, at the</p>	<p>Parents' narration Literacy artefact collecting Household observations, at the</p>	<p>Parents' narration Literacy artefact collecting Household observations, at the</p>

	Russian school	Russian school, at the Portuguese school	Russian school, at the Portuguese school
<b>Type of data</b>	Child's Portuguese class work and homework in notebooks; Russian school notebooks Parent interview transcripts (in Russian + translation) Drawings, literacy artefacts produced in child-parent interactions	Child's Portuguese class work and homework in notebooks; Russian school notebooks Parent interview transcripts (in Russian + translation) Drawings, literacy artefacts produced in child-parent interactions Photographs taken by the child Portuguese lesson transcript	Child's Russian school notebooks Parent interview transcripts (in Russian + translation) Photographs taken by the child with and without parental supervision
<b>Data analysis</b>	The power of one language in multilingual contexts of schooling: monolingualising Literacy: form or content The right to be different Mother's ideologies in teaching and learning history	Monolingualising ideologies Experts have the authority to determine what counts as learning The right to be different Division of labour among parents in literacy learning	Monolingualising ideologies yet becoming aware of the hybridity in language uses Division of labour among parents in literacy learning
<b>Ethics and researcher identity</b>	Who do I share the accounts of discrimination of the child at school? What can I do about them?	Researcher as an intermediary between the Ministry of Education and immigrant parents	Researcher as a speaker of the norm

*Table 2. An example of family datasets*

This dataset inventory can be read in two ways, vertically and horizontally. Each column provides a brief account of the research activities and the registered lived experiences and ideologies in one particular household. Thus, each column offers a glimpse of a family history of literacy and learning in multilingual contexts. It also lists the emergent themes in the preliminary analysis and ethical concerns of the researcher. If read horizontally, each row gives a base for comparison between experiences lived by different categories of participants (parents, children) and between the attested ideologies. We can immediately notice the commonalities and differences, the recurrent themes, ethical concerns and special cases. The dataset inventory also helps plan further research activities, as special cases stand significantly apart, demanding an additional effort on part of the researcher. This type of data register not only helped me assess what had been done in terms of

the fieldwork but also assisted me in further planning and in more profound analysis of the data. Before selecting the raw data for transcribing, it underwent an anonymising procedure. Each family cluster and an institution was assigned a code letter and a number (e.g. B-1; PLNM-3). The letter stood for the setting ( a household or an institution) and the number – for the place of the particular data category in the data inventory. The names of people and places that could be easily recognised or traced to the actual people or places were either abbreviated (e.g. M. for Maria) or substituted by other ones (e.g. Manuela instead of Maria). The project participants were given the chance to take a decisive part in the anonymising procedure: for example, while they listened to their interview and read its transcription, they were invited to determine which parts, names or episodes of the data should be left out. As the interviews with immigrants were done in Russian, they were transcribed in Russian. Once the anonymising procedure had been finished, selected excerpts were translated into English (or Portuguese) depending on the required language for the presentation. The translation would be kept as literal as possible. Whenever the literal translation was impossible, a translation note were provided.

### **III.7.1 Coding the way to theory**

From the earliest stages of data processing, steps towards a theory development were undertaken. While listening to the first interview recordings and transcribing them, a coding procedure was performed. Since the project participants emerge from a range of contexts and experiences, two types of coding were applied: (1) coding for contextual and structural features (age, ethnicity, schooling trajectory, formality of the interview), and (2) coding for themes (Ryan and Bernard 2010). Subsequently, the interviews were cut into thematic cues and colour-coded with a label which were “suggested by the context in which the event is located” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 106). For example, when applied to the interview transcripts with the parents it meant creating thematic labels about their attitude toward official Portuguese school. The coding procedure was thus the first step on the way to a preliminary analysis.

Along the process of contextual and structural coding, I distinguished between a) policy-makers at the national level; b) agents of the national policy at the local level; c) immigrant teachers; d) immigrant parents and grandparents; e) children. The category of immigrant parents was further subdivided into groups according to the schooling trajectory, e.g. “Ukrainian national taught in a 'national' school”; “Ukrainian national taught in a Russian-language school”. The schooling trajectory was also considered in the contextual and structural coding of immigrant children, since

some of them had had some experience of schooling (kindergarten or primary school) back in their countries of origin. The process of thematic coding of the interviews rendered the following cues: linguistic repertoires and strategies; linguistic aspirations; difficulties in communication with others; schooling in Portugal; schooling in the country of origin; parent-child relationship; literacy parental interventions; schooling in the Russian school.

The resulting interview cues were saved in a separate file, thus allowing me to have a register of the emerging themes and enabling me to trace a particular topic in a given interview. The process of tracing was easier thanks to the colour-coding. Since the cues cut interviews into thematic parts, I was able to compile different data excerpts on a selected topic. Alternatively, I sometimes chose to focus on a particular coded fragment in more detail. This technique also offered me an opportunity to compare between the interview data and the data from other sources, helping along the process of theorising.

Throughout the process of theorising I was quite aware that all interpretations and impressions of the data and of the context are embedded in our own experiences and life trajectories. In qualitative research, subjectivity has long become the assumed feature and a probable asset. So the overarching idea in relation to developing theory had been to let the data speak for themselves rather than creating categories on the basis of my own interpretations. At the early stages of the fieldwork it consisted in line-to-line reading of the first transcribed interviews in order to find common threads that would indicate emerging categories (i.e. microanalysis – cf. Corbin and Strauss 2008; also Richards 2011). In practice it meant reading a word, a phrase or an excerpt and listing all the possible interpretations that spring to mind. Corbin and Strauss (2008: 60) explain: “In micro-analysis we are generating possibilities and at the same time checking out those possibilities against data, discarding the irrelevant, and revising interpretations as needed”. Having done microanalysis of several fragments, I usually returned to the transcript in search of the meanings that had been apparently employed by the participants. This technique proved equally useful in detecting what might have not been said, from my subjective point of view.

The coding was accomplished in a three-stage process inspired on nexus analysis (Scollon 2007), as it examined ‘bundles’ created by cross-referencing the data from various resources. At the first stage, often with the help of microanalysis, a set of key words was identified in order to outline the circle of ideas and phenomena to be researched. This procedure is described by Strauss and Corbin as ‘open coding’ (Strauss and Corbin 2008). The key words were used, for example, for labelling and cue-coding interview transcripts. Each of the key words fed into a cluster of concepts and

directions that emerged from the data. For example, the 'integration' cluster included 'social integration', 'inclusion', 'assimilation', 'mechanisms' and 'criteria'. These concepts were connected with concepts from other clusters, for instance, 'identity' and 'migration'. For this PhD project, clustering concepts were such as 'integration', 'language', 'teaching and learning', 'identity', and 'migration'. Having identified the clusters, the focus was then placed on examining the emerging patterns and trajectories, paying special attention to the elements that connect, bind the clusters together (nexos). This method is described in Corbin and Strauss (2008) as an axial coding, i.e. "the act of relating categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions. It looks at how categories crosscut and link." (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 124). In the process of axial coding, I was "asking the questions why or how come, where, when, how, and with what results" (*ibidem*: 127).

At the final stage of analysis, the binding elements (bundles, nexos) were examined in the light of the research context and the research questions of the project, that is, lived practices, symbolic interactions and representations. The categories that resulted from this process were registered in a series of the researcher's memos where those categories were explored further at some length. Issues that did not appear to throw light on the research questions were dropped. Thus a 'selective coding' took place (*ibidem*: 143) which plays a double role of providing a reflective stance for the researcher as well as creating an analytical distance.

Another way of structuring analysis and providing a distance represented diagrams that were used early on in the research. They helped examine the connections and trajectories between the clustered concepts. Mindmapping technique facilitated the identification of the central concept, i.e. what this research project is about: how community schools, through hybrid practices and flexible teaching might help integrate Russian-speaking children into Portuguese education.

Overall, the described method of coding the data and structuring the analysis seemed to follow 'chains of verbal communication' (Bakhtin 1986: 94), tracing them 'vertically' top-down, from the dominant discourses of laws and state institutions through mass-media to people's opinions, as well as bottom-up. The method of coding and structuring also dealt with the horizontal dimension of intertextuality, i.e. the dialogue between discourses at a given level of discourse production. On the other hand, it addressed both the difficulty of tracing all the links in a certain 'chain' and the need to avoid the linearity implied in the notion of 'chain'. In words of Downing:

An anti-or post-foundational, critical social science seeks its external grounding not in science [...]. It seeks to understand how power and ideology operate through and

across systems of discourse, cultural commodities, and cultural texts. It asks how words, and texts, and their meanings play a pivotal part in the cultures' "decisive performances of race, class [and] gender (1987: 80 *apud* Denzin and Lincoln 2002: 229).

Even though the Bakhtinian notion of 'chains of verbal communication' does not exclude the multiplicity of voices within the discourse production, it probably makes more sense to speak of 'trajectories of discourse' rather than 'chains', so as to underline the messiness and complexity of the intertextual relations, where 'text' encompasses all types of semiosis.

The process of coding takes us further on to the level of theorising, understood as "an explanatory scheme that integrates various concepts through statements of relationship" (Strauss and Corbin 2008: 25). Theoretical concepts, once incorporated into the coding, situate the research regarding the current social theory, make the focus of the research more precise and articulate as well as "help overcome "analytic blocks". (*ibidem*: 87-88). Making theoretical comparisons was important to my research project as these helped bring analysis to a more abstract level; facilitated the linking and densifying of categories (*ibidem*: 85). For instance, phenomena and facts described and evidenced in the data under the broad category of 'educational inclusion' were compared systematically to another category, that of 'educational exclusion'; and the phenomena and facts characterised as evidence of 'social integration' to those of 'social assimilation'. This kind of comparison helped make the analysis more precise and focused, find properties of the examined categories.

### **III.8 Summary**

This chapter has related the research procedures that were undertaken as the research project progressed from the pilot stage (MA project – Solovova, 2006) to its main stage (PhD). The research design was dictated by the methodological decisions based on the researcher's interpretation of the topic of educational integration of Eastern European migrant children in Portugal. Methodological decisions taken in the course of this research project were largely influenced by the researcher's personal trajectories. These trajectories were, as follows: (1) the family migration trajectory from Russia to Portugal; (2) the professional experience of language teacher of Russian and English as first and foreign language -- in Russia and Portugal (professional trajectory); (3) a gradual progression of research methodology from quantitative to qualitative methods, from a sociohistoric approach in psychology, situated cognition and literacy studies to linguistic anthropology and interactional linguistics; (4) the academic trajectory from a School of

Education to a School of Arts and Humanities, and further on to a Centre for Social Studies; (5) the trajectory of research interests -- from individual histories of learning in multilingual and multiliterate contexts to language ideologies and family language policies.

All of the above mentioned trajectories converge in subject positions of researcher, teacher, parent, and migrant -- which ensured access both to policy-making institutions (government bodies, schools) and immigrant community schools and migrant households. They allowed to link the individual histories and experiences of concrete people to the described and publicly discussed representations of migrant communities; to situate personal language ideologies within family histories and dominant ideological discourses; to associate household language policies and uses with the locally accepted practices and the officially promoted ones.

The researcher's position was viewed by the ethnography participants from different levels of agency (from the migrants to policymakers), quite paradoxically, as simultaneously an insider and outsider one. The key to this paradox lies in their perception of a personal trajectories vs. professional trajectories, situated within time/space and, most significantly, within class issues. The cultural heritage (literacy socialisation trajectory) was largely perceived by both migrant participants and local and national policy makers as the symbol of belonging to the Eastern European immigrant community. However, being speaker of the cultured norm created a distance within the community. Being originated in the class issue (professional and migration trajectory), this aspect accounted for a distinguished status of an outsider among migrants (an outsider within the insider) while simultaneously creating links with the policy makers (an insider within the outsider).

These nested subject positions signalled the impossibility of creating dichotomies of the type insider/outsider. A 'woman with a mission' position was proposed as a possible analytic alternative, yet its polycentricity should be highlighted, resulting from being categorised/ resisting categorisation by multiple social institutions and agents. By amplifying the subjective character of the research project, the polycentric subject position called for a more reflexive and critical approach, and for especial ethical concerns that should be addressed in the research design.

The choice of 'trajectory' metaphor prompted that time and space should be examined as research dimensions. First, space was considered to be simultaneously historical, regulated and yet emergent and potentially transformative. Having taken the conscious step away from a formal education and into community-organised and community-run schools, I had to identify their potential contribution to educational integration of immigrant children. Examining in turns the

concepts of 'informal', 'complementary' and 'community' school earlier on in this chapter, I attempted to circumscribe issues the research design had to address: namely, the institutional identity of the fieldwork site and its relation to formal schools, the existence of shared knowledge and relatively stable practices surrounding the site, while complemented by its dynamic and adaptable character and potential of creativity and transmission. Taken altogether, all these issues called for an anthropological, holistic and historical approach; hence the choice of linguistic ethnography as the main methodology – as I was aiming to study the fieldwork setting as “the repository of a process of genesis, development, transformation” (Blommaert and Huang 2010: 14).

Second, given the paradoxical combination of shared knowledge, traditions and values yet the constant flow and ebb of people, ideas and objectives within/around the site, time had to be considered as a research dimension too. It reinforced the historicity and creativity of the site. I realised that the choice of a longitudinal ethnography resulted not only from the difficulty of a closer access to different sites, but also from the idea of language socialisation that sustained these schools. On the one hand, the longitudinal character of the ethnography placed the focus on negotiation, co-construction, emergence, and creativity. It amplified the 'ecological' metaphor as it allowed, so to speak, to observe ideologies, policies and practices seed, grow and wither, as well as to trace their roots and branches in official and non-official discourses, and, finally, to see them intertwine, outgrow each other while fighting for the 'light' of recognition.

The assumingly subjective, reflexive, critical and historical character of the research project thus delineated the undertaken data collection process. The subjectivity was addressed through collecting artefacts, interviews and photographs in the course of participant observations. The reflexivity issue enriched the data collection process with fieldnotes and memos. I tried to make the research design as critical as possible by taking the data across different modes (e.g. textual, interactional, visual data) and by giving voice to the participants (e.g. photographs taken by the children participants, vignettes discussed with the adult participants). The historicity issue was reinforced through contrasting the data collected from 'newbies', 'passers-by' and 'veterans' within the setting. Besides, I 'cycled between the data', i.e. tested my interpretations of the data against the participants' opinion.

Interaction understood as a negotiation of ideas and values with other agents constituted another important issue within the present research design. As a result, all the collected data was organised according to interactional dimensions, such as child-in-history, interpersonal,

community, institutional and policy dimensions. Data collected within each of these dimensions outlined ideas at one particular interaction order, and allowed to see how discourses travelled from one dimension to the other. While giving an insight on common ideologies and policies at one dimension, it also helps in tracing chains of discourses. It should be underlined that these dimensions are not viewed as having a linear succession from one to another but rather as constellations, clusters of ideas. Ideas at a particular dimension had a different significance at different times for the interactants within the dimension. Besides, some ideas were more relevant than other to the research questions of this project. The dimensions helped streamline the data and analysis on the way to theorising.

The final sections of the chapter mapped out the way from the data bulk to an analysis. The conceptual ordering was done by applying structural, thematic and selective coding. The topics which emerged in the coding process were then transposed into diagrams and memos, to see the connections between them. Afterwards, the particular attention was paid to the points of convergence, as these may have reflected the existing relations between various discourses and interaction orders. Such configuration of conceptual ordering, i.e. following up trajectories from different dimensions and focusing on their merge points and their interdependence and interaction, in my opinion, is in line with the whole metaphor of an ecology of languages in multilingual contexts. It can thus potentially throw light on educational integration of and learning strategies for children who grow up with languages other than language of their official schooling. The following chapter trace the discourses that constitute the historical backdrop for ideologies on language, literacy and multilingualism for the immigrant participants of the ethnography. The heterogeneity of the views and attitudes within the 'community of learners' around the "Russian school" is assumed to be informed by the language policies of the Russian Empire, Soviet Union and post-Soviet states.

## **Chapter IV      Language policies in the Russian Empire, Soviet Union and post-Soviet states**

### **IV.1      Language policies in the Russian Empire**

This chapter provides an introduction into language policies and ideologies of the Russian Empire, the USSR and the post-Soviet states of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. It helps trace historical, geopolitical and social processes that shaped language ideologies shared among the adult participants of the study at the interface of the policy of nativisation, imposition of the single official language, and the creation of a supra-ethnic identity. I argue in favour of a historical analysis of language ideologies in this geopolitical space to reveal the complexity of its sociolinguistic landscape. After looking into the processes that lead to the dissolution of the USSR, I explore the continuities and ruptures between the language policies and language-in-education policies in the USSR and in the post-Soviet states. I close the chapter by examining the ways in which the new patterns of migration in a globalised world have changed both the policies of the Russian language and the ways it is being conceptualised.

#### **IV.1.1      A foreword on terminology**

Given the cultural and linguistic background of the ethnography participants, we should have a better look at the ways in which language policies were operating in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet contexts. In order to do this, we should take a moment to consider language policies within the tsarist regime of the Russian Empire, since the imperial policies had represented an important reference for the Soviet ones: whereas initially the Soviet state policies were consciously built to counter the tsarist ones, afterwards the Soviet policies ended up somewhat evoking the tsarist ones (Alpatov 1997: 27). In this sense, the Soviet and, to some extent, post-Soviet language policies have been formulated in the interaction with certain imperial policies, situated in the historical and political contexts. That is why it is crucial to consider the imperial policies before embarking on the study of the language policies of the Soviet and post-Soviet period.

Any account of language policies written in Russian should start with a word of clarification about the terminology. In Russian, the word “*nacional'nost'*” can be used to refer both to 'nationality' and 'ethnicity'. That would explain why an ethnic Russian living in the Ukraine and an ethnic Ukrainian living in Russia can be both registered as “Ukrainian” by Russian authorities. Due to the ambiguity

of the term '*nacional'nost*', people who live in the areas that have been contested over the years by different geopolitical powers often tie their '*nacional'nost*' to characteristics like religious belonging, the place of current residence, as well as the official division. For example, Belikov and Krysin (2001) cite the following data gathered in Belarus by Klimchuk (1990):

- Yes, I'm Pole. I was baptised in the Catholic ritual so I'm Pole. Can I help it?
- Now I am Belarusian, because I got married here.
- And before that?
- Before that I was Ukrainian. The village where I was born is in 15 km from here, it is in Rivny region, in Ukraine. (Klimchuk 1990: 95-96 *apud* Belikov and Krysin 2001: 72)<sup>23</sup>.

Several ethnonyms have changed over the years, as they were situated in the changing historical and geopolitical context. For example, terms such as Romanians, Moldovans and Bessarabians at different historical periods may be referring to the same group of people living in the same territory, as they represent labels of belonging to a particular historic state formation rather than reflect ethnic groups. The term “Ukraine” in the description of the policies of the Russian Empire up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century can only refer to the Eastern Ukraine, as its western areas were annexed afterwards.

#### **IV.1.2 “Rightful citizens” and “aliens”**

Vassily Klyuchevsky, one of the most reputable Russian historiographers of the 19<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> centuries, once remarked that Russia was the country that colonised itself, because the Russian nation state formation was intrinsically intertwined with that of the empire (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 179). By 1914, the Russian Empire incorporated several different state formations such as vassal states and Russian Protectorates (Bukhara emirate and Khanate of Khiva (modern day Uzbekistan)), autonomous territories (Grand Duchy of Finland and Kingdom of Poland), and lands with special status (Tuva). The empire expanded through annexation of bordering lands. Edward Said encapsulated the difference between the Russian empire and other empires in this way: “Russia[..] acquired its imperial territories almost exclusively by adjacency. Unlike Britain or France, which jumped thousand of miles beyond their own borders to other countries, Russia moved to swallow whatever land or peoples stood next to its borders, which in the process kept moving further and further east and south” (Said 1994: 9). Imperial cultural policies, since the early days in the mid-17th century, envisioned the Russian tsar none other than “the ruler of the whole Orthodox world”

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<sup>23</sup> Similar evidence can be found within this ethnography and will be cited later.

(Uspensky 1987 *ibidem* Pivovarov 2006: 95). Consequently, the cultural reforms of the tsar Alexis were oriented towards “the creation of a universal cultural norm for the Orthodox world” (*ibidem*) (which in fact “resulted in a cultural isolationism” (Pivovarov 2006: 98)). That is perhaps why until February 1917, the only characteristic ascribed to imperial subjects had been their “religious confession” (Slezkine 1994: 426). On its basis, the official policy distinguished between rightful citizens and “*inorodtsy*” [aliens] (literally “of different descent”, “non-native”). The public opinion applied the label to all non-Slavic population; whereas it was applicable to “non-Orthodox” population (Slezkine 1994; Alpatov: 1997: 27). The 1822 “Act on Management of Aliens” (in force until February 1917) defined three groups of aliens:

- 1) settled (non-migrants) (Tatars of Siberia),
- 2) nomadic (Buryat, Yakut, Evenk and Khakass) and
- 3) itinerant (hunters of Northern Siberia).

Representatives of each of the group had different forms of governing (e.g. the itinerant people had self-administration) and different legal status. The categorisation makes it evident that other criteria apart from religion or ethnic belonging were considered, something that we might call “way of life”. Yet faith-based criteria were clearly implied. Whereas mainly Orthodox “Ukrainians and Belarusians had always been considered among Russians<sup>24</sup>” (Alpatov 1997: 27), Jews and Muslims were counted among the “aliens”. Moreover, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century Ukrainian and Belarusian languages had been thought to be “provincial dialects of the Russian language”, despite existing evidence of literary works in those languages. “Aliens” were distinguished from the “rightful citizens” so that to facilitate the implementation of imperial policies of Christianisation and russification. The two policies were often intertwined: once converted into the Orthodox religion, people would be assigned a Russian name and taught Russian. Their division on the basis of the traditional ways of life allowed to plan the imperial coercive action and distribution of resources. “Native language” as a politically relevant category appeared by the 1910s. However, Slezkine points out that the names of languages did not always coincide with national groupings (Slezkine 1994: 427).

### **IV.1.3 Periods of Russification and nativisation**

Contrary to the traditional views on the Russian Empire language policies of linguistic russification

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24 Whereas Alpatov means “Russian citizens”, by omitting “citizens” he broadens the category. The reason for this common categorisation would be, nevertheless, their faith. However, a sizeable part of Belarusians and Ukrainians were (and are) Catholics.

as “conscious, consistent and long-lasting” (Pavlenko 2011: 331), we should highlight their complexity: Pavlenko cites a number of recent studies (1995-2008) which demonstrate that “russification policies were only partially conscious (as far as denationalisation was concerned), never consistent, and definitely not long-lasting” (Pavlenko 2011: 332). The fate of the population of imperial borderlands in terms of language policies had depended on the geopolitical relations of the Russian Empire with the neighbouring great powers, such as Osman, Austrian and Swedish Empires, as well as Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Tinguy 2012: 340)<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, the imperial policies in the newly occupied territories preserved social privileges for national elites, providing them with (limited and controlled) upwardly potential (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 179) through “added incentives of social and educational advancement” (Pavlenko 2008: 5).

Up to 1830 the official imperial policies had been decentralised. As a result, while the western areas enjoyed relative linguistic autonomy and were able to develop quality education in national languages, eastern territories were subject to imposed russification. At the same time, “the processes of polonisation of Ruthenians [nowadays Ukrainians] and Lithuanians, germanisation of Latvians and Estonians, and tatarisation of Kazakhs continued unabated” (Kappeler 2001 *ibidem* in Pavlenko 2011: 337). Early on, people from the newly incorporated territories were encouraged to learn Russian as it provided them a chance of upwardly mobility.

The period between 1830 and 1863, i.e. between the first and the second Polish national uprisal, is characterised by the trend toward “selective russification” (Pavlenko 2011: 337). In this regard, the policies of the tsarist regime were *reactive* rather than proactive, since they targeted particular provinces, such as Poland, Baltic provinces and the Caucasus<sup>26</sup> because of the growing protest in those recently annexed territories. As the national populations of the territories were fighting for their right to national identification (cf. Alpatov's two needs in a multilingual situation), Russian was being enforced in the state administration and education. A gradual shift to Russian as L1 was welcomed through coercive introduction of Russian in state-supported schools and in some province into higher education, which were met with resistance. Scores of people who continued to raise their voice for the national identification, were deported to Siberia: Anne de Tinguy reports as many as 80, 000 Poles exiled in 1831 only (Tinguy 2012: 346). In the Caucasus, condemnable practices of ethnic cleansing were applied.

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25 Even though the subject of language planning and management in the Russian Empire proves to be quite fascinating to pursue, it requires a more thorough study and is not central to my thesis. So I would not be able to go into much detail.

26 Throughout 1817-1864, the Russian Empire had been running warfare against the Caucasians, in a confrontation with Osman Empire

The following years (1863-1905) were both the years of the greatest territorial acquisitions and the most tough and reactionary ones in terms of language policies. The intensified centralised efforts on expansive russification and suppression of national movements issued across the Empire. In Western provinces of the Russian Empire it was not allowed to speak Polish (also during the Catholic mass)<sup>27</sup>. Even the use of Latin alphabet in literacy introduction to Lithuanian, Polish and Belarusian was outright banned. The latter reportedly led to a spread of a clandestine network of book carriers and schools in the affected areas (Pavlenko 2011: 339).

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century historians attested the great interest among the Russian erudite public toward the Ukrainian language and culture, which resulted in opening Ukrainian schools, bilingual magazines, and book publishing. However, the rise in national identification movements from the 1860s onwards led to the prohibition of the state support for education in Ukrainian, books import and translations into Ukrainian. The ban had been eased and tightened several times between 1881-1905.

To oppose the 'Germanisation' of the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, the tsarist authorities were gradually implementing Russian as the imposed language of state administration and higher education. In the late 1880s-1890s, Russian was also introduced as L2 in Estonian and Latvian primary schools. However, those measures did not affect great numbers of the population in the provinces, due to the shortage of competent Russian teachers (especially in rural areas), lack of funding and growing resistance to the imposed practices. Wealthier families of Baltic Germans sent their children to Germany or German schools in Moscow and St. Petersburg, others organised private tuition circles (Pavlenko 2011: 341). Initially the russification reforms were rather welcomed by Estonian and Latvian peasants as the reforms could offer them some protection from the German influence (especially when juxtaposed with the Emancipation of the Serfs Reform across the Empire in 1861), provided greater economic opportunities and, quite practically, shortened military service (O'Connor 2003: 53 *ibidem* Pavlenko 2011: 341).

Thanks to the 1864 education reform, which granted admission to students regardless of their religious background, Jews were also becoming integrated into Russian language state education. Highly-educated Jews were allowed to live beyond the Pale of Settlement (YIVO). However, the implication of Jewish students in the terrorist movement leading to assassination of Alexander II in 1881 brought on the raise of anti-Semitic protests and caused a major set back on those reforms.

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27 Despite this, Catholic families continued to pass the words of rituals in Polish secretly across generations. I was able to attest this in the course of my ethnography.

Large scale anti-Jewish nationalist pogroms swept across the country in 1881-1882. After 1886, the discriminatory Jewish quotas were introduced into the state education whereby the admission of students of Jewish background was limited to 10 per cent of the whole school population.

It should be stressed that the language policy for the "*inorodtsy*" ["aliens"] of the east was comparatively less strict than in the Western parts of the Empire. The renowned turkologist Nikolay Il'minsky and his followers established schools with bilingual instruction in the Volga region, Urals and Siberia. Leading a collective of his associates, Il'minsky created Cyrillic-based writing systems for some of ethnic languages; their work was instrumental in saving Mordovan language from attrition (Alpatov 1997: 30). To Il'minsky and his colleagues, bilingual instruction had been aimed at converting pagan and non-Orthodox people into Orthodox faith. The novelty of Il'minsky approach to bilingual instruction consisted in training native-language teachers and using them for teaching ethnic children. Il'minsky was convinced that each ethnicity had its own world view, so ethnic language teachers were intermediaries in the 'translating' of Orthodox Christian values through the familiar values of the traditional religious beliefs (Werth 2002: 226). While russification helped the conversion, it had never been the ultimate goal. Despite the attempts to establish bilingual schools in Central Asia and Northern Caucasus, they could not compete with the growing network of Islamic schools.

Overall, the imperial plans for expansive russification failed to produce the desirable results (russification of the peasantry) due to the lack of systematic investment into Russian-medium education in the national provinces. Two trends seemed to take shape as a result of the imposed russification policies: 1) ethnic elites had benefited from a growing competence in Russian; 2) national identity became heightened (Pavlenko 2011: 343).

The final years of the tsarist regime (1905-1917) were marked by two revolutions and beset with ideological differences in official as well as language policies: while the right appealed for centralisation and definition of a single national language in the pursuit of a 'melting pot' model; the left called for a federation model with national liberation and provision for minority languages. Still, the state support for Ukrainian or Belarusian-medium schools was considered economically impractical and unjustified due to the perceived proximity of those cultures and languages to Russian (Weeks 1996: 64 *ibidem* Pavlenko 2011: 344).

Being unable to control nor curb the growing and maturing separatist movements in the national provinces, the government had to ease some of the policy measures of the previous period: censorship was liberalised, alphabet and language restrictions were lifted, resulting in an increase

in the number of periodicals and ethnic language schools (Alpatov 1997; Belikov and Krysin 2001; Pavlenko 2011). In language management, educational issues were being pushed centre stage: education funding was raised, bilingual schools were being re-established among non-Russian population in Central Asia and Caucasus.

After 1905, the scope of publications in national languages had widened: books were being published in Ukrainian, Polish, Georgian, Baltic languages. Periodicals and literary works in Belarusian and Tatar had seen the light for the first time. (Alpatov 1997: 35). However, those were just superficial measures which did not address the main problems so the unrest kept on growing. The beginning of the First World War put an end to most of liberalisation plans, due to wartime priorities. After the war, the country began to break up.

#### **IV.1.4 Toward an analysis of the language policies in the Russian empire**

In sum, there have been several major trends in the Russian Empire language policies. First of all, they envisioned russification of the newly acquired territories, which had been both reactive and selective. After a long period of decentralised education policies lasting until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Alexander II reforms towards capitalism created the need for centralised attempts on imposed russification, especially in the most developed European territories (Alpatov 1997: 31). However their advancement and effectiveness had been conditioned by the vastness of the territory and dispersed settlements, as well as the little availability of funding, adequate teaching resources and competent teachers of Russian. It had been difficult to sustain a systematic and consistent effort.

Secondly, members of national elites had been encouraged to learn Russian in order to secure their privileged social positions, through a gradual shift to Russian as L2. Yet but a little percentage of the imperial subjects had benefited from it. The outcomes of these policies were twofold: on the one hand, they have constructed a powerful position for Russian while pushing other languages away from centre stage. Simultaneously, they have strengthened national identification and created pockets of resistance to the Russian domination across the empire<sup>28</sup>. Class differentiation had become deepened as a result of the assimilationist imperial policies. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian had become an additional symbolic resource for ethnic elites and the

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28 Anthony Smith describes the situation in the Habsburg, Ottoman and Romanov Empires in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century as follows: “[t]he spread of nationalist ideas from the late-eighteenth century on, carried with it new ideals of compact population-units, popular representation and cultural diversity, which affected the ruling classes of these empires and even more the educated stratum of their subject communities” (Smith 1996: 118-119)

educated middle classes. However, these social groups had also maintained their family languages alive: Ukrainian nobility of Polish background home-schooled their children in Polish. Wealthy families in the Baltic provinces continued to teach their children to read and write using Roman-based alphabets, as they associated the Cyrillic with the Orthodox religion. As for low and less educated classes, Russian-medium schools had not reached them so they remained unaffected by the russification reforms, most of them were illiterate (Pavlenko 2011: 345).

To account for the spread of Russian across the empire we have also to consider both top-down policies and bottom-up processes, because the social promotion linked to the Russian competence led people to adopt the language in their public lives. Migration flows related to gradual urbanisation and industrialisation of the country also contributed to the linguistic assimilation of the city population. The russification of Ukrainian and Belarusian populations had been implied in the ideologies of the proximity of those languages to Russian, as well as in those that associated those languages to the backward rural past. Moreover, Russian played a role of a lingua franca in the newly colonised lands of Northern Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Siberia and Far East, where settlers from different ethnic communities, who had been deported or who had come there in search of a good land (e.g. Ukrainians, Polish and Germans), cohabited with the indigenous population.

Contemporary Russian sociolinguists argue that the evident complexity of the language policies across the Russian Empire can be explained by the permanent conflict between the so-called eastern and western models of language policies, which have been foregrounded in the country at different times. Whereas the eastern model considers linguistic and cultural diversity to be natural and desirable, the western model aims at constructing a common system of values based on a single faith and one language (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 180). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century - first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox missionaries learned languages of indigenous populations, devised writing systems for their languages; schools had been recommended to take indigenous languages into account. However, as the language policies became more westernised (and moved more to the West, for that matter), they took a turn toward monoculturation and assimilation. As we have seen, issues of class and religion had always been determinant factors in the official imperial policies (Alpatov 1997; Pavlenko 2011). They had also been influenced by the value of the given territory and its populations for the imperial geopolitical plans: for example, Ukrainians might have been considered and treated as Russians in order to secure the Russian majority among other imperial peoples (Pavlenko 2011: 340). Loyalty of the Polish and Finnish territories had to be guaranteed as a point of entry to the Western Europe. At the same time, the Far North territories

or Kazakh steppes had not been of strategic importance for the empire hence language policies in those territories had been less strict. Whereas Polish and Ukrainian languages had been pushed away from school curricula, Kazakh had been introduced into them (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 181). Therefore, we cannot claim the uniformity nor consistency of the language policies either across all the imperial territories or throughout time. What we can attest is that people of different social strata across the Russian Empire, some for longer and others for shorter periods, had found themselves being forced to build 'mutual understanding' with the state administration at the cost of their own ethnic identification (Alpatov 1997).

## **IV.2 The revolutionary turn in language policies: new terms and borders**

After the February Revolution in 1917, several national and political movements demanded autonomy or independence for different territories (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 368). With the new political regime after the October Revolution, there was an urgent need for a sharp turn in public policies including national and language policies.

The new regime had to deal with the evident resistance to the imposed russification, so “the need for identification” had been central to language policies of the new state. The ideologue of the Revolution, Vladimir Lenin stated in 1914:

What does a compulsory state language means? In practice it means that the language of Russians, who make up a *minority* of the Russia population, is imposed on the rest of the population... Russian Marxists say that what we need is the *absence* of the compulsory state language combined with the provision of schools where local languages are taught” (Lenin as quoted in Alpatov 1997: 34; original italics)

That is why the revolutionary state had followed the “eastern model” of language planning for the first fifteen years (1917-1932). The new model of national planning and policy required new terminology: for once, the notion of “alien” had to be discarded, as it created hierarchies between peoples on the basis of their religion and ways of life. Throughout those years, administrative borders within the Soviet republics kept changing, because of the newly formed autonomies. In theory, borders of the republics and national autonomies should have coincided with divisions between ethnic groups. In practice, due to various political and economic reasons (or their combination), it was not always possible (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 371-373). For example, Russia inherited from the Russian Empire borders that reflected the long (and violent) history of its formation which had little to do with ethnic divisions. As a result, in some cases, representatives of

the same ethnic group could be dispersed across Russia, which would constitute areas of compact (or sometimes widely dispersed) settlement. In other cases, a certain ethnic group would overflow into several neighbouring republics (Tinguy 2012). So in a situation when an ethnic group could not be tied up to a particular territory, “language” became the “common marker of tribal composition”, positioned as an exclusive indicator of ethnicity (Slezkine 1994: 428). In cases when a language was shared between two ethnically different groups (for example, Russian-speaking Belarusians), the distinction was being made in their clothing, architecture, and ways of life. People from ethnic groups who did not speak the language of their ethnic group (Russian-speaking Ukrainians or Ukrainian-speaking Moldovans), were considered “denationalised” and “not entirely legitimate by the officials and local elites”, so that they were expected and sometimes forced to learn their “native languages” (Slezkine: *ibidem*).

## **IV.3 Language policies of the Soviet Union**

### **IV.3.1 Nativisation policies: new literacies and empowerment**

Contrary to common ideas of the language policies in the Soviet Union as a consistent slide to russification, Soviet language policies during the years of 'the national identification' had opposed the very idea of russification and had been marked by the absence of the official state language (Alpatov 1997; Belikov and Krysin 2001; Vakhtin and Golovko 2004). Strong 'nativisation' trends prevailed in literacy policies. Alphabets had been devised for more than 20 languages of the Far North, which previously had had no writing systems. After initial attempts to modernise Arabic writing and adapt it to concrete Turkic and Caucasian languages, a uniform Roman-based writing system (*Yanalif* – literally, “new alphabet”) was devised for Turkic languages within the major literacy reform across the country (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 383; Sebba 2003: 3). As Zhirnov (2010) puts it, “educated representatives of the Soviet East got to learn Arabic as children, read revolutionary slogans in their languages written in Arabic as youth, and learned to write Uzbek in Latin script as adults”. The Latinisation campaign pursued several ideological objectives: while creating a unity among the Latinised Turkic languages (Sebba 2003), it fostered lesser familiarity with Qur'an among those national groups (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 386). The campaign was positioned as a) breaking away from the tsarist policy of imposed russification; b) internationalising those languages, reinforcing their links to Europe, and c) bringing different national cultures together, especially helping Russians to learn Turkic languages (Alpatov 1997: 62, 65; Sebba 2003).

Apart from creating new writing systems, Soviet linguists were developing new vocabularies for national languages that would be able to reflect economic and political changes in the country.

The state policy took course on “*korenizatsia*”, i.e. toward educating representatives of national republics and autonomies and promoting their participation on lower levels of administrative division of the state. By 1932, over 80 different ethnic groups have acquired written systems for administration and education purposes, half of those developed after the revolution (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 182). Wide alphabetisation campaigns unfolded: people were taught to read and write in their languages; the number of ethnic schools and libraries was growing fast. In 1934, text books and teaching materials were published in 104 different languages (Alpatov 1997: 72). In 1932 in Moscow region only there were 50 Tatar schools, 17 German and 3 Kazakh schools (Boltenkova 1988: 155 *ibidem* Alpatov 1997: 73). The development of a linguistic norm for some languages prompted the very formation of the ethnicity around the language: e.g. the Khakass had had neither ethnic nor linguistic unity before the 1920s, both of which were constructed in the process of linguistic description (Lewis 1972: 56 *ibidem* Alpatov 1997: 45).

By 1930, the Soviet state considered the list of autonomies mostly stabilised. That is perhaps why some areas of compact ethnic settlement, such as Bucovina, became divided between Moldavia and Ukraine after the annexation of Bessarabia in 1940 (Belikov and Krysin 2004: 374). As a result, some Romanians found themselves living in Moldavia, others carried over to Ukraine.

## **IV.3.2 A paradigm shift in Soviet language policies**

### **IV.3.2.1 Course on denativisation and russification**

From the second half of the 1930s, the political and economic interests of the Soviet state took a sharp turn towards industrialisation. The ideology of nationalism (Fishman 1968) or of “the need for mutual understanding” in the multilingual state (Alpatov 1997) had prevailed again. Language policies became further centralised and uniformised, even after the liquidation of the “All-Union Committee for the Creation of New Alphabet” in 1937 (Yartseva 1990). 'Nativisation' programmes were considered economically non-viable and were curtailed.

The Decree of the All-Union Communist Party entitled “On the compulsory study of the Russian language in schools of national republics and autonomies” (March 13, 1938) set a legal landmark for russification. In the aftermath of ethnic and political repressions, the Decree translated into sweeping changes in language policies. Literacy reforms acquired a pronounced ideological value: all the writing systems that had been previously designed with the use of a Latin-based alphabet,

had to be quickly redesigned into Cyrillic-based ones (Alpatov 1997: 82-83). Instead of aiming to help Russians to learn Turkic languages by their Latinisation, the new Cyrillisation reform was devised to facilitate the shift to Russian among Turkic populations (Sebba 2003: 4).

The Russian language was becoming not only a lingua franca but, significantly, a **benchmark** against which new lexicons for national languages were being developed. Some linguists went so far as to rewrite linguistic descriptions of grammars of some ethnic languages so that to create an analytical proximity with the Russian grammar. The new descriptions changed a habitual word order in a sentence to appear like a Russian one, created adjectival positions where they should not have been, and even re-analysed entire grammatical categories, like Dative case in Mari language (Alpatov 1997: 86).

The reversal to the compulsory russification ran parallel to reducing the number of national autonomies, which resulted in consolidating the power of the so-called “titular nations”, i.e. dominating ethnic groups whose culture and language become central for the state education. In fact, this kind of language management had legitimised an hierarchical order among different languages within the Soviet Union. Whereas languages of the Soviet republics had had some protection, non-titular languages had not been supported: the number of publications and hours for studying those languages at schools had been reduced (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 183). 15 ethnic groups had lost their writing systems as a consequence of this policy (Alpatov 1997: 85; Belikov and Krysin 2001: 395).

Figures 1a-c provide a clear illustration of the changes in literacy policy in the public signage in 1920s-1930s' Uzbekistan (captured by a Belarusian Jewish journalist, Max Penson, who was sent to exile in Uzbekistan). Fig. 1a gives an example of a Tashkent transport company name written in a Latin-based Uzbek; Fig.1b corresponds to the period where the Latin-based Uzbek co-existed with Russian in public signage, where the name of the zoo is duplicated in the two languages. Finally, Fig.1c illustrates a public announcement during the compulsory russification. The poster in it depicts a Russian Carnival song together with a slogan: *“On the night 29 to 30, the whole Tashkent will be singing the Carnival song”*.



Fig.1a. Latin-based Uzbek. (Source: Max Penson, “Eclipse”)

Fig.1b. Co-existing alphabets. (Source: Max Penson, “At the zoo entrance”)



Fig.1c. Russian song on display in a Tashkent park (Source: Max Penson, “Carnival announcement”)

Throughout the 1930s-1950s, millions of people fell victim to the Soviet international affairs strategies and the Stalinist purges. Entire ethnic groups were targeted: executed, deported or forced to relocate to other parts of the country: first Koreans and Chinese living in the Far East; prior to and during the Second World War -- Poles, Ingrian Finns, Pontic Greeks, Germans, Turks,

Curds; after the war Chechens, Kalmyks, Crimean Tatars, etc. were declared “traitors” (Alpatov 1997; Belikov and Krysin 2001; Tinguy 2012). Representatives of those ethnic groups were divested of their civil and political rights; their churches, theatres and schools were closed, languages and cultures banned from education and use. The impact of the Stalinist repressions was immense: according to different authors, lives of nearly 3 to 5 million people had been affected (Marie 1995: 121-122; Medvedev 1990; Tinguy 2012: 348).

Ethnic deportations and repressions triggered significant bottom-up processes toward russification, since they had gradually constructed a stigma on the use of ethnic languages and moved the need for national identification into a pronouncedly political rather than cultural sphere. In this sense, they forced thousands of people across the Soviet Union to adopt Russian in public spaces for fear of being spotted. However reduced the use of minority languages may have become, it would be too simplistic to assume that ethnic groups stopped using their languages altogether. Indeed, it would not be wrong to suppose that families would continue to communicate in their languages within the privacy of their homes: continued to say prayers, to swear, and to tell stories in their family languages. Those languages had become their secret languages.

#### ***IV.3.2.2 Building a supra-ethnic identity along the Russian axis***

Several periods of mobility of millions of people can be distinguished in the history of the Soviet Union in 1940-1980s, which took also an decisive role in the shift to Russian as L2 and L1:

- 1) during the World War II and in its aftermath – wartime evacuations, deportations and relocations);
- 2) in the 1950-60s and later in the 1970s-1980s – young workers moved to to explore new lands in Kazakhstan and to build the Baikal-Amur Mainline Railway (“building sites of the 20<sup>th</sup> century”). The second period coincides with the new ideology of a supra-ethnic identity of a “Soviet man, the builder of Communism”.

After the end of the World War II, the ideology of “glorification of Russian” (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 397) is in full swing, as Russian is constructed in public discourses as “the language of the victor and liberator”. Moreover, it gains the status of one of the official languages in the United Nations; it becomes a compulsory foreign language in the countries of the Eastern Bloc – being positioned as a “language of intercultural communication”.

Another legal landmark in the Soviet language policy represents a 1958 Law “On the reinforcement

of the link between the school and life” (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 399). In theory, it gave parents the right to choose a school for their children. In fact it resulted in another step towards a language shift to Russian: since higher education were not available in languages of national minorities, parents wanted to provide their children with good competence in Russian. Education in children's mother tongues was becoming limited to the first 3-4 years, after which Russian would be introduced as a L2. Urban elites could choose between sending their children to national schools, where national languages were languages of instruction and Russian was introduced later as a second language, or to so-called Russian schools, where national languages were taught as second languages. In rural settings, mostly national schools were available (Belikov and Krysin 2001: 401). As the prestige was 'fixed' upon Russian, it was not surprising to foresee the factual decline of the number of students in national schools. As a result, highly educated people were fluent speakers (and writers) of Russian.

Industrialisation and urbanisation were among the driving forces of russification. In fact, both have invariably resulted in strengthening the positions of Russian at the cost of other languages. It had become increasingly associated with a scientific and technical progress, as well as cultural development. Statistical data speaks for itself. Alpatov compared the statistical data on the amount of publications in national languages of the USSR republics vs. Russian and pointed out that their thematic distribution was ill-balanced. Whereas the number of books on religion, linguistics, pedagogy and literary works in national languages was almost level with that in Russian, the overwhelming amount of books on biology, history and medicine, cybernetics, industry was published only in Russian. The contrast in science and technologies was huge: e.g. in 1979, 1 book on radio engineering was published in Kirghiz vs. 507 books –in Russian (Alpatov 1997: 107).

National languages were practically pushed to the sphere of cultural production thanks to ethnic quotas introduced from the top-down to regulate the percentage of publications (periodicals and literary works), cinema, theatre and visual arts in those languages.

Russification had ran its course quite successfully until the end of 1980s. The 1989 Census stated that “50 percent of Karelians, 30 per cent of Bashkir, Komi, Udmurts and Mordvinians, 20-25 per cent of Mari, Chuvashs and Tatars did not consider their ethnic languages to be their mother tongue” (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 184). Writing his book in 1997, Alpatov claimed: “Over half of the population of the Soviet Union was Russian-speaking” (Alpatov 1997: 98). He argues that until the 1990s, the Russian competence “quite successfully satisfied both the need for identification and for mutual understanding” (*ibidem*). To be able to attain a highly prestigious symbolic capital,

in Alpatov's view, compensated somewhat for the lack of national identification and was perceived as "quite natural" (*ibidem*: 99).

However, Alpatov goes on to admit some "exceptions": population of rural and a few urban settings in Kazakhstan, Georgia, Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia spoke respective languages at home and with workmates (Alpatov 1997: 108); "84.9 percent of scientists in Armenia were able to speak Armenian, though in a colloquial rather than written context" (Katanyan 1995: 92-94 *ibidem* Alpatov 1997: 99). Overall, the type of linguistic resources in national languages has been drawing on the register of everyday language.

At this point we should perhaps make a point which concerns mainly issues of research methodology and epistemology. In my own research I have been able to attest that even allegedly 'monolingual' Russian-speaking people who came from national republics continue to understand spoken languages of their ethnic background, as well as use swear words, colloquialisms and regionalisms from them. In this case, the statistics are unable to do justice to the full repertoire of their linguistic resources. These people would not figure (or would not report themselves) to be "**speakers** of those languages" due to the limited and "fixed" notion of language in quantitative studies and linguistics (language deficit approach). However, if we understand **language as a local practice** where each resource counts and can be potentially helpful, than their resources cannot be ignored, since they are lived and experienced as opposed to those described in text books.

Ukrainian and Belarusian languages stand apart from other languages of the Soviet republics. Even though formal indicators (number of publications, films, TV and radio broadcasting) appeared to be reasonable thanks to the state support, the bottom-up trends indicated a quick shift to Russian. Most population of the Eastern Ukraine was competent in Ukrainian sufficiently well to be able to hold a conversation, yet spoke Russian at home (Alpatov 1997: 110). In Belarus, the situation was even more drastic: by the beginning of the 1980s, only one school with the full Belarusian curricula had survived (*ibidem*). The linguistic proximity of the three languages as well as the ideology which associated Ukrainian and Belarusian languages with rural and overall less prestigious contexts have made it difficult to argue in favour of those languages. Long-lasting language contact between Russian and Ukrainian, as well as Russian and Belarusian has led to the emergence of contact varieties, *surzhyk* and *trasyanka*, respectively. They have been attributed a low status in comparison to 'pure' languages. As a result of centuries of russification, in public discourses and people's opinions "high culture" has become connected with Russian.

## IV.4 Parallels between the language policies of the Russian Empire and the USSR

As we have seen, language policies of the Soviet Union had been constructed in a historical dialogue with the national policies across the Russian Empire, whose main stakes had been concerned with acquisition planning, i.e. regulation who gets access (including a privileged one) to Russian language. Russification was not the end in itself, rather, particular groups of ethnic population were targeted for different political and economical aims. Orthodox Christian Slavs (non-Catholic Ukrainians and Belarusians) had to be russified in order to create a Russian-speaking majority in the country. Catholic minorities were russified so that to diminish the German and Polish influence in Baltic provinces (Pavlenko 2008: 5). Russification of other racial and religious minorities was not considered important as long as their regions did not represent any strategic geopolitical importance for the Empire.

Policies of russification were deeply embedded with class issues, since secondary and higher education in Russian promoted creation of national educated elites, which helped improve administration in national provinces. So the Russian language was promoted in its “instrumental” use (May 2008: 263) as a language of wider communication, as providing those who spoke it with “preference and priority” (Shohamy 2006: 30). While creating bilingual repertoires among local elites was a priority for the imperial power (Pavlenko 2008: 5), it was quite happy to use translators to communicate its orders to the lower classes (Alpatov 1997; May 2001).

Due to differences in political and economical priorities, the imperial language policies were not consistently applied across the country (Alpatov 1997; Belikov and Krysin 2001; Pavlenko 2008, 2011). The official policy of russification did not mean that people stopped speaking their languages altogether. Harold Schiffman (2008: 116) quotes an excellent example from a biographical account of Maria Skłodowska. Her teachers had taught in Polish until Russian inspectors came to visit the school. Then they would switch to Russian and often call on Maria to recite her Russian lesson to keep the inspectors happy. Thanks to similar acts of resistance to russification Polish and other languages were kept alive in the Russian Empire.

Given this climate of strong resistance and unrest across the imperial “prison of the people”<sup>29</sup>, the Bolshevik regime had to place high stakes on the divergence and rejection of the former policies.

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<sup>29</sup> The metaphor of the Russian Empire as a “prison of people” was coined by a French aristocrat Astolphe de Custine who had spent three months in Russia and published a book about his travels in 1843 in Paris (*La Russie en 1839*). Despite the fact that Marquis de Custine had actually used the expression to point out the lack of the civil society in Russia, it became known and entered the Russian language in association with the imperial language policy, thanks to Lenin's article “On the question of the national policy” (April 1914).

The new language policy was played out on several scales. First, the regime took course on modernisation of the Russian language corpus via orthographic reforms (several Old Slavonic characters were dropped), introduction of neologisms and syntactic constructions. The policies of the period of nativisation (*korenizatsia*) operated on the assumption that the new regime would be best understood in people's native languages (Pavlenko 2008: 6). So in corpus and status planning, this policy shaped the whole repertoire of linguistic resources from devising alphabets in native languages to providing vocabulary terms and discursive constructions for major political and social categories.

The nativisation campaigns laid the groundwork for national identification as linguists grouped particular linguistic resources and named them a “language”, and then assigned the language to a certain ethnic group (Shohamy 2006; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Equality of languages, their coexistence and independence were proclaimed across the country. By adopting Latin-based alphabets for newly described languages, the ideologues of the regime attempted to broaden the spread of revolutionary ideas. In the area of acquisition planning, nativisation policies invested efforts into raising and shaping national elites by setting up bilingual education programmes.

Such a complex language policy and planning agenda must have been incredibly difficult to manage and maintain. The state officials began to realise that “presiding over 192 languages and potentially 192 bureaucracies was not a very good idea after all” (Slezkine 1994: 445). Besides, the new geopolitical and economical agenda called for changes in the policy which might evoke analogies with the imperial policies – in centralisation of the LPP efforts and in a differential treatment for Central Asia as compared to the rest of the country. The very “existence of specific national schools (Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, German, English, Greek, etc.)” was proclaimed “inimical” (Kravetsky 2002). This time the centralisation and the resulting russification were sustained discursively by the aim to create a new, unified, meta-identity formation of “Soviet people”. Russian language had been assigned a central place in these discourses as a language of intercultural communication for the new identity formation, gained a “status of a supra-ethnic language” (Pavlenko 2008: 8). Once again, corpus planning actions were launched to redraw Latinisation efforts into the Cyrillic-based alphabets. Another round of orthographic reforms (including those of the Russian language) issued; new Russianised grammars of native languages were written. In fact, these policies of corpus planning have led to a greater divide between registers and genres available in different languages of the USSR, where some national linguistic resources became increasingly restricted to everyday and colloquial use, cultural discourses and

particular topics of academic literature ( and those still interspersed with Russian and Russianised terms) (cf. Alpatov 1997: 152). This process has contributed to the shaping of the Russian language as a 'monocentric' rather than a 'pluricentric' language (cf. Stewart 1978).

In acquisition planning, bilingual education models were changed towards earlier introduction of Russian, both in the agreement with top-down policies and in reflection of bottom-up social processes. In the Soviet Ukraine (and by some people in the post-Soviet Ukraine also), they were perceived as an “euphemism for transition of non-Russians to Russian usage” (Bialaniuk and Melnyk 2008: 347). The actual implementation of bilingual education in schools might have ranged from an introduction of the titular language as a separate curricular subject in the otherwise Russian-medium language instruction to the Russian language being positioned as a separate subject in a national language curriculum. Strictly speaking, even though neither of the extreme points on this continuum describes a bilingual education, any phenomena in-between, along the continuum, would represent some form of bilingual instruction. The effective running and set-up of bilingual schools across the USSR faced the same type of problems it had to face during the tsarist times: incompetence, insufficient funding and training on the both ends of the continuum. Social bottom up processes might also be represented as a continuum that ranged from a movement toward Russianisation<sup>30</sup> of linguistic resources to “strengthening of national consciousness”. Local populations in many regions of Central Asia and Transcaucasus, due to the characteristics of their settlement and occupation, need not have to be competent in Russian to be able to go about their lives (Pavlenko 2008: 7). Yuri Slezkine goes even further to claim that russification policies, at the same time, helped maintain and strengthen national institutions (Slezkine 1994).

#### **IV.5 Discrepancies in language policies: opening ways to the USSR dissolution**

Despite the ideological premise of the equality between languages, the years of the Russian and Soviet Empire have succeeded in constructing a strong hierarchy of linguistic resources: on top, Russian as a language of intercultural (and by now international) communication, language of high literary and scientific culture; in the middle, titular languages of the republics, which not necessarily reflected the ethnic composition of the given republic, and finally, languages of minorities which relied completely for support on local and republican administration (Belikov and

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<sup>30</sup> Scholars draw a distinction between Russianisation, which is a voluntary assimilation to Russian-speaking culture, and russification, which represents an imposed language regime (cf. Pavlenko 2011: 333)

Krysin 2001: 404, 414). In this situation, “while Russian speakers could afford to be monolingual”, “speakers of titular languages had to be bilingual”, and “minority language speakers had to be either bilingual [...] or multilingual” (Pavlenko 2008: 8).

The discrepancies and inefficiencies of language policies created a contradiction which could be one of the prerequisites for the USSR dissolution. On the one hand, they guaranteed the highest status and power to the Russian language and culture in the formal and actual language hierarchies. On the other hand, many national languages (especially those of the 'titular nations') had also **developed** significantly compared to the Russian Empire period. Rather than merge within the “Soviet nation state”, they had grown strong enough to form their own states. By gaining their statehood, national republics set the basis for stronger national identification within the territory (Slezkine 1994: 451). However, in Soviet Union it co-existed with the passport nationality which was not territorially bound – resulting in a terminological, ideological and identitarian tension.

Discrepancies and inconsistencies in language policies cannot be reduced to the differential approach across the country, because disparities in language planning and policy implementation **over time** have also to be taken into account. The latter were particularly evident in the bordering territories which had been subjects of different geopolitical entities. For example, western parts of Ukraine experienced a huge contrast between the encouraging national identification language policies of Austro-Hungarian Empire and the imposed russification policy of the Russian Empire. In 1914-1939, some regions of Western Ukraine were distributed between four different geopolitical entities, each of which with a distinct treatment of language minorities on their territories (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 348-349). Between 1920-1940, Baltic states enjoyed a period of statehood when titular languages were used in all public domains (Pavlenko 2008: 288). After their annexation in the 1940s by the USSR, the western Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldova found themselves in a situation where “Russian was increasingly imposed as a language of public life. Hence the importance of linguistic issues today in this zone [...]” (Hroch 1996: 70; cf. also Ciscel 2008: 106). Slezkine reinforces this argument as he characterises the transition from the Soviet Union to post-Soviet countries as a movement from “non-national Soviet state to national non-states” (Slezkine 1994: 451). That is why in the wake of democratisation in the late 1980s, most of these republics (formally still within the Soviet Union) established their titular languages as sole official languages: Lithuanian in Lithuania in a 1988 pre-independence statute (Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun 2008: 129), Romanian in Moldova, Ukrainian in Ukraine, and Estonian in Estonia in

1989.

## **IV.6 Post-Soviet contexts: Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia**

### **IV.6.1 Russian speakers: what are they?**

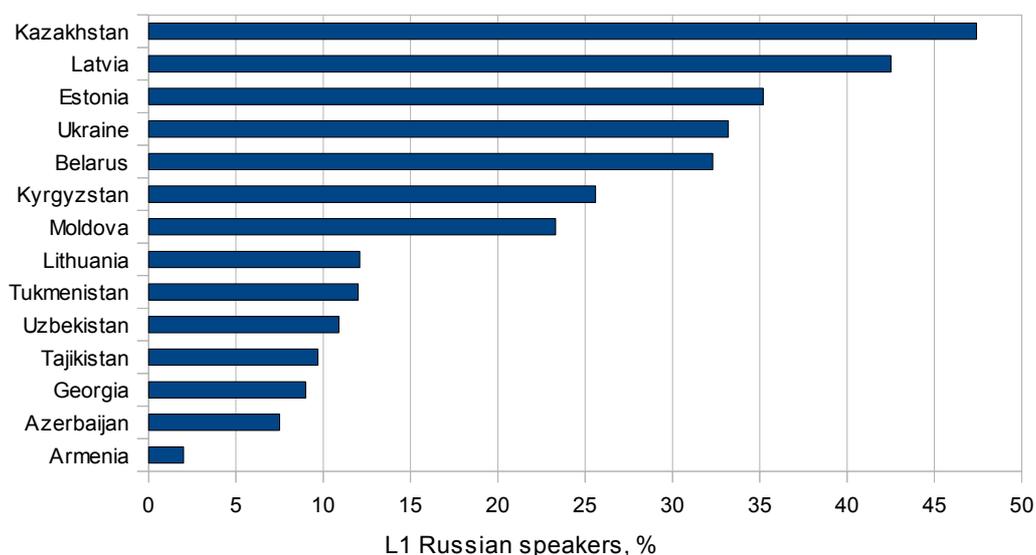
With the 1991 USSR dissolution, Russian lost its status of a supra-ethnic language (Pavlenko 2008: 288). Around 25 million of Russian speakers found themselves outside Russia. Language policies of the newly emerging national states rejected the policies of the previous period by taking course towards displacement of Russian (cf. “language removal” – Pavlenko 2008). Ethnic Russians living in those states found themselves speaking a 'minority' language, some of them had to learn the official language in a short time (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 185). Moreover, Russian speakers outnumbered other groups of speakers in Kazakhstan, as a direct result of new lands exploration, yet were declared a linguistic minority (Alpatov 1997: 158).

The specificity of the post-Soviet sociolinguistic situation consists in its complexity. First, the Russian speakers (who were mostly monolingual) in the post-Soviet national states were not migrants – they stayed where they had lived for a considerable period of time or even spent their whole lives, to wake up to a different linguistic and political reality one day. The range of derussification went as far (and as intimate) as place names and people's own names, since many independent states chose to adapt anthroponyms and toponyms to the national languages in their corpus planning. From then on, in official documents, a woman's name 'Elena' had to be transformed into 'Olena' in Ukraine, 'Aliona' in Moldova, 'Helena' (where 'h' = [ɣ] )in Belarus, and 'Jelena' in Estonia. In Kazakhstan, the name of the town Tselinograd has been subject to two subsequent modifications: 'Tselinograd' → Akmola → Astana. In some countries, derussification included alphabet changes. For example, in Chechnya, there have been two alphabet changes in the last decades, and nowadays both co-habit the public space. Russian words and even morphemes were purged from national languages.

Secondly, as we have mentioned earlier, there was a high number of people in the new states who considered Russian their first language. Thirdly, the immediate rejection of the Russian language in some of the new countries (e.g. Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan) deemed impossible, also because of its penetration into functional registers at the time of russification. Scientific, technical, administrative and military registers in the titular languages had to be restituted or redesigned (Alpatov 1997; Pavlenko 2008). In those countries, the policy of a 'melting

pot' cannot be implemented since Russian still retained a considerably high status in comparison to the official languages. Besides, people continued to rely on Russian as a in interethnic communication. Alpatov quotes Krysin saying that the Russian language in the newly independent states “acquired features that characterise minority languages: predominantly used in everyday and colloquial situations, occupying functionally secondary roles in socially significant spheres like public administration, legislative work, mass media, education” (Krysin 1994: 123-124; *ibidem* Alpatov 1997: 154). Even though this statement may have been true for some of the new national states at the time, the look at the two decades of their independence shows that the situation is much more complex. Figure 2 is based on the last USSR Census and provides information on the proportion of L1 speakers in the post-Soviet states in 1989. The group of L1 Russian speakers includes russified members of other ethnic groups (both titulars and minorities).

**Figure 2.** Percentage of L1 Russian speakers to total population of the Soviet republics prior their independence  
(Based on the data of the USSR Census, 1989. Source: Pavlenko 2008: 10)



As we can see, the range varies greatly: from 2 per cent of population in Armenia to over 47 per cent in Kazakhstan. Closely high proportions of Russian-speaking population in such dissimilar countries as Latvia (42,5per cent) and Kazakhstan, as well as practically the same rate (12per cent) in Lithuania and Turkmenistan seem to indicate an outcome of a selective rather than consistent/uniform russification.

In the next section, I will briefly outline the recent developments in the language and education policies of some of the post-Soviet national states. Given that most participants of my linguistic ethnography come from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, I am going to focus on language in education polices in those post-Soviet states.

Table 1 provides information on the numbers and proportions of titulars, ethnic Russians and L1 Russian speakers in each of those states.

**Table 1.** Numbers and proportions of titulars, ethnic Russians and L1 Russian speakers in Soviet republics in 1989 and in post-Soviet countries in 1999-2004 (based on the 1989 USSR Census and respective post-Soviet Censuses). Source: (Pavlenko 2008: 10).

	1989			1999-2004		
	Titulars	Russians	L1 Russian speakers	Titulars	Russians	L1 Russian speakers
Belarus	7,904,623 (77.9 per cent)	1,342,099 (13.2 per cent)	3,274,235 (32.3 per cent)	8,159,073 (81.2 per cent)	1,141,731 (11.4 per cent)	(62.8 per cent)
Ukraine	37,419,053 (72.7 per cent)	11,355,582 (22.1 per cent)	17,081, 347 (33.2 per cent)	37,541,700 (77.8 per cent)	8,334,100 (17.3 per cent)	(29.6 per cent)

What strikes at a first glance is the contrast between the reported changes in the russification trend in Belarus and Ukraine. Whereas in Ukraine the proportion of the russified population dropped by 4-7 per cent in 15 years, which correlates with the course of the government on creating a national state. In Belarus, the number of russified population seem to have almost doubled in the same period, rising from 30 up to 60 per cent of the whole population. What reason can be possibly behind the apparent sharp increase in Russian-speaking population? Vladimir Alpatov quotes a Belarusian renowned writer Vasil Bykov who regrets the “politicisation of Belarusian language” in the years of after the perestroika and in the independent post-Soviet Belarus (Alpatov 1997: 128-129). A sociolinguist would not share Bykov's surprise, since the deeply political nature of any language planning and management is quite obvious. In fact, in this chapter I have tried to show how modifications in the political climate (and indeed economic policy of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union) have invariably led to changes in language policies. At times of a transition of political climate, language issues are brought openly and explicitly into the public discussion. The statistics can quite accurately reflect those changes, because the very categories that are measured are also changing. As we will see in the next section, Belarusian statistical data indicate none other but a sharp turn in language policy of this post- Soviet state.

#### **IV.6.2 Post-Soviet Belarus: actual bilingualism or non-parallel bilingualism?**

The sociolinguistic situation in Belarus is quite unique compared to the one across all the post-Soviet space. In the 20 years of Belarusian independence, Russian language far from lost its grounds but rather consolidated its positions in the country. This trend is confirmed by the latest

2009 Census in Belarus (Shimov: 2011).

The eternal sociolinguistic question of the distinction between a dialect and a language have permeated the historical development of the policy for Belarusian language. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, except for a period of the national revival in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Belarusian language in the Russian Empire had been considered a provincial dialect of a Great Russian language (i.e. a 'non-language') and its speakers were labelled as 'non-great Russians' (Slezkine 1994: 423), "white Russians". This division as well as the historical evolution in the debate of the status of Belarusian language have created conditions for the formation of two conflicting discourses in Belarus: one of the nationalist revival and another of a 'unbreakable bond' between Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians.

The use of Belarusian in state administration, legislation and literature in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has become one of the central arguments for the high status of Belarusian language which links it to the ethnic and cultural heritage (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 44). This argument has been complemented by political ones in two periods of Belarusian history: in the years of *korenizatsia* in the 1920s-early 1930s ("in order to conduct communist work" (Stalin about national policy quoted in Slezkine 1994: 424)) and in the independence movement in the late 1980s-early 1990s, when Belarusian was proclaimed a single state language. It should be stressed that due to historically determined features of the economic and social context in Belarus, the movement for national independence is not very strong. Aneta Pavlenko (2008: 16) states: "At the turn of the twentieth century, Belarusian cities were inhabited by speakers of Yiddish, Polish and Russian, while 98 per cent of ethnic Belarusians were peasants living in the countryside". Further urbanisation, industrialisation and work migration influx, as well as mobility across the country (especially during the economic restoration after the devastating World War II) resulted in a high level of russification in Belarusian cities. Besides, this republic had a traditionally large presence of ethnic Russians (even though not as high as in Ukraine). People of different ethnicities (Soviet specialists in science, engineering and technology) used Russian rather than Belarusian in their inter-ethnic communication. In contrast, rural areas were mainly inhabited by speakers of Belarusian and mixed Belarusian-Russian varieties ('*trasyanka*'). Linguistically, Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian are quite close as they spread from the common source – Old Slavonic language. In fact, a comparative linguistic expertise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights written in Russian and Belarusian concluded that only 36 per cent of Belarusian linguistic forms were

completely different (Bial'kovich 2005 *ibidem* Giger and Sloboda 2008: 45).<sup>31</sup>

All these factors make it difficult to argue in favour of the use of Belarusian as a sole state language. In the late 1980s, Belarusian nationals did not know “whether they existed or not” (Alpatov 1997: 170), i.e. their national identification had no linguistic provision. In fact, the country's independence was not welcomed by a considerable number of people who believed in the “unbreakable bond” with Russia and regretted the dissolution of the USSR. So after a brief predomination in 1991-1994, in which belarusification of the public spaces took place (starting from toponymy and anthroponymy), the nationalist revival movement had to give way to the pro-Russian/pro-Soviet policy, promoted by Alexander Lukashenko. One of the first actions of the new president was the language referendum in May 1995, in which over 83 per cent of the voters (54 per cent of all those eligible) decided in favour of granting Russian the equal status with Belarusian (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 44). In the course of Lukashenko's authoritarian rule, the nationalist revival discourse has become increasingly associated with the government opposition. So a correctly spoken Belarusian has grown to index a pro-western, pro-democratisation values or, alternatively, in case of an older generation, indicate a language professional (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 46; also Alpatov 1997: 171).

The language policy of Lukashenko's government is declaratory and relies heavily on the discourse of the 'unbreakable bond', in which Belarusian plays a symbolic rather than a communicative role. While the government claims to be in favour of “actual bilingualism” (Belarusian chairman of the parliamentary commission for education, culture and science quoted in Giger and Sloboda 2008: 59), in practice it favours Russian over Belarusian. For example, in less than a year of his rule Lukashenko made the following statement: “it is impossible to express anything great in Belarusian. There are only two great languages in the world: Russian and English (Alpatov 1997: 171). Probably in order to be able to express great ideas, he always addresses the public exclusively in Russian.

From a legal perspective, Belarus has not signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Due to the status of the second state language for Russian, knowledge of Belarusian is no longer required for the access to Belarusian citizenship nor to its job market (except for legal and public administration work). This situation results in the factual removal of barriers for the

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31 The linguistic proximity is the argument that has sustained the discourse of the “unbreakable bond” between the three languages. Departing from it, Alpatov alerts against making parallels between Irish and Belarusian language in terms of language policy formulation and development. Unlike the situation in Northern Ireland with Irish language, most people in Belarus do not perceive the significance of preserving a symbolic role for Belarusian (Alpatov 1997: 168-172)

increasing use of Russian in public domains and marginalisation of Belarusian.

“Actual bilingualism” has transformed into a “non-parallel bilingualism”: it has become a common practice to observe, on Belarusian TV and in the streets, two people talking in their respective languages (Belarusian and Russian), in which Belarusian speakers accommodate to Russian ones (Alpatov 1997; Giger and Sloboda 2008). In education, non-parallel bilingualism is evident, too, as some documents and texts are available only in one of the state languages.

The Belarusian Law on Education grants parents or caretakers of children the right to choose one of the state languages or a language of the national minority as the language of instruction (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 51). Reflecting the historical context of the country's formation, education in 4 different languages is present in Belarus: Belarusian, Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian. However, the officially declared choice is determined by local decisions of school administration and teachers. All four languages are taught only at the lowest levels of education. In 2005-2006 school year the higher education was available mostly in Russian (54 per cent of all higher education students), 2 per cent in Belarusian, and 44 – in both (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 52). Given the decrease of Belarusian language education by the university stage, interest in learning Belarusian is declining at the secondary stage. School administrations “consider bilingual education a complication” and most of them do not know nor use Belarusian everyday (Bulavatski 1998 *ibidem* Giger and Sloboda 2008: 53). Belarusian is often limited to the classroom, where teachers of Belarusian themselves do not use it during breaks, as they perceive Belarusian language as a school subject rather than a legitimate mode of communication outside the classroom. Despite telling all their students that Belarusian was their “native tongue”, they fail to acknowledge the fact that Russian and mixed varieties of Belarusian and Russian are actually spoken in most families. From 2006, the compulsory school subject of Belarusian history and geography was allowed to be taught in Russian. In such situation, a clear linguistic hierarchy has developed in the Belarusian society, where “there is no consensus [...] about the degree to which everyday use of Belarusian (especially in informal settings) should be part of [ethnic] identity” (Giger and Sloboda 2008: 60).

Most recently, Belarusian national identification and attitudes to Belarusian language have been changing. According to the latest survey (December 2012) carried out by the Belarusian Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies, the percentage of Belarusians supporting a merger with Russia fell to 28.7 per cent, compared to over 59.2 per cent in 2005. Moreover, if the survey respondents were to choose whether Belarus should join Russia or the European Union, 43.4 per cent of respondents voted for the EU rather than Russia (37.7 per cent)

(IISEPS: <http://www.iiseps.org/trend.html>). Self-reported use of languages at home is also gradually changing: while the proportion of people who use Belarusian at home has remained relatively low at 1.9-4.5 per cent (2011 data), the use of Russian has risen to 57.1 per cent (as compared to 37.3 per cent in 1995). If we take into account the polarised politicisation of the use of Belarusian and Russian in the nowadays Belarus, the gradual increase, in the last 5 years, in the use of mixed varieties (*trasyanka*) (22.9-24.8 per cent) and Russian-Belarusian together (13.8-15.9 per cent) can be interpreted as indicative of developing positive attitudes to mixed and bilingual resources in Belarus. Still, actual mixed and bilingual uses co-exist with ideologies of language purism in the country (Giger and Sloboda 2008), which may argue in favour of the complexity of the actual sociolinguistic situation in Belarus and against simplified categorisations.

### **IV.6.3 Post-Soviet Ukraine: co-existing ideologies in a complex sociolinguistic situation**

#### ***IV.6.3.1 A historical and geographical look on Ukraine's language policies***

By the end of the 1980s, Ukraine had the highest number of Russian speakers among the Soviet republics - more than 17 million people (33,2per cent) (Pavlenko 2008: 16). However it was Belarus that made Russian its second state language. It seems to be a good illustration of the point that while language policy and planning may take into account most sizeable groups of speakers yet the outcome would be formulated in the analysis of a complex configuration of factors. Most of all, the sociolinguistic situation in independent Ukraine should be examined both from the historical and geographical perspective.

Geographically speaking, Ukraine is commonly (and stereotypically) thought to be divided into the Ukrainian-speaking west and the Russian-speaking east. Despite being the most powerful linguistic players on the country's landscape, making up to 95 per cent of the total speaker population in Ukraine, Russian and Ukrainian are by far not the only two languages to be taken into account in policy making. In some regions of the western Ukraine such languages as Hungarian, Slovak, Polish, Romanian and Moldovan<sup>32</sup> co-exist. Apart from Russian and Ukrainian, Tatar gained a significant status on the Crimean peninsula, while Bulgarian and Greek represent minority languages. On streets of Odessa, modern Hebrew and Yiddish can be heard in addition to Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Greek, etc.

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32 On the ideological issues and language policy interventions underlying the distinction between Romanian and Moldovan in Ukraine, read further in the section.

Even a brief look at the history of language policies that have operated on the territories which constitute the modern Ukraine makes us realise how unhelpful and simplistic the idea of linearity and sequentiality of history is. Throughout centuries, different Ukrainian territories were divided between different empires, “largely [...] of non-Ukrainian ethnolinguistic regimes” (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 73). As a result, eastern and western regions of Ukraine had developed distinct conditions for national identity development.

Eastern territories had been part of the Russian Empire since mid-seventeenth century, having been subjected to the policy of russification in terms of language, faith and culture. Dominant ideology had it that the Ukrainian “dialect” was but “a little brother” to the “great Russian”. Despite this outlook on the Russian-Ukrainian power relations, the imperial efforts had been oriented towards downsizing the status of Ukrainian even further by reducing its spheres, functions and roles. In 1804, Ukrainian was banned from the imperial education. 60 years later, after the period of national liberation insurgency, a special circular was issued in 1864 to state that the Ukrainian language “never existed, does not exist and shall never exist” (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 75), followed by another decree in 1876, which banned use of Ukrainian in a public space. National opposition and resistance grew, providing strength to a national identity. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the works of Taras Shevchenko, the literary norm for the Ukrainian language was established, much rather according to the pattern described by Anderson (1991). Soviet regime brought about two decades of *korenizatsia* in Eastern Ukraine, during which the titular language consolidated and gained strength in the process of derussification.

At the same time in history, western territories, under the rule of the Polish, Austrian, and Austro-Hungarian authorities were subject to the differing in length and intensity language regimes of polonisation and magyarisation. Laada Bilaniuk and Svitlana Melnyk consider them to have been rather “tolerant” towards the Ukrainian language and culture, since they had allowed Departments of Ukrainian language to be opened in universities of Lviv and Chernivtsy, as well as Ukrainian to be taught in schools in eastern Galicia (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 348). This point of view is contested by Halyna Matsyuk (2008) as she points out that polonisation led to the imposition of the Polish language in education and to the coercive Catholicisation of the western regions of Ukraine.

Magyarisation of Transcarpathia in 1867-1919 affected over 460 thousand people (cf Pál Teleki's map: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Redmap.jpg>). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the state administration was conducted almost entirely in Hungarian. Despite the initially permissive policy

in minority language education, the number of Ukrainian-medium schools had been steadily decreasing: from 353 schools in 1881 down to 23 schools in 1906 (Matsyuk 2008: 58). In the period between the two world wars (1919-1939), western territories were divided between a colonisation and czechisation rule<sup>33</sup>.

#### ***IV.6.3.2 A small borderland region stands apart***

A few words should be said about a small region in the Chernivtsi district on the border with Romania, since it is home to some of the families that have taken part in my ethnographic study. The turbulent history of this region while part of the Soviet Union deserves a detailed analysis, which nevertheless goes beyond the aims of this chapter. However, a few facts of its history and sociolinguistic situation could throw some light on the collected data.

Firstly, it should be stressed that unlike former Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, this borderland region had not been part of either the Russian or the Astro-Hungarian empires, remaining within a Romanian (Moldavian) jurisdiction since the 14<sup>th</sup> century until its annexation by the Soviet Union in 1940. In seven years (1940-1947), this rural region changed hands **three** times, having been occupied by the USSR, taken back by Romania and then definitely handed to the Soviet authorities in accordance with the Paris act. From a linguistic perspective, the region has always had a very high concentration of ethnic Romanians (around 95 per cent of the population). In the years shortly after its annexation and until 1956, the Romanian population was persecuted by the Soviet authorities on ethnic grounds, subjected to ethnic cleansing and repressions.

Due to the long-standing cultural, linguistic and geographical proximity to Romania (the border between Ukraine and Romania passes through the region and can be easily crossed nowadays), the independent Romania takes a political interest in its inhabitants. Romania offered the access to a Romanian citizenship to the population of the region and provided funds for cultural purposes. Despite recognising the established border, official Romania insisted that the Ukrainian authorities should guarantee a special status of 'the repressed population' for the Romanians in the region; the official parliamentary representation and demanded the reopening of the Romanian university. These measures have apparently had an impact on the language policy, planning and management at the regional level, since Romanian-medium schools have been established in the region (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a, 2008b).

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33 Czechisation affected the administration and public domains of Subcarpathian Ruthenia between 1919-1939. Whereas initially Czech authorities favoured Ukrainian cultural development, the 1930s were marked by the artificially promoted russophile trend (Matsyuk 2008: 58).

### **IV.6.3.3 East and West: the common history**

From the 1940s, after the World War II, eastern and western regions of Ukraine have started to live a common history of increasing russification under the slogan of building a supra-ethnic Soviet identity. Yet we can see that the shared history and language policy has been developing on the basis of completely different patterns of identification and contradicting ideologies. Just like in Belarus, there is a tension between the discourses which associated the titular language with provincial, backward and rural values and those supporting the nationalist revival and cultural legacy. For the inhabitants of eastern and southern Ukraine the coercive russification had been an established and governmentally sustained policy (except for Crimea, which had been handed by Russia to Ukraine in 1954). For the westerners, the Russification was yet another imposed language regime out of a succession of them. Given a long-term investment into the Ukrainian-language education and the use of Ukrainian in public life, western regions were able to implement the new language laws quite quickly.

### **IV.6.3.4 Russian vs. Ukrainian: a tug of war in the language policies and the sociolinguistic realities of the post-Soviet Ukraine**

The centuries of the imposed monolingual regimes in general and particularly that of the imposed russification have translated, in the post-Soviet Ukraine, into an equally monolingual solution, with the declaration of Ukrainian as a **sole** state language in 1989. So the choice was drawn between **either** Ukrainian **or** Russian (or Romanian, in the case of the described region in Chernivtsi district). In public domains, the borders between the Ukrainian and Russian linguistic identities have been intently inspected to make sure that they are reinforced. Moreover, they are transformed into social and political divides, as Bilaniuk and Melnyk explain: “in cases where languages are related, the features that make them different become more salient in representing social and political differences” (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 343; cf. also Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 65). In terms of lexicon, Russian and Ukrainian differ by 38 per cent (for a matter of comparison, Spanish and Portuguese differ by 25 per cent). Besides, Ukrainian diverges significantly in orthography (i.e. additional graphemes and dissimilar grapheme-phoneme attribution) and in structure (more grammatical temporal forms and an additional vocative case).

The divide is politicised to the point that for decades arguments in favour of acknowledgement of the presence of Russian language have been assumed to be implicated in pro-Russian political preferences. Alpatov reminds that in the first years of Ukrainian independence promoting

publications in Russian was penalised, being seen as a “threat to national security” (Alpatov 1997: 161). Policies that promote the use of Ukrainian language are positioned as oriented towards the West, the European Union, and the country's membership in such organisations as WTO and NATO. By politicising the divide between Ukrainian and Russian languages, the centralised language policy fails to acknowledge the local complexity of Ukrainian sociolinguistic landscape while operating on “the idealized social constructs” of the Ukrainian and Russian linguistic identity (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 357). Firstly, there is a sizeable group of russophone Ukrainians who choose to speak Russian for pragmatic reasons (as a “pragmatic outcome of institutional expectations” – Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 358) and due to the established ways of speaking throughout the histories of their families. Politically, they are supportive of the independent Ukraine; most of them have nothing against educating their children in Ukrainian (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 82, 84; cf. also Pavlenko 2008: 12). Secondly, similarly to Belarus, “non-accommodating bilingualism” (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a, 2008b) or “non-parallel bilingualism” (Giger and Sloboda 2008) is present in Ukrainian public domains (streets, TV and radio programmes). Public bilingualism is still considered with suspicion, being “perceived as an euphemism for transition to Russian” (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 347; Pavlenko 2008) and may even be equated with 'double-dealing' and 'forked-tongues’” (Taranenko 2007 *ibidem* Pavlenko 2008: 32). The non-accommodating bilingualism may partly originate from a purist essentialist view on languages (“you speak your language and don't try to speak mine”) that equally rejects code-switching and mixed varieties (both distant and close to Ukrainian)<sup>34</sup>, which are nevertheless widely used across Ukraine.

The Ukrainian-only policy pursues the aim of “decreasing the visibility of Russian and to increase the use of Ukrainian” (Pavlenko 2008: 18). As such, it affects most of all russified Ukrainians and ethnic Russians living in Ukraine as it contradicts the actual lived reality of many places and regions of Ukraine where both languages live side by side, i.e. Ukrainian **and** Russian, as well as their contact varieties are widely used (*surzhyk*) (see also Vakhtin *et al.* 2003).

In education, the trend of russification has been overturned, since the Ukrainian independence, towards **almost total ukrainianisation**. A renowned Ukrainian politologist Vladimir Malinkovich provided the following data in 2005: in 1991, the year of Ukrainian independence, 45 per cent of schools across the Ukraine were Ukrainian-medium, and 54 per cent of schools used Russian as the main language (Malinkovich 2005). By 2003/2004 academic year, only 0,2per cent of Russian

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34 Ukrainian-Russian mixed varieties are class-based and urban-related: e.g. an attempt of a Ukrainian-speaking peasant to be understood on town or city streets (labelled in a derogatory manner “*surzhyk*”) or a Russian-speaking urban professional trying to speak Ukrainian.

schools were left in 16 western and central regions of Ukraine. Malinkovich predicted that, given the rate of ukrainianisation, Russian-medium education would be extinct in a few years in those regions. In higher education, 17 per cent of students were taught in Russian, while in 19 regions no higher education in Russian was available. The situation was slightly better in the highly russified regions of Crimea and Donbass: in Crimea, 58 per cent of comprehensive schools were Russian-medium, in Donetsk and Luhansk –38-39 per cent (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 352). The official data of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education confirms the ukrainianisation trend: in 2005/2006 academic year, 78 per cent of primary and secondary schools were Ukrainian-medium; and 21 per cent – Russian-medium.

The presence of other languages in the sociolinguistic landscape had to be acknowledged in Ukrainian education. A little over 10 per cent of schools in Ukraine (10,6 per cent) were providing education in more than one language in 2005/2006 (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 352). Bilingual schools were represented mostly by Ukrainian-Russian schools (9,8 per cent). The remaining 0,8 per cent included schools where Ukrainian or Russian as languages of instruction were combined with one of the languages such as Hungarian, Romanian, Moldovan<sup>35</sup>, Bulgarian, Crimean Tatar, and Polish.

Study of Ukrainian language as a subject is compulsory in every school in Ukraine, independently of the fact whether students speak it at home or not. Given the attested lack of training and the insufficient number of bilingual teachers, teachers of Ukrainian language often use methodological frameworks of Ukrainian as L1 (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 82). Other language subjects are optional. Bilaniuk and Melnyk point out a differential approach to language choices in schools, where languages other than Ukrainian are considered to be “foreign” (e.g. predominantly English, French, German) and “non-foreign” for historical reasons (Bulgarian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian). The popularity of English can be explained by any of the following or a combination of factors, a) a replacement for Russian as a language of wider communication; b) a pro-Western orientation; c) utilitarian (better jobs, mobility and ease of international communication) (Verschik 2010: 103).

While legislative measures are directed at raising the status of Ukrainian, Russian and its contact

<sup>35</sup> The division between Romanian and Moldovan language was established in parallel with the independence of Transnistria region in Moldova in 1989. Whereas linguistically the two languages are almost identical, their political and historical development resulted in their distinction (e.g. the Romanian language spoken and developed during the Soviet rule is now identified as Moldovan). To reinforce the distinction, Moldovan in Transnistria kept the Cyrillic-based alphabet while Moldovan (Romanian) in the rest of the independent Moldova has now adopted a Latin-based alphabet, which brought Romanian and Moldovan back together (Alpatov 1997; Sebba 2003; Ciscel 2008).

varieties with Ukrainian continue to prevail in informal use. The complexity of attitudes and practices are dictated by a wealth of social, political and institutional uses, as well as by religious and cultural preferences and family traditions and habitual practices (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 92), which argues for understanding the 'language situation as a dynamic notion' (Matsyuk 2010: 257). Complex multi-vectorial phenomena co-exist in modern Ukraine: "while newcomers to Kyiv face the pressure to learn Russian to urbanise and raise their social status, Kyivan russophones at the same time face censure that their Russian language is provincial (vis-à-vis Moscow and the rest of Russia)" (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 86). Still, the russophones feel the need to learn standard Ukrainian to reinforce their independent Ukrainian identity.

#### ***IV.6.3.5 The breach in the Ukrainian-only policy: regional languages***

Ukraine signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages in 1997 (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 76). Its ratification was delayed until May 2003 – the moment when it was used to claim a regional status for Russian and another 12 languages by several city and regional councils in the southern, eastern and central Ukraine. Donetsk city council was the only one to succeed in this legal struggle in 2007 (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 351). Ukrainian authorities feared decentralisation and declined all the other appeals arguing that Russian language was not in danger of disappearing. They did not want to admit that despite all the success on ukrainianisation, the divide between the "Russian" and "Polish" Ukraine established as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century persisted and was not likely to disappear any time soon (Malinkovich 2007). The centralised Ukrainian-only policy did not reflect the complexity of the actual language practice, failed to address the tensions between the habitual and the imposed language regimes.

So the legal battle continued, reaching its climax in June, 2012: after two weeks of a very heated political debate (at times breaking into fistfights), the Ukrainian parliament approved the legislation bill "On the principles of the state language policy", which granted the status of a regional to any language which is native to 10 per cent of the regional population. As a result, 13 out of 27 Ukrainian regions now have additional languages for public use. In principle, the bill concerned Russian, Belarusian, Bulgarian, Armenian, Gagauz, Yiddish, Crimean Tatar, Moldovan, German, Greek, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Rusyn, Hungarian, etc. In fact, it was used to promote 4 languages to the regional status, namely Russian – in Odessa, Kharkiv, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia, Sevastopol, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk and the respective oblasts; Hungarian has been made a regional language in the town of Berehove in Zakarpattia Oblast, Moldovan in Tarasivtsi

(Chernivtsi Oblast), and Romanian in Bila Tserkva in Zakarpattia.

Quite expectedly, the reactions to the new law have split the country. A sociological group “Rating” provided the following data for July 2012: while 34 per cent of the 2000 respondents supported the law on the regional languages, 42 per cent pronounced against it. Another 15 per cent of the respondents manifested their indifference to it, and another 11 per cent were unable to make up their minds (Rating 2012). While those supporting the law considered that it would help protect Russian and other minority languages from harassment, those who opposed the law thought that it would split Ukraine and undermine the status of the single state language (Rating 2012). In fact, this bill might be a step forward in dealing with the tensions between the outdated unidirectional ideologies and the polycentric reality, where linguistic resources cannot be determined by the authorities in a one-fit-it-all political solution but are rather aggregated in multiple clusters influenced by local practice. In words of Vladimir Malinkovich, “Ukraine should be constructed as a multicultural state [...] We should have a multicoloured space, where there is everything” (Malinkovich 2007).

#### **IV.6.4 Towards a critical language policy in post-Soviet Ukraine**

In my view, the complexity and the dialectical dynamics of the linguistic situation has proven to be a reference point in the history of language policy in Ukraine. First of all, we need to take into account the consecutive periods of imposed linguistic regimes, their nature (distribution of power), cyclicity<sup>36</sup> and varying duration. Secondly, we have to look at the class-based issues, conflicting interests and pragmatical values implied in language choices. Political leanings, as well as family traditions and emotional preferences should also inform the formulation of a view on language policy. All these issues have to be assumed as a starting point in the process of constructing a more critical approach to language policy, which is able of finding a compromise between the external factors and the multitude of internal voices.

Back in 1991, the Ukrainian government issued a 10-year plan of transition from a Russian-medium education to a Ukrainian one, which involved huge efforts and investments on status and corpus planning for the Ukrainian language (Marshall 2002: 240). We have to agree that the official efforts to move “from a decidedly Russian dominated society to a nominally Ukrainian dominated society in the course of a single generation constitutes an *historic event*”(Marshall 2002: 242; my

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<sup>36</sup> Joshua Fishman in his classical work spoke on a cyclicity of language use: language use can be considered cyclical in that the home environment, the educational environment, the commercial and governmental spheres independently and jointly influence language use, depending on the change within each environment (Fishman, 1966).

emphasis). Indeed, after 22 years, we can say that the government largely succeeded in raising the status and developing the corpus for the Ukrainian language (especially among the younger generations), as well as in constructing a more positive attitude towards bilingualism among Russian and russified speakers. So the Ukrainian authorities seem to have succeeded in achieving their aims at the policy level.

Still, these apparently successful efforts have met with a strong resistance at the institutional and local level and culminated in introducing 4 regional languages in 10 regions. In this sense, the official efforts failed in terms of a 'language removal' (Pavlenko 2008), as far as Russian (especially) and other minority languages (to a lesser extent) are concerned, because they have not taken into account the complexity of patterns of local uses of different languages. Furthermore, in my opinion, the top-down policies were condemned from the very start – as they had been acting on the false assumption that the language situation in either the pre-independent Ukraine or post-Soviet Ukraine could be conceptualised around a monolingual norm<sup>37</sup>, which does not acknowledge the role of bilingual and mixed resources in people's lives, seeing them as transitory phenomena in the shift from one monolingual norm to another. Throughout its history, Ukraine has always remained a multilingual and multicultural country, which means that whenever a monolingual norm is applied, it overlooks and marginalises interests and realities of millions of people. Finally, the official policies disregarded the impact of new types of mobility and transnational connections on language uses in a globalised world.

## **IV.6.5 Post-Soviet Russia**

### ***IV.6.5.1 Alphabet as a language policy***

According to the last Soviet Union census in 1989, ethnic Russians represented half of the USSR population. In the Soviet Russian Federation, they made up more than 80 per cent (Alpatov 1997: 137; cf. also Demoscope). After the USSR dissolution, such ethnic composition could quite naturally lead to a creation of a national state, similarly to the scenarios already developing in other post-Soviet countries. Russia took the first step on this road as it declared Russian as the official state language on its territory in 1991. Other Federation subjects were free to establish their own state

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37 For example, Marshall's study of uses of languages among Kyivan youth concludes: "Analyses of the data, representing reported native language within the home environment, show that as of 1998 there is no measurable indication of native language maintenance or native language shift pattern that favours either Ukrainian or Russian. This null finding (no shift) is remarkable given a decade of Ukrainianisation or the prior, generation-long language policy of forced Russification of Ukraine which contributed to a decline in native Ukrainian speakers" (Marshall 2002: 256).

languages on their territories (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004: 185). This political decision opened many possibilities in status planning for different languages by representing a real chance for some of them to become regional language. More importantly, it meant an opportunity of more independent language and literacy policy for federal subjects. Some federal republics, such as Bashkortostan, Yakutia and Tuva considered the idea of changing to other (Latin-based) literacies but later abandoned their plans (Malyutina 2002). For example, Buryatia attempted to rekindle its historic links to Asian cultures in Mongolia and China by reviving hieroglyphic writing for Buryat but later reconsidered (Alpatov 1997). Other republics made practical steps to move towards a change in writing systems for their national languages. The independent Chechen Republic of Ichkeria under Dudaev adopted a new Latin-based system, which represented a symbolic gesture for the breakaway republic. Tatarstan also made a move towards Latinisation (Alpatov 1997; Sebba 2003) modelled on Turkish literacy, which would help bring together Tatars from Russia with those from other post-Soviet states (e.g. Crimean Tatars in Ukraine who adopted a Latin script in 2002), and different countries (since they also used Latin script for Tatar). Besides, Latinisation facilitated learning English and other international languages, as well as establish closer links with Turkey. The Republican law on Latinisation of Tatar went into effect in 2001 and the Tatar government started its implementation by setting up a Commission on a gradual transition to the new orthography, allocating funds for the project and writing textbooks (Sebba 2003: 8). However, the efforts of federal subjects to move to a different writing system turned out to be in vain. The Russian Federation Parliament (*Duma*) approved an unprecedented amendment to the Language Law requiring all state languages in Russia to be based on a Cyrillic alphabet (Malyutina 2002; Sebba 2003). As a result, all of the 66 state languages in the post-Soviet Russia now use a Cyrillic-based written system. Given the new Duma amendment, the practical implementation of Latin script for Chechen and Tatar languages were curtailed (in Chechen case, as an outcome of the first Chechen war)<sup>38</sup>.

Latinisation attempts in Tatarstan were presented as “a threat to national security and integrity of Russia” (Sebba 2003: 8-9) and seen as disloyalty, a sign of aligning to Turkey (Malyutina 2002; Sebba 2003). By contrast, regional and national minority languages such as Karelian and Finnish language are allowed to use a Latin script. Moreover, since 2007, a uniform Latin-based alphabet has been established for all Karelian dialects. So if we take both facts into account, it would seem

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38 Alpatov noted that for the period of transition to the Cyrillic script, both scripts co-existed in Chechnya's public domains (Alpatov 1997: 146)

that it was not the “issue, ostensibly of linguistics” (Sebba 2003: ) – the move towards a Latin script in itself that the Russian Duma opposed. Rather, it seems that other factors were the case, such as a) the potential spread of the Latin script across the post-Soviet Russia, and b) the geopolitical implications of Latinisation in Tatarstan and Chechnya. In the case of Karelian and Finnish languages, the spread of the Latin script covers but a small region in the North-West of Russia on the border with Finland. If Tatar language in Tatarstan were to adopt a Latin script, it would involve over 2 million of people in Tatarstan only (Goskomstat 2010). As Tatars are the second most numerous ethnic group in Russia (5,3 million of people which correspond to 3,72 per cent of the whole Russian Federation population in 2010 – Goskomstat 2010), it would be just a question of time until other Tatars across Russia (starting from the neighbouring Bashkortostan) raised the issue of the literacy shift, especially given its precedence in the history of Tatar language (in the late 1920s-early 1930s it used a Latin script Yanalif).

The literacy shift to Latin is likely to find supporters even for the Russian language across Russia because many people feel that it may help in learning foreign languages (especially English), reinforce electronic communication (mobile texting and Internet), free financial and administrative resources from transliteration and potentially aid international business. Just recently, in the beginning of 2013, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov felt obliged to explain in a press-conference that no plans for an adoption of a Latin-based script were being devised for Russian in business interactions (Interfax 2013).

The geopolitical implications of the shift to Latin in Tatarstan and Chechnya are varied. First of all, it would have helped reinforce historical and cultural connections of these regions to Islam, in which Latin script would serve as a bridge to Muslim neighbouring countries. On the one hand, it may be seen as erasing the regions' Soviet past. Yet most importantly, the issue of 'security' brought up by pro-Kremlin sources (sources cited in Sebba 2003: 8) provides us with a clue that the Russian government interprets the shift as opening way to an increased Muslim influence, and an orientation towards the West. Since both Tatarstan and Chechnya are oil-rich regions, the federal government cannot afford this geopolitical reorientation and needs to assert its sole influence in the area. That is how a purely linguistic matter evolves into an issue of national security. Hence the attempt on the part of the Russian Parliament to curb the very potential of such influence by introducing the imposed Cyrillisation and thus reinforcing the loyalty of federal subjects to Russian. Even though the loyalty issues are not addressed directly nor openly by any of the parties, they are implied in the very proposal of siding with vs. withdraw from a symbolic space spanned and

regulated by Cyrillic writing. In this sense, language is used as “a scapegoat – or rather, as a symbolic battlefield” (Sebba 2003: 17).

#### **IV.6.5.2 Language loyalty and territorial approach**

As we have seen, the Language Law of the new Russia is based on a territorial approach. This kind of approach has proved to be problematic for the multi-ethnic Russia: being a result of a history of successive annexations, the external and internal borders of the Russian Federation do not correspond to any divisions between ethnic groups (Tinguy 2005; Ibragimov 2009). For example, the territory of the federal republic of Dagestan is home to 40 different ethnic groups. Certain ethnic groups like Tatars are scattered across the whole country and have four areas of compact settlement in Russia alone. According to different sources, 176 to 193 different ethnicities can be identified on the territory of the Russian Federation (Ibragimov 2009; Goskomstat 2010, respectively). So any decision in favour of language of any of those ethnic groups would necessarily affect languages of other groups sharing the federal territory. This could be one of the reasons why the number of speakers of ethnic languages in contemporary Russia have been steadily decreasing, as noted by Alpatov (1997), Belikov and Krysin (2001: 412), and attested in the latest census in 2010 (Goskomstat 2010). Table 2 provides percentages for most represented languages in Russia, based on self-reported language competences in the final results of the 2010 Census. Respondents were allowed to indicate more than one language.

*Table 2. Most represented languages in Russia (self-reported competence). Source: All-Russia Census 2010, Goskomstat 2010.*

<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>
Russian	99,41	English	5,48
Tatar	3,09	German	1,5
Chechen	0,98	Bashkir	0,83
Ukrainian	0,82	Chuvash	0,75

Even though the self-reported language competence should not be seen nor treated as objectively reflecting the actual language competence in the country, it may give us an idea of the trends in language aspirations and expectations. Notably, for people in today's Russia, competence in English is significant. It is the only language (out of those listed) that is not official at any regional level, and the only foreign language, since German can represent either a language of a sizeable ethnic group or a foreign language. Among ethnic languages, Tatar is standing strong, also as a consequence of the previously described dispute of the Tatar identity. The considerably lower

numbers for other ethnic languages may be indicative of monolingualising tendencies, which can be interpreted in two ways: a) as an actual Russianisation/russification spread across the country or b) as a reaction to a societal pressure to become monolingual.

To be able to understand these data, we will have to take into account other facts. For example, we should consider the fact that 4.5 million of people, which makes up 3 per cent of the whole Russian population, chose not to indicate their language competences at all. Moreover, the number of Russian citizens who opted not to divulge their ethnic belonging has almost quadrupled since the previous census, from 1.5 million in 2002 up to 5.6 million in 2010 census (Goskomstat 2010). More than 4 per cent of people declared to be competent in a language which is different from their ethnic group, many of which indicated Russian. Finally, the number of Ukrainians in the official statistics has decreased 3 times since the 2002 census. As the vice-president of the Association of Ukrainians in Russia pointed out: “These people haven't died nor left, they simply realised that they had better not indicate their ethnic belonging or call themselves Russian then” (Obozrevatel 2011). Put all together, those facts seem to signal a discontent with the Russian national policy (Dulenkova 2011) and a reaction to local xenophobic tendencies which lead to the societal pressure not to be different both in language competence and ethnic belonging. Russian experts suggested that this unwillingness to identify oneself, as well as “divided loyalties for people of mixed identities”, can be tackled by an inclusion of multiple self-identification in the future census (Dulenkova 2011).

Indeed, the possibility of multiple self-identification may allow for hybrid identities, which might help to release the pressure in the current complex situation in the multicultural Russia, for example, in terms of changing attitudes to bilingualism. Negative overtones still persist in public discourses on bilingualism, which remind of the old discussions in which “bilinguals were typically portrayed as people with split personalities and loyalty/identity conflict” (Verschik 2010: 98-99).

Over the last two decades, Russia has lived several periods of national tension that originated from the conflicting models of language and migration policies formulated within the outdated principles of nation-building. A prominent Russian political expert and scholar Nikolai Zlobin points out that the attempts of the Russian government to apply these formulas within the contemporary multi-ethnic Russian state have not been successful. By trying to avoid politicisation and escalation of the tension, the state “freezes”, conserves the conflict (Zlobin 2011). In fact, Zlobin argues that with the collapse of the USSR, the process of disintegration and remaking of borders did not stop.

He predicts that this process will result in further divisions within the Russian Federation<sup>39</sup>. The Chechen revolution in 1991, two Chechen wars (in 1994-1996 and 1999-2009), as well as periodical outbursts of inter-ethnic conflicts in various regions of the country (e.g. Kondopoga in 2006; Stavropol in 2007; Manezhnaya Square in Moscow in 2010, Sagra in 2011 – to name but a few) may provide evidence for this argument. In sum, in a multicultural state like Russia, whose borders do not coincide with either natural geographical limits (mountain ranges, seas) nor ethnic boundaries (Tinguy 2004), the territorial approach in language policy does not seem to be working. The relationship between the Russian language and regional languages has never been equal. In post-Soviet Russia, it is difficult to argue for nativisation/indigenisation of language policy due to a general urbanisation trend and because of the conflict between diverging interests of the ethnic elites (centripetal vs. centrifugal orientations) and resistance of the Russian/russified population. The Centre has not been able to develop a language policy which is capable of addressing the new realities, being stuck in the age-old dialectic between nativisation and russification.

### ***IV.6.5.3 Russia as a new migration space***

#### **IV.6.5.3.1 New patterns, new migrations**

Immediately after the collapse of the USSR and over the last decades, Russia has become “a new migration space” (Flynn 2004) which is involved in several differently directed migration movements, such as:

- 1) an influx of ethnic Russians from the newly independent post-Soviet states in the 1990s (especially from Central Asia and zones of inter-ethnic conflict) to Russia, their further emigration to Europe and other countries;
- 2) an influx of migrant workers from post-Soviet states (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other Asian states), recently also followed by further emigration to Europe and USA (Dubnov 2013);
- 3) a circular migration between Russia and other CIS states;
- 4) an ongoing outflow of qualified professionals (brain drain) to Europe, USA, Australia, Latin America, etc.
- 5) an outflux of asylum seekers (forced migration) from Russian regions of ethnopolitical

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<sup>39</sup> By contrast to many common theories on a world divided between superpowers or on a polycentric world (cf. Wallerstein's World System Theory; Blommaert's linguistics of scales), Nikolai Zlobin has proposed a theory of a 'polar-less' world, in which the sovereignty of states is gradually disappearing to give way to a reassertion of the power at the regional level and to a reconfiguration of international institutions (Zlobin 2009).

- tension;
- 6) an outflux of repatriates (ethnic Germans, Jews, etc. to Germany, Israel, Canada, USA and Australia);
  - 7) internal migration to urban centres and especially to Central Russia, Ural and Volga regions from the North and East of Russia to the South and West;
  - 8) seasonal migration of urban population to countryside;
  - 9) seasonal migration of urban elites and qualified professional from Russia to countries of a milder climate ('down-shifters');
  - 10) growing mobility of elites and qualified professionals between European countries.

Each of these movements varies in intensity, scale and duration: for example, the huge influx of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers from post-Soviet countries to Russia in the 1990s has decreased in the last decade, while migration from Central Asia has simultaneously increased 9 times (Mukomel 2013). Newly emerged migration movements have replaced and overlapped the traditional patterns: a growing trend of emigration by political motives is gradually taking over a labour migration from Russia<sup>40</sup>. Former long-term migrations are superseded by increased mobility and circular migration between Russia and other countries.

According to the most recent official data on migration (Dubnov 2013), despite fears that Russia might overtake Germany in the number of migrants, immigration has stabilised at 10 million people, which makes up to 7.5 percent of the Russian population. As a result, Russia shares the first place in Europe with Germany as a migration destination, and it is the second largest immigrant-receiving country in the world after the USA (Schenk 2010).

Patterns of migration are nevertheless changing: an increasing number of migrants from Asian post-Soviet countries like Armenia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are beginning to use Russia as an intermediate gateway to the countries of the European Union and the USA. At the same time, Ukrainians, Belarusians and Moldovans are no longer stopping in Russia but use Poland and south

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40 The official statistics of the Russia State Statistical Bureau for migration outflux and influx during the last 23 years is as follows:

in 1990 – 4.7 million people emigrated and 5.2 million immigrated;

in 2001 – 2.5 million both emigrated and immigrated;

in 2011 – 3.1 million emigrated and 3.4 million immigrated. (Goskomstat Rossii 2013).

So **both outbound and inbound migration movements appear to have virtually levelled out** since the 2000s.

However, the official data does not register neither the number of illegal immigrants, which is estimated at 20 million people in 2012 (Mukomel 2013); nor the short-term migration from the country. The existing institutional mechanism of the compulsory residence registration, which has origins in the Soviet institute of control over migration movements [*propiska*], hinders the mobility between the Federation regions and creates conditions in which people leaving for other countries prefer to keep their address in Russia (cf. also Tinguy 2012: 389 on the inaccuracies in the official statistical data)

of Europe as an entrance to the EU. Still, despite a general drop in the number of asylum seekers across the European Union in 2006, Russia still holds the second place as a country of origin for asylum seekers in Europe (Eurostat 2012). In sum, migration movements to and from Russia have become part of global trends, as Rinus Penninx puts it: “the migration process has become more complex, more fluid and less permanent” (Penninx *et al.* 2008: 11).

#### **IV.6.5.3.2 The “near abroad” policy: new categories**

The new migration patterns reflect geopolitical choices of the post-Soviet Russia and construct unprecedented realities. The external policy of the Russian government after the USSR dissolution has been formulated around a division of the countries into the “near abroad” and “far abroad”. It has little to do with the geographical proximity, since neither the neighbouring China, Finland, Poland nor Norway are included in the “near abroad”, while the non-bordering Moldova, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan are. The division rather highlights the common historical and political past of the former Soviet republics. Moreover, it signals Russia's imperial ambitions and projects for 'imagined communities' whereby other post-Soviet countries remain its closest sphere of influence.

Use of Russian has become one of the driving forces implied in this influence. The presence of 25.3 million ethnic Russians who found themselves in newly independent foreign national states upon the USSR dissolution provides a strong argument in the Russia's external policy. Especially so, because Russia declared itself the legal successor of the USSR of all rights and obligations. In the documents issued in the course of “the State Programme on the Voluntary Resettlement to the Russian Federation” launched in 2006, the Russian public discourse treats these people as 'compatriots', 'Russian diaspora', and describes their resettlement as 'return'<sup>41</sup>.

Moya Flynn in her book on migrant resettlement in the Russian Federation (2004) questions whether it is right to speak of 'return to the homeland' given that many of those 'returnees' were born in the newly independent post-Soviet countries. She finds it more useful to consider the 'return' as “a process as one of the individual or collective migrant, displaced from a place they identified as 'home', and forced to renegotiate a relationship with what to many is a foreign territory rather than a 'welcoming homeland'”<sup>42</sup> (Flynn 2004: 27). David Laitin called this category

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41 The notion of 'compatriots' was legally defined by the Federal Law of 24.05.1999 and is applied to Russian citizens living permanently abroad, to former Soviet citizens, and even to emigrants who were citizens of the Russian Empire. The two main criteria are the evidence of citizenship of the Russian Empire, USSR or Russian Federation and the “self-identification as having a mental, cultural and legal bond with the Russian Federation”.

42 The number of people who resettled to the Russian Federation within the State Programme on the Voluntary Resettlement has been far below the expected: in 2007-2010, 17,000 people moved to the Russian Federation. By

of people a “beached diaspora” (Laitin 1998). However, together with Moya Flynn and Anna Verschik (2010: 93-94) I find it too simplistic to consider both ethnic Russians who may have never known Russia, and those who had never bothered to learn local languages, as well as titular russified elites under the same 'diasporic' category. Still, Verschik points out the Russian language may be a common denominator for those people yet argues for its analysis within contact linguistics (Verschik 2010). The Russian government interprets the Russian language as a “mental and cultural bond”, which is evident both in the documents of the Programme on Voluntary Resettlement and in annual reports of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on “the Russian language in the world”. Nevertheless, empirical data on uses of Russian and on Russian self-identification help identify discrepancies between the construction of the migration process and the actual migrant experience, they “complicate the idea of belonging to a bounded Russian 'homeland' and question the concept of any singular, homogeneous ethno-national Russian identity in the post-Soviet period” (Flynn 2004: 4; cf. also Laitin 1998; Verschik 2010; this research). That is why we should perhaps ask to what extent the Russian language means the same to all categories of Russian speakers? And to what extent is it constructed as **common** by public discourses?

#### ***IV.6.5.4 The many faces of the Russian language***

Since the beginning of its history as a new post-Soviet state, Russia has become both a country of emigration and immigration. Being diverse by their nature, the migration flows to and from Russia have gradually helped redesign the sociolinguistic landscape of Russia. These changes were bound to find reflection in the current policies for Russian language. Indeed, different groups of people who are/were involved in migration flows are implied in several distinct categories of promotion and teaching of Russian language. Each of those categories represents a separate but an interrelated ideological dimension in the language policies of the Russian state.

Table 3 is an attempt to sum up the analysed data on existing categories of Russian language within the state policy from a perspective of education and formation. The categories have emerged within the Russian public discourse (legal documents, online media, Russian language textbooks, etc.), as well as in the discrepancy between the growing local demand for teaching resources and their actual offer. Each category will be briefly characterised in terms of the territory

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2011-2012, the Programme seemed to pick up its pace, since 63,000 of people resettled in 2012, according to the official data (FMS 2013). Still, this number is considerably lower than the announced objective of 300,000 people per year. The Programme is seen as one of the mechanisms of addressing the demographic problem of a population decrease in Russia.

it covers, groups of people it concerns, mechanisms and agents through which it is implemented, and, finally, themes emerging from its practical implementation.

Table 3. Categories of Russian language in language teaching and promotion

<i>Type</i>	<i>Territory</i>	<i>Categories of people</i>	<i>Mechanisms and agents</i>	<i>Themes in practical implementation</i>
Russian as a <b>state</b> language	Russian Federation and federal subjects Ethnic territorial autonomies	Resident population	State legislation: Ministry of Education and Science Federal subject legislation Media channels (discussion) Specific programmes on preservation of titular languages in republics (e.g. Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, etc.)	Purism trends (appeals to limit use of foreign loan words, swear words and ungrammatical writing in mass-media and social media -- via legal drafts and laws in effect to “combat extremism”) Imposed Cyrillic-based script for writing systems – 2002 Removal of the compulsory regional component in education in 2007 (which includes obligatory teaching in second republican languages). Yet the Law on Educational Standards in 2009 guarantees the right to education in “Russian and in one’s native (non-Russian) language”. Focus on developing bilingualism in “non-Russian” territories. Ethnic group language provision made dependent on the school resources (2012 Education Law) Asserting legally the position of Russian <b>above</b> the regional and national minority languages → formulating a hierarchy (e.g. in the 2012 Russian Federation Education Law art.14, n <sup>o</sup> 3) Discourses of endangerment regarding the regional and national minority languages (e.g. in Khakassia,) Clericalisation and centralisation of schooling in Russia in the latest years
Russian as a <b>“non-native language”</b> a) Children b) Adults	Russian Federation and federal subjects	Migrants and their children	State legislation: Ministry of Education and Science Media channels Associations and forums of migrants NGOs, religious organisations	a) <b>Children: “<i>deti-inofony</i>”</b> [non-Russian-speaking children] Builds on programmes of Russian as Foreign Language, on the Soviet programmes of “Russian for students of ethnic schools” Additional language provision for migrant children at schools – a specific corrective course. Language immersion principle. Distribution of specially designed textbooks on local level (“ABC book for migrants”, 2010, oriental imagery and naming– Saint Petersburg metropolitan area) Lack of teacher in-service training (or very expensive offers – e.g. at the Moscow State University). Pre-service teacher training available since 2006 at Moscow City Teacher Training University Lack of teacher resources Parental resistance (non-migrant) to any

				<p>investment into teaching migrant children as well as to their placement in normal classrooms and comprehensive schools (forum data)</p> <p>Parental language assistance (migrant parents) in the classrooms</p> <p>Migrant parents state the low level of education in Russia (survey data in Mukomel 2013: 17)</p> <p>Culture shock for migrants who come from Central Asia</p>
				<p><b>b) Adults:</b> “language for migrants”, “Russian for Gastarbeiters”</p> <p>Builds on Russian as Foreign Language programmes and Russian for Specific Purposes</p> <p>Russian language familiar to older migrants (in their late 30s and older) from Central Asia and those who come from Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova. Family socialisation and school-taught formal Russian, both far from the lived reality. “Lost” younger generations with no access to Russian linguistic resources.</p> <p>10 per cent of migrants use their native languages with their workmates in the workplace (Mukomel 2013: 16)</p> <p>Minimal Russian competence for migrant workers in service sector is now legally required (since December 2012) “Russification of the guests from post-Soviet republics” (Moscow News, 24.12.12)</p> <p>4 textbooks on “Russian for labour migrants” available in 2012 (“oriental imagery and naming”)</p> <p>Russian language component compulsory in naturalisation procedures, by 2015 – introduction of the Russian history and culture component</p> <p>Local networks (migrant associations) in Russian language, legal and information support (incl. illegal ones). Evangelical churches and NGOs started to provide Russian language courses before the governmental initiative</p> <p>A small number of free courses – on university premises</p> <p>Low levels of enrolment among migrants due to high prices of certification and courses, lack of information</p> <p>Russian language certification has a corruption potential and acts as a measure of curbing migration flows (especially seasonal ones) and of inviting more qualified and educated migrants. Authorities focus on the restrictive aspects of the new requirement (development of a centralised database on those who passed</p>

				the test; a general trend to certification in Russian prior the entry to Russia) → “fortress Russia”
Russian for <b>children of compatriots</b> abroad	77 countries transnational connections (“from the USA to Japan, from Finland to Argentina”) Priority: CIS and other post-Soviet states	“Compatriots abroad” defined as people with a legal, mental and cultural bond to the Russian Empire, USSR or Russian Federation	The Federal Agency for the CIS, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation (founded in 2008) [ <i>Rossotrudnichestvo</i> ] within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Programme on the Voluntary Resettlement Russian centres of science and culture across the world “Russian” schools abroad Universities across the Russian Federation Electronic media: two major websites, newspapers, social media, as well as radio and TV channels Special purpose five-year plans on Russian language (interministerial (Education and Science/Foreign Affairs))	Construction of a unified “Russian World” (virtual and transnational “imagined community”, language as a symbolic capital). Cultural and linguistic support for long-term emigrants Merges with and builds on Russian as Foreign Language and Russian as state language “Mutuality of transnational connections”: the Russian Federation supports its compatriots abroad and expects them to support its policy (An interview of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Lavrov in 2011) “The end product should be an objective and non-biased opinion of Russia” (An interview of the President of the Federal Agency Kosachev in 2012) Development of a concept of “Russian school abroad” at the Congress of Compatriots in 2011. Criteria: a) Russian-medium teaching; b) conformity to the Russian educational standards; c) competitiveness and connectedness with the host country education. According to the criteria, 4 types of Russian schools are distinguished, from a school that totally conforms with the Russian educational standards to a complementary school, school of extended education. The Agency is an intermediary between the Russian state and Russian-speaking emigrant families or rather as an intermediary between the two states education systems A growing number of textbooks and teacher/caregiver resources. Shifts in categorisation: “for children in Russian-speaking families growing up away from Russia in the near or far abroad”-2003; “for bilingual children” -2006; “Russian as a second mother tongue”; “Russian as a family language”- 2011. “To introduce children into Russian history and culture and thus bring children and parents together” (Names of Russia textbook 2011) – alternative versions of history; assumed differentiation in socialisation. Annual Congresses of Compatriots since 2008. In-service teacher training conferences and seminars in Russia and in the countries of implementation Preparation of expatriates' (compatriots') children for higher education in Russia
Russian as a <b>foreign</b>	77 countries, Russia	Foreign exchange and	Due to its inclusion into the jurisdiction of	RFL teaching has the longest tradition, departs from methods developed in the USSR

language		internship university students Foreign residents in Russia Tourists	the Federal Agency for the CIS , Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation [ <i>Rossotrudnichestvo</i> ], the implementation of the category has practically merged with the previous and the following category (Russian for business). Some functions are nevertheless sustained by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science, e.g. Pushkin State Russian Language Institute	Preparation of foreign students for higher education in Russia Language certification incorporated into CEFR Textbooks for English, Japanese, Chinese, French and German speakers – focus on the role of Russia in the world culture and history Specialised textbooks for students of philological departments
<b>Business Russian</b>	77 countries, Russia, Countries targeted for export-import operations and investment	Foreign businessmen who invested in and have business relations with Russia	Language centres (state and private) Language schools (private) Thematic spots in social media Online learning resources	Differential approach towards countries of the “near” and “far abroad”: a) Russian as a in the post-Soviet space; b) the increasing demand for Russian competence in business dealings with the countries of the ex-Warsaw pact; c) Russian courses for speakers of English, French, German, Japanese, Chinese and Korean – a diversified offer which co-exists with the demand for business English Corporate courses on the business premises Thematic focus on culture and business ethics and etiquette

The data in the table show that Russia's state language policy in teaching and promotion of the Russian language spans all three dimensions of language policy and planning. In corpus planning, the policy outlines which registers and genres of the Russian language should be excluded from formal teaching. Besides, the Russian state has made considerable efforts on standardisation of writing and unification of uses of linguistic resources in many spaces of communication, including virtual ones. The new media represent extremely important mechanisms of promoting language ideologies and policies, especially because they help establish immediate transnational connections that reach out beyond Russia. In status planning, both the compulsory certification in Russian for migrant workers, the legal assertion of a superior level for Russian in ethnic territorial autonomies and the recurrent theme of Russian as a unifying language in public discourse guarantee a construction of a language hierarchy where the top place is occupied by the Russian

language. Finally, in acquisition planning an access to different “Russians” is regulated through the provision of textbooks, certification preparation and specific programmes geared to a particular 'level' of Russian.

Diversification of categories within teaching of Russian language has been bound to reflect the overall trend of commodification of linguistic resources across the world, the need for modernisation and innovation in language teaching, and most of all, the necessity to address the changes in the current Russian sociolinguistic landscape, evident in both the top-down language policy and bottom-up processes. This diversification is admittedly a fascinating topic which deserves a detailed study in itself. In this section, I am going to briefly focus only on those categories that may directly or indirectly concern the participants of my linguistic ethnography. These include 1) the ways in which the provision of Russian for migrant children is conceptualised, i.e. Russian as a language of the formal schooling in the host society, and 2) the recently emerged category of “Russian for children of compatriots abroad”, i.e. Russian as a language of complementary schooling.

#### **IV.6.5.4.1 Russian for migrant children in Russia**

Before the 2000s, most migrants came to Russian Federation from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova (labour migration and repatriation). Besides, ethnic Russians and russified titulars from independent post-Soviet states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan resettled to Russia (repatriation). At the time, the Russian state seemed not to be concerned about integrating children of these people into education, since these people were considered to be linguistically and culturally close to Russians, especially because in some of the states Russian has now a status of a second state or regional language. Many of these people planned to settle in Russia, so they were also motivated to learn the Russian language and to use it at least in public spaces (in this sense, this migration represents an “ethnolinguistic phenomenon” – Tinguy 2012: 385-386). Except for a small number of schools, no specific programmes were developed for migrant children, so they have been taught alongside other students in Russian classrooms, in accordance with the language immersion principle.

From the beginning of the 2000s the situation has changed. The “ethnolinguistic migration” and long-term immigration have been replaced by short-term and seasonal labour migration. Most migrant children in Russia nowadays come from post-Soviet states of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and Armenia. Russian language is often absent from linguistic repertoires of

their families, which is considered increasingly a problem by both migrant families and school administrations (Florinskaya 2012). Since 2005, the Russian state education has started formulating some kind of coherent policy towards children who do not speak Russian. Some schools place newcomers in preparation classes and summer language camps before they join their classrooms. In Moscow, 12 “schools of Russian language” have been created for children of different ages, where the course lasts one year. Teachers and education officers consider that before these children and teenagers could join classrooms with other children, they should “learn how to make a basic sentence in Russian” (Tikhomirova 2011). There are also reports of monoethnic classrooms having been proposed and put to practice in some regions (RIAN 2011). Others provide additional training in Russian in 'corrective' classrooms that take place twice a week after ordinary school hours. Sometimes migrant children who do not speak/read/write Russian have their additional classes together with Russian-speaking underachieving students, which contributes to creating a social stigma for the migrant children. Quite often migrant children are perceived as nuisance, mainly because their teachers are not prepared to teach them for the lack of teacher resources and training in Russian as L2. Specific teacher training is scarce and very expensive (it is higher than monthly wages for many teachers).

As for learning resources, the University of St Petersburg in 2010 launched a limited number of copies of a Russian textbook specifically designed for these children, “ABC for children of migrants”. In creating learning materials for the book, its author Irina Lysakova made a point of using visual and cultural references that would be familiar to children who come from Central Asia. However, the publication has got a mixed reception in the city: the city administration sweepingly acquired the whole edition for further distribution among migrant families, while parents of locally born children strongly contested the fact that the books should have been bought with the local budget money and that those kids should be taught alongside Russian-speaking kids.

Sociologists admit that xenophobic attitudes are widely spread in contemporary Russia. Janusz Korek proposes to interpret “the new racisms” in Central and Eastern Europe as “one of the effects of de-Sovietisation”, i.e. coexisting emerging discourses of the new multinational societies in a globalised world and surviving discourses of the USSR period (Korek 2009). According to regular surveys of the Levada analytical centre, the slogan “Russia for Russians” has been consistently popular in the Russian public opinion – the number of the respondents who agree with it has been oscillating around 55 per cent throughout the 2000s (Verkhovsky 2011: 18; Mukomel 2012: 7). Data from schools reportedly contradict this trend: a long-term study undertaken by the Higher

School of Economics in St Petersburg (carried out on the UNICEF request) concluded that migrant children were rarely discriminated in schools yet “learned about xenophobia from their [adult] relatives and acquaintances” (RIAN 2011). The same study pointed out that migrant children are highly motivated towards school achievement and largely do well at school.

The ways in which Russian language is being constructed in the contemporary Russia is situated within an official course on developing a “common cultural code within a multi-ethnic state” and “avoidance of creation of regional parties and separatism” (Putin 2012). The newly elected president Putin in his speech on inter-ethnic relations in Russia pointed out its difference from both a “melting pot” and an ethnic state. Having mentioned the alleged failure of multiculturalism in other countries, Putin suggested that “the common cultural code” should be formulated to address “the lack of societal ties” in the contemporary Russia (*ibidem*). At a first glance, the proposed course appears to build on the Soviet policies of a supra-ethnic identity. In fact, it may be interpreted as situated within the ongoing global trend of using language as a mechanism of state regulation and control over population. Different countries across the world like the UK, Netherlands, Australia and Canada have recently introduced language and culture tests into citizenship requirements. As Elana Shohamy promptly puts it:

“Such language manipulations continue in the current era where language continues to be used as a symbol of integration and belonging to the nation. While most nations nowadays, more than ever before, consist of diverse groups – immigrants, indigenous populations, transnationals and others, it is primarily through language that the battles between homogeneous ideologies, hegemony and power vs. diversity, voice, representation and inclusion continue to take place” (Shohamy 2006: xxiii).

For the Russian state, the developed language policy helped reinforce the role and status of the Russian language and culture across the Russian Federation. In order to expand this action to the post-Soviet space and further across the world, the state implemented another category of the policy.

#### **IV.6.5.4.2 Russia calling: construction of an imagined Russian-speaking community**

The category of “Russian for children of compatriots abroad” represents an unprecedented phenomenon in language policies, which originated a significant turn in the official discourses of the post-Soviet Russia. By creating the special category for children of “compatriots abroad”, the Russian state finally admitted the existence of mass emigration *from* Russia – something impossible in the Soviet Russia, as emigration had been removed from the public discourse; at best

emigrants had been treated with suspicion and disdain (cf. Pushkariova 1996). Now, the Russian government even allocates budget money for specific programmes targeting emigrant families. This turn in policy appeared to coincide with the perceived failure of the Programme of Voluntary Resettlement in 2008. Federal Agency for the CIS, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation [*Rosstrudnichestvo*] has been created within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and aims to consolidate links with 'compatriots' on several fronts: 1) by constructing a unified educational space through the adjustment of legal certification and student exchange; 2) by constructing a shared information space through online and offline mass-media; 3) by helping to fulfil the Programme of the Voluntary Resettlement; 4) by 5-year programmes centred around teaching and promotion of the Russian language and culture beyond Russia.

If we were to focus on the terms that are extensively used in the discourse of the Agency, we might come to a conclusion that the stigma associated to 'emigrant' still persisted, since another word was necessary to define the group. However, 'compatriot' rather than 'emigrant' addresses some other issues. Firstly, it deals with the particular situation in which millions of ethnic Russians found themselves upon the collapse of the USSR, since they did not leave anywhere. Secondly, it encapsulates the ideological mission of the institution: while 'emigrant' indicates the direction of the movement (emigrant vs. immigrant), the 'compatriot' does a better job in describing a community of people who identify themselves with the '*patria*'. '*Patria*' is defined here quite widely from a geopolitical, historical and ideological perspective. Geopolitically and historically it reaches out from the Russian Empire through the USSR to the Russian Federation, thus reinforcing the sense of continuity. Ideologically it represents a cultural space centred around the "Russian language and mother tongues of the people of the Russian Federation, including the study of the Russian history and cultural heritage" (Federal Law of the Russian Federation 179, 2010). While 'emigrants' might have or might end up not having a cultural project together, 'compatriots' are positioned against one axis, kept on the same scale.

The words 'joint', 'unified', 'shared' are repeated times and times again in the Agency texts. It does not seem to be by chance that language, education, information and culture are included in the project on constructing this 'sharedness', as it can be seen as none other but an ideological and political post-imperial project of reinforcing and creating an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) of Russian speakers, of creating a "*habitus qui fonctionne ici comme un sens de l'orientation*" [a habitus which functions here as a sense of orientation]" (Bourdieu and Chartier 1989: 57). This intention is evident in the title of the Agency foundation – *Rusky Mir* ["Russian World"]. The

orientation in this case has clearly to do with the ways in which the Russian cultural 'heritage' and the role Russia has played in the world history are interpreted and promoted. And when the cultural knowledge is presented as 'heritage', it is unlikely to be questioned, as it sounds like something belonging to the past and should therefore be accepted as it comes. By way of an example, it should be mentioned that the newly founded 'Russian language and science centres' receive a readily-assembled package of Russian language books, visual aids and interactive media. As for the construction of a 'common' memory, children of compatriots study "alternative" versions of the world history in their Russian school classrooms, while adult caregivers and teachers are 'reminded' about them in the Russian-language mass-media, as well as at annual congresses of compatriots and regular teacher conferences. The whole 'community' is called upon at various celebrations dedicated to memorable dates in the Russian history. The ideological construction of a 'community' is complemented by the active participation of the orthodox clergy and members of evangelical religious organisations.

To be fair, compared to the years prior to the Agency was founded, its project on children of compatriots has made a lot of difference in terms of availability of funding, information, reading materials, teacher training support for education in Russian, and cultural life. In this sense, it provides help to emigrant families and schools. It also signals a gradual shift in attitudes to bilingualism within Russian language teaching discourse. The Agency supports the establishment of bilingual kindergartens and schools and helps prepare teachers and parents to educate and raise their children in a bilingual environment.

Overall, the creation of the special category of 'Russian for children of compatriots abroad' acts as an important mechanism in language policy and planning. In corpus and acquisition planning it helps formulate the idea of what counts as modern Russian language, i.e. defines its registers and genres, helps distinguish, in a literacy landscape, between different writing systems (Cyrillic-based vs. non-Cyrillic -based) and learn to master writing and reading in Russian, providing a privileged access to the literary register. It invests in constructing a worldview through Russian and regulates access to registers. In status planning, the category promotes the idea that Russian is a language of an immense cultural heritage hence belongs among world languages. In a way, Russian-speaking compatriots can 'bank' on the cultural heritage as a symbolic capital: e.g. parents of low-qualified occupation may now identify themselves as speakers of a prestigious language; former teachers and educators can become cultural agents and compensate for the lack of professional recognition in their countries of settlement.

The category has clearly been created in an effort to define and develop a Russian-speaking diaspora in the world. Still, in my view, it is based on a simplistic and essentialist approach, as it fails to acknowledge language as a social phenomenon situated and evolving in a particular cultural, linguistic and geopolitical context. Indeed, to what extent might former members of Russian aristocracy who fled to France after the October Revolution be associated with contemporary Russian work migrants to that country? To what extent can russified titulars of post-Soviet states identify with, for example, ethnic Russians living in Argentina? To what extent can Old Believers in Alaska relate to members of the modern evangelical church? Finally, to what extent can bilingual Russian-German children affiliate with Russian-Portuguese children? Can we say that all those people speak, read or write the *same* Russian language? Can we possibly claim that Russian has the *same* value in all those contexts?

On the other hand, the policy of creating a community around the Russian language may represent a powerful strategic instrument and a lever in Russia's external affairs, just like it has been used by other states like Germany, Finland, Poland and Greece before (cf. Tinguy 2012). The presence of hundreds of thousands of Russian-speakers in the post-Soviet national states could help reinforce Russia's influence in these countries. Across the world, it can open ways for cultural, educational etc. cooperation between the Russian Federation and the countries of settlement. In education of children of compatriots, the Russian-state policy appears to work towards a gradual unification of the ideological system (with the special attention on teaching of history and literature), clericalisation (via the Orthodox church), and centralisation of resources (i.e. Russian schools in capitals and cities are much better equipped than those in small towns)<sup>43</sup>.

#### **IV.6.5.5 *Russia at the crossroads***

Language policies of the post-Soviet Russia seem to be at the crossroads. Initially, the Russian Federation made an attempt of operating as a national federal state, giving its territories the freedom to decide which languages, apart from Russian, should be used in the areas of compact settlement of ethnic groups. However, the territorial approach proved not to be working, since the inherited from the USSR internal and external borders represent nothing but administrative frontiers which do not reflect any ethnic, religious or linguistic divisions, rather being a result of a history of successive annexations and repartitions. Still, the territorial approach in its geopolitical

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43 This tendency, on the one hand, reflects the ongoing changes in the state education in the Russian Federation itself, while reminding somewhat, on the other hand, of the Official Nationality Triad – Orthodoxy, Autocracy and National Spirit in the tsarist Russia.

interpretation has been laid as a foundation for the policy of the “near abroad”, which was privileged on the grounds of the declared cultural (including linguistic) proximity and of the shared past. Within this policy, a new categorisation of people has been devised, i.e. 'compatriots', who were expected to resettle to Russia to inhabit depopulating areas. However, the resettlement has proved mainly unsuccessful, since most of the compatriots decided to move on to other countries or stay on in the respective post-Soviet states.

Both the fear of national separatism and the desire to oppose the growing influences of the Muslim world and of the West have led to the formulation of prohibitive language laws which ban the use of any script but Cyrillic in the writing systems. This legislation, as well as the recent measures which regulate the use of foreign loan words and swear language in the mass-media (including electronic ones), as well as condition the provision of ethnic languages in education to the available local resources, are indicative of insecurities “about the condition of the Russian language” and “about other aspects of the social structure in the much-changed former Soviet state” (Sebba 2003: 18).

Russia is nowadays part of the global complex network of migration, as it has become both a country of emigration and immigration, as well as combines long-term and short-term, transit and circular migration movements. The new patterns have redesigned the sociolinguistic landscape and local uses of linguistic resources to the point that new categories within the teaching and promotion of the Russian language had to be created. These include “Russian for migrants”, “Russian for migrant children”, and “Russian for children of compatriots abroad”. These categories result from an emerging reflection on the role of the Russian language in the contemporary world, in which the language takes the centre stage as the language of the host country and has acquired features of a minority language. In the first case, it is positioned as a mechanism of acculturation in a strong climate of xenophobia. In the second, it is constructed as a mechanism of socialisation and ultimately as a symbolic capital in the imagined community of Russian speakers. In both cases, it draws somewhat from the familiar imperialist attitudes and aspirations, evident in the recent formulations of a common cultural and moral values of a polyethnic state oriented around the Russian language.

In a way, Russian is redesigning its role as a in the business and electronic interactions between post-Soviet states and some post-Warsaw pact countries, thus conquering symbolic rather than geographical territories. Along with the changing values of Russian in the globalised world, attitudes to bilingualism are gradually changing in Russia, where conflicting trends coexist. On the

one hand, traditional essentialist conceptualisations and purist attitudes to languages and literacies survive. On the other hand, appeals to a flexible multilingualism and multiple identification emerge. The new place for the Russian language is being forged both at the interface of these discourses and in the local practice.

## **IV.7 Conclusions**

Home places of the participants of this linguistic ethnography were once distributed across the great monarchies, such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Kingdom of Romania, the Russian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. By the 1940s, all of these places became part of the Soviet Union, and later divided between post-Soviet states like Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. So the inhabitants of those territories have been subjected to different imposed linguistic regimes, Russification being one of them. Some of the territories experienced Russification for centuries while others – just for decades. Some of the imposed regimes were strict and prohibitive, others – more relaxed and decentralised. Despite the harshness of the imposed regimes, local reactions to them are known to include a range of coping and resistance strategies, from national movements and religious organisations to illegal printing, book distribution, private and home tuition in the subjugated languages. Since none of the states creates its language policies without looking back at the past ones or without adjusting them to their neighbours', a historical and geopolitical perspective on the language policies is called for.

An attempt of a historical description and analysis of the top-down and bottom-up policies in those territories has been subject of this chapter. It has outlined the ways in which the language policies of the post-Soviet states of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine were designed to address the historical and geopolitical realities of those countries.

Several themes have emerged along the chapter:

### 1) Ethnicity and nationality

The institute of nationality has rarely reflected the ethnic group the person belonged to: in the Russian Empire, being the Russian national meant being the Orthodox believer. In the Soviet Union, the concepts of ethnicity and nationality were redrawn according to the changing administrative divisions between the Soviet republics. Gradually the concepts blended into '*nacional'nost*', which was registered in personal documents (passports and birth certificates). In the post-Soviet states, this practice was abolished. Given the heightened levels of xenophobia in the post-Soviet Russia, a growing number of people decide not to identify their ethnic belonging or

family language. Experts argue that it is time to introduce multiple identification.

## 2) Russian language and its status in Russia, the post-Soviet space and in the world

The status of Russian in history has been connected to religious and class issues: it has been associated to the conversion into the Orthodox faith, as well as to upward mobility. So ethnic elites became russified in order to gain prosperity and protection. Moreover, Russian went hand in hand with industrialisation and urbanisation. In the Soviet period, being monolingual in Russian guaranteed access to higher education, science and high culture. A language hierarchy has formulated, in which languages of ethnic groups occupied less powerful positions due to high functional specialisation of their linguistic resources, being associated with agriculture, rurality, folk tradition and colloquial register.

Nowadays the status of Russian is changing in various directions: on the one hand, it has consolidated its positions in Russia as the state language and as a language of the host country for many immigrants (where it may be positioned as an instrument of assimilation and acculturation, confused with linguistic integration). Normative use of Russian continues to be a highly valued symbolic resource across Russia.

Russian has managed to strengthen its positions in post-Soviet Belarus, as a second state language, and has reasserted them somewhat as a regional language in Ukraine. In these states, Russian linguistic resources become redistributed alongside Belarusian and Ukrainian ones. The use of Russian is returning, yet to a lesser degree, in its role as a in business interactions with the European countries of the former Warsaw Pact.

On the other hand, Russian is being used as a symbolic mechanism to construct an imagined community of 'compatriots', a Russian language 'diaspora' across the world, targeting families of numerous Russian-speakers who remained in the post-Soviet states ('near abroad') or emigrated to other countries ('far abroad'). The policy towards compatriots is an innovative political technology that resulted in the development of a completely new discursive framework (compatriots, near and far abroad, Russian world, Russian school, etc.). In this category, the use of Russian is acquiring features of a minority language: specialised functions, limited registers, use in private spaces.

Russian language is trying to reassert its positions as a language of international communication, contesting symbolic territories with English. It has become the second most used language on the Internet.

## 3) The use of literacy and linguistic resources as an indication of political orientation

Throughout the history, literacies have been viewed as a manifestation of geopolitical orientation.

So periods of change from one orientation to the other can be traced through official shifts of script for writing. Times of transition may be characterised by the co-existence of different scripts or their juxtaposition and specialised use. Latinisation has meant reorientation towards the West and opening up to internationalisation. The use of transliteration from Cyrillic-based to Latin-based scripts is associated with IT and mobile technologies.

At the time of imposed linguistic regimes, the use of ethnic languages has been associated to resistance and opposition to regime (especially in cases of ethnic cleansing). In this situation, the shift to the imposed language in public spaces has become a strategy of survival.

In the post-Soviet period of nationhood negotiation, and because of the linguistic proximity between Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian, their use is politicised, and the borders between the languages are thoroughly watched. For example, the use of Belarusian in Belarus is associated to democratisation values and political opposition. The use of Russian in areas with strong Ukrainian identification is equally defiant. However, according to statistics and empirical data this situation is starting to change. The policy of Ukrainianisation resulted in an increased national identification in the country.

#### 4) Migration movements and problems with terms

Throughout history, migration patterns have had a significant impact on use of languages and literacies. The outcome depends on the linguistic and ethnic identities of migrants: compact settlements of people who shared their belonging resulted in creating pockets of ethnic languages; whenever they were people of different identification, language use shifted towards Russian. Migration to urban centres and great industrial sites have also resulted in Russianisation. Borderland regions have had a distinct dynamics, being subject to the geopolitical influence.

The post-Soviet states have entered the globalised networks of migration and mobility, where patterns are changing towards a short-term and circular migration. Migrants opt for more widely used linguistic resources or stay in compact ethnic settlements.

The changing patterns of migration and geopolitical transformations in the post-Soviet space pose questions as to the validity of traditionally used terms like majority and minority, community and diaspora, post-colonial. Scholars like the applied linguist Aneta Pavlenko (2008, 2008a), contact linguist Anna Vershik (2010), and experts on migration such as Rinus Penninx and his colleagues (2008) highlight that the terminology should be re-evaluated on the basis of empirical studies.

#### 5) English and Englishness

The use of English is becoming increasingly common in the post-Soviet states. It is by far the most

popular foreign language. An idea of 'Englishness' has formulated in the decades since perestroika across the USSR and post-Soviet space, and it includes the use of English-like resources which may range from slogans and words in English to morphemes and Latin graphemes in advertising, marketing and the media. In IT, advertising and marketing, English vocabulary and syntactic constructions has become part of the professional jargon. The increasing "contamination" by English has been recently targeted by legislation in the Russian Federation.

#### 6) Internationalisation of language policies

Language policies of the three post-Soviet countries (Belarus, Russia and Ukraine) are constructed in a dialogue with those of European countries. Out of the three countries, only Belarus has not signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. However, as Belarus is starting to turn towards Europe, further changes in the state language polices might be expected.

Just like other European countries, Russia has introduced compulsory language tests for immigrant population. The trend towards using language and culture as regulatory mechanisms in citizenship procedures will be followed in the announced introduction of the cultural component into the citizenship test.

#### 7) Raising importance of bilingual and contact-induced resources

Attitudes to and practices of bilingualism are changing. Admittedly, purist and essentialist discourses still survive in instances of non-parallel, non-accommodating bilingualism and in despising treatment of mixed varieties that emerge from the contact between Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian languages. Yet local practices in Ukraine and Belarus lead to redefining and re-evaluating of bilingual resources, as they help signal class, national identification, musical tastes, political preferences and cultural knowledge. In these countries, bilingual resources, even for the allegedly monolingual Russian speakers, can translate into as subtle a change as a slight shift in phonological features and stress. In Russia, discourses of bilingualism are becoming more flexible in education, due to the need to raise e/immigrant children in multilingual environments. In federal subjects, bilingual education often operates under older conceptualisations. A whole continuum of various forms of bilingual education can be observed in post-Soviet education, with the predomination of the language immersion model (with or without the initial preparation).

#### 8) Policies and local practices

The historical analysis of language policies has indicated discrepancies between the top-down policies and the complexity of actual language and literacy use. In the safety of their private homes, families have continued to be pockets of resistance to the most harsh linguistic regimes. In

public domains, local practices have contested the simplistic solutions which lack long-term vision (e.g. parental right to choose the language of instruction for their children). In education, the availability of training and resources dictate the actual implementation of language policy. Teachers and school administration retain the decisive voice in imposing their own patterns of language and literacy use in the classrooms (e.g. Belarusian language teachers who speak Russian during the breaks). The time outside the classroom is characterised by less regulated use of linguistic resources. Overall, top-down policies tend to overlook the complexity of the reality of the sociolinguistic landscapes, being rather focused on geopolitical and symbolical priorities of the certain period.

# Chapter V Configurations of multilingualism and bilingual education in Europe

## V.1 Introduction

### V.1.1 Portugal in the EU

Portugal has been one of the member-states of the European Union since 1986. The significance of this geopolitical and economic event has to be viewed as part of the large-scale process of globalisation, since it led to the “restructuring’ of relations between the economic, political and social domains [...], and ‘the re-scaling of relations between the different levels of social life” (Fairclough 2004: 4). As a result of the EU membership, the Portuguese language, as well as other languages of major social groups in Portugal, entered the global ‘linguistic market’. Being a language of the EU member-state, Portuguese language received *de jure* status of both official and working language of the European Union. However, being the official language of a ‘semi-peripheral’ state (Wallerstein 1974; cf. also Santos 1990, 1994), Portuguese language *de facto* occupied a lower position in power relations, especially if compared to other official EU languages such as German, French and English. In fact, the European Commission recognised the lower status of Portuguese language alongside Dutch, Finnish, Hungarian, Italian and Polish languages as Less Widely Used and Less Taught Languages in Europe (LWULT), followed by allocating specific funding within the EC Lingua programme (e.g. Socrates).

The changed position of Portuguese in Europe brought about a new language regime (Kroskrity 2000) which had an impact on existing discourses on language within the territory<sup>44</sup>. European discourses, in their turn, provided available categories for the consequent restructuring and rescaling. One of the outcomes of the new sociolinguistic situation was the official recognition of the Mirandese language as a regional minority language<sup>45</sup> in 1998 by the state law (Lei 7/99, de 29 de Janeiro) and in education by *Despacho Normativo* nº 35/99 of the Ministry of Education. This status was granted despite the fact that Portugal neither signed nor ratified the European Charter

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44 Tommaso Milani provides an example of the symbolic re-assessment of the Swedish language in Sweden and in the EU in Milani 2007.

45 Paulo Feytor Pinto (Pinto 2008: 252) attests that Mirandese was first analysed as a distinct language by linguists in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century yet remained viewed as a Portuguese dialect by the Portuguese up until its official recognition in 1998.

for Regional and Minority Languages<sup>46</sup>.

In 2001, the Portuguese language was proclaimed the official language of the country in the 5<sup>th</sup> revision of the Portuguese Constitution (Pinto 200: 88). It remains explicitly stated as such in its latest revision (Assembleia da República 2005, art. 11-3): “*A língua oficial é o português*”. This explicit statement of national symbols coincides with three major changes on the global scale: 1) the peak of intensified immigration flows from new countries of origin to the countries of the European Union; 2) amplified anti-terrorist discourses across the world; and 3) the forthcoming enlargement of the EU to the east. Indeed, the latest revision of the Portuguese Constitution attributes the “defending the use and promoting the international spread of the Portuguese language” (art. 9-f) to the Portuguese state among other “fundamental tasks” (Assembleia da República 2005.) The leader of the opposition party (PSD), Durão Barroso was quoted saying that the recognition of Portuguese as the official language by the latest revision of the Portuguese Constitution was 'a way to reinforce the protection of the Portuguese language within the European Union' (Pinto 2008: 89).

Languages of immigrants were not included in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, since "regional or minority languages" meant “languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State [...]; and different from the official language(s) of that State” (Council of Europe 1992). However, in the last decade the EU member states have developed fairly uniform categories in discourses on migration and languages across the European Union, which may have been spurred on by the eastward enlargement and by the complexified patterns of migration and mobility across the European territories (cf. Blackledge 2005; Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009). Until the recent economic crisis, Portugal has occupied an ambivalent position within the European discourses on mobility and migration, being simultaneously both a home country for numerous emigrant workers and professionals as well as a host country for several immigrant waves. As a result of these processes, the Portuguese language asserted its position among other languages of the EU member-states receiving immigrants, although listed as a new immigration country (MIPEX 2013). At the same time, Portuguese is seen as a language of sizeable Portuguese-speaking migrant communities. Given the crisis-ridden economics of the country, the situation is currently changing as the immigration rate decreased by nearly 5 per cent in 2012 in comparison with the previous year (SEF 2013: 7)<sup>47</sup>.

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46 To the date this thesis was revised in September 2013.

47 On the polycentricity of the Portuguese language on the global scale, see Keating *et al.* 2013 and other chapters in the volume edited by Luiz Paulo Moita Lopes (2013).

## V.1.2 Europe as a discursive construct

Even though European external geographical borders have been defined since the 18th century, its geopolitical borders have been subject to change and negotiation until very recently. Countries whose geographical position is essentially off Europe, such as Cyprus, Armenia and Greenland, are nevertheless associated to it culturally and politically. Apart from the political context, citizens of Ireland, UK and Scandinavia tend to dissociate themselves from the “continent”.

In mass-media and politics, “Europe” may be associated either to the European Union or to the Council of Europe, so that the “European” space can refer to a number of countries ranging from 28 to 48. Its North-South, East-West divisions hardly correspond to the geographical ones, to the point that the westernmost Portugal is treated in the EU and CE reports among the countries of “Southern Europe”, along the North-South division, where discourses of efficiency and competitiveness prevail. Likewise, the notion of “Eastern Europe”, which usually applied to former socialist states and included a range of countries in the centre of Europe and Asia, nowadays needs urgent rethinking and reconfiguration of discursive divisions given the eastward advance of the EU. The changing naming strategy illustrates the point that “Europe has no essence per se, but is a discursive construct and a product of many overlapping discourses” (Bo and Wodak 2009: 20 ). To achieve stabilisation, these discourses are oriented around “central values such as Enlightenment, tolerance, freedom, liberty, solidarity, human rights and so on” (*ibidem*: 23). Most recently, the economic and anti-terrorist discourses got the upper hand in the discursive strategies for Europe, so that the unified Europe has taken a trend towards more coordinated and centralised policies. Yet the economic discourses of efficiency continue to assume the North-South divide. So discourses across Europe are not only overlapping but often competing, conflicting and even paradoxical as they emerge over different stretches of time, involve different expanses of space and are connected to distinct topics<sup>48</sup>.

As a member-state of the EU and a geopolitical player in the European space, Portugal constructs its discursive categories about migration and language at the interface of local, national and supra-national discourses (such as European ones). In this chapter I aim to identify the discursive categories which may open ideological spaces for provision of languages other than the official language of the member-state. First, I look at the ways in which terms such as multilingualism, plurilingualism and linguistic diversity are defined in official European policies across the broader space of the Council of Europe member-states. Then I zoom in to take a brief look at the impact of

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<sup>48</sup> see, for ex. Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2007) on European discourses on migration

the European Union eastward movement on European discourses, and focus on the explicit measures within language and education policies towards a multilingual Europe. Finally, I refer to the Migrant Integration Policy Index and to the place occupied by Portuguese education in it, so as to pave the way for the following chapter which describes the empiric ways in which students who speak languages other than Portuguese are 'integrated' into formal and informal educational settings.

## **V.2 Foundations for linguistic provision for migrant children in the European context**

### **V.2.1 Terms in the Council of Europe and EU language policies**

The Council of Europe (CE) Convention provides a framework for developing co-operation in culture and education between its members. Language-in-education policies developed by the CE Language Policy Division pursue two major ends: 1) promoting different languages across the CE and improving language learning; and 2) enabling citizens to develop their own linguistic abilities by providing support for their languages. This support also includes sign languages: in 1997 the Portuguese state recognised the Portuguese sign language as one of languages within the national territory (Assembleia da República 2013, art. 74). The European Commission works in collaboration with the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, including development of shared terminology across European discourses.

European language-in-education policies are oriented towards the liberal stance, which is evident in the following definitions of the terms 'multilingualism', 'plurilingualism', and 'linguistic diversity' in official European discourses:

Multilingualism refers both to a situation where several languages are spoken within a specific geographical area and to the ability of a person to master several languages. As such, multilingualism is a key feature of Europe in its both senses (Eurobarometer 2006: 4);

Plurilingualism: all are entitled to develop a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages over their first one in accordance with their needs;

Linguistic diversity: Europe is multilingual and all its languages are equally valuable modes of communication and expressions of identity. The right to use and to learn one's language(s) is protected in Council of Europe Conventions (Vollmer 2006: 6).

Apparently, 'plurilingualism' and 'multilingualism' were used interchangeably in European

documents for some time. However, the most recent reports show that gradually the term 'multilingualism' has taken over to refer both to the societal and individual multilingualism<sup>49</sup>. Beardsmore reports (2009: 208) at least 33 different designations for some type of 'bilingual education' and notes that the term itself is avoided at the European level due to its negative connotation in some EU countries (e.g. Baltic states).

Until the late 1970s-early 1980s, official discourses were not oriented towards the specific needs immigrant children. By the early 2000s, almost all European countries were reported to provide some kind of language support measures for immigrant children, usually in the extracurricular period (Eurydice<sup>50</sup> 2004; Eurydice 2005). Sweden is the only country to provide formal support for mother tongue classes (Eurydice 2004: 51). The Portuguese state support is conditioned by the existence of bilateral agreements with the countries of origin for various immigrant communities. The Eurydice report (2004), however, states a general trend across the European Union to reinforce measures on teaching immigrant children at least one of the host country official languages, so that to allow immigrant children to become fully proficient in them (*ibidem*: 52).

In the next sections I aim to trace how mother tongue provision for immigrant children may have found way into official European discourses. This issue deserved my special attention since I had discovered, in the course of the fieldwork, that the 'Russian school' leaders appealed to European official discourses while planning the immigrant association funding initiatives.

## **V.2.2 Convention on the Rights of the Child**

The foundations for children rights are laid out in the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF 1989; United Nations 1989), which is in force in all the CE member states including Portugal. The four core principles of the Convention are 'non-discrimination; devotion to the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; and respect for the views of the child' (United Nations 1989). These principles underlie the provision of healthcare, education, legal, civil and social services. According to article 28 of the Convention, all children are entitled to a free primary education and "should be encouraged to reach the highest level of education of which they are capable" (*ibidem*: 8). The text of the Convention does not refer explicitly to immigrant children.

Thus protecting the child's interests in education, the Convention also acknowledges the presence

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49 The latest Eurobarometer survey (European Commission 2012) "Europeans and their languages" do not provide an explicit definition for multilingualism yet implies both societal and individual use of several languages.

50 Eurydice is one of the European Commission's specialist organisations for information gathering and statistics on education, provides information on over thirty European countries.

of other cultures in the child's environment and recognises the cases when the child lives in a society whose culture is different from her parents' cultures. It assigns to education the role of developing respect for cultures involved in this culture contact:

Children's education should develop each child's personality, talents and abilities to the fullest. It should encourage children to respect others, human rights and their own and other cultures. It should also help them learn to live peacefully, protect the environment and respect other people. *Children have a particular responsibility to respect the rights of their parents, and education should aim to develop respect for the values and culture of their parents.* (United Nations 1989: Article 29, my italics)

On the one hand, the Convention focuses on the relational aspect of living in a society, where an educated child should learn how to live alongside other people so as to become successfully socialised. On the other hand, the Convention implies that meeting of cultures might be potentially leading to conflict, hence the stress on "live peacefully". Relevant to my study seems to be the idea that education acts as a mediator in the parent-child relationship, and that children are to respect their parents' values and cultures. So the assumption is that children and parents' values may be different, yet schools are not responsible for developing respect for parents' cultures.

Children of minority and indigenous groups receive an explicit attention in article 30 of the Convention, which states the following:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to *use his or her own language.* [United Nations 1989: 9; my italics].

The position of this article, along with the proclaimed freedom of association (art. 15) and the right of access to information with a particular "regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group" (art.17), provides a broad legal basis for creation of various cultural associations, centres and schools for children of minorities. It should be pointed out that the Convention does not attribute the minority language provision to the formal education so it becomes a matter of informal and communal contexts.

### **V.2.3 Specific documents on the education of migrant children**

From the late 1970s to the end of the 1980s the Council of Europe produced several documents which directly concern education of children of migrant workers from European Communities and other countries (CE Conventions ratified in 1977, 1983, 1984 and 1989, respectively). According to

them, migrant children were to be taught alongside children of national workers while taking into account their cultural and educational needs, which should include providing teaching *about* mother tongue and culture of origin. Even though allegedly based on principles of education for intercultural understanding, in practice it transformed into a specific number of hours for initial and in-service intercultural teacher training, as well as into lessons *on* students' cultures and languages. Viewed like that, student family languages and cultures were positioned as separate and discrete entities one could be taught 'about' without encouraging learners to actually use those languages. So an exotic view of other cultures was promoted, thus characterising the education in Europe in the 1970-80s as largely monolingual.

In 1989, Recommendation No. 1093 on education of migrants' children was passed (Council of Europe 1989), which announced the necessity to build a coherent and uniform policy across the EU countries and emphasised "the need to shift away from the models of linguistic and cultural assimilation that have been prevalent in education so far" (Council of Europe, 1989). Intercultural approach was presented as one of the factors that facilitated possible adaptation problems upon the return of migrants' children to their countries of origin. So intercultural education, from the Recommendation perspective, 1) was oriented towards children of migrants rather than children of the host society, and 2) implied that migrant children should return to their home countries, without acknowledging quite sizeable groups of children who had been born in the host country or whose parents had not planned to return.

The Recommendation represented a move away from seeing other cultures and languages as exotic, as it declared that the arrival of "young foreigners" should lead to major changes for the whole school, rather than for the small group of pupils. These changes could even include an introduction of family languages of migrants' children into curriculum. By contrast to the previously prevalent approach, the intercultural education, as it was formulated by the 1989 Recommendation, was meant "to prepare *all children, indigenous and migrant*, to life in the pluricultural society" (*ibidem*, my italics).

Unlike the previously issued recommendations, the 1989 Recommendation underlined the importance of "consultation and coordination between education officers in the host countries and countries of origin", as well as educational exchange at all levels between those countries. From that moment on, the European Union states announced the intention to develop an educational policy which would be coherent across the European Union and coordinated with countries of origin. In such a way, the Recommendation might have provided agentive spaces for examining the

linguistic needs of migrant children and adapting language policies accordingly.

### **V.3 EU eastward enlargement and new trends in language and migration policies**

In the 1990s, the geopolitical situation in Europe was changing dramatically. The anti-communist peaceful revolutions of 1989 led to the demolition of the Berlin Wall and to the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in July, 1991. By December 1991, the USSR collapsed. The 15-state European Union was preparing for the largest enlargement ever: ten ex-Warsaw Pact countries, three of them - former Soviet republics - applied for the EU membership. This eastward enlargement constituted not only a political and economic challenge for the European Union, but it also raised cultural and linguistic issues. The potential member states had experienced the effects of the language policies of the Soviet era where Russian language had been perceived and taught as the unifying language within the Warsaw Pact and the USSR (for more detail, see IV.3; IV.4). For similar reasons, bilingual education was compromised in these states, since it usually operated transitional models (see II.3.2).

The creation of the Schengen area equally contributed to the drastically changing migration patterns in the 1990s. The resulting increase in mobility across the European Union countries, along with the economic instability in the newly independent post-Soviet countries, led to a greater migration rate from Eastern and Central Europe to the countries of the European Union and created conditions for human trafficking.

These major changes on the geopolitical space implied that “nations are becoming closer to one another and borders lose their original meaning” (Shohamy 2006: 38). These processes needed to lead to re-thinking of the formerly fixed boundaries between languages, cultures and communities. The enlargement of the European Union to the East along with the increased mobility and migration resulted in the combined effort of the EU member-state on making laws across the new Europe uniform, and in monitoring the migration and mobility. Based on geopolitical criteria, European laws constructed new categories of people in legislation framework to distinguish between nationals of the EU and non-EU countries; taking into account the duration criteria, they distinguished between long- and short-term residents<sup>51</sup>. Specific rules concerning entry and settlement of third-country nationals were put in place. For instance, despite the declared

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<sup>51</sup> The distinction between short-term and long-term residents has a direct bearing on language policies of the EU states, since long-term residents are required to provide a proof of their proficiency in the official language of their country of settlement.

underlying principle of non-discrimination and equal treatment of children of long term residents, specifically in health, education, and social security, the Council Directive of 2000 admits its restriction by diplomatic and political agreements, that is, by “provisions governing the entry and residence of third-country nationals and their access to employment and to occupation” (Council of Europe 2000).

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks had further impact on the legislative practice in many countries of the world, in the form of introducing new anti-terrorist laws (UK, Australia, India, Indonesia, China, Canada, Pakistan, Jordan, France, Germany, Uganda, Mauritius). Other countries, like the USA and Russia, went further to proclaim “war on terrorism”. The Council of European Union developed Framework Decision on Terrorism (Council of Europe 2002). This document influenced the subsequent legislation in a sense that it informed common immigration and asylum policy in the EU, as the official discourse across Europe became increasingly concerned with national and international security, associating terrorist threats with illegal immigration.

The European Council Presidency conclusions voted in Seville, 2002 set agenda on the “joint management of migration flows” aimed at “integration of the lawfully resident immigrants and an asylum policy complying with international conventions”, on the one hand, and “resolute action to combat illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings”, on the other hand (Council of Europe 2002: art. 28).

Facing large immigration influx, the European Union was now concerned “with the reception capacity of the Union” (*ibidem*, art. 29) and a “greater control of migration flows” (*ibidem*, art. 32). Two-way management of migration flows was proposed, namely (1) dealing with effect action, i.e. acting at the point of migrants’ entry to the EU, which consisted in creation of the common unit for external border practitioners, and shared identification data; (2) preventive, contra-causal, i.e. acting together with the countries of migration, in order to reduce the underlying causes of migration from those countries to the EU. Moreover, any economic agreement with an EU country should include a clause on compulsory readmission of illegal immigrants.

While most of the Seville Conclusions seemed to be devoted to the prevention of illegal immigration and men trafficking, they also stressed that integration of lawfully resident immigrants should entail “both rights and obligations in relation to the fundamental rights recognised within the Union” (art. 29), as well as help combat racism and xenophobia. The conclusions nevertheless failed to specify either rights or obligations towards immigrants or anti-discrimination measures and mechanisms that would enforce them.

Even though the 2002 Seville Conclusions did not deal directly with education of migrants' children (or children specifically, for that measure), they indicated significant changes in immigration and asylum seeking policies in the European. The newly announced course of action towards a policy of integration of legal immigrants was bound to influence guidelines on education of immigrant children. The subsequent Council of Europe Presidency conclusions (Brussels, 16-17 October 2003) characterised asylum and immigration issues as "top political priority" and underlined the validity of a balanced approach between "the need to stop an illegal immigration" and "the reception and integration of legal immigrants" (Council of Europe 2003: art. 30).

Since 2003 the European lawmaking has set the course on elaboration of a comprehensive integration policy for legally residing immigrants, which was announced by two Council Directives on access to education for children of asylum seekers and long term resident third-country nationals. Even though both directives adopted the principle of equality of access to education for those categories of children, for children of third-country nationals it could exclude "activities reserved to nationals, EU or EEA citizens" in access to employment. Upon entry to higher education, children of third-country nationals should meet "specific educational pre-requisites", and their access to schooling and training in general could require "a proof of appropriate language proficiency" (Council Directive 2003/109-EC). Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2007: 96) point out that in this way the official discourses create "ambivalence towards migration" by promoting ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural plurality on the one hand while making "'combating (illegal) immigration [...] one of the top priorities of the European Union'" and excluding many migrants, denying their right to mobility and residence in European countries. So in practice official policies seem to aim at "cultural, linguistic and other coercive assimilation of migrants, rather than supporting integration and diversity" (*ibidem*; cf. also Triandafyllidou 2013).

National governments across Europe were nudged towards defining the concept of language proficiency, developing instruments to measure it and calibrating their national examination and assessment materials accordingly (Beardsmore 2009: 201). This urge opened up a new page in constructing a common language policy for the unified Europe. The Council of Europe developed the Common European Framework of Reference which describes what the learner has to do to communicate effectively. Its six levels state what the user can do in terms of communicative functions but seem to assume language learning as a sequential movement from one level to another. Besides, it seems to imply that a competent user of language should be able to effectively communicate and use language regardless of the topic, communicative context, emotional state

etc. For example, despite being a certified proficient user (C2) of English, I would be at a loss if I had to explain something to a car mechanic in this language. In fact, I would not be able to do that in my native Russian. My ability to speak English or Russian in this situation would be described quite accurately as “[c]an interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help” (CEFR). It corresponds to Level A1, the most elementary level of language proficiency. In my data analysis chapter, I provide an example of a Portuguese language teacher reflection on the practical implementation of the CEFR descriptors in her work with students who speak other languages (see Example VI.13 in VI.5).

Blommaert points out that there is nothing wrong with the partial competence: nobody needs to know an entire language, as indeed it is impossible to know it all (Blommaert 2010: 103)<sup>52</sup>. Rather, Blommaert argues, we accumulate our personal multilingual repertoires of various linguistic resources over our own history of contacts. So citizenship tests based on the CEFR descriptors, which have been introduced across Europe and in Russia, require “immigrants to become proficient in national hegemonic languages in a most homogeneous form as a condition for becoming a citizen” (Shohamy 2006:39). In this way European states continue to view “language as a symbol of loyalty, as was the case in the early days of nationalism” (*ibidem*). Besides this, language criteria can now be used to restrict access of certain categories of people to education and training (e.g. the required Portuguese exam for foreign medical professionals; PLNM limitations)

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52 For a convincing critique of the CEFR, see Blommaert 2010: 102-136.

## **V.4 Building an explicit multicultural and multilingual European policy**

Languages have been subject of policy-makers' attention from the Treaties of Rome of 1957, which mention linguistic regimes in European institutions. In 1958, the official state languages of member countries were assigned equal status and were to become working languages of the European institutions. The European Commission issued guidelines on promotion of language learning and individual multilingualism as early as 1992 in the Maastricht Treaty. The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, which has been mentioned earlier, is another important document in the process of defining European language policy, even though without addressing the needs of immigrant communities. Ricento (2006: 17) points out that languages of national minorities, *unlike* those of immigrant minorities, are seen by the EU states as "legitimate groups within the nation-state and therefore no less worthy of such support than dominant groups".

### **V.4.1 "Mother tongue plus two": Promoting multilingualism in Europe**

In Barcelona in 2002, the European Commission announced a new priority on building a competitive knowledge-based economy by 2010. Language learning was meant to play a significant role in this process: every EU citizen, according to the Barcelona Conclusions, should be able to speak, *apart from the mother tongue, another two languages*. Even though languages of immigrant communities did not receive any particular attention within the document, Barcelona Conclusions have become very influential in the multilingualism policy issues in the European Union, which resulted in policy changes toward those languages as well. However, the European Commission formulation of the Conclusions point to the traditional views of multilingualism, in which languages are countable bounded units. Moreover, Avermaet argues, that this policy completely overlooked the actual, already multilingual practices of immigrant populations of the European states (Avermaet 2009).

The first Commission Communication to focus *explicitly* on multilingual policy for the EU appeared in 2003; it is the Action Plan for 2004-2006 entitled "Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity" (European Commission 2003). On the one hand, the Plan distinguished between "national" and languages "other than national", thus taking them in different directions in legislative practice. On the other hand, the Plan interpreted the latter category to include a wide range of languages from the languages of the new EU country members to "regional, minority and

migrant languages” (*ibidem*: 9). This recognition of the value of migrant languages alongside regional and minority languages may indicate, in my view, a steering of the European language policy towards a language rights approach (Ricento, 2006). Situations of language contact, including interaction with languages of migrant communities were now seen as providing language learning opportunities: the Union’s interest was “to *capitalise* on the skills and experiences of its many bi- and tri-lingual citizens” (European Commission 2003: 12-13, my italics).

The use of the term borrowed from economic discourses (“capitalise”) appears to be far from coincidental, as promotion of language learning was aimed to encourage a greater mobility of workforce between the EU member states so as to build a competitive economy. In this way, the new EU language policy was meant to boost economic growth by educating flexible, dynamic and innovative workforce able to deal with new challenges. The strategy for multilingual Europe was compared to the American “melting pot” model, so it would appear that the USA were seen as the adversary of Europe in this competition. The Action Plan was needed so that take a pro-active stand in the fierce economic competition. In Phillipson's words, “it would be dangerous for Europe to allow language policy to be left to *laissez faire*<sup>53</sup> market forces” (Phillipson 2003:5 *apud* Beardsmore 2009: 206).

The use of the term “capitalise” in the Action Plan for 2004-2006 is very significant as it signalled the language commodification trend (Heller 2003; da Silva *et al.* 2007; also II.5.1.3) by which all languages of the world have been assigned their own value on the symbolic market. Some languages were part of established and efficient language industries, where certain registers were being positioned as commercial products, submitted to market research strategies and tailored to the concrete needs of the end user/client/ consumer.

By constructing a common denominator for European languages (CEFR), the European Union makes decisions on the actual criteria for effective language learning. By working out a way to guarantee the ‘transferability’ of language skills and competences, this policy ‘fixed’ languages as systems of bound measurable units circumscribed as language levels. It thus legitimised the quantifiable essentialist notion of language. This interpretation of languages was bound to have a significant impact on the lives of migrant communities, as it regulated their access to jobs, institutions and citizenship. As will be shown later in the chapter dealing with configurations of language and multilingualism in Portuguese discourses (chapter 6), the described trend has also

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53 Merriam-Webster online dictionary explains it as follows: “economics: a policy that allows businesses to operate with very little interference from the government”.

found its way into the recent policies on Portuguese as a non-native language (*Português como Língua Não-Materna*).

The creation of a common language denominator stands in line with the policy of adoption the common currency, as well as with the implementation of uniform laws across the EU area. The European Union worked on constructing a new supra-ethnic European collective identity.

The Action Plan led to developing significant policy-making documents, such as A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism carried out in 2005 (European Commission 2005). This document defined multilingualism as “both *a person’s ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area*” (*ibidem*: 3), i.e. individual and societal multilingualism, respectively.

Once again, the New Framework described the sociolinguistic situation in Europe as one opposed to the “melting pot”, stressing that the Union was founded on the “unity in diversity” principle. As such, it seems to be reinforcing the idea of multiculturalism as co-existence of different cultures and languages. Further, the New Framework makes a direct link between the language and identity: “language is what makes us human and what gives each of us sense of identity” (European Commission 2005: 2). Even though the Strategy was allegedly designed to “encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society” (*ibidem*: 3), the actual reasons for the development of multiculturalism policy could be as follows:

1) the *economic* need to create a *competitive* European economy by developing language-related industries and research, or in the Strategy's words, “to promote a healthy multilingual economy” (*ibidem*). The economic need of language learning is confirmed and reinforced in the ELAN report (Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise), which is a “Europe-wide study that confirmed the relevance of language and intercultural skills to success in export” (HLGM 2007: 5).

2) a *managerial* one, concerning the access to EU legislation, procedures and information of the EU citizens in their own languages.

Within the New Framework, language teaching became an area of political intervention with the emphasis on individual and societal multilingualism. Both regional and minority languages were assigned a place in the strategy; it also aimed to create “opportunities for migrants to learn the language of the host country (and the teaching of migrant languages)” (*ibidem*: 5).

The Action Plan announced the first results of the programme on so-called Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which is centred around the objective of teaching some subjects

“through the medium of a foreign language”, (*ibidem*: 6). CLIL refers to a model of bilingual education, in which a second language is used to teach non-linguistic subject-matter (Beardsmore 2009: 209). Being based on a functional competence, CLIL-type programmes are aimed at fluency rather than at accuracy of communication, thus providing a more productive learning environment and moving away from the myth of native speaker being the best language teacher. CLIL-type programmes do not, however, envision teaching the content through immigrant or ethnic minority languages. So any programme of linguistic provision for immigrant or ethnic minorities would not be classified as CLIL programmes.

The Action Plan reports an ongoing trend in non-English speaking countries to use multilingual programmes for teaching in English, rather than through national or regional language, which is perceived to threaten “vitality of those languages” (*ibidem*: 6). This trend was confirmed by two consequent special Eurobarometer surveys of “Europeans and their languages” (Eurobarometer 2006, 2012) in which English was rated to be the most useful language to know” (Eurobarometer 2006: 30; Eurobarometer 2012: 9).

By stating that the pro-English trend in language teaching across Europe may be threatening the vitality of regional and minority languages the New Framework acknowledges the existence of the symbolic market of languages where English occupies the top spot. However, it reveals the lack of a critical understanding of distribution of power in the globalised world, where English cannot be placed on the same level alongside regional and national languages, because their values refer to completely different scales. English may be useful on a larger scale yet regional and minority languages have an undeniable practical value at the local scale.

The Framework ended up making some languages more visible while failing to acknowledge others, despite the overall aim “to foster a society that respects *all citizens’ linguistic identities*” (*ibidem*: 14). For example, according to the Plan, the Portuguese language disappeared from the linguistic map of Europe as it was not listed among the most commonly used languages in the European Union. By contrast, Russian language got a place in the list, being spoken by 1 per cent of native and 5 per cent of foreign speakers across the European Union. Its increasing ‘practical value’ as a foreign language is corroborated by the Eurobarometer reports (2006: 32; 2012: 72).

#### **V.4.2 High Level Group on Multilingualism Report: a shift in discourses**

Another step on the road towards an explicit language policy for the unified Europe was made in

September, 2006 by setting up an advisory body of experts on multilingualism- High Level Group on Multilingualism (HLGM). Its 2007 report sets a new trend in language policy for a unified Europe by recommending that language learning opportunities should go beyond formal education. Another significant contribution of the HLGM report, in my view, was the notion of “linguistic integration of migrants” which referred to specific measures of decision- and policy-makers to languages of migrants (HLGM 2007: 5). The Group drew attention to the fact that “migrants constitute a valuable language resource” (*ibidem*: 4) rather than being seen as a source of problems (“migrant children underperforming at school and adult migrants with only a minimal command of the language of the host country” (*ibidem*)). While appealing on the EU member states to give value to migrant languages, the report placed an emphasis on encouraging migrants to learn languages of the host countries and other languages, making them mediators between different cultures.

Unlike previously referred documents of the European Commission, migrants were assigned a role in building *competitive European multilingual economy*. The HLGM report highlighted the *economic* benefits of providing special literacy learning opportunities for second and third generation migrants, as well as stressed their potential in establishing intercultural dialogue between communities and in developing *integration programmes for newly arrived migrants*.

Migrants’ multilingual resources were acknowledged as an important potential in vocational training and in the field of languages for business contacts abroad. Moreover, the analysed document explicitly linked *successful intercultural dialogue and integration to learning migrant languages by members of host societies*.

Overall, the High Level Group of Multilingualism report seems to reinforce a new trend in the formulation of European language policies. The report recognised the place of languages of migrants alongside other languages in the multilingual Europe. It had further developed the emerging in the previous EC documentation view of *multilingualism as a resource and ally in business and training rather than a problem*. It also underlined the changing patterns in multilingualism due to migration and mobility, new language mediation needs and, even more significantly, “multilingualism as a means of comprehensive integration” (*ibidem*: 8). Multilingualism and language learning thus acquired a political and economic prominence in the European Union.

Firstly, the report reinforced the trend on adopting economic arguments in promotion of language learning, for example in giving a special mention to languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese

and Russian. HLGGM suggested that education institutions should (1) increase their offer in these languages and (2) professionalise the training, reinforcing pan-European connections. The logic of the economic competition thus invited into language policies will undoubtedly change the strategies for language teaching at the European and global level.

Secondly, the HLGGM report appeared to shift the focus away from the deficit view of migrants' language competences. However, despite acknowledging languages of migrant communities as valuable resources, the emphasis was somehow laid, once again, on the efforts on learning the host language.

Finally, the report set a new trend in language policy for a new unified Europe by situating language learning opportunities outside formal education. On the other hand, it failed to propose efficient mechanisms for creating efficient informal language learning contexts.

The proposed earlier European Language Portfolio (ELP) may represent a useful instrument which can link formal and informal education. Intended to 'measure a person's contact with other languages' (Beardsmore 2009: 201), it has two functions: "1) to support the development of learner autonomy, plurilingualism and intercultural awareness and competence; and 2) to allow users to record their language learning achievements and their experience of learning and using languages" (European Language Portfolio). Components that make up the Portfolio, namely a language passport, a language biography and a dossier with a selection of personal work, seem to suggest an auto-ethnographic project (Ellis and Flaherty 1992). By taking a biographical approach, the Portfolio may help the learner to trace the learning trajectory across various educational settings and sites of learning, as well as to encourage her to develop skills for life long learning. Beardsmore (2009: 202) argues that the ELP is beneficial for researchers and educators as it foregrounds invisible factors in learning, such as learning styles and strategies applied, as well as juxtaposes the individual (the languages I know) and the group dimension (the languages in my class, my region, my world).

The fieldwork for this study revealed how the ELP was implemented in the PLNM course in one of the Portuguese schools (see VI.5). It turned out that learners of Portuguese were encouraged to use it to record their progress in learning Portuguese. By focusing solely on the Portuguese language, they disregarded other languages around them: for example, English and French as a foreign language or languages spoken in their households. Besides, informal learning trajectories were not taken into account. The ELP practical implementation foregrounded its inadequacy regarding multilingual households of African origin, where multiple linguistic resources may be

used which are not easily identifiable as 'separate languages'.

#### **V.4.2.1      *Multilingual education and learning in Europe***

The trends listed above were continued and reinforced in the report entitled “Reviving Multilingual Education for Europe” (Beacco 2007). It compiled the national results of the implementation of the New Framework Strategy. Jean-Claude Beacco points to the inconsistent use of terms “multilingual” and “plurilingual” education across European reports, and stresses that “multilingual education” should be interpreted as an educational project on teaching/learning foreign languages. Reporting the situation with foreign language teaching in Europe, he attests a trend of the “omnipresent” introduction of English as a foreign language, both in early and adult education. Regarding teaching and learning languages of immigrants, Beacco states that these languages are rarely on offer and more generally, “*there is not enough support for the transmission of bi- and multilingualism within families*” (*ibidem*: 6). As well as recommending to provide linguistic and civil support to immigrants, Beacco proposes language training “as a means of re-socialisation” of “marginalised groups”, among which “longstanding immigrants’ wives who do not have jobs” (*ibidem*: 9). Even though the author does not specify the language in which those women should be trained, it clearly implies the language of the host country.

Fundamental ideas of the Action Plan and of the New Framework that guide the European language policies in multilingual contexts were reinforced in the European Council Conclusions on multilingualism issued in May, 2008 (Council of the EU 2008). Above all, the document reiterated the statement that multilingualism policy should “encompass economic, social and cultural aspects of languages in a lifelong perspective” (*ibidem*: 3). Knowledge of languages was positioned as a useful resource offering wider possibilities on the contemporary market, as well as facilitating social integration and cohesion. A more careful look at the Conclusions reveals that, social integration of migrants, as it is viewed in the document, seems to be akin to cultural assimilation:

To help them integrate successfully, sufficient support should be provided to *migrants* to enable them *to learn the language(s) of the host country*, while members of the *host communities* should be *encouraged to show an interest* in the cultures of newcomers (Council of the EU 2008: 3, my emphasis).

The quotation encapsulates the inequality of the relationship between languages/cultures of the host versus migrant communities: whereas migrants are to learn the languages of the host country, representatives of host communities are encouraged to show an interest in the cultures of newcomers. There is a considerable difference between “learning a language”, which requires a

systematic continuous effort, and “showing an interest in the culture”, which does not imply anything beyond an occasional and superficial engagement. So in my view, this recommendation takes a few steps back from the previous recommendations (cf. HLGGM report), to an exotic view of culture.

In September 2008 the European Council issued another communication entitled “Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment”, seems to continue the line of action traced by the High Level Group of Multilingualism Report. Its guidelines fall into three categories: (1) promoting language learning while respecting the linguistic diversity in Europe; (2) fostering active citizenship; (3) developing multilingual economy.

The Communication presents linguistic diversity as a *rewarding* challenge, i.e. multilingual people and especially children are considered to be an asset, as they “act as the glue between different cultures” (European Commission 2008: 6). Being a challenge for schools, children with other different mother tongues can also “motivate their classmates to learn different languages and open up to different cultures” (*ibidem*: 7). The document states the need of teacher training in methodology of teaching the hegemonic languages as second or foreign, so that to enable teachers to face the challenge of the multilingual classroom. Similarly to the HLGGM report, the document calls on the member states to value language learning and language skills acquired *outside formal education*.

Secondly, speaking on 'non-native speakers', the Communication on Multilingualism makes a direct link between the successful integration and a mastery of the hegemonic languages (*ibidem*: 6). In the EC view, member states should facilitate an access to those languages to speakers of other languages. Moreover, the access to information for EU population will be ensured through translation of the policy texts into different languages and via mediators and interpreters. In , I present a brief discussion as to how this orientation was implemented in a leaflet of the educational department of the Portuguese Higher Commissioner for Integration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI).

Apart from identifying the areas of action, the cited EU document also developed theoretical issues in multilingualism policy by proposing the concept of “personal *adoptive* language”, which is defined as follows:

A language which should be learned intensively, spoken and written fluently (...) Learning that language would go hand in hand with familiarity with the country/countries in which that language is used, along with the literature, culture,

society and history linked with that language and its speakers (*ibidem*: 6)

The introduced concept is remarkable as it seems to contemplate a language learning model which differs from a traditional one for it places learning languages on a more emotive plane, implying a more personal engagement of each learner towards languages. In this, it positions language learning further away from formal education and signals a lifelong investment into learning languages. On the other hand, it strips the process of language learning (or/and its 'adoption') from any kind of political and social implications for the learner. Indeed, language learning is situated in struggles for power, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents across Europe share the view that all languages should be treated equally within the EU (Eurobarometer 2006, 2012).

Furthermore, according to the Eurobarometer report (2006), the ideal “multilingual European is likely to be young, well-educated or still studying, born in a country other than the country of residence”, in other words, a second generation migrant. However, languages of migrants became considered in the vision for a multilingual Europe only recently, and their actual multilingual linguistic repertoires are still dismissed as 'incomplete' (Blommaert *et al.* 2006; Avermaet 2009). Yet their inclusion in this vision would allow us to go beyond the monolithic visions of national languages, help find new hybrid modes of representation for Europe which had been already multilingual years before the EU initiatives.

### **V.4.3 Migrant Integration Policy Index for education**

Efforts of the European Commission towards creation of common policies across Europe enabled comparative research on their ongoing implementation in national contexts. For this study, it seems quite relevant to focus on evaluation of good practices across the European Union regarding immigrant integration.

Migrant Integration Policy Index was launched in 2004 as the European Civic Citizenship and Inclusion Index. It was welcomed by European institutions due to presenting public policies of the European Union member states as well as Switzerland, Norway, UK, Canada and the USA in a “transparent and comparable format” (MIPEX 2013). MIPEX applies 148 policy indicators to assess integration in both social and civic terms, which is considered to rest “on equal opportunities for all” on labour market, in mobility, family reunion, long-term residence, political participation, access to nationality, and education (MIPEX 2013). It combines public policies with research

expertise. Whereas the first two editions of the Policy Index did not list education explicitly among its indicators, a specific strand on education of migrant pupils was introduced in 2010. The education strand is made up by evaluations on

- the conditions of access to different levels of education;
- adapting to the realities of immigration;
- new opportunities brought about by diverse studentship, and
- intercultural education for all.

Language criteria figure in two of those components, linked to a) the support in the language of instruction, and b) opportunities to learn languages of immigrants.

According to the MIPEX experts, education is one of areas of weakness in the integration policies for most of the assessed countries. School systems reserve the right whether to make assessments of what newcomer children learned abroad, how to address the specific needs of migrant pupils, their teachers and parents or how to monitor the results. Few countries have clear requirements or entitlements, so that pupils do not get the support they need. Experts add that even though children of migrants are entitled to support in learning the official language of the country, the course is not necessarily taught to the same standard as the rest of the curriculum. Hardly any of the 31 countries assessed by the MIPEX make effort on diversifying schools or the teaching staff.

Overall, as far as educational integration is concerned, according to the MIPEX ratings, Portugal is featured among the most committed countries of new immigration (4<sup>th</sup> place along with Finland, and Norway, with a similar score of 63 out of 100.). The USA, UK, Scandinavian countries and Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg have adapted well to the realities of immigration (score of 55-58).

On the basis of national policies of the 31 countries, the MIPEX team has composed the best and the worst case scenario on educational integration of an immigrant child. The best case is delineated as follows:

Any child living in the country can go from kindergarten to university and achieve the best she can. She benefits from the same general measures as classmates with the same socio-economic background. If she has different needs because of her or her families' immigration experience, she benefits from additional support. Her teachers are trained to recognise those needs and set equally high expectations for her. She is entitled to extra courses and teaching to catch up and master their language. Her parents play an active role in her education because the school specifically involves them at every step of the way. She and her parents also bring new opportunities to her school. All students can enrol in classes about her families' language and culture. Her

school uses an intercultural approach in its curriculum, textbooks, schedule, and hiring practices. She, along with all students and staff, learns how to live and learn in a diverse society. (MIPEX 2013).

According to MIPEX, Portuguese policies on migrant education are the best of the new immigration countries (63/100). The scores in the education strand have been attributed as follows (100 is the maximum):

Access (86/100) : Response to specific needs; Induction programmes; Schooling languages support; Student support; Educational situation of migrant students; Teacher training.

New opportunities (50/100): Opportunity to learn languages of immigrants; Immigrant cultures; Promotion of integration and segregation control; Support to parents and communities

Intercultural education for all (67/100): Introduction into the school curricula; State support to information campaigns; Curricular adaptation to reflect diversity; Everyday adaptation; Include migrants into school staff; Teacher training.

Portugal occupies the first place in terms of access to education and has considerably favourable policies of access to intercultural education. According to MIPEX assessment, Portugal's policies could benefit from implementation of standards in Portuguese language courses for migrants. Besides, teaching of languages of migrants should be further promoted (e.g. research project on bilingual instruction "*Turma bilingue*" (Capeverdean- Portuguese) in 2008-2012 (ILTEC: 2012).

Portugal policies are not well adapted to the new opportunities provided by migrant realities, from the MIPEX experts' perspective. Specific needs of migrant children are not sufficiently addressed; and the policy measures should go beyond teaching of Portuguese language and providing additional support.

## **V.5 Conclusions**

In sum, the year 2002 seems to be a turning point in the European policymaking. This year opens the explicit EU policy-building for multilingualism, which could be interpreted as one of the steps on the road to a supra-ethnic/supra-national entity and as a pragmatic response to the need to construct a competitive economy in the context of the increased mobility and migration flows. Linguistic diversity is seen as an ally in this process, in which language practices and skills of migrant children have been assigned a significant role: from a challenge for the national educational systems they have become a valuable asset in the process of building the new

economy. They are now considered to be mediating between cultures and motivating others for language learning. This change in the multilingualism policy not only empowers children of immigrants but also sets trend for their successful integration in host societies.

Another significant shift in European discourses on education is represented by a turn towards informal education, which constructs language learning as an ongoing and life long project. CLIL projects moved the focus in language learning from the accuracy to fluency and efficient communication.

From a theoretical and ideological point of view, Beacco points to an inconsistent use of terms 'plurilingualism' and 'multilingualism' throughout European documents. The lack of clear distinction between those terms may have led to a re-analysis of what is understood as multilingualism in practice, since some countries interpreted it as an introduction of English language as a language of instruction in schools.

Policy measures of the Portuguese state on integration of migrant children in mainstream education is perceived to be one of the best across the EU members. While it guarantees an effective access to education and a favourable one to intercultural education for all, Portuguese education is seen lacking mechanisms of adaptation to new migrant realities. European experts attest that there is still little diversification of teaching and educational staff in Portuguese schools, insufficient teacher training in order to address the specific needs of migrant children and the lack of use of resources brought by migrant children from their countries of origin.

In the next chapter, we are going to see how speakers of other languages were 'integrated' into the Portuguese education system in terms of legislation and local educational practice. Besides, we will be able to understand how the European expertise was viewed by national and local policy-making agents. Moreover, we will look into ways in which the instruments developed for measuring language proficiency across Europe were implemented in local practices regarding the PLNM courses. All the data emerged from the longitudinal multi-sited ethnography described in Chapter 3.

## **Chapter VI Language spaces and ideologies of the Portuguese state and educational institutions: practices, policies and actors**

### **VI.1 Portugal 1990-2013: a changing sociolinguistic landscape and reactive policies**

In this chapter I focus on the Portuguese societal context. It opens with an analytical perspective of the two main thematic categories in documents and policy texts: a) on immigration, intercultural education and integration and b) on provision of Portuguese as a non-native language. These themes emerged from ethnographic data collected at the national and local levels of policy-making, as well as ran through interviews with parents and children of the complementary school. In this chapter, I aim to identify the actors, agents and spaces for other languages than Portuguese, as well as to see how these spaces are configured by dominant ideologies. I conclude the chapter by presenting four main categories of scenarios created by the interaction of competing discourses, i.e. ideologies that place the Portuguese language at the centre of the language decision-making versus those that consider its place alongside other linguistic and semiotic resources.

#### **VI.1.1 Slavic languages on the Portuguese sociolinguistic landscape and state discourses on linguistic integration**

Well until the 1990s, Portugal was considered to be a monolingual nation-state (Pinto 2008), which appeared not to have an explicit language policy for Portuguese (Mateus 2002). Portugal had mostly received migrants from the countries where Portuguese had a status of an official language. Slavic languages did not figure at all on the Portuguese sociolinguistic landscape. The succession of major geopolitical events in the 1990s-early 2000s (the dissolution of the USSR and of the Warsaw Pact, the creation of Schengen area and the gradual expansion of the EU to the East) changed migration and mobility patterns drastically across Europe. From then on, migrants from states with no apparent historical links to Portugal started to arrive, for example from Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, etc. In 2002, Ukrainians outnumbered Cape Verdeans in immigration statistics (Baganha *et al.* 2004: 98). Even though in the following decade the number of immigrants from post-Soviet states has gradually reduced, this group still constitutes over 16 per cent of

foreign population in Portugal, Ukrainians being one of the largest groups (48,022 people), according to the latest report of the Portuguese Agency for Foreigners and Borders [*Serviço para Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*] (Ataíde and Dias 2011).

A sociolinguistic survey undertaken in 2004 across 410 Portuguese schools reported 54 different languages being spoken in students' homes, in numerous combinations (Mateus 2011: 16). In 2005, Russian and Ukrainian language were considered to be “significant minority languages in education” in the northern and central Portugal (Pinto 2008: 82-83).

These changes in the Portuguese sociolinguistic landscape have been described by Paulo Feytor Pinto (2008) as two periods in Portugal's reactive language policies. The African period (1990-1999) was characterised by the increasing presence of African languages and Portuguese-based creoles. The measures of the 'African period' were directed at the '*territórios educativos da intervenção prioritária*' in Greater Lisbon [“educational territories of a prioritised intervention”] and were implemented by local schools, NGOs and religious organisations. Being locally oriented, they had proved insufficient for addressing the unprecedented linguistic diversity in Portuguese schools. From 2000 on, a new, 'Slavic period', has opened in the state language policy, and coincided with the significant increase in national immigration and nationality legislation: two Immigration laws, two interministerial Plans for Integration of Immigrants and Nationality law were issued in 2002-2012. In education, the national education guidelines on *Português como Língua Não Materna* [Portuguese as Non-Native Language – PLNM] were formulated in 2005 (DGIDC 2005). I am going to deal with the PLNM guidelines in some detail later on in this chapter, but now I would like to focus briefly on the place that language issues have grown to occupy within the Portuguese state policies on integration of immigrants in Portugal.

The Portuguese state legislative practice is situated within the common trend across the European Union: “since the 2004 round of the EU's eastward enlargement, a shift has been observed in many European countries towards stricter conditions for people who want to apply for residence rights or for naturalisation/citizenship” (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009: 3). Proficiency in Portuguese has always regulated access to a Portuguese citizenship, yet since 2006 it has gained a new level of importance as the language test has changed a format from a one-to-one informal interview to a centralised exam procedure. Around the same time, the Portuguese language test has become one of the key conditions giving access to long-term residence (Ministério da Justiça and Ministério da Educação, 2006). The candidates to citizenship or long-term residence are now required either to take a Portuguese language test or to provide a proof of having completed a course recognised

within the Portuguese educational system (e.g. primary school for foreign children and secondary, graduate or post-graduate course for foreign adults). Since 2009, access to teaching jobs in mainstream education in Portugal has also become conditioned by an exam of the highest Common European Framework of Reference standard – potential teachers have to sit the “*Prova de domínio perfeito da língua portuguesa*” [Exam in the perfect control of Portuguese Language] (Ministério da Educação, 2009). It should be added that this regulation appeared as a reaction to the EU 2005-2006 directives on the recognition of professional qualifications between the countries of the European Union, brought on in this particular case by the entrance of Bulgaria and Romania professionals to the EU job market. So it appears that the introduction of the legal requirement to pass the 'perfect control' exam was created in an attempt to protect the Portuguese job market, especially if we take into account the exemption from taking Portuguese language tests for those who have been schooled/socialised within the Portuguese educational system.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, teaching of Portuguese as a foreign language to adults has been gradually moved up scale and centralised, having shifted from initiatives of local churches, schools, NGOs and immigrant associations to the highly regulated enterprises, such as “*Português para Todos*” [Portuguese for Everyone] which are organised, funded and monitored by government agencies like the ACIDI [*Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural* -the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue]. In sum, the Portuguese state discourses have constructed the Portuguese language proficiency as one of the key criteria of integration of immigrants in the Portuguese societal fabric. For concrete examples of this discursive work, let us take a look at the interministerial Plan for Integration of Immigrants [first edition, PII-1] so as to see which place is attributed to Portuguese language among the measures towards educational integration of immigrant children:

Example VI.1

*31- Formação dos docentes para a interculturalidade (PCM/ACIDI, I.P., ME/DGIDC)*

*Definir os referenciais de um Programa de Formação Contínua para professores, no sentido de incrementar as competências dos professores para o desenvolvimento do seu trabalho em escolas cada vez mais heterogêneas, considerando, nomeadamente, o português como língua não materna como área prioritária de formação.*

{31- Teacher training for interculturality (High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, Ministry of Education)

Define guidelines of an in-service teacher training programme, in order to develop teacher competencies for working in increasingly heterogeneous schools, namely considering the Portuguese as non-native language as a training priority}

(PII, 2007, measure 31)

According to this excerpt, in-service teacher training for interculturality is established as a joint responsibility of the government agency for issues of immigration and Ministry of Education.

Portuguese language as a non-native language and its teaching is assigned the central place in teacher training for multilingual school contexts. In this way, the model of language immersion into Portuguese language is announced as the only appropriate to 'integrate' student diversity and promote interculturality. Another fragment aims to address the specific needs of immigrant children:

Example VI.2

33 – *Adequação das estratégias de acolhimento na Escola às especificidades dos alunos descendentes de imigrantes (ME/DGIDC)*

*Desenvolver estratégias diversificadas de apoio à integração na escola de alunos filhos de imigrantes, nomeadamente que tenham em conta o nível etário dos alunos, o domínio da língua e o tempo de permanência em Portugal.*

{33 – Adaptation of reception strategies to the specific needs of immigrant children students at school (Ministry of Education, DGIDC)

Develop varied support strategies for integration of immigrant children students at school, namely taking into account students' age group, the language proficiency and the duration of permanence in Portugal}

(PII, 2007, measure 33)

Ministry of Education and schools are taken responsible for receiving immigrant students, despite their age, duration of their stay in Portugal or their 'language proficiency'. Since the student's language proficiency is listed alongside the documented age and duration of stay in the country, it also emerges as something that could be documented and measured. Moreover, the use of the definite article in 'the language' to refer to the Portuguese language seems to position it as the only significant language in immigrant children's multilingual repertoires, simultaneously dismissing any other linguistic resources that immigrant children might have. That is why other languages than Portuguese are not taken into account when devising reception strategies and not acknowledged as legitimate at schools. Thus the Portuguese language proficiency is constructed as one of the key conditions (if not the only one) for school integration of immigrant children.

According to the interministerial Plan, associations of immigrants had a very particular role to play in the process of educational integration of immigrant children, which is expressed as follows:

Example VI.3

53 – *Cooperação com organizações da sociedade civil (PCM/ACIDI, I.P, ME)*

- *Estabelecer um diálogo interinstitucional, com associações de imigrantes e outros parceiros, no sentido da melhoria das condições específicas de suporte à aprendizagem das diferentes línguas maternas dos alunos.*
- *Identificar, em colaboração com aquelas organizações, bolsas de especialistas, nas diferentes línguas, de apoio ao reconhecimento das interferências nos processos de ensino e aprendizagem de portugueses.*

{53 – Cooperation with civil society organisations (High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, Ministry of Education)

- Establish inter-institutional dialogue with immigrant associations and other partners in order to enhance conditions concerning support to learning different native languages of students.
- Identify, in collaboration with these organisations, expert groups, in different languages, to **help recognise interferences in teaching and learning Portuguese.**}

(PII, 2007, measure 53, my emphasis).

At a first glance, the proposed measures appear to acknowledge the linguistic diversity in Portuguese schools, aiming at providing more support to languages other than Portuguese. However, the collaboration of immigrant associations is reduced to the help in identifying difficulties of speakers of those languages in learning and teaching Portuguese. As a result, languages of immigrant children are seen as sources of errors in Portuguese, thus being placed in an inferior position since they are defined in relation to Portuguese and are seen as an impediment to school success.

Admittedly, Portuguese public discourses are not original in devaluing the actual plural linguistic practices and multilingual repertoires in favour of the imposed policy of monolingualism. In fact, monolingualising discourses constitute a common trend in several European states such as England, Israel and Belgium (Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Avermaet 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010). As we have seen in chapter 4, different post-Soviet states such as Russia, Ukraine and Belarus similarly associate monolingualism to the national unity and identity, as well as to social cohesion.

### **VI.1.2 Portuguese as a Non-Native Language policy and languages of immigrant children**

Newly arrived immigrant children and students speaking other languages than Portuguese are incorporated into the model of linguistic immersion. These students are placed in mainstream classrooms according to their age group and provided with extracurricular training in Portuguese as a Non-Native Language [PLNM]. According to the PLNM guidelines, the 'first' language of these students has to be identified (which proves extremely problematic in case of multilingual families from Africa and Asia, as we will see later on in this chapter), so that to determine its linguistic distance from Portuguese. Then their personal history and 'domains' of use of the Portuguese language are established, while their proficiency in Portuguese is assessed in terms of the Common European Framework of Reference descriptors. After that, the speaker receives a "*diagnóstico*" [a diagnosis] and is associated to one of "linguistic profiles". Language groups are composed on the basis of the received 'diagnosis' and profile, rather than other factors as national origin, age, class or motivation for learning Portuguese. In Table 6.1, I attempt to sum up the distribution of speakers across the linguistic profiles as these are stipulated by the PLNM guidelines (Leiria *et al.*, 2005). In Table 6.1, PT stands for Portuguese language, EP – for European Portuguese, BP – Brazilian Portuguese, PALOP – Portuguese-speaking African countries. All the used terms

represent translations from Portuguese into English, which I tried to keep as close as possible to the original formulations.

	<i>Speakers of PT as a mother tongue</i>	<i>Speakers of languages distant from PT</i>	<i>Children of Portuguese emigrants</i>	<i>Speakers of creole languages</i>	<i>Students from Mozambique and Angola</i>
Mother tongue	EP/BP	non-PT	EP	Variety of PT	From non-PT to non-schooled PT
Language of communication between peers	EP/BP	Non-PT outside school; EP within school setting	non-PT	Variety of PT	From non-PT to non-schooled PT
Language of school	EP/BP	EP	Has not always been PT; EP	EP	EP
Family language	EP/BP	non-PT	non-PT	Variety of PT	From non-PT to non-schooled PT
Specific teaching recommendations	PT as L1 But: special attention to speakers of BP and from PALOP	PT as L2	PT as L1 or L2 depending on sociolinguistic factors	Redoubled attention to writing	Redoubled attention to writing, non-PT effects on grammar

*Table 6.1. Linguistic profiles according to PLNM (after Leiria et al. 2005)*

It is evident that the PLNM guidelines create the linguistic profiles on the basis of the 'genetic' distance between the languages spoken by students and the European variety of Portuguese. So 3 out of 5 linguistic profiles are designated for speakers who have used European Portuguese or its varieties at school/home at some point of the family history. The guidelines also tend to examine closely languages in the school environments throughout the student's personal history, in order to determine whether the variety of Portuguese was schooled or not, whether the student was schooled in other languages and varieties than European Portuguese, and which languages the student used within and outside the school setting in Portugal.

On the one hand, the PLNM guidelines helped educators distinguish between speakers of different varieties of Portuguese. Also, they finally made Portuguese teachers aware of the existing linguistic differences between speakers who came from Portuguese-speaking African countries, who used to be labelled, in teaching practice, as 'speakers of broken Portuguese'. On the other hand, speakers of any languages but normative Portuguese, found themselves huddled together in the single category of 'speakers of languages distant from Portuguese'. Admittedly, languages within this category are also assessed in terms of the linguistic distance from EP, so several of the distant languages are considered to be closer to Portuguese than others, e.g. Romanian as opposed to

Chinese. Practitioners are also made aware of the differences between languages with alphabetic and logographic literacy systems.

However, in practice children of Eastern European immigrants (despite speaking Slavic languages, Romanian or Kazakh) share the same profile. Let us try and apply the PLNM criteria to two case studies that I describe in more detail in the next chapter.

#### Example VI.4

7 year-old Tania and Rosa went to 2<sup>nd</sup> forms in their Portuguese schools but were also students of the same class in the complementary school. Both girls' families came from Ukraine around the same time, having obtained a similar legal status in Portugal. Both Tania and Rosa had been born in Portugal and were cared for by Portuguese-speaking nannies. Both families communicated in Russian with the girls. Tania had a passive knowledge of Ukrainian and English, while Rosa – of Romanian. According to the interviews with their family members and my observations, both girls were used to speaking Portuguese with their peers within the Portuguese school setting and quite often outside it as well.

So if we were to create “linguistic profiles” in accordance with the Portuguese Ministry of Education guidelines for Tania and Rosa, both girls would end up in the same group on their arrival to a mainstream Portuguese school. They could be placed into a group of learners of Portuguese as L2 because both girls were being raised in families where languages distant from Portuguese were spoken. Alternatively, they could be placed in a group of Portuguese for children of Portuguese emigrants (L1/L2), since both girls had been born in Portugal and had at some point been cared for by Portuguese-speaking nannies. They would also share a “profile” if we were to take into consideration their learning opportunities, the linguistic distance or the prestige of their home languages against Portuguese. From the perspective of migration statistics, Tania and Rosa’s families would also fall within the same category, since both had migrated from Ukraine and shared their initial status in Portugal and the duration of stay. So the centralised language policy criteria seem to fail to account for possible differences within the group of Eastern European immigrant children thus having a homogenising effect on the group. Furthermore, these criteria do not take into account children growing up and born in mixed families, especially those where Eastern European immigrant parents use English to speak with their Portuguese or Brazilian life partners.

The PLNM guidelines reflect a number of theoretical and methodological tensions. Firstly, being based on a linguistics of distribution approach, the guidelines draw a direct link between a 'domain' (school, home) and a language, which is assumed to be one and only at a time in a given social space. So each 'domain' emerges as monolingual at a particular time and space. As a result, there is no space for accounting for the actual fluid and hybrid language practices among multilingual speakers. The guidelines are permeated by the language input perspective which

conceptualises learning as a process of sequential acquisition of skills and competences, or a 'learner-as-computer' metaphor (Kramsch 2002: 1). The guidelines thus fail to assign any active role to the learner in the process of learning and meaning making.

Furthermore, the PLNM guidelines provide little space for languages of immigrants in mainstream education. In fact, they discursively create an unchallenged legitimacy for the Portuguese language in the mainstream education:

Example VI.5

*A escola é o espaço privilegiado para desenvolvimento da integração social, cultural e profissional das crianças e jovens recém-chegados. O seu sucesso escolar, intrinsecamente ligado ao domínio da língua portuguesa, é o factor essencial desta integração. Assegurar uma integração eficaz e de qualidade é um dever do Estado e da Escola.*

{School is a privileged space for developing social, cultural and professional integration of the recently arrived children and youth. Their school success, **intrinsically** linked to the Portuguese language proficiency, is an essential factor of the integration. The State's and the school's duty is to ensure an effective and quality integration}

(Direcção Geral para Inovação e Desenvolvimento Curricular [DGIDC] – General Direction for Innovation and Curricular Development, 2005, my emphasis)

If we were to look at the verb modality in the fragment, we may realise that two statements are constructed as facts: 1) school represents a special site for integration of newcomers; and 2) the Portuguese language proficiency is an essential condition of this integration. The adverb choice to characterise the connection between the school success, integration and proficiency in Portuguese ('intrinsically') reinforces the idea of the Portuguese proficiency being the only condition for educational integration for speakers of other languages.

Example VI.6

*[...] avançar com medidas que possibilitem a eficaz integração dos alunos no sistema educativo nacional, garantindo o domínio suficiente da língua portuguesa como veículo de todos os saberes escolares. Esta é a língua em que os alunos vão seguir os seus estudos, mas é também a língua que lhes vai permitir orientarem-se num novo espaço que não pode ser conquistado sem a sua consolidação.*

{[...] develop measures that enable effective student integration into the national education system, ensuring sufficient control of the Portuguese language as a vehicle of all school knowledge. **This is the language in which the students will follow their studies but also the language which will enable them to find their way in the new space that cannot be conquered without its consolidation**}

(Direcção Geral para Inovação e Desenvolvimento Curricular [DGIDC] – General Direction for Innovation and Curricular Development, 2005, my emphasis)

The fragment further consolidates the position for the Portuguese language at school, as the only means of access to the school curriculum and to the school context. It is positioned not only as the language of instruction and of formal communication but also as that of informal communication outside the classroom. The existence of other languages within the school setting is not acknowledged at all. In this way, languages other than Portuguese are made invisible and

illegitimate at schools.

Being based on a 'native language' approach, the PLNM guidelines represent a normative discourse which assesses other languages in terms of their potential for errors in learning Portuguese, thus marginalising and problematising those languages. Besides, as Ferreira (2003: 610) traces the origins of the term "native speaker" to nature and nation, she points out that its meaning is questionable because of the spread of new technologies and the increased mobility of people. Furthermore, my interviews with local PLNM coordinators (further on in the chapter) revealed that *de facto* practices viewed non-European varieties of Portuguese and non-educated uses of Portuguese as problematic. In fact, one of the local coordinators reported that, apart from receiving a 'diagnosis', speakers of other languages were issued with a "*plano de recuperação*" [a recovery plan], which was adopted from those used in special education. The terms "recovery" and "diagnosis", borrowed from medical discourses, help to construct languages other than Portuguese as if they were an almost medical condition the student has to recover from. These discourses and practices in education are based on "monoglossic language ideologies" (García and Torres-Guevara 2010) that clearly value monolingualism.

## **VI.2 Centralised tools and local responsibilities in state education**

Official language policies in the mainstream basic and secondary education are formulated by the National Curriculum department within the Portuguese Ministry of Education (*Direção Geral de Inovação e Desenvolvimento Curricular, (DGIDC)*). The interviewed officer of the department<sup>54</sup> considers the main aim of the Portuguese as a Non-Native Language Programme (PLNM) to assure the socialisation of foreign students in the language of instruction. The student progress in Portuguese is measured and monitored with the help of several 'diagnostic' tools. The DGIDC provides the teacher with final evaluation mechanisms and placement criteria, which are based on the CEFR descriptors. The students whose Portuguese proficiency is situated at the levels lower than B2 have classes and exams of the PLNM format. Having achieved the B2 level of competence, students may join the ordinary Portuguese class and have an occasional teacher support. Both teacher training, as well as measures of student support and teaching materials should be created in local practice. In the student's placement and mobility, the control of Portuguese and proximity

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<sup>54</sup> The interview at the DGIDC was the only one out of the bulk of the data which could not be taped, so its contents had to be reconstructed from the notes I took during the interview on May 28, 2009. That is why I cannot cite directly.

of the student's 'native' grammar to the grammar of Portuguese, rather than the student's age are seen to be the determinant factors. The officer acknowledged the validity of alternative mechanisms of student support in the classroom via the student's mother tongue (e.g. language assistants of Chinese or parental help) as she felt they might help in 'linguistic knowledge transfer', yet she pointed out that these were not used. Any kind of intervention that relied on the student's family languages would seem to have place only outside the classroom. All questions related to the access and provision of native languages, she stressed, were down to local initiatives.

So to sum up, it would appear that the official language policies in education created two interconnected social spaces. One of them – a highly regulated and monitored public space of the PLNM – is considered to be a transitory place in the process of language shift to Portuguese as the language of instruction and is characterised by fixed timetables, linearity and sequentiality, guided along by the centralised assessment tools which originate within the higher scales of the European Commission. By contrast, the second space represents an unstructured one associated with uncontrolled local practices within the lower scale of private domains. This space is occupied by various identified foreign languages and contact-induced varieties of Portuguese, whose mobility potential (along with the validity of the related practices) is valued as long as they speed up the language shift. Within this framework, only one language can be central at any given period of time. Students' native languages are seen as obstacles that has to be skirted round or hacked through. As a result, a hierarchy of linguistic resources is created, in which the characteristics attributed to the European Portuguese norm are placed quite literally in the centre (as it is the 'target' language), whereas students' native languages are not worthy of attention from the moment the target is 'hit'.

### **VI.3 Migrants and their languages in state discourses on interculturality**

The Portuguese state body on issues of immigration – the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (*Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural, ACIDI*) – has an education department which develops initiatives on intercultural education and training. Even though this department do not formulate official language policies in education, its activities within the framework of Plan of Integration of Immigrants (PII) and teacher training sessions help shape local policies. The interviewed officer pointed out that integration of immigrant children in Portugal is guided by two principles: the access to Portuguese language as the host language and

intercultural education for all. She also added: “*Não se pode falar da educação intercultural sem falar da língua. Língua é uma dimensão que no entanto não é explícita*” {We cannot speak of intercultural education without speaking of language. Language is a dimension which is nevertheless non-explicit}[ACIDI-1, 2: 47]

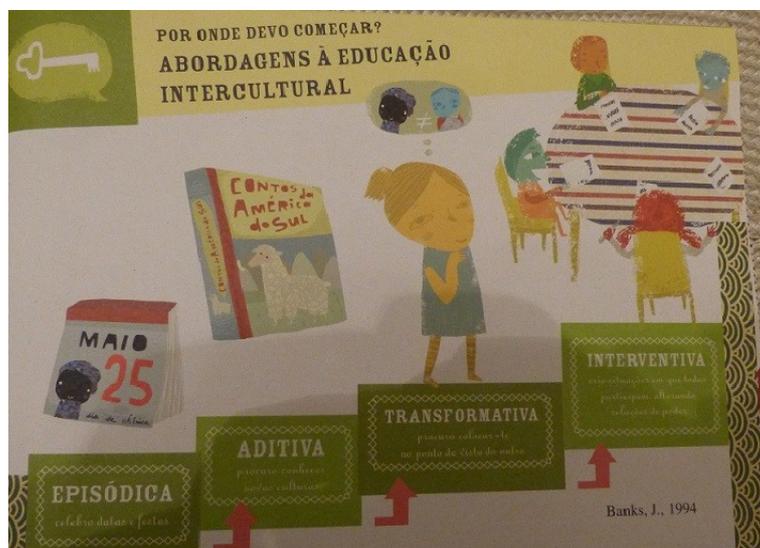


Figure 6.1. ACIDI leaflet on intercultural education

Figure 6.1 provides a fragment from one of the ACIDI leaflets on intercultural education. By adopting James Banks's model of approaches to curricular development for multicultural education (2007), it conceptualises them as follows:

- episodic approach (I celebrate dates and festivals);
- additive approach (I aim to experience new cultures);
- transformative (I aim to understand perspectives of the Other);
- interventional approach (I create situations in which everyone participates, changing power relations)

It is evident that Banks's model traces a progressive change in the school curriculum: whereas the first two approaches envisage nothing beyond occasional and additional measures to an already established curriculum, the transformative and interventional approaches will have to translate into a significant change in the ways the whole curriculum is conceptualised and interpreted. However, the adoption of a linguistic immersion principle for the Portuguese state education discounts the very possibility of such transformation in order to make space for other languages but Portuguese. So how do the ACIDI discourses handle this discrepancy? Let us see how spaces are distributed between Portuguese and languages of immigrants.

From the bulk of the data that I have collected at the High Commissioner for Immigration and

Intercultural Dialogue, I have selected two leaflets which are designed for teachers and other institutional agents. One of them was created specifically for teachers and is entitled “*Uma Escola, Uma Sala de Aula interculturais. Sugestões para Professores*” [An intercultural school and a classroom. Tips for teachers]. Another one presents “44 simple ideas to promote tolerance and celebrate diversity” [44 *Ideias Simples para promover a tolerância e celebrar a diversidade*”].

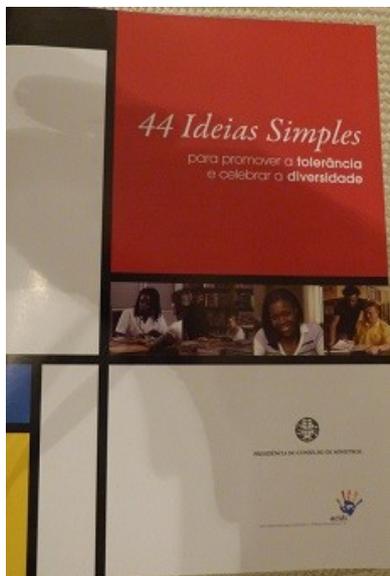


Figure 6.2. ACIDI leaflet for institutional agents

The “44 ideas” (ACIDI 2008b), (Fig. 6.2) is addressed to institutional agents in Portugal and suggests the different ways in which they might “deal with the difference” (ACIDI 2008b: 10). They can do it by sampling it, for example taking part in multicultural events, visiting “foreign places in their cities”, by learning other languages, or by identifying the “ready-made ideas” and discussing them with their children. At schools, educators are invited to take each student individually without “closing him/her in the particular home culture” (*ibidem*: 22). They are prompted to open a critical dialogue about the social issues that would question the categorisations 'us' versus 'them' and foster pen-friend programmes (*ibidem*: 23). Librarians are advised to acquire resources that “promote/celebrate diversity, languages, cultures”; school administrators are encouraged to provide bilingual and multilingual information within the setting and to organise events which would help “promote exchange of traditions, commemorations, festivals”, and to “discover the variety of food stuffs of various countries” (*ibidem*, 24-25). It is quite evident that all the proposed measures presuppose little change in the actual school organisation and curriculum, since they can be added to established practices.

Other languages are mentioned in the document specifically in the context of customer services. Customer service officers are reminded of two psychological aspects of a relationship between

'natives' and people speaking other 'languages', as follows:

Example VI.7

*Quando fala outra língua, por vezes não consegue exprimir correctamente o que pretende. Lembre-se do que sente nesta situação, faça um esforço, tente descobrir o que o seu interlocutor está a dizer e porquê.*

{When you speak other language, sometimes you cannot correctly express what you want. Remind yourself what you feel in this situation, make an effort, try to understand what your interlocutor is trying to say and why}

(ACIDI 2008b: 32)

This excerpt operates two significant thematic threads: 1) the difficulty of making oneself understood, associating the impossibility of communication with other 'languages'; and 2) an evaluative figure of a native speaker who can immediately spot the 'incorrectness' in a foreigner's attempts of communication.

The first thread is based on the particular notion of language as an abstract and fixed system which does not reflect actual uses of the 'system' resources in concrete social contexts and interactions. In fact, many customers who supposedly share the 'language' with the clerk usually have many difficulties in the highly specialised institutional interactions: take, for example, speakers of European Portuguese from low-educated, low-qualified or rural background, or speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, or immigrants from one of African countries where Portuguese is an official language. So the difficulty in communication is thus addressed by taking into account issues of social class, individual socialisation and geopolitical history rather than those of a purely linguistic nature.

The second thread foregrounds the authoritative power of the native speaker who the clerk is assumed to be. The clerk's institutional power is thus reinforced. Instead of evoking an empathy, the excerpt creates a spectre of possible feelings ranging from condescension to pity, as the clerk is advised to make a benevolent 'effort' and 'try to understand' what the foreigner is saying. In other words, the clerk's actions are indexed with the power of evaluative authority thus being constructed as situated on a higher scale.

Another recommendation specifically related to 'other languages' is placed on the page immediately below the previous fragment, and it states that

Example VI.8

*Aprender algumas palavras na língua das pessoas que atende ajuda a criar confiança. Experimente com os seus colegas. Tenha em atenção que respeitar uma língua é respeitar o povo que a fala.*

{To learn a few words in the language of people you receive helps to build trust. Try it with your colleagues. Remember that if you respect a language you respect the people who speak it}

(ACIDI 2008b: 32)

This excerpt allegedly aims to construct a relationship of 'trust' and 'respect' between institutional

actors and their customers. Many of us know from a personal experience that learning a few words from the other language might indeed help establish a more friendly relationship, even if to provide the two parties with something common to laugh about. However, the effect of this advice can be seriously undermined by the ways in which it may be put to practice. It is not clear how the clerk is supposed to identify the language of the other party. And what are the languages to choose from? Last pages of the same leaflet list some of the 'different ways to say hello and goodbye' in the nowadays Portugal. The ACIDI provides the writing and pronunciation guide for phrases in Russian, Cantonese and Mandarin dialects of Chinese, Gujarati, Arabic, Cape Verdean Creole, Bulgarian, Romanian, Para-Romani and Moldavian (ACIDI 2008b: 38). It should be noted that no phrases in Ukrainian are provided, despite the fact that it is the third most numerous immigrant community in Portugal. This fact seems to dismiss the Ukrainian national identity and ends up reproducing the linguistic hierarchy in the post-Soviet space.

The recommendation might also have a secondary effect of emphasising a distance between group identities and attributing its existence to difference in linguistic resources. It works by reinforcing the authority index and projects it onto the internal cohesion within the groups: on the one hand, the powerful collective of clerk and his/her colleagues who are assumed to 'share' the language, and on the other, customers who are supposed to be speakers of other 'languages'. In a way, the clerk along with his/her workmates might have developed a similar repertoire of linguistic resources, because their work and education trajectories would be fairly compatible. Yet to assume any type of homogeneity among their customers is extremely simplistic, as we have shown, since issues of class, race, religion, education and socialisation become invisible.

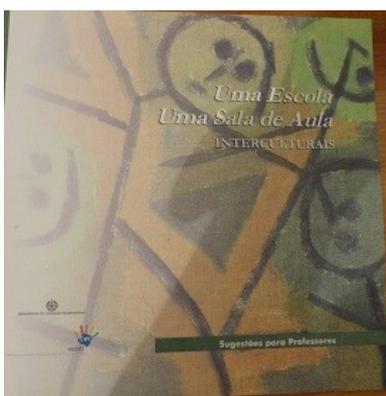


Figure 6.3. ACIDI leaflet for teachers: "An intercultural classroom".

The ideas and concepts evident in the recommendations of the "44 simple ideas" are largely echoed in the "Tips for teachers" for creation of an intercultural classroom (Fig.6.3.). For example, the teacher is similarly prompted to learn 'a few words in the language of the child' (ACIDI 2008a:

4); reminded of “what you cannot express when speaking other language” and “what you feel in this situation (ACIDI 2008a: 8), and is advised to post 'messages in different languages – in Creole, Russian, Chinese...' (*ibidem*: 9). What makes the ACIDI recommendations for teachers different from those for institutional agents is their focus on formulating a “positive attitude to bilingualism” (interview at the ACIDI), which is constructed as recognising the children's right to be different. The respective attitude concerns both the child's name (everybody needs to 'make sure to say it correctly' – ACIDI 2008a: 4) and his/her time and space in the classroom. The teacher is also urged to provide the 'different child' with the time to 'become at ease in the other language' and with the space 'to use his/her language: telling a story, singing a song, writing on the board' (*ibidem*: 4). Finally, the teacher is recommended to “call attention to different languages” and “highlight the benefits of being bilingual” (*ibidem*).

When doing my fieldwork, I asked the children who participated in the linguistic ethnography to comment on these recommendations and noted down their reactions. Some of them reacted quite vividly to them as their teachers had apparently put them in practice in their Portuguese classrooms. The children participants pointed out they felt it was very important to have some time to get used to the new context. However, they opposed to being singled out from the rest of the class on the account of their linguistic and cultural difference. Some of them said they had not realised they were different before their teacher informed them about it. In fact, many had to recur to their parents' help in order to fulfil the teacher's expectations – to find a story or a song “from their culture”, to present a recipe for a “typical dish”. In other words, instead of constructing an intercultural dialogue between Portuguese and children of other backgrounds based on the common ways of life, in order to bring the children closer, the schools focus and exoticise the differences thus reinforcing the distance.

Overall, the suggestions for teachers are similarly based on a traditional notion of language as a fixed system of norms. The fact that the 'different child' is invited to perform his/her linguistic identity originates in the understanding of bilingualism as a sum of various monolingualisms as autonomous systems, each of which can be switched on/off on request. From this perspective, there is time and space only for one 'language' at a time, they cannot coexist or interact in the same space-time. From the social point of view, it is not clear why the 'different child' has to be put into the spotlight in order to be accepted in the classroom. Moreover, the official discourses seem to be based on the simplistic assumption which distinguishes between a fairly homogeneous group identity of Portuguese speakers on the one hand and a collection of internally homogeneous

groups of speakers of other languages, thus creating an essentialist association between language and difference. Resting on the main argument of the Portuguese state language policy in which the European Portuguese has the status of the host 'language' - the central language- these discourse drive other languages and varieties of Portuguese to the margins, without acknowledging the influence these languages and varieties might have on the European Portuguese and on its policies.

As I was able to see in the course of the fieldwork, the discourses of the higher scale become less fixed and homogenising as these become interpreted by concrete people. For example, the interviewed officer at the ACIDI admitted that Eastern European immigration had an enormous impact on language and immigration policies in Portugal. S/he traced the change as follows:

Example VI.9

*Foram estes que iam dar, no fundo, mais expressão política à vaga da imigração e à questão da língua, do contraste da língua [...] Porque a vaga anterior de imigrantes tinha origens nos países que têm como a língua oficial o português. Do ponto da vista da política de integração dos descendentes de imigrantes não se achava que houvesse algum problema de integração, embora houvesse pois uma das questões, causas de insucesso escolar era não terem o português como a língua materna. Mas não era considerada, não davam tanta visibilidade [...] e os descendentes do imigrantes de Leste de facto [...] e também pois são mais reivindicativos, são mais organizados, têm uma concepção em nome de representação da escola e do sistema educativo mais exigente. Portanto eu também acho que também passaram nas escolas a dar outra [...] importância, a valorizar, a fazer ohm, a fazer [...] E os próprios alunos, ah, dessas comunidades têm mais sucesso, portanto isso foi uma... uma... foi uma questão [...] Foi uma questão que ganhou outra... outro relevo.*

{It was them who would basically give more political expression to this immigration wave and to the language issue, of the language contrast [...] Because the previous wave of immigration came from the countries which have Portuguese as the official language. From the perspective of policy for integration of immigrant children it was not considered that there had been any problem of integration, despite having been, since one of the issues, of the causes of school failure was the fact they did not speak Portuguese as a mother tongue. Yet it was not considered, it was not given much visibility [...] and children of Eastern European immigrants in fact [...] and also because they are more demanding, more organised, they have a more rigorous idea of the school and of the education system. So I think schools have also started to give another [...] importance, to value, to make ohm to make [...] And the very students ohm of these communities are more achieving. [...] It was a question that gained a different... a different projection}

[ACIDI-2; 0: 26-01: 38]

Several thematic threads are evident in the fragment: 1) the change in the Portuguese state language policies brought on by Eastern European immigration; 2) the alleged differences in the conceptualisations of schooling and education system; 3) the sense of a community; 4) school success and failure. All the threads draw an explicit or implicit comparison between the old and new waves of immigration to the country, namely between the immigrants from the countries that once shared their history with Portuguese empire and the people who came to the country once Portugal became part of a globalised network of migration. The shared past had been misconstrued as a shared language and culture (cf. Bourdieu's 'misrecognition') resulting in the

failure to acknowledge the existing differences along with the underlying power inequalities between Portuguese students and children of African immigrants. Using the words of the ACIDI leaflet, students from the former Portuguese colonies seemed to be denied their 'right to be different' both linguistically (as they were considered to be speaking some sort of 'broken Portuguese') and socially (underachieving at schools due to the socialisation differences, while their parents' social claims were not seriously considered).

The claimed capacity of Eastern European immigrants to organise themselves can be similarly traced back to the misrecognition of the symbolic capital of people who come from the former Portuguese colonies. The ACIDI education officer pointed out the perceived status differences between languages of different immigrant communities as follows:

Example VI.10

*Agora, há aqui uma grande uma grande diferença ao nível de política global e ao nível da percepção que os professores têm. Tem a ver com as línguas de baixo estatuto e línguas de estatuto superior. As línguas de baixo estatuto, como são as línguas africanas, são muito desvalorizadas e as línguas como, por exemplo, russo hoje em dia é uma língua valorizada em Portugal e por tanto as pessoas não se atrevem a pensar que não é importante. [...] Não vejo porque um dia não pode haver uma escola ucraniana ou uma escola russa com o mesmo estatuto que a escola inglesa ou a escola alemã. É uma questão de política bilateral do Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros. Porque isto tem uma reciprocidade.*

{Now, there is a great a great difference at the level of the global policy and at the level of perception that the teachers have. It has to do with languages of low status and languages of high status. Low status languages, such as African languages, have been undervalued whereas language such as, say, Russian is nowadays a valued language in Portugal, so people do not dare to say it is not important. [...] I don't see why one day there could not be a Ukrainian or Russian school of the same status as an English or German school. It's a question of bilateral policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since there is a reciprocity.}

[ACIDI-2, 06: 44-11: 20]

The understanding of the existing economy of linguistic resources in the globalised symbolic market runs through this fragment, with English and German at the top, and Russian and Ukrainian claims for recognition. 'African languages' are 'undervalued' as they are not associated with any 'rigorous concept of schooling and education system'. So when speakers of 'more valued languages' get organised and demand a better schooling and linguistic provision for their kids, the Portuguese state has to react by introducing changes into language-in-education policies. Later in the interview, the officer related that creole-speaking parents did not see their symbolic resources as 'languages'. She stressed that the reasons for this disregard should be sought in social structures. We can also add that the centuries of symbolic violence and misrecognition in the colonial and post-colonial contexts may have equally contributed to shaping up the local perceptions of the globalised economy of symbolic resources.

The use of plural and singular forms (e.g. language/languages) in the fragment with the particular

languages strikes as noteworthy. Rather than comparing Slavic languages with African ones, as it might have been done, the singular form positions Russian, Ukrainian, English and German languages on the same scale, while the plural ('African languages') – on the other. It is precisely in the scale differences where the high/low status distinction also lies: placed alongside the European languages (nation-state and translocal scale), African languages immediately become undervalued; yet at the same time, those European languages would not be of much use at the local scale of an exchange at an African market (of either physical or symbolic resources).

The ACIDI education officer highlighted that “the integrated student should not lose his/her mother tongue; on the contrary, there should be a multilingual policy of appreciation of the mother tongue” [ACIDI-2; 04: 50]. Still, she interpreted this appreciation as 1) providing teachers with information about “difficulties and interferences in the use [of Portuguese language by these children]” [ACIDI-2; 06: 20; 07: 20-08: 22] and 2) providing children with spaces “where the child would be able to speak freely and become competent [in their mother tongues]” [ACIDI-2; 05: 55]. Both interpretations are dictated by the language policy of Portuguese as a host language, by which educational institutions and agents take interest in other languages as long as those provide potential errors in the 'central language'. As for the spaces to develop competences in mother tongues, the ACIDI officer situated them outside the curricular activities “*nos espaços de afeto*<sup>55</sup>, *nos recreios das escolas, no jardim de infância*” [in emotional spaces, in the school playtimes/breaks, at the kindergarten] [ACIDI-2; 05: 40].

The interviewed officer highlighted that top-down policies are interpreted in a variety of ways in local practices. Many kindergartens have reportedly translated the official linguistic immersion model into a complete ban on the use of mother tongues by immigrant and foreign children [ACIDI-2; *ibidem*]. In other schools and kindergartens, a gradual immersion model was used, in a pair and group work with siblings of the same linguistic origin who are more proficient in Portuguese. In this way, other languages were still spoken in classrooms, being progressively

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55 “*Espaços de afecto*” is a very difficult phrase to translate as it has to do with a range of emotional states, from clinging and emotional attachment, tenderness, love and care to social effects of interaction -- in fellowship and friendship (*Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (2009)). For now it will be translated as 'emotional spaces' to be explored at more length further on. The turn of phrase “*espaços de afeto*” opens up an issue of a more intimate, **embodied** social interaction between speakers of different languages, which in philosophy has been developed as an affect theory by Spinoza (*afectus*) and later on by Deleuze and Guattari (2007). In education it has been interpreted as a “**safe space**” (e.g. in Conteh 2010). The affect theory has recently led to the so-called “affective turn” in different areas of social sciences and humanities, for example in the work of a political philosopher Brian Massumi (Massumi 2002 on movement and sensation in cultural formations) and of a geographer Nigel Thrift (Thrift 2007, non-representational theory). As the concept of affect and its spaces offers many possibilities of an original analysis relevant to my study, I am going to return to it further on in this chapter.

supplanted by Portuguese.

## **VI.4 Issues in language-in-education and immigration policies**

The language policies at the state level cannot be viewed as systematically pursuing a language shift towards Portuguese as L2, as could be expected from the officially adopted model of linguistic immersion. Education and immigration policies have taken epistemologically similar courses towards Portuguese as a Non-Native Language and Portuguese as a host language respectively. Both place Portuguese language at the centre of pedagogical practice. The language-in-education policy of PLNM makes a distinction between a native and non-native use, taking as “Portuguese” a range of registers and cultural references used in communication among the white educated middle-class European Portuguese. Its acquisition should provide the highest mobility in Portugal, while other varieties of Portuguese are associated with less potential. The 'non-native' Portuguese is assessed in terms of interferences and difficulties in acquisition of the central register. So interaction between the Portuguese and other languages is seen in terms of contamination and “approximation” (Ança *et al.* 2007). Instruments imported from higher scales are used in language-in-education policy to measure students' proficiency in Portuguese. The upward movement through the structured space of learning Portuguese is constructed in a linear and sequential fashion towards the target. Within these discourses, non-native Portuguese is “never quite there”, being mere “approximations”; learning and acquisition of other languages is situated in unregulated peripheral spaces of local practice. Other languages are distinguished on the basis of their linguistic distance in relation to the central one. Social factors are acknowledged from the perspective of distribution of acquired linguistic resources.

The immigration policy relies on a metaphor of a “host” for Portuguese language which is understood as the same range of registers. If we were to continue the associative field we could see that other languages are positioned as 'guests'. Hence the courteous (yet perhaps slightly patronising) interaction between the welcoming patient host and other guest languages: the appeal to have a consideration for the difficulties in attempts to communicate in the central language; the recommendation to learn the correct pronunciation of the 'guest's' name as well as to provide 'the guests' with the suitable timing and opportunities to perform their cultural identities. Learning of other languages is similarly situated in 'safe spaces' off-centre.

Despite aiming for a social and linguistic integration, both discourses are successful in securing a

powerful place for the Portuguese 'language', which makes space for other languages without shifting its own central position. However, both interviewed officers pointed out discrepancies between the official policies and local practices which may grow to be translated into bottom-up policies. The ACIDI officer attributed those discrepancies to the status inequality (i.e. symbolic value) in-between other languages, thus acknowledging the power-related social factors. Because of the difference in status, certain languages of migrants in Portugal (e.g. Russian) have more potential in claiming space for themselves. This has resulted in changes in official language policies with the arrival of speakers of these languages and appearance of Russian-speaking community schools. In this sense, the unstructured space, which the official discourses assign to other languages, is in fact oriented around centres from the other, lower scales.

## **VI.5 PLNM in Portuguese schools: invisible languages and learning resources**

The institutional agents at the state level have highlighted the differences between the official policies and their local implementation. From the state point of view, it is seen as a way to encourage local autonomy; whereas the local authorities and actors see those differences as necessary efforts to adopt policies to concrete realities. In fact, the grass-roots initiatives may result in changes in the existing policies and formulation of new ones. Patricia, who is the coordinator of PLNM programmes in one of the local school clusters<sup>56</sup> stated “if the regional education authority did not know which difficulties existed locally, the law would not ever change” [LPLNM; 17: 25]. For example, Patricia said that teachers from the schools of the cluster were not prepared to work with illiterate teenage Roma students. So a separate project had to be created for those students at the school cluster. Back in 2007-2008, PLNM teachers had to develop their own assessment instruments and create materials for their groups of students. In such a way, teachers and PLNM coordinators can not only implement state language education policies but also become their agents (Shohamy 2006: 80). However, given the lack of in-service training in PLNM, teachers have to “solve problems as they come” [LPLNM; 26: 00].

The choice criteria of students to be targeted by the programme were not very clear: Patricia said

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<sup>56</sup> Since the beginning of my work on PhD thesis in 2007, education in Portugal have been caught in the divide between a school autonomy and centralisation. In search of some sort of compromise between the two poles, the Portuguese government first grouped schools into vertical 'clusters' that united establishments of different levels (kindergartens, comprehensive and secondary schools). At the time of the fieldwork Patricia was coordinating PLNM courses in one of those clusters. In 2012, despite growing protests from teachers, directors and parents, the Portuguese Ministry of Education reorganised some of the clusters into horizontal 'mega-clusters'. Clusters and mega-clusters enjoy relative autonomy in terms of internal management.

she had to filter the students name register in search of a “names that stood out”, then determine the time and type of their exposure to Portuguese, as well as try and identify their mother tongues. Mother tongues were not easy to determine especially among students who came from Portuguese-speaking African countries:

Example VI.11

*a) Os miúdos sobretudo que são falantes do crioulo (.) os pais escondem (.) os miúdos escondem. --Então e que língua falam em casa? - É o português. E eu a tentar a dar à volta. - E também não falam crioulo? --Sim, é também. E assim já chegava. Há vergonha. Sentiam vergonha de dizer que falavam crioulo (mhm) e é a língua materna deles, não há que ter vergonha*

{The kids especially those who are creole speakers (.) the parents hide (.) the kids hide. -So and which language do you speak at home? - Portuguese. And me trying to get round the issue. - Don't you speak creole as well? - Yes, also. So this is how I got there. There is shame. They were ashamed to say they spoke creole (mhm) and it is their mother tongue, nothing to be ashamed of.}

[LPLNM; 11: 50- 12: 10]

*b) De acordo com o país de origem, temos 10 países. Línguas maternas - 11. Este foi difícil, este xiChangana foi difícil para a gente chegar lá (.) quase dois períodos até conseguir saber qual era a língua materna. É uma língua moçambicana. Consegui pois depois descobrimos alguém para falar da família, pois o miúdo também nem sabia o nome da língua materna.*

{According to the home country we've got 10 countries. Mother tongues -11. This one was difficult, this Changana was difficult for us to find out (.) almost two terms till we managed to know which was the mother tongue. It's a language in Mozambique. We managed because we found someone from the family to talk to since the kid did not know the name for the mother tongue.}

[LPLNM; 23: 06-23: 21]

These fragments evidently echo some of the themes from the interviews at the state level. The socially embodied attribution of a higher or lower symbolic value to a particular language can lead to several interpretations. From the educator's perspective, there were languages that became hidden and could be source of shame to their speakers. However, it comes as no surprise that it may require more time for creole-speaking families to be able to see their native creoles 'become' independent languages, given the centuries of creoles being classified as dialects or “non-languages” (Pinto 2008) and “broken Portuguese”. After all, nobody would declare speaking a regional variety of Portuguese, for example, the Alentejo Portuguese as a separate language. The fact that creole languages have not completed the 'legitimising' processes of standardisation and officialisation may contribute to their perception as of a lower status. As Elana Shohamy explains: “spoken languages are constantly being criticised as “non-languages”, because they do not follow standard rules” (Shohamy 2006: 65). In the case of Portuguese-based creoles, their gradual standardisation and officialisation will have significant political effects, especially for creole speakers in Portugal.

Fragment (b) about the xiChangana speaker provides another example of 'hidden languages' in the face of the Western institutionalised perspective of language teaching in a multilingual context.

Each language (rather than a concrete speaker) has to be identified and filtered through the system. Conversely, in African families people simply use their multilingual repertoires without distinguishing one language from the other. In the Western perspective, before the language is labelled, in order to become situated among other languages (value assigning), it remains invisible for language teaching. Once the language is identified, i.e. removed from its context of use and dissected into vocabulary, morphology and syntax etc., it can be grouped along others according to the “common difficulties” [LPLNM; 1: 03; cf. also the interviews at ACIDI and DGIDC]. After that, the speaker receives a “*diagnóstico*” [a diagnosis] and is issued with a “*plano de recuperação*” [a recovery plan]. Patricia promptly explained that their school cluster had adopted recovery plans for PLNM programme from those used in special needs education. This is the way in which the Portuguese education system constructs speakers of 'languages other than Portuguese' in terms borrowed from a medical discourse, in which their 'condition' is directly linked to their family languages.

According to the interviewed PLNM coordinator, Brazilian Portuguese is equally falling through the cracks of the PLNM criteria:

Example VI.12

P-[M]uitos alunos brasileiros vão às aulas do português língua materna e não entendem porque são das zonas onde falam...  
O português que eles falam é quase incompreensível p'ra nós.

OS - Em termos da pronúncia?

P - Pronúncia, léxico e sintaxe.

A nível de vocabulário há muita dificuldade. em compreender. Alguns professores diziam: “Eu não entendo o que eles me dizem, e eles não me entendem.

[M]any Brazilian students go to classes of Portuguese as L1 and do not understand because they are from the zones where they speak...

The Portuguese they speak is almost incomprehensible for us.

In terms of pronunciation?

Pronunciation, lexicon and syntax.

There is much difficulty at the vocabulary level in terms of comprehension. Some teachers were saying: “I don't understand what they say to me and they don't understand me”

[LPLNM; 04: 55-05: 18]

Once again, the fragment makes it evident that the argument of the language proximity/distance underlying the PLNM guidelines was not really working. The differences between the Brazilian and European Portuguese ran deeper than grammar distinctions, into pragmatics, socialisation models and world views. Despite being native speakers of Portuguese, speakers of the Brazilian variety found their language uses excluded from the repertoire outlined by the Portuguese school curriculum. In that sense, speakers of Brazilian Portuguese could not comply with the requirements. Since the European Portuguese is positioned as the only language of the host country and official education, all immigrant languages and other varieties of Portuguese lose their

value and relevance in official discourses of 'integration' precisely because of their immigrant condition. Immigrants who aspire for social mobility may internalise these ideologies and tend to adjust their behaviour accordingly. For example, during my fieldwork I encountered several Brazilians who consciously worked on loosing those prosodic features that were associated with the Brazilian Portuguese in order to get a better job. One of them became a language teacher and another a civil servant in a town hall. It should be added that Patricia considered this lack of reflection of real language uses to be somewhat compensated by including literary works of authors from the Portuguese-speaking countries ('Lusophone authors') into the National Reading Plan.

We have seen that real repertoires of speakers of creole languages and African languages are not contemplated in the conceptualisation of PLNM courses; Brazilian varieties of Portuguese – in that of L1 Portuguese. Furthermore, Patricia stated with some surprise that competences in L1 Portuguese of children who were native speakers of European Portuguese did not always correspond to the CEFR descriptors:

Example VI.13

P - Muitas vezes a gente vai ver os descritores e pensa assim: um miúdo português, um miúdo nativo de português quanto à idade e quanto ao tal grau de maturidade e de conhecimento, não tem aquelas competências!  
 OS - Nem sempre corresponde...  
 P – Não pode, não pode – um português!  
 Porque pelo seu desenvolvimento emocional (mhm) psicológico, linguístico ainda não chegou àquele patamar.  
 Por tanto, como é que nós adaptamos isto?  
 Eu acho que é difícil, eu acho que há um trabalho a fazer ainda, a adaptar os descritores à situação concreta

Many times you look at the descriptors and think: a Portuguese child, a Portuguese native child, as to the age or the degree of maturity and knowledge does not have these competences! They do not always correspond... He can't, he can't – a PORTUGUESE! Because due to his emotional, psychological and linguistic development he hasn't reached this level. So how can we adapt it? I think it is difficult, I think there is still much work to do, to adapt descriptors to a concrete situation  
 [LPLNM; 14: 22]

—

So how can it happen that native speakers of Portuguese fail to fit into the CEFR categories?

The reasons could be attributed to the fact that the CEFR framework descriptors fail to describe the real uses and practices of language because they do not account for:

- a) the **age** of learners, being oriented toward educated adult learners rather than children;
- b) for the **context** of acquisition, being applied equally in a situation of a regular but limited exposure to the 'target language' and of a permanent immersion in it; in a situation of language being specifically taught by an education professional and being self-taught. CEFR reveals inadequate in real multilingual contexts, in which speakers often acquire 'truncated'

repertoires drawing from several languages (Blommaert 2010; Saxena 1994) rather than several 'complete' repertoires.

- c) for the **nature** of learning, being applied both in the case of voluntary foreign language learning (e.g. elite bilingualism) and in that of imposed L2 acquisition (e.g. for citizenship and naturalisation effects).
- d) for the **variety of registers, genres or accents** in a given language, since no-one is capable of being equally proficient in all of them at once, rather becoming specialised in particular ones over the years.

In short, as Blommaert sums up: “Testing systems, such as the European Language Levels, stand in a curious relationship to the real resources and skills that people have, because they believe they measure languages, while in fact they measure specific resources” (Blommaert 2010: 105). The very idea of measuring of a language presupposes the language as a closed and fixed system which is used by an abstract average native speaker taken out of his/her social and historical context. What the language level descriptors do very well is influence the language corpus and its acquisition, as they describe a particular range of resources for each level, and imply a sequential acquisition of certain genres.

Patricia's surprise with the fact that native speakers of Portuguese were not capable to comply with the CEFR descriptors resulted from the role the descriptors play in status planning. Since a native-like proficiency is positioned as a goal, the CEFR descriptors end up perpetuating the higher status for a native speaker of Portuguese. Such goal is very hard to achieve:

Example VI.14

*Eu acho que [...] depende-depende-depende daquilo que ele [o aluno] pretende fazer da vida, depende das metas que ele faça para si próprio e depende de com que idade começou, da língua materna. Eu acho que depende de tanta coisa! [...] Agora, eu acho que para conseguir ter um nível de proficiência idêntico a um nativo [sigh], acho que é preciso de muito tempo e muito trabalho e acho que a escola só não chega. É preciso um esforço pessoal. [...] E é diferente quando se tem 3 ou 4 anos ou 11 ou 12*

{I think that it [...] depends-dependends depends on what the student wants to do in life, it depends on the goals he sets for himself and depends on the age at which he started, on the mother tongue. I think it depends on so many things! [...] Now, I think in order to achieve a proficiency which equals a native one [sigh], I think much time and work are needed and I think relying on the school only is not enough. A personal effort is required. [...] It is different when you are 3-4 years or 11-12}

[LPLNM; 72: 12-73: 27]

The “personal effort”, according to Patricia, should include watching Portuguese TV and reading Portuguese newspapers, listening to the radio in Portuguese [LPLNM; 28: 30; 30: 00]. Even though it may appear as “encroaching” on uses of languages at home, it may be useful in terms of adding the corresponding registers and genres in Portuguese to the multilingual repertoires.

Families have got an important role to play in the ways in which children manage linguistic resources in their repertoires. Patricia felt that families should collaborate with schools in promoting socialisation and learning in schools, as well as in giving visibility of the “non-used languages” [LPLNM; 42: 23]. In her view, the visibility task was distributed between schools and families in such a way that schools provided the space and time outside their curricular activities, and families filled it with content, like “gastronomy, music, dance, and handicrafts” [LPLNM: 41: 33]. Lack of cooperation in providing the content among speakers of other languages Patricia linked to unwillingness, shame and resistance. These expectations and judgements seemed to imply a notion of culture as a bounded product ready to consume, leading to a paternalist perspective according to which the allegedly exotic Other has to perform his cultural identity. It is also a good example of the perceived categorisations between us and them, and of the patterns of distribution of time and space between different languages.

Patricia stated that some immigrant families were however too eager to speed up the process of assimilation: *“the worst thing is when parents, especially creole-speaking, start speaking Portuguese at home to their kids [...] the kids end up speaking incorrect Portuguese and not speaking their mother tongues. At home, they should take care of the mother tongue and at school they should take care of Portuguese”* [LPLNM; 27: 40-28: 00]. Although I do not consider it right when parents stop using their home languages when talking to their children, and never have done it myself, I would like to address the ideological messages implied in Patricia's comment: a) “mother tongues belong exclusively to the family whereas Portuguese – to school”, b) “immigrant parents speak Portuguese incorrectly”, and c) “languages should be learned as spoken correctly”.

On the one hand, the simplistic idea that languages are kept in water-tight compartments and used one language at a time originates from monoglot ideologies that see multilingual communication as a sum of bounded monolingualisms. In my ethnographic observations, I made a note of different linguistic practices in immigrant households. Immigrant children were used to hearing Portuguese (not always correctly spoken) even in the households where parents had issued a restrictive ban on the use of Portuguese. Some immigrant parents managed to master Portuguese language to quite a high standard while others spoke it with a varying degree of proficiency. Moreover, very often people, including “native speakers” of Portuguese, use “bad” forms (e.g. ill-placed stress, wrong collocation and syntax etc.) without as much as realising it, yet it rarely impedes their communication with other people, since most of the meaning can be derived from the situation. There are situations when people incorporate “bad forms” on purpose,

to give a personal flavour, for a humorous or derogatory effect. The very idea of an existence of an abstract “correct Portuguese” emerges as a myth, since the normative criteria do not appear on their own, being rather defined within the society and therefore subject to change.

Secondly, when immigrant children go to school it usually takes them little time to spot the differences between the ways their parents and their teachers speak and to draw conclusions. Moreover, not all of their Portuguese teachers turn out to be highly proficient in language norms either. As to the alleged lack of learning of their mother tongues, immigrant children in such families often grow with a receptive knowledge of those languages: they are capable of processing and adequately reacting to messages in those languages. This kind of knowledge requires quite a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which languages work, thus incorporating their repertoires. So the receptive knowledge cannot be equalled to a total ignorance.

On the other hand, such parental attitudes carry other important messages across: some languages are more important, visible and powerful than others, and people may choose to use the powerful ones and tend to reduce their use of less powerful ones. Some languages survive only in the private spaces while others are used openly. Although these messages have a considerable impact on children's choices, they are not at all permanent. A receptive knowledge may be easily developed into an active one, once the child consciously takes this decision. A 'hidden' language may become visible.

The ideologies of language visibility, language status and of division between home vs. school languages came together when the local PLNM coordinator started speaking on so-called “community schools”, organised by Eastern European immigrant parents. According to Patricia, unlike creole-speaking parents, whose “major concern is assimilation”, Eastern European parents “have more pride and care in preservation of their roots”. That is why, she felt, they organised schools in which their children “recover at the weekend what they have not been able to recover during the week – maths, native language...” [LPLNM; 46: 01-46: 43]. Patricia especially stressed the high value of Russian classical literature – “great authors, quality literature”. In her opinion, community schools “*têm um papel supletivo – tentam colmatar as lacunas do nosso sistema do ensino é que não é de facto muito exigente e tentam – e eu acho muito bem – preservar as raízes e a língua e a cultura*” [LPLNM; 47: 05-47: 15] [“have a supplementary role by trying to fill the gaps in our education system-- which in fact is not very demanding-- and trying - and I think very well - to preserve the roots and the language and culture”].

We can see how discourses of the higher scales are echoed in this fragment: languages spoken by

Eastern European immigrants were attributed a higher value in comparison with creoles and African languages; these immigrants were presented as more organised and having a clear idea of what to expect from school so they created special spaces to provide their home languages with the deserved visibility. The verbs “preserve” and “recover” in learning languages can be linked either to a banking metaphor, by which the required cultural balance/capital is regained by the means of resources in other languages and maintained through additional time investment, or to an ecological metaphor, by which the balance of the system is preserved and recovered also by engaging additional resources. Both metaphors nevertheless seem to describe learning as a linear progression from one bounded point on the line to another, as both “recover” and “preserve” have a meaning of completeness to them.

Just like state level discourses, local level institutional discourses situated home languages outside the official school curriculum, to which they remained virtually invisible (except as a hindrance in acquisition of Portuguese). The institutional agents of both state and local level remained largely unaware of the ways in which other languages could contribute to more effective learning of Portuguese when provided with real visibility. However, when the idea was suggested to them, the interviewed agents promptly enumerated its advantages in “teacher in-service training”, creating an “added value for the mother tongues” and helping “enrich non-immigrant students” [LPLNM: 74: 00-74: 30, also DGIDC report]. So we can see there seemed no hardened opposition to a more flexible design and practices within spaces designated for schooling. Yet, the powerful discourses which originated in higher scales (politics, economy, academia) defined and controlled the borders between the languages across space and time while operating monoglot ideologies. These borders delineated spaces available for particular languages and determined their mobility potential.

### **VI.5.1 Speakers of other languages in Portuguese schools: the right to be different**

Most parents and children highlighted that speakers of languages other than Portuguese had been received well in Portuguese classrooms. The main difficulties the children had experienced were attributed to their newcomer position or to their personality traits rather than linked to the differences between home and school languages or to the exposure to literacies in other languages. However, over the years of ethnography I have collected considerable data of situations (interactions witnessed by the researcher or referred to in the ethnographic interviews) that may throw light on *de facto*, local language and cultural policies acted out by teachers, classmates,

school staff, parents and children. Inspired by the work of Hornberger and Link on translanguaging and transliteracy, I called these situations “scenarios” (Hornberger and Link 2013<sup>57</sup>) and subsequently grouped them into four groups, as follows:

1) Difference as nuisance

- a) A Ukrainian girl did not have any additional Portuguese classes at her primary school because her Portuguese teacher “had wanted her to be treated like everyone else in the classroom” [E1; 145-146];
- b) During the playtime in their Portuguese primary school, students were speaking Ukrainian among themselves. Teachers overheard them and told them “to speak Portuguese because we don't understand what you're saying there” [E1; 56-58];
- c) Russian-speaking students opted out of speaking Russian to their parents on the grounds of the Portuguese school, or indicated this choice by pulling the parents aside or cutting the conversation short [O2, K4, A1, F1]
- d) A Ukrainian girl was being mocked by her Portuguese classmates who called her “*ucraniana*” and told her that she should not be living in Portugal [H1; 471-472]

All the described scenarios emerged in mainstream school settings which are often imagined as monolingual (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997) despite being actually multilingual. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the official PLNM policies may have also contributed to monolingualising schools by pushing languages other than Portuguese outside the curriculum and problematising them. Moreover, immigrant parents may inadvertently encourage this homogenisation by demanding from their child's teacher not to distinguish their child from the rest of the class.

2) Difference as a right

By contrast, scenarios within this group describe situations where the use of different linguistic resources by students is acknowledged:

- a) A Russian-speaking student who came recently from Ukraine often stayed after classes with his Portuguese teacher for some extra exercises. The elderly teacher, who was working her last year before retirement, “[...] was interested. By trying out different methods that might work, she challenged herself to do something new. Imagine, she'd taught for decades and suddenly something else is required that she'd never done before” [I2; 90-94].
- b) A Ukrainian girl signed her name on an exercise-book. Her Portuguese teacher corrected it so that the name resembled a Portuguese one (e.g. from “Lyudmila” to “Ludmila”). As the teacher was rewriting the girl's name, she pointed out that there was no letter “y” in the Portuguese alphabet. The girl's mother noticed the change and went to school to explain to the teacher that the name should stay in its original form, because it figured in the girl's official documents [K1; 210-213].
- c) A Ukrainian student, who had arrived two years before, did her national History and Geography exam in a different format from the rest of her class. The exam sheet had been specifically adapted for speakers of other languages and contained simplified instructions

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57 Heller 2007 calls these vignettes.

and questions on the same material [LPLNM; 53: 13].

Despite situating linguistic resources from other languages outside the mainstream educational practice (2a – after classes), the scenarios of this category open up a reflection on the actual use of multilingual resources. This reflection may help challenge monolingual ideologies in the classroom. Immigrant parents often expressed a view that children speaking other languages, especially those who had come to Portugal from a different country, could not be expected by their teachers to succeed at school as well as the Portuguese children. The parents considered that part of the cultural and linguistic knowledge was learned from socialisation – something that could not be learned from books. Yet this viewpoint was often shared by parents who nevertheless compared their children's Russian communicative repertoires with those of children who had never lived outside Russia, Ukraine or Belarus.

3) Difference is cool

- a) Russian-speaking teenagers shared some files of Russian pop-music with their Portuguese classmates. The classmates loved the music so much that they learned to sing the chorus in Russian [B-V; A-T].
- b) Portuguese classmates overheard how their Russian-speaking classmate was talking in Russian to her mother and asked to teach them a few words. From that moment on, whenever the mother telephoned her daughter while she was at school or spoke to her in front of her classmates, everybody would say 'hello', 'goodbye' and 'thanks' to her in Russian [K-KM]
- c) Three Russian-speaking teenage girls had become very popular in their class. Their parents and the girls themselves attributed their popularity to the privileged access to different sources of knowledge in several languages [B, G-V; K-KM; A-T].

Scenarios of this category described situations in which the knowledge of another language was valued as providing additional resources that could complement and amplify the experience of the world (additive bilingualism). These resources could be shared and combined creatively in the classroom, and taken on to the spaces immediately outside the classroom, to interactions with other peers and family members (cf. language crossing Rampton 1995). Indeed, I have recorded a scenario when a Portuguese parent phoned her Russian-speaking friend to find out what a Russian phrase “*idi syuda*” [come here] meant. It turned out that her daughter had picked up the phrase in a game with her Russian-speaking playmate and was calling out to her mother from the other room: “Mum, *idi syuda, idi syuda!*” [C1; 580-583].

4) Difference: an added responsibility or an assumed inequality?

A Russian girl excelled at every subject in her Portuguese school; she had always been encouraged by her parents to outperform the rest of the class. The parents explained their position like this: “life won't be easy for her because she is Russian-speaking, not a Portuguese. She would be able to

achieve a positive result in any collective provided she gets the best marks. Only then all her minor mistakes, incorrect phrasing or possible miscomprehension in communication could be compensated" [B1; 489-493]. Similar points of view were conveyed by many other parents who thought that their children should be working harder to become level with their Portuguese classmates in terms of life opportunities. On the one hand, these opinions reflected parents' lived experiences back in the countries of origin. On the other hand, they originated in official discourses of nation-states (both the Soviet Union and Portugal) that privileged the 'native speaker'. For example, the local PLNM coordinator Patricia pointed out that immigrant children needed to work many years until they would become able to achieve proficiency in Portuguese. These ideologies have an effect of helping naturalise linguistic inequalities and perpetuate existing language hierarchies. Being assumed by immigrant parents, these ideologies are influenced by their own subject positions of immigrants and non-native speakers of Portuguese, which are deemed less powerful in an allegedly monolingual host society.

I have made an attempt to identify and summarise the common trends in the attitudes towards language difference among parents, children, their classmates and teachers in their relations to the mainstream education. These attitudes result in constructing social spaces for languages other than Portuguese in the mainstream schools and influence those situated outside them. These social spaces should be seen as agentive and non-neutral (Blommaert 2010), as well as dynamic, since they are sustained by multiple, changing and conflicting ideologies that are oriented towards different centres. The relationship between these centres keep shifting and is constantly being re-negotiated in interactions.

The next chapter looks at the complementary school from the perspective of a social semiotic space (Gee 2005) which is shaped by overlapping and competing discourses. In order to identify those ideological discourses, I follow trajectories of literacy artefacts across time and space.

# **Chapter VII      Ethnographic insights into the ideologies and practices of language and literacy socialisation within the complementary school**

## **VII.1      Introduction**

This chapter takes a closer look into the micro-level of negotiating between competing language ideologies within and around the site of the complementary school. In it, I aim to give an account of language and literacy practices shaped by conflicting ideological discourses in a highly stratified space of the complementary school.

The chapter opens with a detailed description of the setting situated in symbolic discourses that permeate it. Then it provides a characterisation of the community of practice of the complementary school in terms of class, ethnic and linguistic aspects, as well as schooling trajectories (e.g. models of bilingual education). It summarises main expectations of the immigrant parents regarding education of their children.

Then the chapter moves on to examine how the space of the complementary school is produced and reconfigured in interactions that take place in it. On the other hand, it considers how the changing spatial design of the classroom and literacy objects (e.g. blackboard) conditioned language and literacy interactions and meaning-making of the children and adult participants. Further, the chapter attempts to identify local and global connections in identity work through heritage talk and across languages, literacies in multiple modes of signification. The final section of the chapter traces the multiple trajectories emerging from one literacy event that took place in the complementary classroom. In this section, I take in turn to look at the literacy choices in terms of means of representation and their spatial design; at family histories of language and literacy socialisation and how they are embedded in their wider socio- and geopolitical contexts.

## **VII.2      From a home school to an immigrant association: moving upscale**

All ethnographic data for this research have been collected on-site and around a 'school' for Russian-speaking children in central Portugal. It was organised by immigrant parents and grandparents from the former Soviet Union (FSU) and started as a home school in 2004. This

school was the site of my previous ethnography of literacy practices and processes of biliteracy among its students. By the end of 2006, jointly with a Ukrainian class, the 'Russian' home school formed a complementary school for immigrant children of different ages (2-14 years old) and nationalities (Belarusian, Lithuanian, Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian, etc.).

The following year the school was transformed into an immigrant association. Over the years, the developing association have established contacts with various institutions ranging from local (town council offices, parish councils, migrant support centres, religious organisations and other NGOs) to governmental organisations and funds (the Portuguese *ACIDI*<sup>58</sup> and the Russian *Rosstrudnichestvo*<sup>59</sup>). It has achieved some visibility in the town thanks to its initiatives on literacy promotion and information support for immigrants, as well as to the organisation and participation in concerts and other cultural events.

The school has remained one of the main and most regular activities of the immigrant association. Every weekend three groups of children have gathered together for a part of the day to have their Russian language, history, environmental studies<sup>60</sup>, music, mathematics, handicrafts and drama classes. Traditionally, three-four times a year the school teachers, children and parents organised a joint celebration for other Eastern European immigrants in central Portugal.

The school had never had permanent premises: its classes had taken place in borrowed spaces such as local gyms, schools and churches, with the obvious impact on the school practices, discourses and configuration of resources. The host institution had always dictated the space-time management rules: ideally, no traces of the space being used by the Russian school should be detected by its habitual users. So the school teachers had to create makeshift displays and make sure no literacy artefacts in Cyrillic were left behind (or visible, as some materials could be stowed away in a cupboard). Still, the complementary school students were exposed to traces of literacy activities of the space owners (for ex., English class worksheets scattered in a Portuguese classroom, sports posters in the local gym, and religious leaflets in the church). The social space of the school thus represented a stratified place where the spatial distribution of authority, relationships of the participants and literacy practices within the school were being clearly conditioned by its complementary nature.

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58 *ACIDI, Alto Comissariado para Integração e Diálogo Intercultural*, which can be translated into English as Higher Commissioner for Integration and Intercultural Dialogue

59 The official translation for *Rosstrudnichestvo* is the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation

60 Environmental studies is a primary school subject which incorporates aspects of personal, social and health education, as well as history and geography issues.

In order to keep the school functioning, the association leaders had to perform a sophisticated work on formulating a discursive space for the school in the NGOs documents. Once the association started to insert itself into a complex mesh of institutional discourses in Portugal, it detached the school from the other association activities which were subject to a specific regulation, along with a range of school-oriented literacy artefacts (enrolment forms, parent questionnaires, parent notices etc.) thus creating a new 'locality' for it. Throughout the fieldwork I was able to observe the official discourse of the association take shape: while its syntactic structure was mainly modelled on discourses of similar organisations (emigrant associations, centres for extracurricular activities, etc.), its lexical content was often borrowed from the higher-level discourses. Due to the contacts on different scales ranging from local authorities to the state organisations, the discourse of the association had constantly shifted and been readjusted discursively. A certain thematic shift could be observed depending on what the 'superaddressee' (Bakhtin 1982) was: every time the lower-level scale discourse of the association moved up scale to seek legitimation in Portuguese higher-level discourses (e.g. town hall, parish council), themes of schooling and migrant rights had to give way to issues of cultural differences, e.g. in traditions and celebrations (on the 'culturalisation' trend in the immigration and minority debate in Europe see Eriksen 2007). Texts oriented to the Russian federal foundations emphasised the cultural heritage and intergenerational links through promotion of Russian 'language and culture'. Fragments from different discourses of higher level (e.g. legal, official discourses of the Portuguese and Russian government, European Commission) were used by the association leaders quite consciously to raise the symbolic value of their semiotic resources, thus providing the organisation with an upward mobility associated with the official recognition and access to grants and subsidies. The strategic use, configuration and selection of the available linguistic resources involved awareness of the appropriateness criteria in terms of registers, genres and styles, revealing a sophisticated understanding of the politics of access and symbolic economy of discursive resources, which were, in their turn, situated in higher sociocultural structures. Indeed, in this regard it would be extremely simplistic to talk about association documents as 'written in Russian and Portuguese 'languages'', because the up-scale movement involved engagement of much more complex and intricate linguistic and socio-political knowledge<sup>61</sup>. Likewise, the failure of the association to find a permanent space or funding could not be attributed to 'errors in Portuguese'

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61 I would like to stress that I am not providing concrete examples from the association documents for the lack of space in this chapter and for matters of confidentiality, not for the lack of data. I am more than happy to produce the data on request.

or inability to communicate the needs, as it should be seen as an outcome of power restrictions for an association of immigrants in the Portuguese society.

### **VII.3 Families and their histories**

The space of complementary 'school' had become a meeting point for families from different post-Soviet countries (Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Kazakhstan), who came from various social strata and had distinct migration status and histories. Complementary school students came from families in which at least one of the parents immigrated to Portugal from one of the FSU states. In the beginning of the fieldwork, most of the children had been born in one of those countries; by the end of it, the complementary school started receiving kids who had been born in Portugal. Their home languages could be identified as Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Lithuanian, Kazakh, as well as Russian-Ukrainian and Russian-Belarusian contact varieties. Most of the families were multilingual; Russian and Portuguese were the two languages used in all the households. The educational level of the parents and grandparents was relatively high: all of them had finished secondary school, some had moved on to receive professional training. Many parents held university degrees and a few had MA and PhD. All of the parents were familiar with the Soviet educational model and respective language policies, and experienced the changes in the post-Soviet states. From a geographical perspective, the majority of the families came from urban settings, a few lived in rural areas back in their home countries. Immigrant parents came from all over the FSU: Lithuania, central Russia, Siberia, across the Ukraine (e.g. Crimea, Kyiv), as well as from the areas of the post-Soviet Ukraine and Belarus that border with Russia, Poland and Romania. Some of the families moved to Portugal after having lived in one of the countries of the European Union.

Despite their diverse ethnic, national and social backgrounds, as well as the changing location and spatial configuration of the complementary school, immigrant parents and grandparents kept commonly referring to it as "Russian school". Each term on its own and their combination reconfigured the site, dictating criteria of appropriateness for practices and use of resources within it. Being constructed discursively as a school rather than a cultural centre or club shapes literacy practices and types of interactions within the particular management of time and space. For example, interactions were usually centred around a worksheet with exercises; a class usually lasted 45 minutes. However, since the spatial organisation was often different from that of a traditional classroom, the time and format constraints may have appeared as imposed.

Being configured as a school also pre-determined the positions available for adults and children and affected their relationships within the site. Since most teachers would usually bring their own children and grandchildren to school, almost every “Russian school” teacher was also a family member of a current or a former student. The fact that the school was informal, and many of its students had sometimes helped their parents to communicate in Portuguese (e.g. interpret notices they would bring from their Portuguese schools) and to learn digital literacy, created an interesting dynamic of hybridity and flexibility. On the one hand, this ambiguity made an impact on the complementary teacher authority; on the other hand, it opened ways for new types of relationship between adults and children that may result in more flexible pedagogies.

Being qualified as a Russian school attributed higher symbolic value to Russian linguistic and literacy resources among other local resources used in the families (Ukrainian, Romanian, Lithuanian, Kazakh, etc.), thus restricting their use and creating a regimented social space. Several times a need had arisen to introduce Ukrainian classes within the Russian school. The Ukrainian-speaking parents had wanted their kids to be taught in Ukrainian, a Ukrainian teacher was found, and yet all these attempts invariably failed due to the poor turnout of students. While some parents were pro-active in opening a Ukrainian class, others showed less enthusiasm and inertia, which resulted in its closing. By contrast, last year the school administration had to give in to the years of pressure on the part of the parents and finally opened an English class at the Russian school. Parental choice equally determined the school's curriculum: over the years, only three disciplines had been steadily taught – Russian language, history and environmental studies. The latter two are notable for their influence in shaping a child's world view, which reminds of one of the aspects targeted by the post-Soviet Russia's programmes on children of compatriots, especially in their textbooks of “Russian for children of compatriots”.

## **VII.4 Being schooled in Soviet and post-Soviet schools**

### **VII.4.1 School models, organisation and management**

All adult participants of the ethnography were familiar with Soviet and post-Soviet models of education. The majority of children participants went to kindergartens in such post-Soviet states as Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Two of the children have had some experience of post-Soviet schools. Many immigrant families brought with them to Portugal or acquired on their home visits different types of literacy teaching/learning materials, school course books, workbooks on subjects such as

mathematics, environmental studies, history, geography, etc. So all the children were aware of common formats, types and designs for exercises on literacy introduction in post-Soviet states.

On their arrival to the country, immigrant family members inevitably identified the differences between the Portuguese model of education and those they have experienced themselves as children. It should be stressed that the adult participants' experience of schooling covers virtually the whole range of models of education and types of schools available across the Soviet Union and post-Soviet states. A variety of schools is represented in the study: small national schools in rural areas, large "Russian" and national schools in national capitals which operate within official models of bilingual education, as well as schools from both remote and central parts of Russia. In other words, immigrant family histories of schooling and language learning are situated within language education policies of the USSR and post-Soviet states, associated with different forms of bilingual education and of linguistic imposition. Moreover, personal histories of socialisation of every adult immigrant are marked by *de facto* practices toward speakers of dominant and other languages.

All parents unanimously pointed out the main feature of the education in the Soviet and post-Soviet space to be its authoritarian and disciplinarian character. According to the parents, it is manifested both in the learning environment "which is oriented and based on strictness" [K2, 58] with "more rigid rules and order" [A1, 353], and in the kind of teacher-student relationship where "the teacher is like a master, everyone has to do whatever he says" [E1, 179-180]. However, opinions differ as to the possible advantages of this system. Some parents considered this authoritative and disciplinarian character to be one of the fundamental points in children socialisation: "It's good that he [the son] had started his studies there [in the home country] since the basis, the core had been laid out [...] – that you have to respect your teacher, to study, to answer only when asked; this core had been already established" [I3; 5-7]. Others viewed this type of environment as leading to the child "developing many complexes" and becoming "unable to express oneself" due to being "internally restrained" [A1, 437-438; 440].

Another very productive thematic thread in parent interviews can be described as an "efficiency" discourse. It may concern issues as different as time management, knowledge organisation and teaching and learning materials. Let us look at some of the parent interview excerpts:

1. "The knowledge is more systematised [...] the students are more independent, more responsible and try to do more and better, they are more competitive" [A1; 395-404]
2. "The student comes home and spends one hour, two hours doing his homework [...] he is assigned much more homework" [I1-2; 109-111]
3. "We had much more homework yet a different regime [...] we were free in the afternoon"

[H1; 856-858]

4. "Our homework was much more difficult. We had no workbooks where all you had to do is to underline or fill in. [...] Knowledge was rammed into us, rather than provided" [G1; 266, 277]
5. "She [the teacher] made us study everything from top to bottom" [H1; 634]
6. "It's totally unproductive. In school in Russia they would be given three times as much information in the same period of time" [B1; 625-626]

The efficiency discourse outlined a picture of a highly regimented space of learning which is oriented around the strong teacher authority. Knowledge seemed to be organised in such a way so that to facilitate its effective acquisition; time spent in studies was assessed in terms of productivity. This discourse was situated in higher scale discourses that compared the child's start of schooling with joining a job market, with school marks as the child's 'salary' which earned her a place in the collective value potential. It seemed to suggest an economy of school-family and student-teacher relationships where time and effort paid off with good marks.

Apart from economic discourses, other discourses from higher scales had entered and had been recycled and recontextualised in local teaching practices in Soviet schools: most parents highlighted the strong propaganda and opinion manipulation in their childhood classrooms. Specific discursive genres and formats had been created, modelled on military practices, such as regular all-school line-ups and classroom assemblies [E1; B1], and weekly political briefings. The highly regulated nature of the classroom provided perfect conditions for naturalisation of these discourses and the categories they operated. By starting their schooling, Soviet and post-Soviet children received "a ticket into an adult life" [C1; 333-334]. Parents in their narratives drew a vivid picture of "an enormous grey Soviet-style building [...] where everything is so grown-up that the child feels lost inside" [C1; 334-337].

In this way, some parents traced an outline of a formal and cold space divested of emotions. However, this formality was often associated with the efficiency: school buildings that were provided with everything needed for effective teaching and learning process: "a tape-recorder, a TV, a DVD-player, if you need them for the studies. Behind the desks there was a table game corner, pet's corner, indoor plants" [L1; 123-125]. Many parents commented on conditions in schools, since despite being part of a centralised education system, schools in the Soviet Union and especially in the post-Soviet period have had some autonomy in distributing and attracting financial resources for repair and maintenance of school buildings and classrooms. Parents were generally asked to provide a substantial contribution for those ends through parents' associations; sometimes parents themselves helped in repair and maintenance works thus making sure that

their children were comfortable in their classrooms. Even though this fact hardly appears to have any immediate connection to language education policies or *de facto* practices in schools, it meant a more effective and regular parental presence in schools, so that parents would be able to witness and somewhat monitor those policies in action in their children's classrooms. From this perspective, the parent participants formulated certain expectations regarding teacher-parent relationship, such as follows:

#### Example VII.1

At the Soviet school [...] the importance of a parent, the importance of a family in the teaching process was much higher than in Portugal. It was like this when we ourselves were students. The school was quite a strong educational and disciplinarian space. And the discipline consisted in the school rules, which both parents and students complied with. And the parents were one of the impact elements on the student – this is something that is clearly missing at the Portuguese school

[K1-3; 52-56]

Despite constructing an apparent hierarchical structure (school-teacher-parent-student), the provided fragment evidences an expectation for an active parental role in their children's schooling. The immigrant parents expected to be regularly contacted and consulted by their children's teachers. When this pattern was not fulfilled in Portugal, many parents took an initiative themselves: “Yes, I used to come to school very often, I still have a very close connection to the teachers” [I1-2; 96-97].

### **VII.4.2 Experiences, memories and outcomes of language-in-education policies and practices**

The interviewed parents and grandparents experienced the whole range of language education policies and *de facto* practices associated with both russification and nativisation agenda in the Soviet and post-Soviet territories. Their lived experiences became part of family histories of language and literacy socialisation and may have influenced family language policies and practices. For example, Pavel, a representative of a small ethnic minority in Russia, who had been educated in a boarding school, related his experience as follows:

#### Example VII.2

OS: Were there kids of many ethnic groups?

D1: Oh yes, there were so many of them! So rare surnames sometimes...[...]

OS: In which language did you all communicate?

D1: Mainly in Russian. Only in Russian. However, if they had brought someone from Khakas villages, he would throw in some words in Khakas. But those were not polite words, mainly bad names. Our educator would eventually realise that they were not good words and would ban them. And we also had our own secret words among ourselves, so that no-one else would be able to understand what we're saying.

OS: And those secret words were from some known language or you made them up?

D1: On the basis of Russian, we simply changed their meaning [D1; 87-103].

His linguistic repertoire at the boarding school had been shaped in two dissimilar directions: a) the higher scale agenda aiming to make language uses uniform within the boarding school site so as to facilitate inter-ethnic communication, and b) the local need of creating a solidarity network, a brotherhood of boarding school students vs. educators, which had to be supra-ethnic. Both agendas converged in the use of Russian. Despite this, local repertoires of the students still contained a few words and phrases from their home languages.

Parents who studied in the Soviet Russia stated that “it was not accepted to use home languages at school. [...] My classmates from Uzbekistan and other [...] they didn't use their languages, they spoke only Russian at school” [G1; 468-474]. Families, where other languages apart from Russian were spoken, would restrict their use to their homes. For example, my Tatar classmates never spoke Tatar to each other within the school setting. Other classmates could only guess about their Tatar background from their surnames.

The data collected among Ukrainian immigrant families throw some light at the extent to which their personal histories of literacy and language socialisation have been shaped by language policies in education. The practical implementation of those policies reflected the complex patterns within the geopolitical history of their home regions in Ukraine<sup>62</sup>.

People in Kharkiv, Donetsk and Crimea – traditionally Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine due to their long-term incorporation into the Russian Empire – have been socialised into a particular configuration of use of Ukrainian and Russian. One of the parents wittily remarked, “we spoke Russian but sung in Ukrainian” [H1; 30]. Most of them had studied Ukrainian language and literature as a separate school subject, while others had gone to schools where Ukrainian language was the main medium of instruction. However, even though the school subjects of “Russian and Ukrainian language ran parallel in terms of language assignments” [K1-1; 33-34 ], a certain specialisation in language use concerned other school subjects. All “technical and fundamental disciplines” like Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics had been taught in Russian even in the so-called 'national' schools [K1-1; 32-33, also M1; 46-47 and I1-1; 115-116].

It is notable how all the interviewed parents from Ukraine, including those from western Ukraine, tended to naturalise this distribution of uses between the two languages. Those who had grown up in Russian-speaking areas of Ukraine associated Ukrainian language to school grammar exercises, as well as particular literary, music and folk genres, whereas Russian 'belonged' to science,

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62 For more information, see the chapter on language policies in the Russian Empire, USSR and the post-Soviet Belarus, Russia and Ukraine.

business and professional training. Their relatives who lived in rural areas around Russian-speaking urban centres of Ukraine were reported to use one of the varieties which had resulted from the long-term contact between Ukrainian and Russian, a '*surzhyk*': "apart from Russian, whenever I telephone home to my mum, I speak in a mixed language to her, in *surzhyk*. Well, she would slip in Ukrainian words" [I1-1; 4-5]. Moreover, despite having been taught "the pure Ukrainian" by their grandparents and school teachers, i.e. being competent in the normative Ukrainian, adult participants living in Russian-speaking areas or families continued to communicate in Russian everyday. One of the parents, a post-doctorate student in Portugal at the time of the ethnography, pointed out: "All my studies at school and university were done in Russian. Besides, the graduation paper presentations and my thesis defence were also done in Russian" [M1; 75-76]. So unless the school leaver from the Eastern or Southern Ukraine considered a career in teaching Ukrainian language or Ukrainian studies, there would be no use for her to invest in Ukrainian language resources that would go beyond the informal register. So linguistic repertoires of children from these areas would be mostly Russian-based, with additional resources in Ukrainian which may have ranged from passive knowledge to active yet occasional use.

By contrast, parents who grew up in the western Ukraine – the region that had been exposed to the russification regime for a few decades – portrayed a different linguistic outcome. They all had gone to Ukrainian-medium schools where "Russian was studied as a second language" [E1; 10-11]. Another parent added: "Russian was in every school. Not as a foreign language, but as Russian" [N1; 72-73]. Unlike in other regions of Ukraine, Ukrainian linguistic resources had been used in more interactional contexts in the western Ukraine: it had been spoken at school, at home, in shops, health centres and churches. However, despite the actual wide use of Ukrainian, the symbolic value of Russian linguistic resources was deemed much higher, as explained by one of the parents:

#### Example VII.3

J1-1: I even think we must have known Russian better than Ukrainian at the time. Because those were the times. Soviet Union.

OS: Around you, people spoke in which language?

J1-1: In Ukrainian. And still, the Russian language was very important then.

OS: ...important for what?

J1-1: It was positioned as the most important language in the world. As a language of the future. And that was very significant to us – Pioneers, young Communists

[J1-1; 97-103].

Teaching of Russian and Ukrainian languages became ideologically loaded through its intertextual connection to higher scales propaganda discourses. In the context of a highly centralised system of

education, teaching of Russian and Ukrainian languages conserved the existing tensions between discourses of Ukrainian-speaking local elites, which had been rooted in the idea of national identification and associated to separatist movements and those of Communist Party apparatchiks who had been mostly Russian-speaking envoys. One of the parents highlighted the divide as follows: “They say, there is a single Ukrainian culture. Well, there is not a single culture. There is a Russian culture and there is a Ukrainian one. And until the politicians realise that, we cannot talk of any unification” [N1; 108-111].

The politicisation of teaching and learning Ukrainian and Russian languages contaminated all schooling [cf., for example, E1 remark on daily line-ups and assemblies] and resulted in the general sense of “negativity towards the Soviet Union” in the region [N1; 65]. Upward social mobility in the Soviet Ukraine implied the increasing use of Russian linguistic resources, so if the person were to opt out of using Russian language it may actually have been interpreted as active resistance to the Soviet regime thus closing down available choices. That is why linguistic repertoires of middle class and elites in the western Ukraine had to be bilingual.

The linguistic repertoires of the population in the borderland areas of Ukraine differed from those of the people from the other parts of Ukraine. They often included resources and registers in Polish or Romanian. Members of a family who come from a small rural region in Ukrainian Bukovina recalled (F2 and F1 are representatives of different generations; F2 is from older generation):

#### Example VII.4

F1: They say, we are Ukrainians. But after the World War II, this region – about six hundred thousand of people – became annexed to Ukraine. We were obliged to speak Russian as we were living in the Soviet Union, yet we had Romanian roots so we were obliged to know our language, to learn history of Romania.

OS: But by living in the Ukrainian Soviet republic, you would be supposed to learn Ukrainian?

F2: Yes, but it was already after the independence of Ukraine. I hadn't learned Ukrainian. At the Romanian school, we had had Russian language and literature, but no Ukrainian.

F1: Even I, who studied at school ten years ago, did not learn Ukrainian language

[F1; 38-46].

Living in a closed rural community about 20 km away from the Romanian border, where most inhabitants were ethnic Romanians, members of this family rarely needed to communicate in Ukrainian. If it had happened, any interaction in Ukrainian would not have gone beyond colloquial and informal register, since official documents in the Soviet Ukraine were bilingual, and the schooled Russian was enough to get by. The family members themselves stated to be able to understand Ukrainian yet “speak badly” [F1; 31-32]. So linguistic repertoires of the family members would be Romanian-based, with an additional knowledge of formal registers in Russian and some

specialised, context-based knowledge of Ukrainian.

Overall, it should be highlighted that the interview data obtained among the Ukrainian families revealed **at least three types** of bilingual repertoires. At the family level, factors such as ethnic belonging, class, gender, professional occupation, political leanings and future ambitions turned out to shape linguistic repertoires of family members. At the regional level, their repertoires had been shaped by the persistence of imposed linguistic regimes in the region; by its proximity to the border and the patterns of interaction with neighbouring territories; and by the type of settlement (urban-rural, closed-knit or open community).

According to the parents' interviews, the configuration of languages and their uses in Soviet Belarus appeared to be similar to that of Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine. Use of Belarusian language had been mainly associated to rural areas. In towns, there had been a little number of Belarusian-medium schools. The state policy had declared the learning of Belarusian language and literature as compulsory in all schools. However, these restrictions could be relaxed for some students on their parents' request: one of the mothers, Anna, remembered that she had not have to go to the Belarusian language class. She had been allowed to speak Russian and “to use Russian translations of Belarusian authors in her Belarusian literature class and exam” [O1; 159-160]. This local exception to the state language-in-education policy had had to do with the professional mobility of Anna's father, who was a prison warden. He had argued that his daughters should be educated only in Russian because Belarusian language tied his family to Belarus, whereas Russian was spoken across all the USSR republics. Even though his family never had to leave Belarus in the end, his daughters had grown up speaking Russian while having a passive knowledge of Polish and Belarusian.

In sum, despite the differences in the parents' communicative repertoires and in the types of schools across the USSSR and the post-Soviet space they had gone to, the dominant discourses had been oriented around the centrality of Russian. Whereas national titular languages had become associated to specialised and colloquial registers, scientific and technical disciplines had been taught in Russian even in national schools. Languages of non-titular and smaller ethnic groups had not been recognised by the state education, surviving through their use within the family. As a result, professional, social and geographical mobility had been linked almost solely to Russian. However, the apparently uniform top-down policies could be interpreted differently at the local level. Even though teachers and educators had had a decisive voice in incorporating policies in their classroom practices, parents may have also had their say in this process, especially through

participation in parent associations.

For most parents, the dissolution of the Soviet Union coincided with their final years in secondary school or the first years in higher or professional education. Many were preparing for their school-leaving or university exams. With the independence, the Ukrainian government took the course on Ukrainianisation regardless of the existing variety of patterns of uses in different regions of the country. Parents from Russian-speaking regions recalled quite vividly how those changes in policies had affected their lives:

Example VII.5

When the time came for me to prepare for exams to the Institute of Food Technology, the nativisation started so I had to learn how “lipid globule” was in Ukrainian. All teachers were in shock, we were in shock. We were supposed to do exams in Ukrainian. Imagine, go over chemistry book and translate it all into Ukrainian.[...] We had been placed before the fact that we had to speak Ukrainian from now on”

[I1-1; 116-127].

The new coercive regime of language policy caused mixed reactions. Parents who had lived in Eastern and Southern Ukraine interpreted the imposed indiscriminate ukrainianisation as an attempt to reduce and control their communication resources:

Example VII.6

A very strong policy of nativisation began -- ukrainianisation. It was practically forced on us. They made us create documentation in Ukrainian, read lectures in Ukrainian. It was a general state policy that had nothing to do with the people's desire to speak that language. They tried to limit our choice of languages.[K1-1; 57-63]

The imposed ukrainianisation had been seen as violation of the parent's linguistic rights, so the parent decided to use the ethnographic interview to express the protest:

Example VII.7

I refuse to speak this language. Despite being able to speak it, despite liking it – it is my form of protest against the fact that I am being made to use a language I don't want to use. By force. It's my protest against the linguistic violence

[K1-1; 75-78].

This refusal to collaborate in the coercive language use may have been one of the reasons to emigrate from Ukraine for this family and other families, especially because the state-provided choices had proved impossible to make. For example, upon the Ukrainian independence, a mixed Ukrainian-Romanian family had been offered a choice: either to apply for a Romanian passport and move to Romania or to stay in Ukraine and learn Ukrainian. The family started planning to leave for Europe as their own plans did not run either of these courses.

Other interviewed parents from Ukraine described a divided country:

Example VII.8

J1-1: When the Soviet Union had collapsed, it was a revival, a new era started for these Ukrainian patriots, for these people who had fought for this Ukraine for ages.

OS: And for the Ukrainian language, right?

J1-1: Yes. Those who spoke Russian, were treated with suspicion [squints and continues to speak in a nasal voice with distrust]: “So you are speaking Russian then...”

OS: Not patriotic enough?

J1-1: No, no! [laughs] You've become an "occupant"

[J1-1; 110-117]

In post-Soviet Belarus, parents complained of the impossibility to help their children with school homework, because they had not learned "words in Belarusian for mathematics or physics" [O1; 176-177].

The economic perturbations of the first post-independence years, the high inflation of the national currencies and the financial crisis in Russia of 1998 had created conditions for economic migration. In independent Ukraine and Belarus, the discontent among Russian-speaking families with the imposed regime of language use had created an additional motivation for migration. The Schengen agreement and the perspective of the EU enlargement to the East had provided the potential migrants with a chance to move to Europe.

### **VII.4.3 Involvement of immigrant parents in Portuguese schools**

Parents play a critical role in bilingual literacy and language socialisation of their children (Heath 1983; Ochs 1988; Pease-Alvarez 2003), as well as in their early bilingual development (Moin *et al* 2011). Summing up the research done in the last decades on parental views and involvement, Bekerman and Tatar (2009) point out that parental involvement in schools have been interpreted in such terms as:

- democracy – as their democratic right or democratic value;
- accountability – as a means of making schools more accountable to the society that funds them;
- consumer choice – parents as consumers should be able to influence the way the schools are run;
- a lever for raising standards – making parental attitudes towards schools more positive (Bekerman and Tatar 2009: 173).

Lucinda Pease-Alvarez warns against portraying parental views as "monolithic and unvarying" (Pease-Alvarez 2003: 9). During the years of ethnographic observations and conversations with parents I have been able to see how their views changed and shifted. Yet there was one thing the immigrant parents maintained throughout those years: the idea of their parental mission. It consisted, according to them, in providing the best education possible for their children "just like [their] parents had done" [H1; 634-636]. Their involvement in Portuguese schools helped them to fulfil this mission, so they interpreted it as their right and as a way to guarantee the due respect

towards their children. Mothers turned out to be particularly active in establishing contacts with the school. As they considered teachers' schedules of visiting hours quite tight, they developed a few strategies to get round them: they wrote notes or phoned to the class tutor, helped organise extracurricular activities and overall became regular visitors in their children's schools. Some parents, whenever they were in doubt about a teacher's note, announcement or homework, found creative ways of seeking teacher's advice. This included, in one particular case, waiting for the teacher at the school entrance. I have recorded several accounts of mothers' intervention and negotiation in matters as different as classroom seating arrangements, homework assignments, and holiday reading lists. However, sometimes their active roles backfired. One of the mothers told me how one of her regular teacher visits had had an unpredictable effect on her son's position in the classroom:

#### Example VII.9

I usually go to school once a month. So I came and the teacher started to ask me how the things had been done in our schools and so on. I had always thought that the amount of school work [in the Portuguese school] was insufficient, because when you come and all you have to do is just mark the correct answer or match a question with an answer – it is too little for me. We do things in a different way. I am not saying whether better or worse. In our schools, a pupil comes home from school and does homework for an hour or two. Different system, more homework. [...]. So the very next day this teacher enters the classroom and says: "From this day on, dear friends, I'm going to give you twice as much work because Mikhail's mother told me about... Mikhail came home with such a look in his face! [...] And told me: "Mum, you are not to be seen at school again! They all wanted a piece of me!"

[12: 104-117].

Along the ethnography, I observed and recorded how differences between the models of learning were discussed and negotiated in interactions between children and parents, as well as between Portuguese school teachers and parents. Some of these discussions had implications for the ways in which speakers of other languages were positioned in Portuguese classrooms.

## **VII.5 Complementary school as a semiotic social space.**

In the following sections, I propose to examine how the content for the complementary school was co-constructed by the adult and children participants of the setting. For this, we will take a look at various types of data: from ethnographic photos and textual artefacts to descriptions and recordings of interactions and interviews.

The complementary school was created by the immigrant parents and grandparents as an additional social space for home languages. Due to the informal nature of the complementary school, it could appear to be quite open for pedagogical and ideological experimentation and negotiation. However, its discursive production was constrained by different language ideologies and literacy socialisation histories of participant families and educators. Most parents defined its

purpose quite broadly as a place where their children would be able to communicate with other children in their home languages. The home languages included Russian, Ukrainian, contact-induced Russian-Ukrainian (*surzhyk*) and Russian-Belarusian varieties (*trasyanka*), Romanian and Kazakh.

Previous research on complementary schools in Britain (Martin *et al.* 2006; Creese and Martin 2008; Blackledge and Creese 2010) described the commonly accepted mode of separation between the students' home languages and the languages of the host country. This mode, as Creese and Blackledge explained, is linked to “the anxiety about language shift and loss of the community language and heritage identities in the face of the dominance of English” (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 112). Similar mode of practice operated both in the participant households and in the complementary school. However, the ethnographic observations on site seemed to suggest a more complex pattern of separation and required a more nuanced description.

In most of the participant households I was able to observe a separation of linguistic resources in different languages in space and in time. It ranged from the spatial separation of books and artefacts in Russian/Ukrainian from those in Portuguese to the symbolic one, establishing boundaries in time and space for the household uses of those resources. Many of the participant family language policies were based on the “no Portuguese” rule in their households: “*We have got a deal with the kids: at home we speak Russian. The moment we pass over the threshold we speak Portuguese*” [H1: 105-106]. The use of Ukrainian was welcomed including the Russian families.

Multilingual families sometimes organised their linguistic regimes around concrete people: for example, in one of the Belarusian families, the mother spoke Russian to her little daughter and *trasyanka* to her mother, her daughter's grandmother. Yet the “one person-one language” rule did not always work in the families: in one of the Russian-Portuguese mixed families the Russian father still spoke Portuguese to his daughter; many parents used Portuguese or English when talking to their children at home.

The years of fieldwork observations indicate the need for a more fine-grained analysis of uses of linguistic resources, situated in the history of language policies of the people's home states. For example, several Ukrainian families communicated with Russians and Russian-speaking parents using the regime of dual-lingualism (Scollon 2002: 130) or non-accommodating bilingualism (Bilaniuk and Melnik 2008b) in which every party continues to speak his/her own language. The bounded distribution between linguistic resources with origins in different languages was

mediated by discursive practices on various scales: it is rooted in the local practices of language uses as well as in the separation of languages in bilingual education in Ukraine and Belarus (see chapter 4); it is foregrounded by the discourses of the Russian federal agencies for compatriots (*Rossostrudnichestvo*) and funding organisations (*Russky Mir*)<sup>63</sup>. It equally permeates the official PLNM discourses in Portugal, which marginalise and essentialise the use of home languages.

Some of the habitual linguistic practices carried over into the complementary school, where some teachers and administrators tried to steer the language teaching toward the separate bilingualism. Ukrainian parents, especially those who did not habitually speak Russian at home, used the Russian school as a place of introduction to literacy in a language close to Ukrainian, as they had planned to teach their children literacy in Ukrainian at home. In this sense, the discursive configuration of the complementary school as a 'Russian school' pushed other languages spoken in the participants' households to the margins of the curricular activities.

#### Example VII.10

The following is an excerpt from Oleg's written homework produced for the Russian class at the complementary school. The artefact below represents a written response to a series of questions to a text previously read in class. The text itself runs: "Vova was given a dictionary because he could not write [properly, without spelling mistakes]".

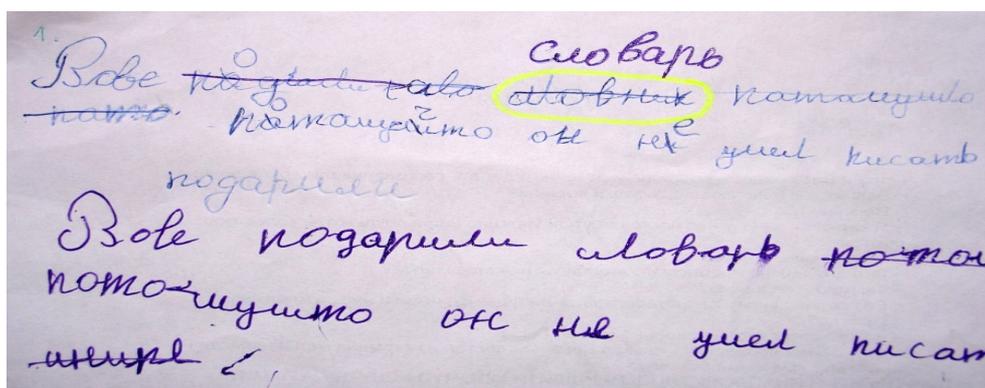


Figure 7.1. Oleg's homework.

A closer look at the artefact makes it evident that two versions of the text had been produced: the initial version contained considerably more corrections than the second one. Moreover, another person was present at the time the boy was doing his homework, as some letters and words were written in a different handwriting. When I took this piece of data to the boy's household, it turned out that it had been Oleg's mother Alina who had helped him write this text. Alina had corrected

63 The foundation *Russky Mir* uses the following poetic quote for a slogan: "И мы сохраним тебя,/ русская речь,/ Великое русское слово./ Свободным и чистым тебя пронесем,/ И внукам дадим, и от плена спасем/ Навек!" ["And we will preserve you, Russian speech,/ Mighty Russian word!/ We will transmit you to our grandchildren/ Free and pure and rescued from captivity/ Forever!"]. The fragment is taken from the poem "Muzhestvo" [Courage] written by Anna Akhmatova in March 1942, when the Russian sovereignty was threatened).

the letters that had resulted from the lack of implementation of orthographic rules, provided letter models for Oleg to copy, then inserted two entire words (those written above the lines), and ended up insisting that Oleg rewrite the whole text. That is why the second version of the sentence appeared – due to too many corrections. Along with the letters which had problems with the graphic shape and orthography, Alina crossed out the Ukrainian word for “dictionary” (словник-“slovník”, the circled word) which Oleg had used and placed above it the Russian counterpart (словарь-“slovar’”). Both the Russian and Ukrainian words share the same Slavic root слов-“slov- (“word”). The Ukrainian “slovník” and Russian “slovar’” use suffixes (-nik and –ar’) which are identical in their semantic function, yet are formally different, as follows:

1. СЛОВ- <i>Slov-</i> “word” [Slavic root]	2. + <i>арь</i> ‘-ar’ (“collection”) Russian suffix
	• <i>ник</i> ‘-nik’ (“collection”) Ukrainian suffix

Table 1: Ukrainian vs. Russian suffix

As the difference between the Ukrainian and Russian suffix was merely formal, it would not prevent Russian-speaking classmates or teacher from understanding what Oleg had been trying to express in his response. Alina nevertheless chose to strike the Ukrainian word out.

Inscription and re-inscription over time and space Who acts? Who assesses? Who is guiding and who is positioning?	
Teacher:	cyrillic alphabet
Schoolmates:	guessing the word from Slavic root in talk and joint activity
Parent:	“Correcting” Ukrainian word with the Russian word

Figure 7.2. Inscription and re-inscription over time and space

As illustrated by Fig.7.2, this artifact can be interpreted at two levels: first, at the level of intersubjective space created by the immediate interaction between the mother and the boy and their understanding of the situation; and second, at the level of idiolect (Scollon 1977; Scollon 2004; Kramsch 2002) that includes personal literacy histories of the participants and the way those influenced their momentary decisions. The participants' idiolect represents his/her personal repertoire of semiotic means that formed over their time as social actors. From the level of the intersubjective space, Oleg and his mother had pursued the apparently common objective of producing a written text without mistakes. Whilst they engaged in the process of writing, they had to negotiate their personal understanding of a mistake, their ways of correcting it, their idea of the

final result, as well as the resources used for all the above purposes. Yet the boy and his mother had different agendas. In the first version of the sentence, Oleg was mainly concerned with (1) producing 'the correct' letter shapes and (2) producing a graphic representation which would directly correspond to the phonetic image of the text in his mind. His decisions had to do with choosing 'the correct' grapheme from the two writing systems available to him, thus seeking his mother's help whenever he failed to remember the letter shape in the Cyrillic system. At the same time, he relied on his own decoding abilities in order to arrive at a phonetically correct graphic representation. These decisions seemed to reveal the boy's claim for a place in the complementary school as a semiotic social space: his idea of the external organisation of the appropriate set of signs for the classroom seemed to be associated with the non-Roman based, hence Cyrillic writing. Oleg seemed to interpret the internal grammar rules to be connected with a formally correct and phonetically accurate representation.

Alina's idea of the set of signs, even though converging in the notion of appropriateness and neatness, went beyond phonetic accuracy and appropriate graphemic choice. She wanted the text (1) to be free from mixing, i.e. written in one written code (Cyrillic) and one language (Russian), and (2) to correspond to orthography rules of that language. By striking out graphemes from the Roman-based alphabet as well as the Ukrainian word, she gave Oleg a lesson in language appropriateness and helped establish boundaries between written codes and languages. Alina appeared to indicate the following rules: a) while Roman-based code could be used in another school setting (the Portuguese school the boy goes to), it was not appropriate at the complementary school; b) while Ukrainian could be appropriate at home and with Ukrainian-speaking people; and c) while some Ukrainian could be accepted in oral communication with the complementary school members, it was not acceptable in a written community school homework. Thus Alina's mediated action warned Oleg of a flaw in his conceptualisation of the external design of the SSS. Oleg's idea of 'Russianness' (associated with the external grammar of the SSS) clashed with Alina's, since for him it appeared to concern everything that is not associated with Portuguese (written characters, vocabulary, etc.), whereas for Alina it excluded Ukrainian resources as well, especially in the written mode.

The negotiations evident in the artefact production could be summed up in the following way:

<i>Alina's actions</i>	<i>Negotiations: performing uses of languages at school</i>	<i>Oleg's actions</i>
Points out rules constraining the relation between the oral and written modes in Russian	Decoding practices (perception)	Attempts to transduct from the oral into written mode accurately, applying available means
Restricts the choice of graphemes to	Material artefacts, technologies, writing	Attempts to produce graphic shapes from available

those drawn from Cyrillic-based Russian writing system Assesses the correctness of the graphic shapes	systems (production)	writing systems (Roman-based and Cyrillic-based)
Restricts the choice of languages in school work	Schooling practices Languages of instruction	Makes no distinction between Russian and Ukrainian languages, having separated them from Portuguese.
Points out the boundaries between multilingual and monolingual uses in oral vs. written communication	Situated identities	Manifests multiple and flexible identities distributed across spaces of action

Table 2. Participants' actions as construction of SSS

## VII.5.1 Personal trajectories: Oleg and Alina

At the time of data collection, Oleg was an eight-year-old Ukrainian boy who had arrived to the country with his parents two years earlier. By the time he started attending Russian classes at the informal school, the boy had already been taught at his Portuguese school to read and write in Portuguese using a Roman-based alphabet. He had also had some passive knowledge of Cyrillic alphabet from the years he had lived back in Ukraine, especially because his grandmother had had a habit of reading to him.

Unlike other Ukrainians in his complementary classroom who came from Russian-speaking families, Oleg's family spoke Ukrainian at home and in communication with their friends and acquaintances. Oleg's parents also often used Russian to interact with other students and parents of the complementary school, so Oleg had heard a considerable amount of Russian around. Sometimes Oleg would stumble upon a Russian word and would use a Ukrainian word instead. However, all Russian-speaking students and the teacher at the community school were generally able to deduce the meanings of the Ukrainian word.

Portuguese language has been present in Oleg's family life in Portugal in a range of activities and artefacts, starting from the Portuguese TV and conversations on the phone and with friends at home and in the street, to Portuguese homework, his favourite children books, notes from school, bills and street names, signs etc. Besides, it permeated informal interactions between the students of the informal school during breaks.

Now we can move on to trace Oleg's mother Alina personal history of language socialisation. For this, we can take an excerpt from her interview:

Example VII.11

..My father was a pilot<sup>64</sup>. Until my fourth grade our family had lived in the Far East, in Vladivostok. Ukrainian was not spoken in the family at all, even though both my mum and dad were Ukrainians. Then we went to live to Ukraine, to

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64 Soviet Army air fighter.

L'viv<sup>65</sup>, and I got enrolled into a Ukrainian school<sup>66</sup>. My cousin had taught me Ukrainian over the summer vacations before the school. Very quickly, by the end of that year, I became the first student in Ukrainian in my class.”

(excerpt interview/19 Jan 2005, 13.20)

Alina's idiolect had been formed in the zone of contact between two opposing language policies in the Soviet Union at the time: on the one hand, the policy of russification across the USSR which promoted Russian language as the language of interethnic communication, and of social and professional mobility; on the other hand, the strong nativisation trend in Western Ukraine, where the tension between Ukrainian and Russian was strongly politicised, and the division was intently watched. The use of bilingual resources in public spaces was limited to public signage and official documentation. In her personal history of language socialisation, Alina had been forced to switch from the context dominated by one language policy to another one, having to learn to speak and write a different language over a short period of time in order to fit in a different SSS with its local configurations of practices and ideologies.

For Alina, the literacy interaction around Oleg's school homework activated the ideological mechanisms she had acquired over her own history. As Alina wanted her son to fit in the complementary school, she mediated his actions through her own personal history of strict separation of languages in space and time. The insistence on separating Russian and Ukrainian morphological features was also connected to the macro-social policy of reinforcing the differentiation between Ukrainian and Russian linguistic resources in the modern Ukraine (cf. chapter 4; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a).

The event described above was recorded in the beginning of the fieldwork in 2005-2006. In five years (December 2011), I happened to overhear the following exchange between two girls during the break in the complementary school:

Example VII.12:

*K and V sat in the classroom weaving bracelets with colourful plastic threads.*

K- Где мой фіо? {Where is my thread-Pt ?}

V- Класно, К.! [laughs] {Brilliant K}!

«Где моя санета?» {“Where is my pen-Pt?”}

In this short exchange V., who is an older student, indicated another student K. the inappropriateness of using Portuguese words in the complementary classroom. I can argue that K. had relied on the fact that the interaction would still be successful: V replied to her and could help her find the lost thread. The fact that V mocked K's use, showed that V had understood what K wanted. The act of mocking was intended to mediated K's action and foreground the practice of

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65 In the Western Ukraine, where the policy of imposed russification acted only for some decades since 1940s.

66 In Ukrainian schools, Ukrainian was the language of instruction and Russian was taught as a foreign language.

non-mixing. Both girls had come from households where “no Portuguese” rule operated, so they were bound to recognise this practice. Both of the girls had been aware of the extension of this rule into the complementary school during the classes. Yet V directed K to extend the ban into the break as well. The complementary classroom thus represented to her a social space whose organisation dictated the strict separation in the use of codes from various languages. This notion was grounded in one of V's parents' linguistic purist views. The parent described the complementary school as a normative place where no code mixing could happen:

Example VII.13

достаточно большое количество времени, когда она на русском языке общается, и только на русском (.) и причем, грамотно, и с учителями, и не просто там с девочками играет, полу-русские, полу-украинские, полу- там, португальские - все это перемешано, а вот там чисто 4 часа слушает русскую речь.

it is a sufficiently large amount of time when she is communicating in Russian, and only in Russian (.) and correctly at that, with teachers, rather than simply playing with the girls, half-Russian, half-Ukrainian, half-say, Portuguese – everything mixed up (.) but simply listens to the Russian speech for 4 hrs

[B1: 712-715]

The parent described the school setting as exclusively Russian language territory, while deligitimising language mixing and code switching. In the interaction between the girls, V. also voiced and acted upon these views, so that we see how “(re)production of [...] ideologies [...] is [...] interactionally accomplished” (Heller 1996: 8).

In sum, the data presented in this section seem to suggest a multi-scalar policy of separate bilingualism in the complementary school: 1) the no-Portuguese rule within the classroom (and possibly during the break); 2) the constraint on the use of Ukrainian, which was restricted to the informal communication outside the classroom; 3) no code-mixing was tolerated in the written mode, from Roman-based literacies nor other languages with Cyrillic-based literacies. Rather than being distributed spatially across different domains, as it would be imagined in the sociolinguistics of distribution, the separation seems to be implicated in expectations about particular social spaces and actors while bearing sedimented traces of practices associated with those spaces in the personal histories of the space users. The data on the uses of Ukrainian language and literacy suggests that practices were dictated by the personal perception of the symbolic value of Ukrainian in the given interaction. Several participant families highlighted that Russian language had a larger mobility potential across Portugal and Europe.

## VII.6 “Safe” and affective spaces of/around languages and literacies

Being based on an informal school setting organised by parents for their children, my ethnographic

interviews had to address the ways in which language and literacy socialisation reflected and shaped the parent-child interpersonal relationship. From the discussion of these issues, quite a considerable number of parent interviews shifted further on into the sphere of emotional rather than rational reactions associated to particular uses of languages and literacies, as well as tied to certain literacy practices. My analysis thus had to capture the “pre- or extra-linguistic” (Navaro-Yashin 2009: 12) of the narrated spaces. As the parents spoke of the loss of ties they experienced with their children and which they attributed to the language and literacy, I realised that I will have to find ways to conceptualise their affect, which is “hazy and atmospheric” (Guattari 1996: 158), “scenic and territorialising” (*ibidem*: 160), quite impossible to pin down using the habitual sociolinguistic categorisations.

### VII.6.1 Spaces of speaking in Russian

The parents talked of feeling comfortable and at ease while speaking Russian and were literally gasping for air and in tears when imagining not to be able to share those sensations of comfort and ease with their children:

Example VII.14

A1 Она, когда общается с подружками по телефону там, я слышу Я на неё смотрю и ..мм я не вижу сво- Кто это? Не дочка моя! Человек, разговаривающий с.. ну.. на своем родном португальском языке, то есть вот так.

OS угу

A1 И мы с ней никогда не со-

OS - А на русском она, на русском она так уверенно не говорит, да?

A1 - никогда не соприкоснемся.

When she speaks to her friends on the phone I hear(.) I look at her and erm don't see my- (.) Who is this? [smiles sadly] Not my daughter! [smiles sadly] A person who is talking with ... well ... in her own Portuguese language, there it is hmm (.)

yeah...

And her and me we will never me-

In Russian, Russian she doesn't talk that fluently?

-will never meet .

[A1: 351-357]

In this example, the mother (Nastya) observed her daughter chatting away with her girlfriends on the phone and felt saddened by being unable to take part in this interaction. Later in one of her interviews Nastya expressed the view that the heart-to-heart talk could only happen in Russian. Nastya associated the insufficiently close relationship with her daughter to her daughter's lack of the common terms in Russian to express her feelings. In the following excerpt, another parent traces the similar link between not speaking Russian and a break in parent-child communication:

Example VII.15

С: и если Т единственный человек, с кем я, ну как (.) больше всего общаюсь, правильно?

Если даже она будет говорить со мной на португальском, как же ж я тогда вообще (.) вообще буду дурак.

so if T is the only person with whom I, well (.) communicate more often, right?

If even she would start speaking Portuguese to me how shall I be then (.) I'll be a complete fool then.

[C: 409-410]

Several families configured their linguistic repertoires in such a way so that to construct cocoon-

like spaces around themselves. In order to be effectively safe, these spaces had to be co-constructed meaningfully in the parent-child intersubjective relationship. Once I was in a shop together with Olena and her daughter Tania. I noticed that Tania had whispered something to Olena eyeing a strange-looking man near the cash register. After we left the shop, Olena explained that they used Russian in Portugal and Portuguese in Ukraine as “*a secret language, because Tania [had] realised that nobody could understand us*”, she said [C2: 512]. Having a secret language seemed to be very important for both the mother and the daughter, since the complicity made their relationship more enclosed and intimate. The strategy of secret language was also reportedly used by children to revive their Portuguese identities while being surrounded by otherwise Russian-based context, as follows:

Example VII.16

прошло два месяца, допустим, она говорила на русском, на русском, на русском, на русском, [...] он ее поймал один раз: она, говорит, становится так в уголочек и дедушка думает: “Что она там делает?” а она там стоит в уголочке и на португальском языке:

so, say, two months have passed, she has been speaking Russian, Russian, Russian, Russian, and he [grandfather] caught her once: she stands in the corner and the grandpa thinks: “Whatever is she doing there? and she is standing in the corner and in Portuguese :) [imitates a whispering sound].

[H2:368-371]

It may seem that the described use was successful in producing a safe space nested in the environment dominated by other languages. It might have also been a reaction to the parent's ban on speaking Portuguese in Ukraine, which was likely to be the reason of the following situation:

Example VII.17

пошли к ээ к зубному врачу, и [...] мой муж и бабушка наказывали: “К! Ни в коем случае не говори на португальском! К, пожалуйста, никто не должен знать, что ты с Португалии.” Но ребенку было четыре года.

Значит, ситуация такая, значит, сидят они там же дети все сидят. [...].

Ну прош- по прошествии там какого-то мину- минут сорок, вот, сидя перед зубным кабинетом, вот, эээ, К уже надоело это все, она уже не знала что делать и тут наша К начинает петь!

OS [ухмыляется]

H1 А поет она на каком языке?

Она на русском не знает песен - она поет на португальском. [...] она когда пела, она ммм ну пела потихонечку, люди там кто понимал, кто не понимал - не слышно=

OS =Не прислушивались особо.=

H1 =Не прислушивались. Но когда бабушка сделала замечание подошла и говорит: “К, пожалуйста, не пой на португальском языке.”

И она во весь голос, на весь коридор говорит: “Бабушка! Я же не разговариваю на португальском языке! Я – пою!”

They went to the dentist's and my husband and his mum ordered her: “K! Never ever speak Portuguese! Please, K, nobody needs to know that you're from Portugal”. Yet the child was only four.

So, the situation is like this, well, they're all sitting there all the other children are sitting waiting

So, after some ti- after about forty minutes, like, sitting at the dentist's office like, erm, K got bored with all the waiting, she did not know what to do so our K starts singing!

[chuckles]

And which language does she sing?

She doesn't know songs in Russian – she sings in Portuguese When she was singing, she erm was singing softly, people might have heard or not – it was barely discernible

They may have not listened out for it

Didn't listen out for it. Yet when the granny told her off came up and said: “K, please, don't sing in Portuguese”

And she [K] said, at the top of her voice, for the whole corridor to hear: “Granny! But I am not SPEAKING Portuguese! I am SINGING!

The reported interaction foregrounds the ideological tension between the total ban on using Portuguese imposed on the girl by her grandmother, and the one on speaking Portuguese as part of a multilingual repertoire, as it had been interpreted by the girl. The four-year old girl thus had managed to find a compromise, “an ideological crack” (Hornberger 2002) in the adults' language policy of separation, in such a way that allowed her to manifest her multilingual identity and to make sense of her multilingual world. In this sense, the four year old K. managed to create a “safe space” (Conteh and Brock 2011).

## VII.6.2 Spaces of literacy in Russian

Literacy in Russian represented another territory of comfort for the parents, something that they appeared to consider as an extension of their emotional contact with their children. Most of the parents stressed how important it was for them that their children should be able to read in Russian, as is evident in one of the mothers' interview:

### Example VII.18

С Ой, я бы очень хотела, чтоб она (.) чтобы она  
полюбила читать на русском языке.  
Я бы так хотела, чтобы она прочитала  
(неразборчиво)=  
OS =Она пока не любит?  
С Она вот она (.) ну она пока не до такой степени,  
чтобы  
взять книгу и начать читать.  
Вот это мне, кстати, очень, потому что я помню (.)  
я очень большой свой жизненный такой запас взяла  
из книг,  
потому что я поскольку рано научилась читать, в 4  
года (.)  
Это для меня было все - я садилась,  
я себе делала халабуду и я читала.  
И я [...] столько почерпнула из этих книг,  
понимаешь?  
Я перечитала все. Я к семи лет прочитала всего  
Джека Лондона, представляешь? [...]  
И я б так хотела б, чтоб она прочла эти книги,  
которые (.)  
хотя бы маленькую их часть, просто, чтобы с ней  
обсудить,  
чтоб у нее открылось то, что в свое время открылось  
мне.

Oh, I would very much like that she [the daughter](.)  
that she  
got to like reading in Russian.  
I would very much like that she read [indistinct]  
She doesn't like yet?  
She well she (.) well she doesn't [like] to the extent that  
she picked up a book and started reading.  
This, by the way, is very [?] to me because I remember  
(.)  
I stocked an extensive baggage for life from the books,  
since I had learned to read very early, at 4 years old (.)  
This was everything to me: I would sit down [on the  
floor],  
would build myself a hut out of chairs and blankets and  
I read.  
And I have drawn so much from those books, you  
know?  
I have read everything. By seven, I had read the entire  
works by Jack London, imagine? [...]  
And I would love so much that she read those books (.)  
at least a small part, so that we could discuss it  
together,  
so that she'd discover all that which I'd discovered  
myself.

[C; 434-450]

In this quite vivid description, we can picture a little girl engrossed in a book. The material object – a book appears to trigger a number of emotions and sensations for the mother. The activity of reading is associated, on the one scale, with the thrill of learning about the big world, of getting

new knowledge. On the other, the sensory and corporeal scale, it is connected with the withdrawal from the immediate world, with the warmth and comfort of a home, of the hut improvised out of chairs and blankets. In this sense, reading becomes an “affective space” (Navaro-Yashin 2009), a space filled with emotions and sensations generated by the environment and by the material object. It is a phenomenological experience, mediated by parental bodies and invested with histories. Olena, one of the mothers, continued to elaborate as follows:

Example VII.19

Я считаю, что- может быть это старомодный взгляд-  
но по-моему нет ничего лучше перелистывать эти  
листочки (.) и вот это вот (.)  
и вдруг ты наткнулся на какой-то момент,  
и ты не понял.  
И ты можешь отлистать обратно и прочитать, а не  
*scroll*. Они ж пахнут и (.)  
я не знаю, я бы хотела, чтобы она это ощутила.

I think-it maybe a bit old-fashioned view-  
but in my opinion, there is nothing like  
leafing through those pages, now that's what (.)  
and you suddenly come across something  
that you don't get.  
So you can leaf back and read rather than scroll.  
They even smell and (.)  
And I don't know, I'd like her to sense all this..

[C: 467-470]

The reading practice described by the mother had nothing to do with political structures or ideologies, it is non-discursive and therefore evades being categorised, located or controlled. When the mother wanted her daughter to read the books she herself had read she may have simply wanted to share her sensory experiences with her daughter, and possibly to re-live them herself. This kind of connection between a parent and a child appears to run deeper than ideologies and literacy socialisation practices into the phenomenal field, that is, a field of acting and thinking that becomes relevant as participants move through it with their body and their senses (Duranti, 1997: 322).

Many parents constructed these affective spaces around books, songs, films and cartoons they used to read, sing and watch themselves back in their home countries. In the course of my ethnography I felt that these affective spaces have to be brought into the description, because they make evident the extent to which family language policies and ideological views can be inconsistent and paradoxical. For example, despite the realisation that their teenage children were able to read in English, they wanted them to read Russian translations of the parents' favourite books by English language authors.

## VII.7 Ways of speaking and doing literacy as ideologies of heritage

Some of the experiences and practices linked to the affective spaces were included into the content of the semiotic social space of the complementary school. Helen Kopnina described similar

evidence when she reported how “Russian parents try to impart Russian culture to their children” (Kopnina 2007: 179). Several parents pointed out that one of the objectives for the school was “to preserve that which they will never receive in a Portuguese school – knowledge of history, the Russian language” [B1: 781-782]. In this way, the content for the complementary school, i.e. Russian history, culture and language, was constructed by parents as “heritage”, or rather as “an idealised version of the heritage culture” (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 112). The “heritage” knowledge was imagined and sustained as free of conflict also thanks to discourses from the higher scales which found expression in the newly published books of “Russian for children of compatriots abroad” (Fig.7.3).



Figure 7.3. Course books from the series “Russian for children of compatriots abroad” (Top left – “We read and write in Russian”; below left – “Russian course book”; below right – “The Russian grammar land”; top right – “Human, his/her nature, world”)

Part of the heritage was associated directly with language and literacy ideologies, based on the adults' “sedimented memories of past experiences” (Kramsch 2002: 14) of learning and teaching in Soviet and post-Soviet schools. One of the parents described it as follows: “we called it the Russian school because to us it was part of our system of education”[O2; 278-279].

Despite the apparent construction of language ideologies and pedagogies as “common knowledge” by the adult participants, I would like to show how those ideologies and pedagogies varied, and how they were negotiated and contested within the same SSS. These negotiations and contestations were evident both in textual and visual artefacts produced by the complementary school students, as well as in teacher-student interactions within the classroom. In my view, the potential for negotiation and contestation lies in the informal nature of the complementary school reflected in the multiplicity of subject positions available for students and teachers. Moreover, the spatial organisation of the complementary classroom makes the negotiation possible.

So what were the common spatial practices that influenced student agency in the complementary school? How did it reflect in pedagogies in this space?

### **VII.7.1 Spatial practices of the complementary school and their impact on literacy and language ideologies**

The spatial layout of the complementary school was ordinarily shaped by the hosting institutions: the spatial practices within the classroom shifted consequently when the classes took place in a gym, in a local school or in rooms for evangelic studies. When the complementary school as Ukrainian and Russian classes at the local parish, it used a parish gym. Inside there was a single huge table nearer one of the walls and a number of chairs. The adjacent area was two or three times larger and had a mirrored wall. This layout created two lived spaces: the somewhat enclosed space around the table, where everyone sat together for writing, doing maths, drawing and crafts, and in the vast adjacent area, which was used for reading, drama, movement games and poster design. During the break in the rainy weather, this area may have been used for eating snacks, games and chatting. The round table format was conducive to collaborative work and discussions within the group, where conversation flowed across and around the table. The 'boundary figure' of the teacher was placed on the same level with those of the students. As a result, even though the pedagogy was still mainly teacher-oriented, students were able to work together and monitor each other's work while sitting at the table. The adjacent area was the one where everyone was able to move more freely, where spontaneous groups might be formed. Such layout, being divided in the two lived spaces, combined the enclosed space with an open-ended area and thus allowed students to contribute to the changes in the format and content of the semiotic space. It was characterised both by active student participation and scaffolding in the process of learning.

When the number of complementary school students and teachers had grown, the school moved to a building of a Portuguese primary school. The school was now distributed across two floors, one of the classes would take place in a wide hallway on the top floor. Many families expressed enthusiastic views about the change: "we liked it in the first year because it was a big school with many different activities" [O2: 273-274].

The spatial practices in the new building were different from the previous ones. The room on the top floor of the school was reserved for the classes of the youngest students in literacy and environment studies. The teachers, Nastya and me, tried to maintain the fluid dynamics of the previous school space. In the left corner, a large table was improvised out of three desks set

together side by side; in the centre, an open space for action-oriented games and dramatisation activities was cleared, and finally, the right corner was occupied by a puppeteer's frame, a doll kitchen and a bedroom for role play. The classroom walls were bare except for a couple of drawings done by boys and girls from the Portuguese recreation group who were using the room every weekday. There was no blackboard in the room.

Most of the activities in this room took place in its centre and in the right corner. The left corner table was used for drawing, as well as literacy and spelling games with letter and syllable cut-outs, plastic letters, cards and worksheets. Nastya and me often took the toys and dolls from the right corner to the table as a material for vocabulary and dramatisation activities. Perhaps because of its orientation towards writing, the lived space of the table was more restricted than the rest of the room, where the kids were generally allowed to move quite freely. On most occasions, no places were fixed around the table for either the students or the teachers. Sometimes I indicated places when group work was intended.

The hallway next to the top floor room was centred around reading. There was a large table at the window with several chairs and some gymnastic mats on the floor. Every week I would bring books in Russian from home and stack them on the table for the children to choose from. The students also brought their favourite books and magazines from home (in Portuguese, Ukrainian or Russian). If they were willing to share them, they could place them in the stack with the rest of the reading materials, choose someone to flick them through together, or to show them and tell their stories to everyone. Usually the kids picked up a book from the stack and went to available spots to read or leaf through the chosen book. They may have preferred to sit down at the table or to sprawl on the floor on mats. Sometimes I would ask the children to choose a book for us to read together and then I sat amidst the children.

Semiotic modes were flexibly connected in literacy activities in the complementary classroom, for example, material objects could be used as visual vocabulary illustrations, as "fellow students" or as drama characters; drawings could become oral dictations. Similarly, code-switching and code mixing was accepted in speech and writing both from the teachers and students. I often introduced Russian vocabulary via their Portuguese counterparts, and relied on the students' knowledge of Latin graphemes to teach them to write and read Cyrillic characters. Whenever possible, I made a connection between the Portuguese and Russian grammar. For example, I relied on the similarity between Portuguese and Russian orthographies in order to explain palatalisation in Russian. Figure 7.4 presents an artefact which I used in my Russian class for the purpose:

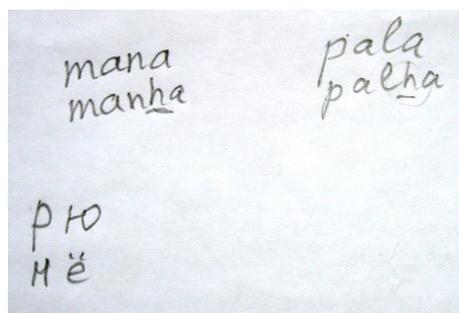


Figure 7.4. Establishing connections between Portuguese and Russian grammar in the Russian class.

In Portuguese, the silent *h* indicates the palatalisation of the previous consonant: <nh>--> [ɲ]; <lh>--> [ʎ]. Once children were reminded of the familiar principle, they had no difficulty in extending it to include Russian (different and more numerous) means of indicating palatalisation. Often after that lesson, I heard the children comment: “What’s this ь doing here? Ah, it’s like *h* in Portuguese!”. Rather than drawing divisions between the two linguistic systems of Portuguese and Russian, we drew from the common principle thus allowing to open implementational gaps in the policy of separate bilingualism.

Parents often insisted on introducing handwritten Cyrillic characters and calligraphy practice into the Russian language class, since their expectations of the class activities and teacher position was mediated by their memories and lived experiences of schooling. However, I often continued using block letters with my students until the moment they formulated the wish to be taught handwritten characters:

#### Example VII.20

We were working on the rule of prefixes *без-бес* and *раз-рас*. On a chair, I had displayed two piles of cards: one with the printed word definitions and another one with the ready words. One of the students, B came up to the chair and picked up one card from the one with definitions. She got “*беззубый*» [toothless] Without saying anything nor showing her card, she read it to herself and mimed it to her classmates. T raised her hand – she was ready to write the word down. I came up to her and asked her quietly:

OS: Т, напиши печатными буквами, пожалуйста, чтобы Н могла понять, что написано.

T: – а внизу я еще напишу нашими буквами.

OS: Хорошо, запиши.

T. writes down: беззубый

T, would you please write it down in block letters so that N could read as well.

I will write underneath in our letters as well (.)

Sure, you do that.

беззубый

N: [mutters while printing] Я так уже с 4 лет пишу!

Давай я попробую тоже письменными, как вы!

I've been writing like that since I was 4!

Let me see if I can do it in handwriting

Like you do!

When N's turn arrives, she gets to write беззаботный [carefree]. It is not an easy word to write in cursive: *беззаботный*. Other kids and myself help her connect two з: «after finishing the loop in the first з: , you keep going up until you start another з:». N beamed looking at the result in her exercise-book. In the end, we check all the words against the cards with the printed and handwritten words from the second pile.

In the described event, I invited N, who was a newcomer, to take part in the class activity by using

the familiar register in writing. When T decided to write in both written registers she may have wanted to indicate the difference between N's resources and the rest of the class's ("our letters"). By doing this, she also prompted N to try out the new register in the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky 1978)<sup>67</sup>. She mediated N's learning by placing the handwritten word exactly underneath the printed one, thus facilitating the meaning making for N. When N got to write her word, she was able to draw from T's previous model and write successfully 7 out of 10 letters in her word. T used various mediational means for her pointing and scaffolding practices during the interaction: writing in block letters and handwritten characters, spatial position, verbal instructions of graphic features, etc. At the level of practices, the event represents a nexus of practices: e.g. the schooled practices of writing, the home literacy practices, the practices of membership in the complementary Russian language classroom etc. From the SSS perspective, the event represented a negotiation of the external and internal design of the set of signs for the Russian class in the complementary school. The internal design was made explicit by establishing connections between the printed and handwritten Cyrillic characters. The external design was related to the criteria of membership in the social space of the complementary school which included confident handwriting in Russian and collaborative learning practices.

Deleuze and Guattari (2007) state that the way in which a given space is segmented determines the kind of social spaces. The "supple lines" (*ibidem*)<sup>68</sup> of the social spaces across the rooms on the top floor provided for multiple possibilities for student-centred activities, and therefore for student agency and voice. The room artefacts (toys, puppets, toy houseware etc.), furniture items (floor mats, puppeteer frame, doll kitchen stove, and bed), as well as the features of the visual literacy landscape, characterised by the lack of the traditional classroom attributes like blackboard and chalk, contributed to the fluidity of the respective social spaces, and therefore allowing for the porosity of borders between pedagogical activities and play, between the centralised activities and individual ones. Even though the teacher authority still found its expression in the control of the activities across time and space, the specific features of the described spaces thus provided opening up "implementational gaps" in rigid language policies of separating between languages associated with traditional schooling.

The spatial dynamics and practices of the rooms on the floor below were quite different. We can

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67 The zone of proximal development (ZPD) has been defined as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky 1978: 86).

68 Supple lines, as opposed to rigid lines, allow for cross over from one space to another, rather than separate spaces from one another (Deleuze and Guattari 2007)

arrive at their interpretation from the ethnographic photograph presented in Figure 7.5.



*Fig.7.5. One afternoon in the classroom of the Russian school.*

The photograph in Figure 7.5 was taken by one of the complementary school students as a reaction to my request to take photographs of “languages in your life”. Anyone who went to school will be able to recognise a classroom by the “metonymic filaments” (Peim, 2005: 70) of the photograph, that is, by the furniture type and its layout, as well as by the visual literacy displays. Consequently, the three adults and seven children in this social space will be readily categorised as educators and students, respectively.

Two groups of students share the same room yet are involved in apparently different activities. Interestingly, their body positions form two coherent enclosed groups thus dividing the space into two. The group of younger children is standing next to one of the adults: two girls are facing each other, and the third girl is standing sideways to the girls, showing some interest in the adults' joint activity. If we follow the body direction and gaze of each participant of this group, we realise that the group is dispersed, loosely oriented and in motion. Timewise, the group also seems to have finished their activity and clearing away. The power dynamics appears to be quite relaxed, as the group does not have fixed centres, and the two authority figures configure the group space in an open-ended way.

The group of older students represents a drastic contrast to the group of younger students, as it looks somewhat tense and focused. The lines created by their gaze direction and body alignment indicate that they are facing an invisible authority figure. This “spectral body” of a teacher (Peim, 2005) shapes children actions as highly regulated ones, usually associated with the traditional schooling and pedagogical discourses of transmission. The invisible teacher surveillance creates the normalising, panoptic gaze (Foucault 1991) that makes the students' bodies docile and confines them into regulated spaces. However, the panoptic gaze is not omnipresent and even the most totalising panoptic space can be divided into three zones 1) a zone of power created by rigid

lines; 2) a zone of indiscernability where the power is diffuse, and 3) a zone of impotence where it cannot control lines of flight and their flows (Deleuze and Guattari 2007). In this photograph, all the three zones can be distinguished: the three students in the forefront are situated in the zone of panoptic power hence devoid of any “unauthorised” mobility; the student sitting at the front desk is positioned in the zone of indiscernability since her gaze is directed down at the desk in front of her, her body is more relaxed; the adult figure at the back is situated out of reach, in the zone of impotence and is apparently unaffected by the presence of the authority.

The power dynamics and impact are not fixed and could be changed either way with the shift in body positions of each of the students and adults in the photograph. Some of the younger group members are located at the margins of the zone of indiscernability and could therefore become affected by the panoptic power of the invisible teacher. Likewise, the student sitting at the desk could move towards the zone of impotence if she crouched further forward. Her hands, for example, will thus become hidden from the surveillance so that she could be free to do texting, scribbling notes, drawing, start eating etc.

What meanings can we derive from this photograph? What implications may the segmentation of the social spaces have for the ways in which language policies are acted out in the complementary classroom?

In my opinion, the photograph clearly illustrates the point that “[s]chools are not only institutional physical arrangements of the material artefacts of schooling, but also key socialising spaces where children negotiate various discourses and degrees of authority” (Maguire and Curdt-Christiansen, 2007: 52). Just as the photograph captures the co-existence of segmented social spaces that could be associated to different models of schooling (e.g. teacher-oriented vs. learner-oriented), it also foregrounds the implicit hybridity and fluidity of the complementary school setting, which was also evident from the ethnography. It reflects the specific nature of the complementary school, which represents a “zone of contact” (Santos 2004: 808) between various schooling cultures and language and literacy ideologies: between formal and informal literacy and language learning, between bilingual and monolingual models, between the traditional and the new approaches to language and literacy learning. The tensions between fixity and fluidity, underlying the multiplicity and multivocality of the lived experiences with languages and literacy should open gaps for resistance to traditional models of schooling and concepts of multilingualism and literacy. The hybrid role of a migrant teacher lays the base for negotiating and developing shared understandings of language and literacy learning in multilingual contexts and should allow for

more active learner positions. It may also provide conditions for building meaningful pedagogical practices based on the emotional and cultural affinities between the children and the adults. Being situated in-between various institutional frameworks, the complementary school may represent a “safe space” (Conteh and Brock 2011) for experimenting with multilingual literacy resources. The segmentation of social spaces within the complementary school provides students with spaces for negotiating, resisting and subverting the imposed linguistic regimes even within most restrictive panoptic spaces. Below I present an example how the students' and teacher's negotiated their respective idiolects within one of the social spaces of the complementary classroom.

#### Example VII.21

*After my class with the older group Nastya allowed me to stay on and observe her class of environmental education with the younger group. Nastya announced that they were going to have a revision class before taking a test next time. It's not the first time I have had an opportunity of observing N's class. Despite the class being dedicated to revisions and reminding slightly of a game of tennis between the teacher and the students, Nastya managed to keep the students' interest up by humorous remarks and observations from their lived experiences. Everybody is seating around a big tennis table, Nastya is somewhat separated from the students by the table corner. A few large illustrated books and a calendar are arranged on the table. N. used their illustrations to elicit responses from the students.*

#### Transcript excerpt:

*The students and the teacher have been talking about different materials used by people in their homes. Glass was the last material discussed. N – is the teacher, K and T are students, Sts – students.*

N – [...] какие другие материалы использует человек?

Sts – Железо!

N – Пласт-...

Sts – ...-масса!

N – Да, она легкая, удобная.

Мы ее используем чтоб делать ручки, линейки [показывает], компьютеры тоже.

Для чего нам нужна древесина и драгоценные металлы?

T – оуро

N – Точно Т, оуро.

И по-русски? Запишите в тетрадках [диктует] : «ЗО-ЛО-ТО»

Что еще запишем?

T – Ал-...

N – Да, се-...

K – Серебро

N – Т сейчас начала говорить «алмаз» – это драгоценный металл или камень?

Sts – Камень

[...] what other materials are used by the man?

Iron!

Pla-...

...-stic!

Yeah, it's lightweight, convenient to use.

We use it to make pens, rulers [points the objects], computers, too (.)

What do we need wood, precious metals for?

Gold [pt]

That's right, T, gold [pt]

And in Russian? Make a note in your notebooks

[dictating]: “GOLD”.

[Sts are writing the word down.]

What else shall we write?

Dia..

yes, sil..

Silver

T here just now mentioned «diamond» --

is it a precious metal or a stone?

A stone (.)

*[Fieldnotes, complementary school, April 2011]*

This fragment from the class of environmental education represents a site of engagement of several practices in the course of the event. One of them was the practice of revision before the forthcoming test, in the format of a question-answer session, where student responses were

elicited from the visual and verbal cues. The students and the teacher circumscribed the content of the knowledge to be included in the social space of the class on environmental education. The discussion of the content led to acting out the practice of vocabulary work in Russian, which I had been able to observe in Nastya's other classes. It is relevant to this research because as the teacher and students went about revisions for the test, their knowledge of the subject was mediated through various semiotic means, including associating visual illustrations of objects to their own lived experiences with similar objects; reading captions in Russian, picking up on the word prompts the teacher provided while revealing the knowledge of syllabification in Russian. Perhaps most importantly, the interaction participants acted out their language ideologies. When one of the students offered the response in Portuguese (*ouro* – gold), the teacher accepted the Portuguese word as legitimate in the Russian classroom context by repeating it and suggested that its counterpart in Russian should be written down. In this way, the teacher acknowledged the bilingual repertoire of her students, similar to her own. However, by dictating the Russian word to the students she intervened upon the students' repertoires. Furthermore, this action implied the assumption of the added and more permanent value of literacy over oracy. So while the teacher indexed that she was “one of them” announcing her bilingual repertoire, she also highlighted the symbolic value of Russian and the importance of its use in her class, especially in the written mode. The perceived higher symbolic potential of Russian literacy notwithstanding, the teacher chose not to draw a separation line between the use of Portuguese and Russian as in many of the children's households, but encouraged the students' strategy of drawing from every means at one's disposal. In this way, figuratively speaking, rather than reproducing borders in the language uses and practices, the participants of the event co-constructed a common borderland. Coming from the authority figure in the described multilingual context, Nastya's action promoted an ideological opening of the social space towards a flexible bilingualism and a bilingual and biliterate identity. So it was much more than a mere method of “expanding the children's vocabulary”, as Nastya herself explained in her interview later.

Spatial practices in the complementary classroom were in constant flux and negotiation; their current configuration depending on the prevailing agencies and preferred language learning ideologies at the time. In the final months of the ethnography, they started to shift from hybrid modes towards controlled ones, resulting in a reorganisation of the classroom layout (Fig. 7.6).



*Fig.7.6. Shift in spatial practices*

The social space captured in this photograph represents a classic example of a highly regulated classroom. Every student is assigned an individual place, the student movements are constrained by their desks and chairs within the aisles and along the perimeter of the classroom. The standing figure of the teacher dominates the room, controlling every movement and demanding total attention of the students. The teacher scans the class from her position near the whiteboard, her gaze reaches across the room to every student. In this kind of layout no supple lines are pronounced, which means that very little space is left for renegotiation, resistance or subversive acts. The students' bodies are turned into docile ones, their positions are uniform and gazes appear to converge on the teacher figure. This particular spatial configuration reinforces the inequality of the teacher-student relation bringing clear implications for pedagogical practices and language policies. Any kind of language regime introduced within this social space is likely to be imposed and effectively implemented by the teacher.

Several factors contributed to such configuration of the social space in the complementary school. As we might have been able to deduce from the parents' interviews, their shared memories of schooling embodied the classroom design which assigned the highest authority to the teacher. Since it was the adults who regulated access to the space, they felt free to reorganise the furniture items in the classroom in accordance with their imaginations of schooling. Furthermore, every time the complementary school moved places, the immigrant parents filled in the picture imprinted in their memories by bringing in 'missing' attributes. Additionally, the higher scale heritage discourses of the "Russian for children of compatriots" also helped structure the space and construct its meaning. As a result, in the final year of the ethnography, the dominant ideologies of language learning in the complementary school shifted towards separate bilingualism. In her welcoming speech to parents at the Open Day in the beginning of the school year, the school administrator declared: *"we see this school as an oasis of Russian in the ocean of Portuguese language. Our aim is to teach Russian to your children in such a way so that to enable*

them to speak Russian so that nobody would ever guess that they came from Portugal" (Fieldnotes, October 2012).

## VII.8 Bringing objects and people into play



Figure 7.7. Two photographs of the blackboard in one of the complementary classrooms.

The two photographs in Figure 7.7 picture the blackboard of the complementary classroom. They were taken by the students of the informal school in the course of ethnographic fieldwork, as illustrations of “languages in your lives”. When the students returned their disposable cameras with photographs, I asked them how they had gone about the task. One of them explained that s/he had decided to indicate the space where s/he “was learning Russian” (a1; 06: 32), hence the inscription on the blackboard: “*Russky yazyk*” [Russian language] (Fig.7, left). The other one had written “*Inglês*” [English-pt] (Fig.7, right) on the same blackboard because “an English class took place there” (c1; 13: 55), thus having acknowledged the presence of literacy artefacts left behind by the classroom owners. Both students looking at the blackboard appeared to identify it as a literacy object where literacy practices of the two diverging social spaces (in time and in space) converged; the blackboard acted as a meeting of practices. In Scollon's terms, the blackboard represented a nexus of practices, in the sense of “connected groupings of practices which never by themselves produce a social group but which, over time, produce what Bourdieu has called “homologous habitus” (1990)” (Scollon 2002: 135). It is true to say that the blackboard reached in time and in space further beyond those particular social spaces, across different countries and into the lived experiences of various generations within the participant families. Over the years of ethnography it became evident that a blackboard symbolised the school itself for all the participants of this ethnographic study: the first gift from the parents to the teachers of the complementary school had been a portable blackboard, and it followed the school across the town. In fact, a portable or a fixed black/whiteboard has been a permanent feature of the complementary school. Since parents acted as “sponsors of literacy” (Brandt 1997) as they

provided material resources for their children's access to literacy in Russian, invested their interests into the literacy socialisation, and had their say in regulation of the process of socialisation and gained "advantage by it in some way" (Brandt 1997: 2), we have to acknowledge the blackboard as something meaningful for them.

From the perspective of spatial organisation, the blackboard represents a focal point, so that any object or text placed on it instantly receives more attention and gains added symbolic value. The students' photographs in Figure 7 indicate that the practices associated with a blackboard are not necessarily linked to any particular languages. However, as it comes into action, the blackboard triggers normative discourses which operate notions of correctness and order. Any writing on the board has to obey orthographic rules and should be illegible and orderly. By preparing their blackboard inscriptions for the photographs, the students expressed their awareness of its mediating action. It is especially evident in the "Russian language" photograph. Apart from correctness and orderliness, these discourses habitually exclude code mixing in writing.

From the perspective of pedagogical practice the blackboard has always been among the attributes of the highly regulated panoptic space of traditional schooling. Like with objects and texts, any person at the blackboard gets more attention and exposure. So any teaching/learning activity which happens to take place in a room with a school board has acknowledge the very fact of its presence. Likewise, the lack of blackboard use may be interpreted as a move away from traditional pedagogical practices and normative language discourses.

Furthermore, within James Paul Gee's framework of social semiotic spaces (2005) this blackboard, alongside course books and materials, may represent a portal, i.e. a point of access to knowledge. Due to its physical constraints (a flat fixed surface) it affords certain types of actions: texts and drawings could be written, placed or projected onto the blackboard a) to be read, copied, studied, memorised or corrected (to be consumed) or b) to test the students' knowledge and competences. Any of the blackboard-centred interaction bears traces of authority and places the student into a position of actor rather than an agent. Likewise, any subversive acts on the students' part on/around/with the blackboard have more significance and impact for student position in the given social space and for ideologies and policies operating within it. So the blackboard acting as a portal mediated functions, uses, values and meanings of literacy for all the participants of the study<sup>69</sup>. Moreover, as we have seen, its mediating action was deeply rooted in their personal

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69 Functions, uses, values and meanings of literacy have been gradually changing in the last years due to introduction of IT technologies into mainstream schools (e.g. interactive boards). In the complementary school, the change was emerging due to the increasing use of laptops and Internet access devices.

histories of language and literacy socialisation, which were, in their turn, shaped by institutional ideologies and state policies. This action would be equally familiar and recognisable to both Russian-speaking and Portuguese-speaking children, parents and teachers. It means that literacy practices around the blackboard, along with the underlying ideologies, while arising from local interactions, are also projected beyond the local and concrete context. In other words, they are simultaneously local and translocal, highly contextual and transcontextual (Brandt and Lincoln 2002; Blommaert 2010) yet are never decontextualised. The blackboard, along with accompanying attributes like chalk and duster, thus play a role of literacy objects in action (Brandt and Lincoln 2002) that provide a particular yet steady frame for literacy interaction (Latour 1996) and unveil available identity positions for the interaction participants. In a way, these objects themselves become participants in the issuing interaction and sustain connections across time and space. That is why, a careful analysis of literacy practices or rather “literacy-in-action” (Brandt and Lincoln 2002) has to “bring the objects into play” to show that the activity may “go on in an across local situations” (*ibidem*: 346). In line with Latour's thinking (1996), the blackboard helps link the micro and the macro, operating even in the absence of the main authority agent (teacher) thus tearing away from the local particular contexts. In the complementary school, the presence of the blackboard triggered the ideologies and practices of the traditional schooling.

### **VII.8.1 Localising moves, globalising connects and multiple agencies**

In this section I aim to uncover the dynamics of identity construction and contextualisation in a relationship between human/non-human agents and literacy across time and space. For this, I use the concepts of “localising moves” and “globalising connects” (Brandt and Lincoln: 2002) developed from Latour's idea of inseparability of local from global and vice-versa (Latour 1996). The concept of “localising moves” draws attention to actions of people and/or objects on anchoring literacy in the immediate context and providing them with a local, “here-and-now” meaning. However, as we have seen in the previous section, the meaning of literacy action may often tear away from the local context and connect with other contexts across space and time, thus constituting a globalising activity. The look at literacy actions from the lens of localising and globalising activities may provide a focus on the uses and meanings of multilingual literacies for the learners and teachers in the social space of the complementary school.



Figure 7.8. "I speak Russian".

The photograph in Fig. 7.8 was taken by Vera, one of the students of the complementary school, in the course of the ethnographic collection of photographs of "languages in your lives". In the photograph, Vera is holding a speech bubble next to her lips with a text in Russian which says "I speak Russian". Her mouth is slightly open, as if she is about to speak. The photograph was taken in the girl's home. The follow-up interview revealed the following acts in the photograph production:

Example VII.22

OS – А как ты вот эту фотографию сделала?

V – Меня мама хм сфотографировала ((улыбается)))

OS – А вы перед этим с мамой разговаривали по этому поводу?

Как это всё сделать, потому что ты явно [подготовилась

V – Нет, я сама придумала, что надо сделать этот...

как это называется *balão de fala*

OS – *balão de fala*, так

V – и потом объяснила маме, как и зачем

So how did you take this photo?

My mum hh took this picture of me ((smiles)) (.)

But had you talked it through with your mum beforehand?

How you should go about it, because you'd clearly [planned

No, I'd myself had an idea to make this...

– what's it called-- speech bubble [Pt]

So a speech bubble [Pt], right...

And then I explained to my mum wh..how and what for...

[a1; 12:13-12:43]

The production of the photograph had at least two addressees, namely: 1) her mother who held the camera; and 2) the researcher who had given the photo-taking task. I could also argue that while planning her photo, Vera had considered possible reactions and expectations of other users of the common semiotic social space (other students and teachers of the complementary school). Consequently, the production of the photograph had been influenced by language and literacy ideologies of all those people as well as by the rules of the given social space. Furthermore, Vera's staged photo had been mediated by the disposable camera as a photographic device, and by the speech bubble as a chosen genre for the written message. All these processes of mediation emerged in the history of the girl's relationship with the human and non-human actors in the contexts surrounding the complementary school.

The focus on the people within their intersubjective spaces may provide us a clue to both the

immediate relationship between them and to the historical dimension of the staged photo production, to the underlying practices and ideologies. The look at the objects and people in the “interobjective” space (Latour 1996) adds a lens on mediation and affordances for literacy in action, both as those framed the action in a particular way in the immediate interaction and as they projected it beyond the local context.

The intersubjective space between Vera and the researcher (who is also her teacher) had been shaped overtime in a series of regular literacy encounters in the context of teaching/learning Russian, marked by the inequality of the teacher-learner relationship. The context of immediate interaction was configured by the topic of the task “take pictures of languages in your lives” and “folded”, in Latour's sense, into the disposable camera. On the one hand, it had a potential of opening up possibilities for agency, since Vera could take pictures of anything she wanted. On the other hand, the disposable camera, unlike a digital one, left little space for creating the desired visual narrative, as each taken frame would be registered and cannot be deleted. So, in order to make sure that she was performing the expected identity, Vera might have felt compelled to stage at least one of her photos.

The intersubjective space between Vera and her mother emerged out of the (hi)story of intimate emotional and affectionate development, as well as shaped in the history of language/ schooling socialisation. Since Vera's mother invested her own time and effort into Vera's literacy socialisation through homeschooling and later by sending her to the complementary school, she acted as her “sponsor of literacy” (Brandt 1997). As her sponsor, the mother engineered the context for learning Russian language and literacy in particular ways and monitored Vera's access and configurations of Russian and Portuguese linguistic resources in it. It should be mentioned here that language uses in this family household were considered to be impervious and separate, almost diglossical, where “speaking Russian” was associated to the household and the complementary school, while “speaking Portuguese” was assigned to the world outside: “*So we explain to everyone who enter our house: here we speak Russian and maybe Ukrainian but not Portuguese*” (B1, mother's interview). For Vera's parents, Vera's future was inextricably connected to maintaining the Russian linguistic identity “*My daughter will know Russian and will speak Russian [...] She will never be Portuguese as she is Russian*” (G1-2, father's interview [the interviewee's emphasis]). Both excerpts reveal that the semiotic social space of Vera's family was constructed on the essentialist notion of a fixed and pre-determined linguistic identity. Furthermore, as sponsors of Vera's access to Russian language and literacy, her parents invested

their time in maintaining Russian alive, which served, as it became evident in many other parent narratives, a three-fold purpose of keeping the extended family together, asserting their parental role as educators, and providing a link to the Russian-speaking culture and literacy practices, both in terms of symbolic capital and as providing future employability opportunities for their daughter. Despite the fact that the family language policy was constructed on separating Portuguese and Russian, other languages were visibly and audibly present in Vera's life. She often heard dialogues, music and TV programmes in Ukrainian; French and English were taught as foreign languages at her Portuguese school, and she listened to songs and watched films in Russian, English and Spanish.

In the act of recognition of the rules the immediate surroundings where the photograph was taken, Vera decided to enact, embody those rules using the familiar semiotic means of a comic strip. The speech bubble thus becomes her Russian "identity shout-out", where her commitment to Russian literacy is "folded", fixed and registered. From the moment Vera had written the text "I speak Russian" on to the speech bubble, it framed and held in place her Russian linguistic identity. This localising move is a performative act, "a special mode of situated communicative practice, resting on the assumption of accountability to an audience for a display of communicative skill and efficacy." (Bauman 2000: 1). We can see the extent to which literacy can be material and mediate social spaces; here words do not only do things, they are literally things (Lecercle 1990: 105).

On the other hand, thanks to the photograph as a visual mode, the same performative act goes beyond the local context of the particular interaction, thus engaging in a globalising activity. The message in the photograph had been meant for the teacher-researcher and further on, for the complementary school participants, especially because Vera's mother had considered the teacher to be the agent of the normative standard Russian, and the guide to the shared practices of schooling in Soviet Russia. It should be noted that the message of the photograph might have carried such a powerful symbolic load that the lack of hyphen in the the actual text message could be disregarded.

In sum, we have seen how a simple photograph can evidence multiple agencies of human and non-human actors in the process of identity construction. For Vera, the act of making a speech bubble with the inscription "I speak Russian" may be but a moment in the process of identity construction and contextualisation of learning, where Russian literacy is about:

1. Assuming the agentic role of being able to make choices in multilingual contexts;
2. Foregrounding Russian among other languages;

3. Acknowledging language socialisation contexts thus inscribing herself as a legitimate participant into the semiotic social space of the complementary school;
4. Investing both into the “here and now” (e.g. maintain an affectionate and steady emotional relationship with parents and teacher/researcher) and beyond that (the status of Russian as a language of action and mobility).

### VII.8.2 Translocal identities, transnational literacies and translanguaging

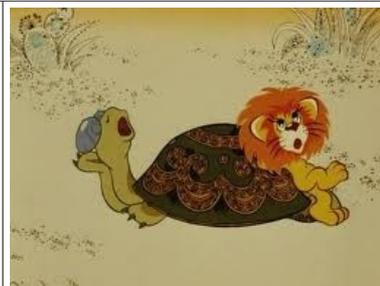
Students of the Russian school went to Portuguese mainstream schools and lived ordinary lives of Portuguese children and teenagers. Their interests equally included football and tennis, they had similar musical tastes which were shaped by watching MTV and sharing videos on youtube and vimeo; the older girls read fashion blogs and watched TV soap operas together with their mates. Several of the Russian school students had accounts on Facebook and Myspace, and habitually shared their multimedia experiences with their younger siblings. The students' active participation in electronic and social media resulted in forging connections across the globe while they were engaging all the linguistic and other semiotic resources available to them. As a result, the local spaces become deterritorialised and universalised. This cultural globalisation reconfigures mechanisms and processes of identity construction by creating “new translocal spaces and forms of public culture embedded in the imaginings of people that dissolves notions of state-based territoriality” (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2004: 25; also Gupta and Ferguson 1992). While engaging in global practices, students (and teachers) became able to defy the apparently fixed structure of the classroom and transform their own positioning in it:

Example VII.23

When I returned to the classroom after my coffee break, Vera, Tania and Lena were flicking through an illustrated magazine (“Bravo”) for teenage girls, discussing something in Portuguese. I addressed them in Russian asking who the magazine belonged to and what their favourite part of it was. Vera told me she bought it every week and read it through. As she turned the magazine over to show me, the other girls joined in and we leafed it through together. Lena found a picture of Selena Gomez, Tania was apparently interested in Justin Bieber, Vera turned out to be a great fan of Robert Pattinson and the whole Twilight Saga cast. And that's when I spotted a photo of Lucenzo and Big Ali – whose musical clip of kuduro dance was familiar to me as it seemed to be



everywhere: on the radio, on TV, on youtube, in my dance class. I asked the girls whether they liked kuduro and wanted to learn to dance it. As they appeared to be unsure I went ahead and showed them a few basic steps which I happened to know from my dance class. At first, the girls looked baffled about whether it was OK to dance in the classroom yet gradually joined in. With the end of the school year party close by we considered whether it would be a good idea to show the dance there and all agreed that it could be fun. While showing the dance moves, I used these to kick off our lesson on verb conjugation categories in Russian. Then I switched on a Russian musical cartoon “How the Little Lion and Turtle sang a song” on my laptop. The girls' faces lit up with recognition when they heard the first lyrics of the cartoon song. Tania said that her mum often sang the song to her, and Vera added that she also knew the song but had never seen the cartoon before. These verbs were also incorporated into the grammar practice. As the girls started watching the cartoon, Vera whispered “очаровашка» [a cutie]” to Tania, pointing to the Little Lion. They kept smiling even when doing grammar exercises, they were clearly enjoying our class together. During the break, I noticed a sketch of Little Lion in Vera's open notebook .



[Fieldnotes, complementary school, April 2011]

The described event illustrates the ways in which the language teacher and students were able to change their habitual positioning in relation to each other by engaging in the practice of “showing the mag to the girls” and later easing into dancing together in the classroom. The teacher admittedly encroached herself onto the girls' informal social activity, especially when she started speaking to them in Russian about the magazine, as the girls had been usually doing it in Portuguese. However, we can argue that the very genre of the literacy object – an illustrated magazine for teenage girls – opened up ideological gaps in the notion of culture as a bounded self-contained space, since these magazines are not likely to be very different across the globe and indeed include a fair amount of the ubiquitous teen pop and film stars, independently of the country of publication. As the teacher showed familiarity with some of those references from the global cultural scene, she seemed to gain some ground to negotiate a more flexible relationship with her students. Another gap was provided by the type of dance that happened to be of common knowledge both to the teacher and the students. Originally from Angola, kuduro had been incorporated by the world musical culture thanks to its promotion by popular DJs and reggaeton/rap singers. Music created by these singers belong to a hybrid global culture since they are of migrant origin themselves: Lucenzo is a French-Portuguese, and Big Ali is an African-

American living in Paris. There is no single cultural or linguistic code for this culture as it seeks to develop innovative musical expressions by mixing modes, registers and genres. Just like hip-hop culture, the emerging kuduro culture “is a continuation of indigenous traditions; it draws people into a new relationship with cultural practices that have a history far longer than those of current popular music. Yet in doing so, it also changes those cultures and traditions, rendering them anew” (Pennycook 2010: 73).

Despite those possibilities of challenging the usual kind of teacher-student relationship, the girls were still feeling little at ease about dancing within the regulated social space of the classroom. While such an informal activity (as leafing through a magazine) may have been accepted during the break and with no teacher in sight, dancing may have felt as a clear transgression of the classroom rules. When the teacher herself took the first step towards challenging the rules, the students followed somewhat hesitantly. By incorporating the dancing moves and multimedia into the Russian grammar practice, the teacher and the students co-constructed the new semiotic modes of meanings for the language learning activities in the complementary classroom. Both the classroom practice and teacher-student relationship were renegotiated in the local context, where attributes of globalised culture such as the magazine and the kuduro dance facilitated channels of negotiation. At the same time, while having this profoundly local impact, the interaction also had a globalising affect of aiding the co-construction of a hybrid and fluid classroom culture for the complementary school and indicating translocal identities for both the teacher and the students. The emerging translocal identities were manifested in the students' writing, as illustrated in Figure 9. It is a “letter to a friend” written by one of the student girls of the complementary school in the course of a pen-friend project which had been initiated by the school administration in an attempt to establish contacts with several schools for Russian-speaking children in England, Portugal and in Russia.

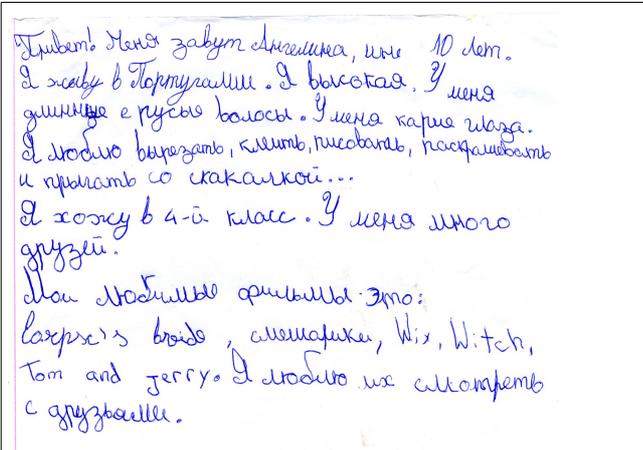
 <p>Привет! Меня зовут Алена, мне 10 лет.      Я живу в Португалии. Я высокая. У меня      длинные и русые волосы. У меня карие глаза.      Я люблю вырезать, клеить, рисовать, раскрашивать      и прыгать со скакалкой...      Я хожу в 4-й класс. У меня много      друзей.      Мои любимые фильмы это:      Corpse's bride, Smeshariki, Wix, Witch,      Tom and Jerry. Я люблю их смотреть      с друзьями.</p>	<p>Hi! My name's A., I'm 10.      I live in Portugal. I am tall.      I've got fair and long hair. My eyes are brown.      I like to cut out and paste things, to draw and colour in,      and to jump with a skipping rope...      I go to the 4<sup>th</sup> form. I have many friends.      My favourite films are: Corpse's Bride, Smeshariki, Wix,      Witch, Tom and Jerry. I like watching them with my      friends.</p>
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Figure 7.9. A “letter to a friend”.

From the perspective of language and literacy socialisation, the 10-year-old author revealed quite a sophisticated knowledge of the genre of the letter of introduction. In her letter to an unknown pen-friend she described her personal and social characteristics (appearance, interests, favourite activities, sociability) as well as indicated her institutional identity (“going to the 4<sup>th</sup> form”). She made an attempt to resolve the issue of being unfamiliar with the potential pen-friend's preferences by including the references from different cultures. As she had known that her addressee would be Russian-speaking, she inserted the reference to a well-known children animated series *Smeshariki*, thus making a localised move. As the girl had no idea whether the letter will end up being sent either to Portugal or England, she extensively used the references from the global culture (*Wix*, *Witch*, *Corpse's Bride*, *Tom and Jerry*), that would be familiar to every child. By doing this, she projected her cultural identity beyond the Russian-speaking context.

A brief look at the formal features of the letter makes evident quite a masterful use of the biliterate resources available to the girl. It should be noted that despite her general lack of knowledge of English the girl used the apostrophe in “Corpse's Bride” and the connector “and” in “Tom and Jerry”. I could argue that the girl may have memorised those references as unbreakable visual units, each comprising of three elements, especially because she incorporated connectors in Russian (*'раскрашивать и прыгать со скакалкой'* [to colour in and to jump with a skipping rope]) and in Portuguese (*'длинные е русые волосы'* [long and fair hair]) in the rest of the text. By seamlessly incorporating resources from different languages and cultural affinities, the young author of the letter managed to position herself simultaneously on the local and global scales of references. The girl clearly does not distinguish nor separate between the Russian and the global cultural references, all of them feed into a common network of references, all of them make part of her multilingual and multiliterate world.

The young author had planned her message in such a way so that it could be easily interpreted by both monolingual speakers of Russian and speakers whose multilingual repertoires include Russian. For that, she had to assume the impact of the increased global connections which transform social relations across the globe creating transnational interconnectedness and mobility (Ong 1999). So in my view, the letter provides an example of more than “hybrid language practices”, i.e. “the strategic use of the participants' complete linguistic toolkit” (Gutiérrez 2002: 317). Following Warriner (2007), we can describe them as “transnational literacies”, of the kind that reflect “shifting local-global connections, shifting relations and the transformation of identities” (Warriner

2007: 202). The young author of the letter to an unknown pen-friend uses “translanguaging” which Ofelia García defines as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage to make sense of their bilingual world” (García 2009: 45). Both the transnational literacies lens and the concept of translanguaging presuppose a nuanced analysis of the ways in which bilingual speakers and writers use the semiotic means available to them to address the dynamic social relations embedded in larger sociocultural and political contexts.

In the course of the ethnography, quite extensive data have been collected on translanguaging and transnational literacies. Some of the examples from the earlier work have been included in the MA work on literacy practices (Solovova 2008). For instance, one of the complementary school students had prepared a Father's Day postcard to his Russian father in the genre of a multilingual comic strip: he had used Portuguese to acknowledge the immediate context in which he was drawing the postcard (his Portuguese class); the greeting to the father had been written in Russian. The captions for the comic strip had been done in English, since most of the comic books the boy had been reading were in English. In this way, the author of the postcard made an attempt to simultaneously indicate his participation in the local context of the Portuguese classroom, his relation with his father and his membership in the global community of comic book readers.

A fairly recent recorded example of translanguaging among the students of the complementary school may have been provided by a girl who had insisted on adding a signature in Portuguese on the cover of her Russian exercise book. She explained that she had meant the bilingual signature to enable her Portuguese stepfather to “understand that it is my work” (Fieldnotes, 21 Jan 2012).

## **VII.9 Translanguaging as a challenge to monolingual mindsets**

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, some of the complementary school teachers took a flexible approach to multilingualism (Fig.7.4, example 21) whereby “the boundaries between languages become permeable” (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 213). While daily observing translanguaging practices of other people and using multilingual resources themselves, these teachers felt a change in shifting their pedagogical practices. They tended to focus on the overlapping rather than separating linguistic resources (for example, working their way towards an introduction of letters from the Russian alphabet by drawing attention to the identical and similar graphemes in Portuguese). Moreover, the practice of separating between the languages proved to be counterproductive given the actual children's practices. However, as we have seen earlier in this

chapter and will see in the following section, the research setting represented a social space of interaction between monoglossic ideologies and heteroglossic ones. Quite often the ideologies of language purism, which is guided by the notion of “illegitimacy of hybrids” (Shohamy 2006: 84) prevailed. Nevertheless, the evidence of translanguaging on site the complementary school and around it could not be ignored.

Parents were aware of the permeability of boundaries between languages in their children's lives. One of the fathers expressed his observations about the ways his daughter used her languages, as follows:

Example VII.24

OS – В течение дня на каких языках ей приходится говорить?

G1 – Она пользуется УНИКОДОМ, как на компьютере.

OS – ((laughs)) [...]

G1 — Она в повседневной жизни может говорить с нами на СМЕСИ того и другого языка, может разговаривать ЧИСТО по-русски, может чисто по-португальски

During the day, which languages does she need to speak?

She uses UNICODE, like in computer.

In her daily life, she may speak to us in a MIXTURE of two languages, may speak ONLY in Russian, or only in Portuguese

[G1-1; 406-413]

The analogy this father draws with Unicode actually reflects my own observations over the years of the ethnography, where all the semiotic means at the disposal of multilingual children were being used with no articulated distinction between different “language systems”. Rather, every child constructed working hypotheses and tested them in linguistic and communicative practice while incorporating all available meaning making means and codes into his/her own multilingual and multilimodal idiolect.

However, I have to admit that the distinction between the “systems of resources” was still gradually accomplished in the process of socialisation (cf. Solovova 2008), promoted and favoured under the pressure of the powerful essentialising discourses. Several parents whom I interviewed in the final year of the ethnography commented on this effect. One of the mothers expressed her view like so:

Example VII.25

B3: В последнее время В. очень чисто говорит на русском языке (.). Дома, без перемешек с португальским, ровно, чисто, не спотыкаясь, не задумываясь...почти.

Lately, V. has been speaking Russian very well (.). At home, without any admixture, clearly, calmly, with no hesitation, without looking for words ... almost.

[B3; 00: 52-1: 04]

The growing evidence of languaging practices of their children, apart from their own experiences, seemed to make the adults doubt their monoglossic ideologies; especially as the parents reflected on the ways those experiences were situated in the histories of their home countries:

#### Example VII.26

B2: Нам же тоже в России неприятно когда.. когда мы слышим (.) речь вот.. там армянов, грузин.. и.нам же тоже неприятно. Нужно учиться. Не думать нехорошо тогда так ((смеется)).

[...] в этом случае, нужно больше распространять ту идею не реагировать так, когда люди говорят на своем родном языке.

[...]дать право, разрешить людям разговаривать на своем языке и не реагировать на это так.

In Russia we also do not like it (.) when we hear well (.) Armenians, Georgians speak and (0.7) we don't like it either (.) We need to learn. Not to think like that then ((laughing)). (0.5)

in this case, we need to spread more the idea (.) Not to react in this way when people speak their mother tongues.

give the people the right to speak their own languages and not to react like so.

[B2, 1078-1088].

This excerpt from a parent interview provides an illustration of how the monoglossic ideologies shifted over the course of the interview. The change appeared to come with the realisation how the discursive orientations of separate bilingualism can backfire in the case of the parent's own family. So the discourse of separate bilingualism had to be re-oriented towards the discourse of language rights, which, according to many parents, helped sustain the social space of the complementary school. Most importantly, this change in discursive orientations reflects the understanding of the relational effect of the speaker's engagement with the social and linguistic environment (as opposed to the discourses of endangered languages where one language-as-code is considered marginalising other languages). Indeed, back in the home country, the Russian-speaking parent was positioned as a member of the majority which was favoured in the state language policies and enjoyed privileges in terms of professional and social mobility. In the official policies of the settlement country, the same parent's position has changed to that of a non-native speaker of Portuguese and the family language has become seen as a potential source of problems. The realisation of this ecological relationship between the speaker and the environment could result in shifting “the focus away from the survival of named linguistic codes towards preservation of individual and collective access to the fullest possible repertoire of language practices” (Jaffe 2007: 71).

## VII.10 Multilingual literacies and family histories of socialisation

In the last section of this chapter I would like to focus on one particular literacy event in the complementary school from an ecological perspective. For this, I am going to look first at the scale of the immediate interaction in order to see how its outcome was configured by human (teacher, students) and non-human (literacy objects and spatial arrangements) participants in the given social semiotic space. Then I move further up scale to look at the ways in which the interaction outcomes could be connected to the histories of language socialisation for each human participant

of the event as well as to the language ideologies which dominate their households and the complementary school, which are, in their turn, embedded in the official language policies for multilingual settings.

### VII.10.1 The event

#### Example VII.27

The Russian teacher had noticed that her younger students had tended to mix up, in their written work, some Russian letters with their Portuguese counterparts, as well as with other Russian letters. She assumed that this may have been due to: 1) the incomplete distinction between the Portuguese and Russian writing systems in terms of phoneme-grapheme correspondence, 2) similarities in the graphic shape of some letters, or 3) the students' insufficient knowledge of capital-small letters sets. To check her ideas, she proposed that the students should have a dictation of those sets of capital and small letters. After the dictation she was planning to focus her students' attention on the differences between those letters. So, having grouped the sets on the basis of their graphic similarity both within the Russian and Portuguese writing systems, the teacher dictated them, pausing between the groups expecting the girls to write them down on their own. Before the task they all agreed that each group would be written on a new line. However, as she finished dictating, the teacher realised it had not gone at all as planned. Rosa's dictation took longer to finish because she kept summoning the teacher's help, and Tania's version looked like a table where both Russian and Portuguese letters were written.

Figure 7.10 shows both girls' dictation texts, and Table 3 helps to establish the phoneme-grapheme correspondences and identify similarities between the handwritten Russian and Portuguese characters. In Table 3, the Russian handwritten characters which were actually read out in the dictation are shaded.

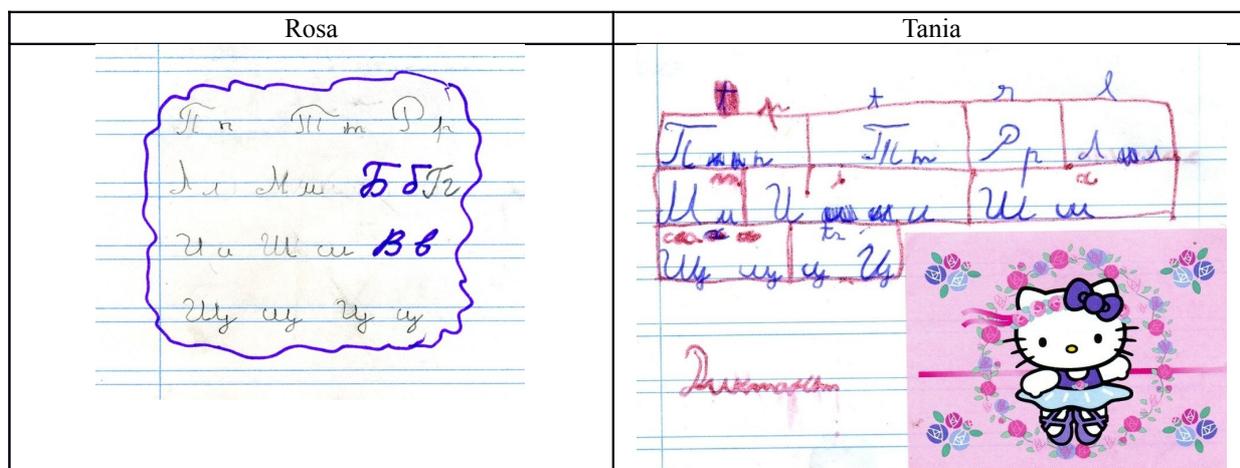


Figure 7.10. Rosa and Tania's dictations

	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1st line	/p/	П п	P p	/t/	Т т	T t	/r/	Р р	R r
2nd line	/l/	Л л	L l	/m/	М м	M m			
3rd line	/i/	У u	И и	/ʃ/	У u	—			
4th line	/œ/	У у	—	/ts/	У у	—			
introduced by teacher in Rosa's text	/g/	Г г	G g	/b/	Б б	B b	/v/	В в	V v

Table 3. Rosa's work: Russian and Portuguese handwritten characters and their phonemic values. (1-Phonemic value; 2- Russian handwritten; 3-Portuguese handwritten)

In Table 4, the interaction around the dictation is broken down into moves, for the three participants, as follows:

<i>Line N°</i>	<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Rosa</i>	<i>Tania</i>
1st line	announces the format specifies the writing implements, i.e. that pencils should be used	picks up a pencil	picks up a blue pen
	dictates the 1 <sup>st</sup> line: <i>П n П m П p</i>	starts writing, confuses <i>n</i> and <i>m</i>	starts writing, confuses <i>n</i> and <i>m</i>
	pencils <i>П n</i> in Rosa's notebook to show the similarities with the 1st line	picks up an eraser, erases the wrong letters and starts over	crosses out <i>m</i> and writes <i>n</i> next to it
	reassures Rosa of her choice allows Tania to write Portuguese letters "after the Russian ones"	turns to the teacher to make sure the letters are right this time	asks the teacher whether she "can write Portuguese letters as well"
2 <sup>nd</sup> line	dictates the 2 <sup>nd</sup> line: <i>Lu Luu</i>	writes the 2 <sup>nd</sup> line	starts writing the Portuguese characters above the Russian graphemes in a blue pen
		confers with the teacher	starts writing the 2nd line, hesitates on <i>u</i> , writes again writes <i>Luu</i> picks up a red pen, strikes out one <i>t</i>
3rd line	dictates the 3 <sup>rd</sup> line: <i>Uu Uuu</i>	writes the 3rd line, gets <i>U</i> wrong, erases it, writes over	replaces the Portuguese <i>t</i> by <i>p</i> in red surrounds each set of graphemes in red
		confers with the teacher	writes <i>Uu Uuu</i> , hesitates on <i>u</i> , strikes and writes again <i>u</i>
4th line	dictates the 4 <sup>th</sup> line: <i>Uuu Uu</i>	writes the 4 <sup>th</sup> line down, gets <i>U</i> wrong, erases it confers with the teacher	writes the 4 <sup>th</sup> line down adds the Portuguese graphemes over the Russian ones
	tells Tania that she had already used the Portuguese <i>x</i> for Russian <i>Uuu</i>		strikes out <i>x</i> in red, writes in blue, strikes out again, writes <i>cx</i> above <i>Uuu</i>
	picks up a blue pen writes <i>Bb Bb</i> in Rosa's notebook	asks the teacher to show "other similar letters"	writes <i>ts</i> over <i>Uu</i> in blue
	circles the dictation space in Rosa's notebook in blue looks into Tania's notebook and says "well done"		places a Hello Kitty sticker on the text writes the Russian word "Dictation" underneath

Table 4. Interaction moves during the dictation

## VII.10.2 Materialities: artefacts and their production

The genre of dictation is known to every school goer as a particularly rigid format for displaying literacy knowledge. It is generally considered a 'diagnostic' tool, and the teacher, due to the position of power in a classroom, usually imposes her own choices, introduces time constraints and spatial designs (Burgess 2010). However, the teacher's coercive action during this interaction was not always successful. As evident in Figure 7.10, each of the participants of the event had her own notion as to which writing implements to choose, which colours and textures to use, how to rely on the available knowledge and how to organise the array of the means in a spatial design best suited to the task. As I will show below, the artefacts produced by the two girls clearly show that every option was subject to negotiation and some nuanced contestation.

Inspired by the work of Ormerod and Ivanič (2005) and Brandt and Lincoln (2002), I decided to examine the material features of the two literacy artefacts produced by Tania and Rosa. As the children worked on the artefact, they had to make choices among available literacy objects (e.g. notebooks, writing implements, characters and symbols, their spatial organisation). Their choices incorporated “culturally recognisable and historically situated practices, embedded in broader patterns of social change” (Ormerod and Ivanič 2005: 91-92). Simultaneously, the chosen literacy objects mediated the girls' actions as they constrained and registered their decisions, carried them across the space and time.

The fact that the teacher proposed that students should use lead pencils rather than pens seems to contradict the very intention of the dictation as a diagnostic tool, due to the possibility of self-correction. Rosa appeared to have interpreted this possibility as entitling her to check every single group of written characters with the teacher, as if it were a self-contained entity. Rosa's bids for help may be attributed to lack of self-confidence aided by a desire to comply with the authoritative rules of interaction. She wanted to be reassured of the appropriateness and legitimacy of her choices in the process of the event. However, her strategy ended up disrupting the time flow of 'independent dictation writing' by breaking it up into several micro-dictations. Throughout the event, the teacher's attention was consumed by Rosa's demands. In this way, Rosa managed, to some extent, to overthrow the teacher's institutional power and to impose her own time constraints. This effect can be partly attributed to her choice of pencil and eraser to deal with the task, as they held her actions in a repetitive frame of “write-check-erase” resulting in the partitioning the event.

Despite (or due to) the failure to impose her own choices, the teacher chose to remind Rosa of the focus of the task. She introduced three sets of letters into Rosa's text, one in pencil and two in a blue pen. The set in pencil ( $\mathcal{I}_r$ ) was placed to focus Rosa's attention on the differences between  $\mathcal{P}$  and  $\mathcal{I}$ , as well as between  $p_r$  and  $r$ , and was meant to foreground the writing system Rosa was supposed to draw from (Russian) to complete the task. The sets in a blue pen ( $\mathcal{B}\delta$   $\mathcal{B}\ell$ ) reinforced this point even further, as both graphemes codify /b/ in the Russian and Portuguese writing systems respectively. The teacher used the same blue pen to circle Rosa's dictation thus constraining it. On the interactional level, the choice of a pen over a pencil makes the teacher's message more permanent and salient, as well as reinforcing the design and purpose of the task. On an institutional level, it reminds the student of the authority of the teacher (Heller and Martin-

Jones 2001).

Overall, whereas the teacher was generally unable to impose her idea of time management, she confined the available writing space and reminded Rosa of the ideological message of the dictation: to keep the two writing systems separate. Even though the teacher had managed to command the choice of writing instruments, she felt impelled to reinforce her authority by using a different colour and a more permanent ink to remind the student of the task at hand. As a result, Rosa's text shows evidence of the inequality of the teacher- student relationship: the teacher 'invested' her authoritative action, along with the ideological message, into the blue pen, which will continue to hold the frame of the interaction even when the teacher is no longer present.

When we turn to look at Tania's version, we realise that hardly any of the teacher-proposed choices had been taken aboard. Firstly, she had picked up a blue pen instead of a pencil. This choice meant that Tania had no opportunity of erasing her mistakes thus having to strike or write over them, and simultaneously leaving a trace of her decisions. Whereas in Rosa's case we can only guess about her working hypotheses along the process of writing, in Tania's work the process of creation is imprinted in the end result.

Once Tania had got the teacher's permission to "write down the Portuguese letters as well", she reorganised her work completely. Rather than decoding from the oral to the written mode relying solely on the Russian writing system (as intended by the teacher), Tania opted for including familiar resources from Portuguese. While listening to the phonemic value of the dictated Russian grapheme, she noted down the Portuguese grapheme and then wrote the required Russian grapheme below it: e.g. "p" above *П* and "i" above *И*. Whenever she failed to find a readily available correspondence in the Portuguese writing system, she created innovative combinations of the familiar means to transcribe what she had heard: "cx" to transcribe /çç/ for the Russian *Щ*, and "ts" (/ts/) - for the Russian *Ц*. First Tania tried to write both Portuguese and Russian characters with the same pen, then she picked up a pen of different colour (red) and used this for the Portuguese letters, having chosen this colour out of a set of 12 coloured pens on her desk. By using pens of different colour, Tania was able to create a relationship of internal connectedness within the chosen means of representation, as well as indicated their equal significance to her in the process of meaning making.

Tania adapted the available space to her needs. Rather than making rows of letter sets which coincided with the teacher pauses, she ended up creating a table with the rows organised

differently. Tania's attention seemed to be fixed on making cells that would contain both the transliteration in Portuguese and a set of capital and small letters in Russian. As an affect of this particular spatial organisation, the cells became none other than biliterate units of meaning and constitute a useful and practical guide on decoding Russian sets.

Tania acknowledged the classroom genre by writing “*Dictation*” in Russian underneath her biliterate guide. Being satisfied with her job, she also placed a “Hello Kitty” sticker below, just like her teachers used to do in other classrooms. In sum, Tania completely reformulated the traditional spatial design, adapting it to her learning needs. Instead of reproducing the format and function of a dictation as a tool of assessment, she reinvented the dictation as a biliterate learning guide. By resisting the choices proposed by the teacher, Tania intended a message to the teacher which could be interpreted in several ways.

We can look at her biliterate guide from a language acquisition point of view, a view often shared by language teachers. In accordance with the PLNM guidelines, the Portuguese writing system represents a basis for Tanya’s learning of Russian. Her knowledge of Russian could thus be considered “incomplete” or insufficient by language teachers. Even though Tania is a Russian-Portuguese bilingual in terms of her speaking abilities, she would not be seen as fully bilingual because of her written skills.

This view is contested by sociocultural approaches to learning and literacy. As Tania wrote the Portuguese characters above their Russian counterparts, she revealed one of her meaning making strategies. Rather than keeping the two semiotic systems apart, as it would be imagined by theories that conceptualise learning as knowledge transmission and literacy learning as a process of sequential acquisition of skills, Tania engaged all available semiotic resources in a very creative way. While transducing, i.e. translating from one mode into a different one – from the oral mode into the written one (Kress 1997), from sounds of a certain quality produced by an articulatory device onto a sheet of paper, she activated links between different sensory devices (acoustic, kinaesthetic, etc). As Tania transliterated, she created a bridge between those signs (Al-Azami *et al.* 2010), by engaging new means and flexibly recombining the available ones. Rather than “switching off” her previous knowledge of writing, as had perhaps been expected by the Russian teacher and as envisaged by traditional views of multilingualism, Tania built on it to create the new knowledge. Contrary to the view of literacy socialisation as a process of reproducing/imitating the observed acts of adults and more knowledgeable others, Tania recycled what she had already known and took an active role in the meaning making process in order to arrive at a set of actions required

from her by the adults.

From the point of view of language ideology and learning, Tania sent an equally significant message to her teacher. Had she kept the two systems of writing in water-tight vessels, without allowing them to communicate or to spill over, she would have been unable to accomplish the task or to learn in an active way, being rather forced to learn by rote and drills. Rather than using Portuguese and Russian each in its own time and space, Tania showed that both could and did contribute to her learning. She used the available linguistic means creatively, she engaged in “*linguaging*” (García 2009). Despite the fact that she found herself in a multilingual environment that was nevertheless ‘*imagined*’ by adults as predominantly Russian, Tania took on a biliterate identity where Russian stands alongside Portuguese.

So to recap, whereas Rosa came across as a girl who lacked confidence and sought the teacher approval, Tania appeared to be as an independent learner able to make her own decisions and organise her work accordingly. Both girls had had equal access to technological resources (writing implements, notebooks) and had managed to deploy them to index their identity positions on the microlevel of literacy decisions. Their choices of graphic resources (graphemes, layout/spatial design) and linguistic resources re-examined the traditional expectations of correctness and linguistic purism in school work. In different and subtle ways, the girls made a localising move of contesting the traditional genre of a school dictation (e.g. they went clearly beyond matching graphemes to phonemes and adapted it to their specific needs) while indicating a global connection of familiarity with other literacy practices. In sum, each girl semiotically combined the locally available resources in a context where they were expected to signify belonging to a particular Russian-speaking community. Their choices were bound up with the performance of identity and revealed their ideas about the variety of teacher-student positions that could be constructed in a complementary school as well as shedding light on the complex ways in which languages and literacies in the multilingual and biliterate contexts are used and talked about.

We have been able to identify tensions between the girls' actual choices of resources and the ones that were ‘*expected*’ by the teacher in the dictation. In fact, both girls tried to explore the affordances of the available resources to their advantage, as Rosa transformed the dictation into a display of Russian identity and, in Tania's case, into a biliterate guide. How can we account for the differences in the girls' literacy decisions? Roz Ivanič argues that “*writing is an act of identity in which people align themselves with socio-culturally shaped possibilities for self-hood*” (Ivanič 1998: 32). Maguire and Curdt-Christiansen in their work with biliterate children highlight that

“[c]hildren respond to the discourses in their personal, social, historical trajectories and temporal words” (2007: 53). Following Brandt (2001), we can state that Tania and Rosa's parents were 'sponsors' in their literacy and language learning, as they invested time, material and ideological resources into these processes. So can we perhaps trace differences in the girls' literacy decisions to their sociocultural contexts? With this in mind, I now turn to family histories of language and literacy socialisation in an attempt to situate them within the language-in-education policies in Portugal, USSR and post-Soviet states.

### **VII.10.3 Two students and their families: migration trajectories, languages and literacies**

#### ***VII.10.3.1 Rosa's family: language planning and borders***

Rosa was 7 years old at the time of the event. She had been a very shy and soft-spoken girl when her grandmother had brought her to the Russian complementary school. Initially, she was silent, to the point when people used to think Rosa did not speak Russian at all even though she seemed to understand it. Outside the school, though, she was quite active and inquisitive; little by little she became more active in the school as well.

Rosa had been born in Portugal and had been to Ukraine a couple of times to visit her family in the rural part of Bukovina, on the border with Romania. The girl heard four languages around the house: Romanian, Russian, Portuguese, and Ukrainian. Rosa's father spoke Ukrainian over the phone and skyped to his relatives back in Ukraine, while Rosa's mother and grandmother discussed family matters in Romanian. The three adults spoke Russian with each other, with their Russian neighbours and with other parents from the complementary school.

My interviews with members of Rosa's family and my observations in this household built a picture of careful language management. The family had chosen to focus on Russian and Portuguese for Rosa, and kept Ukrainian and Romanian as languages she merely heard around the place. So the adults spoke Russian to Rosa. It should be pointed out that while Russian was a common language for the adults in the family, it was not first language for any of them. Rosa had been raised by a Portuguese nanny, in the words of Rosa's mother Rita, to “*secure Rosa's better adaptation at a Portuguese school*” [F2: 79-80].

Literacy in Russian and Portuguese was also subject to family language planning. Apart from going to a Portuguese school, Rosa was home-schooled in Russian and sent to the Russian complementary school, to compensate for “*forgetting Russian*” [F3: 100]. Rosa's father helped her

with the Russian homework, and her mother – with the Portuguese. One day in the complementary school the children had been studying a calendar in Russian. Coming home from the school, Rosa wanted to know names for days of the week and months in Romanian and Ukrainian. Afterwards, according to Rosa's mother Rita, Rosa got very excited when comparing letters of Russian and Portuguese alphabets.

The family planned literacy activities with Rosa. Every night the girl listened to a story while preparing to sleep: her father read or told his bedtime story in Russian, and her grandmother – in Portuguese. Since stories in Russian were hard to find in their home region of Ukraine or in Portugal, Rosa's father made his stories up or translated them from a Ukrainian book. Rosa's father had once tried to start speaking Ukrainian to his daughter yet *“had to give up because Rosa had got confused”* [F1: 21-22].

In the complexity of Rosa's family linguistic landscape we may see a reflection of the local history of their borderland home region. Bukovina's language policies shifted over time as the region had been contested by different geopolitical forces such as the Principality of Moldavia, Romania, the Soviet Union and Ukraine<sup>70</sup>. Nowadays, according to regional statistics, Romanian speakers comprise 93 per cent of the population of the region<sup>i</sup>. Rosa's family had lived in Bukovina throughout the period of Soviet rule and the transition to the jurisdiction of an independent Ukraine. Rosa's mother Rita recounted her experience of the language policies in education as follows: *“We had to speak Russian because we were living in the USSR; however, in order to maintain the Romanian ethnicity, we had been obliged to study our own language, so we learned history and culture in Romanian as well as the same things in Russian. [F1: 38-41].* So for Rosa's mother, Russian and Romanian were languages of instruction. She had also studied Ukrainian as a second language, yet she commented on this as follows: *“I never learned to speak fluently since nobody made us speak Ukrainian at school [...] we were living 40 km away from the Romanian border”* [F1: 45, 51-52]. However, with Ukrainian independence came the obligation to learn Ukrainian. Nowadays schoolchildren no longer speak Russian since they are educated in Ukrainian and no books in Russian are readily available. So when Rosa came to her grandmother's village in Ukraine, she had to learn some Ukrainian phrases to communicate with her playmates.

Nobody in Rosa's family had gone to university, and in Portugal they were doing low-qualified jobs. Even though they were quite proficient speakers of Portuguese, they admitted having problems with “school Portuguese”, for example, whenever they had wanted to help Rosa with her

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70 More on language policies in Bukovina in chapter 4.

Portuguese homework. They spoke of several registers within the Portuguese language: “a street Portuguese” and “a school Portuguese”. Rita dreamed of sending Rosa to a university. With that idea in mind, Rita had moved to Portugal, and encouraged Rosa to learn English rather than French as a foreign language.

Rosa was not the only child of non-Portuguese origin in her Portuguese school, yet *all* of the children spoke Portuguese between themselves. Rita explained this as follows: “*Whenever I call the school and ask to speak to Rosa, she does not want to speak Russian and passes the telephone right back to the school assistant, as if she were afraid that someone could hear her speak in a different language. She does not want to be different*”. [F2: 16-19]

On the other hand, Rita also did not want the teacher to set Rosa apart from other kids in the classroom. Rosa's mother felt that the teacher should attend to Rosa's needs and could not expect her girl to progress as fast as the Portuguese kids. The Portuguese school teacher appeared to be ready to give Rosa additional support in the classroom. Having noticed that Rosa was struggling with her Portuguese homework, the teacher suggested that the family should “*pay more attention to Portuguese at home*” [F3: 52]. Both Rosa's mother and grandmother stressed that “*no matter how difficult it may be to us, we are prepared to do anything so that Rosa would not stand out as different*” [F3: 77-78]. Rita said that due to the common lived experience of migration in many families in Portugal, the country's education system (unlike that in the Soviet or post-Soviet Ukraine) was much more child-oriented and prepared to help children of migrant origin. As far as children's home language was concerned, Rita thought it should be provided within the family and in complementary schools, just as in the case of Portuguese migrant families abroad.

### ***VII.10.3.2 Tania's family: keeping safe in the capital***

Tania was also 7 at the time of the dictation event described below. She had been born in Portugal into a Russian-speaking family from Ukraine. She had travelled to other countries, and had been on vacations in Ukraine to visit her grandparents. In Portugal, Tania was living with her mother Olena. They were very close and somewhat alike.

Before going to pre-school Tania was educated by Portuguese-speaking childminders while Olena was studying for her final exams at a Portuguese school. When Olena enrolled at the university, Tania went to a kindergarten. Tania had learned to read and write in Russian very early: her mother Olena had pasted Cyrillic letters around the house next to objects and pictures. So Tania was learning the letters as she went round their home. Once I entered their house, I was struck by

the amount of writing around me: schemes, tables, poems and single words in Russian, Portuguese and English were scattered everywhere, scribbled on paper, on the kitchen and bathroom tiles, mirrors and even on doors. So it was no surprise to learn that by the time Tania went to a Portuguese pre-school, she had learned the whole Russian alphabet. Tania also recalled sitting together with her grandmother on the beach, revising the Russian alphabet from a picture book. After having mastered reading in Portuguese and starting to read Portuguese children books, Tania was eager to learn to read books in Russian.

In her Portuguese school, Tania's Portuguese teacher had asked Olena to stop teaching Tania the Russian alphabet "*since an accent had appeared in Tania's Portuguese*" [C1: 203-204]. The same teacher had tried to suggest that Tania and her mum should speak Portuguese at home. By contrast, whenever Tania's classmates heard Tania and Olena speak with each other in Russian, they asked if they could teach them a few words. Just like her mum, Tania grew up speaking Russian rather than Ukrainian. When Tania went to Kyiv to visit her grandparents and her uncle, they were also speaking Russian all together. In Portugal, Tania and Olena even used to sing in Russian when Olena was taking Tania to school, they also used it for secret communication in public spaces in Portugal. Having a secret language between themselves seemed to be very important for both Olena and Tania. Olena explained that it felt safer that way. Besides this, Tania's mother stressed on several occasions how she had always wanted her daughter to read the books she had enjoyed herself as a child, to be able to discuss them together with Tania.

Other languages, apart from Russian, jostled for space in Tania's surroundings: Portuguese at school and at home; English in games with her bilingual English-Portuguese friend, and in the films and cartoons she watched on TV. Tania also overheard Olena use speak English and use Ukrainian with her workmates and family friends. One day when I was visiting Tania and Olena's house, and Tania was hopping about the house with her school notebook, I was able to witness how Olena communicated with her Ukrainian-speaking friends: they would speak Ukrainian and she would reply in Russian. Everybody appeared to be satisfied with such an arrangement. Later Olena explained that it was a normal practice on the streets of Kyiv and in institutions back in Ukraine. At her school, Ukrainian language and literature had been taught but was not a language of instruction. Everybody had spoken Russian during the breaks. Olena had learned to speak some Ukrainian with her grandmother who had been a Ukrainian language teacher and who had taught her "*the purest Ukrainian*" [C1: 127].

The way Tania's mother Olena spoke about languages set her apart from other parents and child

carers in the Russian complementary school. She felt that language knowledge could not be compartmentalised into Russian and Portuguese, as they complemented and informed each other. She described language *“as a social and alive phenomenon”* [C1: 33], and indicated that she believed that people *“learning another language grasp something from the culture expressed in the language”* [C1: 36]. She stressed that the more languages a person learned the more cultural references s/he acquired, the wider her/his cultural horizons would grow. She expressed her view of language learning as follows: *“Just as it’s natural for kids in a monolingual environment to learn speaking the language of the environment, it’s natural for kids living in a multilingual environment to learn to speak all those languages”* [C2: 604-606].

#### **VII.10.4 Ideologies about language and literacy learning in the family histories**

The interviews with members of the two families, complemented by observations over time, provided insights into a variety of ways in which the histories of socialisation of the two girls diverged:

- 1) in the values assigned to languages and literacies within each of the families, and in their use of languages and literacies;
- 2) in their class positions;
- 3) in the sociolinguistic landscapes in their places of origin;
- 4) in the identity negotiations the family members had been obliged to make as a result of local and national policies in their countries of origin, which in their turn had been shaped by changing political economy of the region.

These differences in language and literacy socialisation may account for the ways the girls’ families had experienced and conceptualised multilingualism and multilingual literacies. They may have influenced the ways the girls themselves indexed, performed and negotiated their own linguistic identities in the multilingual context of the Russian complementary school. These differences were part of the girls’ ideological becoming (Bakhtin 1986; cf. also II.6 on socialisation).

The family histories were evidence of scaled regimes of language use and social inequalities in access to different linguistic resources. Living in the contested area on the border between Ukraine and Romania resulted in a series of imposed language choices for Rosa’s family. To be considered ‘legitimate community members’, Rosa’s family members were obliged to pay language loyalties to the Soviet Union and to an independent Ukraine. The coercive action of the authorities resulted in

the marginalisation of some languages in their home region (e.g. Ukrainian during the Soviet rule and Russian in the post-Soviet period) which shaped local language hierarchies. For Rosa's family, it resulted in cultivating the acute sense of social mobility potential which resides in particular configurations of linguistic resources.

These traits of Rosa's family history may account for the careful language planning and division of labour within the household. Having been subjected to major sociolinguistic changes due to shifts in state policies, Rosa's family members took action to alleviate the impact on Rosa of having a different language outside the family by hiring a Portuguese-speaking nanny and telling half of her bedtime stories in Portuguese. Their family language planning may have also reflected the insistence of institutions on separating languages. In Portugal, Rosa's family chose to invest in Russian, rather than Romanian or Ukrainian, because Russian has become a among immigrants from former Soviet republics thus providing membership in wider translocal networks of solidarity and information. They ended up leaving Romanian and Ukrainian, both parents' first languages, without any specific support, hoping that Rosa would pick them up just by exposure in their use. The idea that home languages should be maintained within the immigrant family rather than upheld by the state seemed also to originate in Rosa's parents past experiences.

As Rosa's family members lived in a close-knit network of relationships in a rural setting, both her parents experienced similar configurations of linguistic resources in the multilingual context. Besides this, their range of choices and their access to alternative ways of using languages and literacy was reduced in comparison to that of those from higher social classes. Both Rosa's mother Rita and her grandmother reported that they were acutely aware of this positioning in Portugal and they were looking at languages as resources to provide some social mobility for Rosa. Rita was preparing to invest in English, since learning French as a foreign language had had little impact on her own life.

The long family history of living in a highly regulated close-knit context of pre-determined language distribution patterns, having to deal with imposed choices and expressions of linguistic identities could be linked to the language planning strategies of her family. So Rosa had to make sure that she uses the right language in the right context, in a certain format. Given Rosa's family's heightened concern about not being different, it is not surprising that she showed anxiety about fitting in at the start of the complementary school.

Tania experienced languages and literacies in a quite different way. As her parents had lived in a more open-knit urban network in cosmopolitan Kyiv, they had been exposed to a wider range of

uses and practices in different languages. Both the social background of Tania's family and the cosmopolitan nature of the setting made language choices less constrained. The family had also invested in social mobility for Tania's mother by sending her to a specialised school with an emphasis on English. However, life in a big city had also made Tania's mother Olena aware of the safety of her family: they had had to find linguistic resources to create a safe space around them. Literacy in Russian turned out to have a reinforced significance for Tania's mother and for most parents in my ethnography. Being able to read and write in Russian was considered a permanent and stable trait of belonging to a Russian-speaking community, an important mode of access to a wealth of symbolic heritage linked to a highly prestigious literary culture. Consequently, the written mode was more strictly regulated and controlled by the parents – some refused to acknowledge code mixing in their children's work as legitimately Russian. Besides this, the parents appeared to compensate for their inability to help children with their Portuguese homework by investing time and effort in Russian literacy activities. In this way, Russian literacy helped reinforce their parental role.

Olena engineered literacy environments to facilitate an early introduction into the Russian literacy. Tania had grown up surrounded by a structured literacy landscape at home from the early age. Being exposed to a multitude of written artefacts in different languages in the space of her home, Tania did not feel obliged to separate her linguistic resources in space or time. Tania's mother Olena put a special emphasis on sharing reading experiences with her daughter. Reading in Russian was seen as a means of constructing an affinity space, an extension of a parent-child relationship. In this section, we could see how “biographically anchored” (Blommaert 2012: 16) children's practices could be. At this point, it is important to stress that I am far from suggesting that those particular configurations could be transferred unchanged from one context to another. Rather, the previous lived experiences with multilingualism constitute meaning making resources for participants to draw upon in literacy events. In a new setting, they interact with the particular configuration of resources and distribution of power within it. As Kell (2009) explains, the direction of the trajectory can be reconfigured as it engages “with new dynamics with their implications for the study of power” (Kell 2009: 264).

The complementary school (or “the Russian school”) represents, in my view, a unique opportunity for the study of power in a literacy-oriented site, since its dynamics work at the interface between language and literacy ideologies about formal and informal learning and between interlocking views on multilingualism. Thanks to its in-between nature, the Russian school can offer a lens on

polycentric, layered regimes of literacy learning in a multilingual setting. A careful look at the power dynamics within the site may help identify the emerging “means to prise open a ‘crack’ in “educational homogenisation” (García 2005: 604).

I have attempted to show that a close analysis of the material features of textual artifacts and interactional processes involved in producing them may be helpful in revealing the participant choices and negotiations of identities situated in *de facto* language policies.

By assigning higher symbolic values to languages of instruction while marginalising and problematising other languages, these policies informed the family histories. Both the policies and family histories helped throw some light on aspirations and ideologies underlying the dictation event in the complementary school with Rosa and Tania.

The ethnography foregrounded the implicit hybridity and fluidity of the Russian school setting. It indicated “competing, possibly contradictory, sets of interests and ideological orientations” within this multilingual setting (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001: 420). Their contradiction lies in historically and geopolitically constructed ideologies of literacy learning and multilingual distribution within different states (Portugal, the USSR, post-Soviet states). The hybridity of the site of the complementary school as well as of the subject positions of its teachers, who were also parents and literacy learners, could be expected to provide a potential for “moving toward a hybrid, third space where the subjects can situate themselves in-between the two languages and not identify themselves with solely one absolute language” (Hadi-Tabassum 2006: 273-274). It may contain a promise towards a dialogically constructed “safe” space (Conteh and Brock 2011: 349) for successful and meaningful learning.

By analysing the girls' versions of the dictation and the interaction moves we could surmise that for both girls the local semiotic sign seemed not to be about Russian language, but rather about “Russianness”, i.e. their own idea of what may count as being able to write in Russian in the changing context. They seemed to co-construct their idea of Russianness in the interaction with the teacher in ways that are meaningful to them. The transliteration in Tania’s text represented a means of displaying her biliterate identity, as well as creating a bridge (Al-Azami *et al.* 2010) between the familiar (Roman-based Portuguese literacy) and the more remote (Cyrillic-based Russian literacy). The biliterate guide could also be said to be serving as a connection between the complementary school and mainstream school, i.e. between the local and the translocal scale (cf. Blommaert 2010: 35), because the Portuguese school teacher and fellow students would be able to interpret part of it even without being able to read in Russian. If taken on board by the

complementary school teachers, biliteracy could provide a key to opening up “ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible” (Hornberger 2002: 30). This kind of pedagogy had in fact been successfully tried out by the Russian teacher of the complementary school to explain palatalisation in Russian through the use of evidence from Portuguese. Tania's mother Olena remarked how being literate in Russian indeed helped Tania to learn to read and write in Portuguese, and vice versa. Rosa's mother and grandmother were, nevertheless, certain that Rosa would get confused if they were to stop separating linguistic resources within their multilingual household. This strategy had once helped them and nowadays was helping Rosa, in their view, not to stand out as different in her school.

Both the teachers and the parents of the children who went to the complementary school had been socialised into discourses of fixed multilingualism, one where the spaces/times of schooling were linked directly with a monolinguality of resources. This discourse originated in higher scale-levels of power and is naturalised as the normative and normal state of affairs. Coming to Portugal, those adults may have found the familiar traces in the PLNM authoritative guidelines which construct a discursive justification for the Portuguese-only focus in mainstream education. Even though the in-betweenness of the complementary school may allow for acknowledgement of multilingual literacies, its stratified nature prevents the adults from converting those practices into a pedagogy able to support successful learning through them. The normative discourses, associated with schooled literacy learning, made them invest in the separation of linguistic resources in time and space. The complementary school, where resources in Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Kazakh, Portuguese, English and French cohabited the space and could have been potentially explored for learning, ended up legitimising the effective learning spaces for Russian and English. In this sense, a more flexible and dynamic model of multilingualism (Blackledge and Creese 2010) and a social practice pedagogy (Barton *et al.* 2007) may clearly have potential for the complementary school yet prove to be utopic at the described moment in the ethnography. The trajectories of literacy learning are not only biographically anchored, they are also constrained and conditioned by institutionally shaped, stratified regimes of language use in literacy learners' biographies.

## Chapter VIII Conclusions

The present study has taken an ecological approach to language policies and ideologies in order to see how discursive spaces for languages other than the official language of instruction are being constructed in Portugal today. The research setting – a complementary school for children of Eastern European immigrants in a town in central Portugal – provided a unique opportunity to examine how language and literacy ideologies from different symbolic places (e.g. educational discourses in Portugal and home post-Soviet states, European discourses on multilingualism and integration of immigrant children, heritage talk and migrant parents' "opinions on language" (Billig 1986)) interacted and were negotiated in the complementary classroom and around the site. The study draws from a combined theoretical perspective of research on language socialisation (Kramsch 2002; Lemke 2002; Scollon 2002; Bayley and Schecter 2003 etc.), within a sociocultural approach to literacy and learning (Vygotsky 1978; Rogoff 1991; Barton 1994; Lave and Wenger 2003 etc.), in multilingualism studies (Shohamy 2006; Heller 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Blommaert 2006, 2010; Lytra and Martin 2010; Pennycook 2010), in spatial studies (Latour 1996; Low and Zuniga 2004; Brandt and Lincoln 2002), and research on bilingual and multilingual education (Hornberger 2002; García 2009). Methodologically, it represents a longitudinal ethnography of language and literacy practices (2004-2012) which attempts to find connections between the micro-level of diverse language and literacy teaching and learning practices around the complementary school, with the teaching and learning Portuguese as a non-native language in mainstream schools, and to situate them within the macro level of European, post-Soviet and Portuguese state language policies and practices. The study constructs a descriptive and analytical perspective using an array of research methods, such as textual analysis of policy documents, multimodal analysis of literacy artefacts and visual data (ethnographic photographs), as well as interactional data, participant observations and semi-structured interviews with policymakers, parents and children. The critical stance of this ethnographic study consists in not only describing the distribution of symbolic power in top-down language and literacy policies and ideologies but also in identifying the spaces of its contestation in the local practices, which may emerge into new policies of the higher scales.

The research findings fall into several categories: 1) trends in top-down language policies and practices; 2) contestation and emerging trends within bottom-up language policies and practices;

3) theoretical and methodological reflections toward a construction of new frameworks on multilingualism.

## **VIII.1 Trends in top-down language policies and practices**

European discourses on multilingualism represent “horizontal discourses of solidarity” (Bernstein 1996) as they construct a supra-national dimension of policy discourses thus determining metaphors for member state language policies. From 2002 on, EU discourses has taken a turn towards an explicit construction of policy for multilingual Europe. The new policy has finally acknowledged the multilingual and multicultural resources of migrant population across Europe and opened up spaces for promotion of their languages outside the formal education. Besides, migrant children are seen as intermediaries between their cultures of origin and those of settlement. Nevertheless, as the European discourses are based on economy metaphors (capitalising on linguistic and cultural resources, building a competitive economy), they end up promoting essentialising views on language (languages as bounded quantifiable systems of signs) and on learning (a sequential acquisition of skills and competences). Hence the proliferation of language industry, development of measuring instruments in language testing, teaching, as well as in the policy areas regulating an access to citizenship, long-term residence, education and profession across the European Union. Furthermore, the new policies are clearly oriented towards the promotion of official state languages. Each citizen of the new Europe is encouraged/required to learn the official language(s) and another two languages. Languages of migrants are rarely included in the latter category, while their actual fluid multilingual practices and specific needs in language learning are completely overlooked by such conceptualisations. In practice, this strategy for multilingualism has resulted in the overall increase in English teaching and learning, which is associated with the upward mobility and enhanced professional opportunities. The changing geopolitical and economical trends in the enlarged EU has lead to a redistribution of visibility among linguistic resources: while languages like Chinese, Arabic, Japanese and Russian deserved a special mention in the European policies, other languages like Polish, Hungarian, Italian and Portuguese were labelled as “lesser used less widely taught” languages in Europe.

Portugal has embraced its new status of a country of immigration by constructing a legislative framework on immigration, nationality, language-in-education, and intercultural education which is considered to be among the most favourable ones in the European Union. Drawing from the respective European discourses, it is centred on the privileged promotion of the Portuguese

language as a language of the host society. In education, the Portuguese policies consist in a differential approach to the linguistic and cultural resources of speakers of languages other than Portuguese which ends up delineating a highly structured normative space for the Portuguese language. Grammars of other languages are assessed in terms of the ease or difficulty in Portuguese acquisition, while their provision is hardly contemplated in the official policies, thus creating another, non-regulated informal space for those languages. The actual linguistic and cultural diversity has little repercussion on the official curricula, since the teaching of Portuguese to 'non-native speakers' is reserved for extracurricular hours, while their cultural resources are addressed from a positivist celebratory approach. There is an overall lack of incentive in training teachers for diversity and especially in training them for teaching Portuguese as a second or foreign language.

The analysis of the language policies of the home post-Soviet states of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus has underlined the need for a historical perspective, to avoid their oversimplification. The policies of those states were constructed over a history of constant dynamic and dialectical shifts between the policy of nativisation and that of Russification, between the centripetal and centrifugal forces within multilingual states, as well as between various models of bilingual instruction. As a result, a great variation in linguistic regimes and language practices can be observed within each of those post-Soviet states, for example, between their eastern/central territories and western ones. Borderlands require a special detailed attention, since borders between regions had rarely respected ethnic or national divisions throughout the history of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.

The complexity in language policies should be equally stressed regarding the changing political orientations and migration and mobility patterns across the post-Soviet space. Because of the persistently high symbolic status of the Russian language in this space, Ukraine has recently had to adjust its Ukrainian-only policy by allowing Russian the status of a regional language in several geographical areas of Ukraine. In Belarus, Russian is one of the state languages. Despite this, it is not likely that Russian would gradually replace Ukrainian or Belarusian languages in these states, given the powerful pro-national and pro-European movements in both countries, as well as working models of bilingual education in Ukraine. Moreover, these post-Soviet states have started to build their language policies in connection with the European ones: both Russia and Ukraine have signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and are well situated within the most recent trends, starting from the reorientation of language industry towards the

English language and ending with the implementation of language tests in citizenship requirements. Besides this, Ukraine and Russia have faced the geopolitical and ideological trends which favour latinisation of Cyrillic scripts (e.g., as a result of a wide distribution of Internet and social media connections). As a result, Russia has issued an unprecedented law to reinstate the Cyrillic-based scripts as the only official script on its territory. Finally, due to the changing patterns of migration in a globalised world, Russia, like Portugal, has become a major country of immigration, while being one of the major countries of emigration. Russian state has come to acknowledge the great number of Russian citizens living abroad as a resource and intermediary in cultural, scientific and business contacts between Russia and their countries of settlement. This fact has resulted in a complete reconceptualisation of the Russian language as a language of the host country and as a language of 'compatriots abroad'. The increased state investment into the promotion of Russian for compatriots abroad has created new possibilities of sponsorship and funding for complementary schools and cultural associations of emigrants from former Soviet Union. Discourses of the government agency for the promotion are permeated by the efforts to construct a supra-national horizontal discourse of uncontested and unquestioned heritage and solidarity.

## **VIII.2 Contestation and emerging trends within bottom-up language policies and practices**

Local research data has provided evidence of co-existence and interaction of at least two major ideological orientations: one, in favour of monolingualising tendencies in language and literacy teaching and learning, and another one – attempting to address and adapt to the actual multilingual and multicultural realities of migrant children and parents in Portugal. It should be added, however, that despite contradictory, these orientations often co-exist in interactions and artefacts created in local practice.

The interview data which resulted from the interviews with local and national policy-making agents indicate that the national agents acknowledge the impact of the Eastern European migration on the Portuguese state policies and recognise the right of these communities to organise schools for promotion of family languages. They tend to naturalise the discourses of the Portuguese as non-native language while attesting the resulting hierarchical redistribution in the opposition Portuguese vs. other languages, as well as among languages other than Portuguese. On the other hand, national and local policymakers acknowledge the lack of teacher preparation for

diversity in linguistic resources of their students, as well as the insufficient concrete teacher resources for Portuguese as a second language, which result in large discrepancies between national policies and local practices. More importantly, the national policymaking agents state that Portuguese schools and teaching practices might benefit from a diversification of teaching staff and curricular materials through parental participation and through an adaptation to students' actual linguistic resources. Yet they do not see the mechanisms allowing to put these intentions into practice. Local educators attest the inadequacy of language testing instruments for Portuguese-speaking students, including those who are considered to be 'native' speakers of Portuguese. Local practitioners are prepared to inform educational authorities of the gaps between the policies and their implementation. The practitioners have reportedly taken initiative in finding implementational gaps for work with speakers of other languages through the adaptation of mechanisms from special education.

At the level of the local practice, it was possible to distinguish several categories of ideological relationships that involve students who speak other languages than Portuguese. They have been described in detail VI.5.1 and include the following categories:

- Difference as a nuisance;
- Difference as a right;
- Difference is cool;
- Difference as an added responsibility or an assumed inequality.

Parents, due to their ambiguous position of educators/teachers/sponsors of literacy on the one hand, and immigrant parents/learners of Portuguese/learners of new literacies on the other hand serve as a link between the hegemonic discourses and the alternative discourses. As parents, they expect to be taking a more active part in education of their children in Portuguese schools yet are not always able to accomplish these expectations due to their less powerful immigrant position, and perhaps due to the divergent patterns in school-family relationships between Portugal and their home states. The parents are seen to compensate for the lack of participation by organising their children's literacy activities (homeschooling and complementary school). The fact that they can occupy discursive positions of sponsors of literacy and teachers in relation to their children creates various spaces where the parents are able to dictate their language policies (in family, complementary school).

Parents who are simultaneously administrators of the complementary school have access to

discourses from the higher scales. By appropriating European discourses and appealing to the heritage discourses of the Russian and Ukrainian states, the administrators can carve implementational spaces for the promotion of Russian in Portugal. By incorporating the heritage discourses of 'Russian for compatriots' into pedagogies and naturalising Portuguese official discourses, they create conditions for marginalising resources from other languages which are present on the site of the complementary school. Further, the hegemonic discourses in the parents' histories of socialisation are instrumental in separating languages in space and time.

Children have been presented as being largely socialised into the dominant ideologies and practices in their interactions around Russian language and literacy. In practice, children participants both reproduce yet are seen trying to resist the separation of their linguistic resources in space and time, and to explore the connection between them. Rather than operating one semiotic system at a time, they incorporate all the available resources into a personal multilingual repertoire which is constructed over the history of interactions with literacy and languages, and observations of other participants (i.e. idiolect). By combining resources from various semiotic systems, children participants create multiple discursive practices where the focus is placed on their ability to perform and accomplish a concrete task rather than on their competence and skills. In such practices, children are doing a significant identity work as they perform their translocal and biliterate identities.

Literacy itself, objects of literacy and the spatial designs of the classroom have been considered as conditioning the spaces available for language and literacy practices. Since particular literacy activities (like reading for pleasure, for ex.) and certain literacy objects (e.g. blackboard) have been inscribed into a long-term history of literacy practices, they bear traces of the dominant ideological discourses and powerful emotional charge associated to those practices and objects.

New globalising tendencies (e.g. the global cultural tradition dominated by MTV and Hollywood) and the innovative modes and channels of communication through language and literacy (social media, skype, twitter, messaging, chat etc.) create new literacy genres and represent areas of flexible language practices both for adult and children participants of this study. This is the area in which parents are positioned as learners and where their children can take on more powerful roles of guides into the new literacy and language practices. This is also the area where new conceptualisations of language and literacy are emerging, which see them as dynamic and open resources evolving in practice.

Overall, the sites of the local practice are contested between the powerful discourses of organising

multilingual practices into several monolingual ones and the new discourses that favour flexible multilingualism. Being situated in-between those two orientations, the complementary school is a contested semiotic social space situated in the relations of symbolic power.

### **VIII.3 Theoretical and methodological reflections toward a construction of new frameworks on multilingualism**

In the course of the present study, it has become evident that some conceptualisations constrained the construction of descriptive and analytical framework. These include the following concepts:

- 'Eastern European' – contrasted with the further eastward advancement of the EU and incorporation of former Soviet and socialist states into Europe, added by the contestation of the term by the study participants and overall among immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU);
- 'community' – as it implies the internal homogeneity of the group and raises the question of access and membership criteria, which are not easily addressed in relation to migrants from FSU;
- 'nationality' and 'ethnicity' – given the complex history of ethnic and national division across the Russian Empire and Soviet Union, and the xenophobic trends in the post-Soviet states;
- 'majority' and 'minority' – as it naturalises the hierarchy between those groups and assumes their internal homogeneity.

All these concepts should be re-evaluated and informed by empirical studies so that to reflect the actual changing multilingual dynamics in a globalised world.

The 'Eastern European community in Portugal' turned out to be quite heterogeneous, formed as a result of various social processes at the sociolinguistic, mobility and migration landscapes. The Russian-school emerged as a semiotic social space at the interface of discursive practices in language policies of different states situated in their histories. I made an attempt to show how this space was constructed by the different socio-historic, class and cultural trajectories of the ethnography participants at various scales. While focusing on “the rock” or “the hard place” in language ideologies and policies, thus foregrounding the question of power and choice, I was rather more interested in exploring the space in-between, the space of overlapping and competing

discourses and practices. This is a space that bears a potential toward more flexible pedagogies in multilingual classrooms, new conceptualisations of language, and hybrid modes of identity construction and speaking/writing oneself. It attempted to show the extent to which the multilingual Europe is a dynamic social space of emergence and contestation. After all, as stated Lecerle (1990), there is not only politics *of* language, but also politics *in* language. I want to believe that the discursive construction of a new multilingual Europe could be tied in with new modes to negotiate languages that would take into account the actual uses and values invested in linguistic resources by everyone who live in it.

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# Appendix A

## CONSENT FORM

В последние годы Португалия становится второй родиной для выходцев из самых разных стран Европы, Азии, Африки и Америки. В настоящее время в стране сосуществуют культуры, каждая из которых обладает самобытными традициями, языками и письменностями.

Будущее иммигрантов зависит от того, насколько эффективно они смогут интегрироваться в португальское общество. Для их детей это означает в том числе быть понятыми и принятыми в детском саду, в школе и в университете. Система португальского образования должна, в свою очередь, адаптироваться к ситуации, когда в одном и том же классе учатся дети, говорящие на разных языках.

Цель данного исследования – определить и описать факторы, способствующие благополучному и успешному будущему многоязычных детей и подростков в Португалии. Я считаю, что мнение родителей и детей в данном вопросе является решающим, тем не менее оно не всегда учитывается в полной мере.

В ходе данного исследования будут использоваться разные методы сбора данных при полном соблюдении действующего законодательства по защите личных данных и абсолютной конфиденциальности предоставленной информации. Участники смогут высказать свое мнение в ходе интервью свободного формата. Интервью будет записываться на цифровой диктофон для того, чтобы как можно более точно зафиксировать ход разговора, а также чтобы обеспечить доступ участников к записи интервью и позволить им проконтролировать её аккуратность. Каждый участник имеет право не отвечать на какой-либо из заданных вопросов, а также прекратить сотрудничество в любой момент. Участие детей в исследовании возможно лишь при наличии письменного разрешения их родителей.

БЛАГОДАРИЮ ВАС ЗА СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО!

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Faculdade de Letras/Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra*

Я, \_\_\_\_\_, согласен принять участие в  
Eu, \_\_\_\_\_, aceito colaborar no

исследовании на вышеизложенных условиях  
*projecto de investigação sob condições em cima estipuladas.*

Я, \_\_\_\_\_, разрешаю моему сыну/моей дочери,  
*Eu, \_\_\_\_\_, autorizo o meu filho/ a minha filha,*

\_\_\_\_\_, участвовать в исследовании на  
*a colaborar no projecto de investigação sob*

вышеизложенных условиях.  
*condições em cima estipuladas.*

**Data** \_\_\_\_\_ **Assinatura** \_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix B

## GUIÃO DE ENTREVISTA EM INSTITUIÇÕES GOVERNAMENTAIS ACIDI

1. Quais são os **objectivos dos programas** do ACIDI no âmbito da educação?
2. Existirão projectos com o enfoque **especial nos filhos de imigrantes cuja língua materna não é o português?** (língua como factor de integração)
3. De que modo **a vaga de imigração proveniente de Leste europeu** dos últimos anos influenciou os projectos e programas desenvolvidos no ACIDI?
4. De que modo **as associações de imigrantes** e as escolas informais podem participar/ participam nos projectos promovidos pelo ACIDI no âmbito da educação intercultural?
5. Até que ponto a formação de identidade intercultural, através **de contacto com as línguas maternas de comunidades imigrantes**, seria prioridade implícita ou explícita de projectos promovidos pelo ACIDI?
6. Existirão **acordos bilaterais** com os países de origem de alunos imigrantes, nomeadamente com os países de Europa de Leste?
7. Qual é a relação do ACIDI com os projectos de PLNM nas escolas?
8. Como entende a **integração dos alunos imigrantes** nas escolas? Até que ponto seria ela a **prioridade** destes programas?
9. Será que a integração de uma aluno no sistema educativo português implica a perda da língua materna pelo aluno?

Informant background information: Línguas faladas/ experiência de migração/ vida no estrangeiro

### DGIDC-PLNM

1. Descreve, por favor, o que acontece ou devia acontecer quando um aluno cuja língua materna não é o português estiver **inscrito** em um estabelecimento do ensino em Portugal?
2. Que vantagens e desvantagens vê na aplicação do **modelo de imersão linguística** como o modelo adoptado em Portugal para integração de alunos de PLNM? Terão sido considerados **outros modelos** a aplicar?

3. Como se criam **perfis linguísticos** do aluno? (processo de identificação das línguas maternas)
4. Explique, por favor, como se faz destacamento/**escolha dos professores** para desempenhar funções de apoio aos alunos falantes não nativos do português. Quais são as prioridades na **formação de professores** para o ensino de PLNМ?
5. Um aluno estrangeiro/ vários alunos estrangeiros na **sala de aula**: pontos a considerar e medidas a tomar. Um aluno estrangeiro **perfeitamente integrado na sua escola**, como ele é?
6. Nos últimos anos, seguindo a experiência dos outros países (ex. Inglaterra), em Portugal têm-se debatido sobre a possibilidade de introdução de um **assistente linguístico na sala de aula**, de uma pessoa que fale a língua materna da maioria dos alunos da turma. Como avalia esta medida? Qual é a diferença entre um **tutor e um mediador** sócio-cultural?
7. Que possibilidades prevê de participação na integração dos alunos falantes não nativos do português para a **comunidade educativa no sentido mais amplo**, por exemplo, pais e associações de imigrantes? Que medidas de **visibilidade para a língua materna** dos alunos?
8. A existência de **modelos do exames nacionais em PLNМ** em substituição do exame nacional em Português, na sua opinião, vai afectar **o acesso dos alunos ao ensino superior e profissional**?
9. Em semelhança à monitorização de nível do Português nos alunos falantes não-nativos no sistema educativo português, existirá uma **monitorização de nível das suas línguas maternas**? Será que a integração de uma aluno no sistema educativo português implica a perda da língua materna pelo aluno?

Informant background information: Línguas faladas/ experiência de migração/ vida no estrangeiro

# Appendix C

## GUIÃO DE ENTREVISTA AOS PROFESSORES (ESCOLA FORMAL)

### SISTEMA EDUCATIVO

1. Há quanto tempo trabalha nesta escola? Nesta região?
2. Que disciplinas lecciona/leccionou neste ano lectivo?
3. Descreve, por favor o que acontece ou deveria acontecer quando um aluno cuja língua materna não é o português estiver **inscrito** em um estabelecimento do ensino em Portugal? Que relação com o sistema de PLNM terão um aluno alemão, ucraniano, gineense e filho de emigrantes portugueses? Como avalia as medidas de apoio a estes alunos previstas pelo Ministério da Educação?
4. As suas funções na escola incluem cargos relacionados com apoio aos alunos cuja língua materna não é Português? (Se sim, especifique, por favor, em que consiste o seu apoio).
5. Como se criam **perfis linguísticos** do aluno? (processo de identificação das línguas maternas)
6. Explique, por favor, como se faz destacamento/**escolha dos professores** para desempenhar funções de apoio aos alunos falantes não nativos do português. Quais são as prioridades na **formação de professores** para o ensino de PLNM?

### POSIÇÃO IDENTITÁRIA DOS ALUNOS NA ESCOLA

1. Considera que existe “diversidade” na escola onde trabalha?
2. Como alunos estrangeiros podem ajudar a sua adaptação e melhorar o desempenho no Português?
3. Diz-se que os alunos provenientes de Leste europeu destacam-se nos métodos de estudo. Comente essa afirmação.
4. Quando é que se pode afirmar que o aluno cuja língua materna não é Português está bem integrado na turma/escola? Poderia dar algum exemplo concreto?

### RELAÇÃO PAIS-ESCOLA

10. Como avalia o contacto entre a escola e os pais dos alunos estrangeiros?
11. Chegou a ter conhecimento sobre os sistemas educativos e métodos de ensino nos seus

países de origem? Como?

**RELAÇÃO ESCOLA-ASSOCIAÇÕES**

10. Conhece algumas escolas informais criadas por associações de imigrantes? Que papel podem elas desempenhar?
11. Que organizações poderiam ajudar (ajudam) neste aspecto?

**ATITUDES PERANTE AS LÍNGUAS E SEU PAPEL NO CONTEXTO DE ENSINO (PORTUGUÊS, UCRANIANO, RUSSO)**

1. Em que sentido o português é importante para a adaptação escolar dos alunos cuja língua materna não é Português?
2. Será que a integração de um aluno no sistema educativo português implica a perda da língua materna pelo aluno? Que medidas de visibilidade para a língua materna dos alunos?
3. (Para professores da LP) Em termos práticos, de que maneira o conhecimento das suas línguas maternas dificulta ou facilita o processo de aprendizagem do Português nos alunos estrangeiros? Dê um exemplo.
4. Qual é a sua opinião sobre o Plano Nacional da Leitura? De que maneira ele poderia ajudar à adaptação de alunos estrangeiros?

Informant background information: Línguas faladas/ experiência de migração/ vida no estrangeiro

# Appendix D

## INTERVIEW GUIDE: MIGRANT PARENTS

Мы знаем, что дети, растущие в ежедневном контакте нескольких языков, нуждаются в подходе, отличном от детей, которые привыкли слышать только один язык вокруг себя. Чтобы понять, как можно помочь многоязычным детям лучше освоиться, осознать себя, стать принятым, нужно прежде всего посмотреть, для чего дети и окружающие их взрослые используют знакомые им языки.

### **Родители: их прошлое, настоящее и будущее, а также их детей.**

1. На каких языках вы говорите? Пишете? Какие способны понимать? На каких языках вы хотели бы уметь говорить?
2. Опишите ваш обычный день. Какими языками вы пользуетесь в течение дня? Приведите пример ситуации. (Где и с кем? По какому поводу?) Как ваш день отличается от того, как он проходил в России? Какими языками вы пользовались тогда?
3. Опишите обычный день вашего ребенка. Какими языками он/а пользуется в течение дня? Сравните, пожалуйста, с тем, что было раньше (в России)
4. Как часто вы говорите/пишете на родном языке? (Где и с кем?)
5. Приведите пример ситуации, когда ваш ребенок говорит или пишет на родном языке.
6. Как ребенок отнесся к переезду в Португалию? Дайте пример его отношения к изменению места жительства.
7. Расскажите о его первых днях в португальском детсаду (школе) (коллектив педагогов, дети, реакции самого ребенка). Как развиваются отношения с учителями и одноклассниками (у вас и у вашего ребенка, меры поддержки, дополнительное внимание)? Имеет ли ребенок возможность использовать родной язык в португальской школе? Просили ли его рассказать о родной стране и языке, традициях?
8. В чем русская школа отличается от португальской? Приведите пример. (Помогает ли она вашему ребенку? А вам лично? Как?)
9. Что бы вы хотели, чтоб ваш ребенок умел делать с русским языком?

12. Давайте обратимся в будущее, 5-10 лет. Останетесь ли вы сами жить в Португалии?

Будет ли ваш ребенок жить здесь? Чем он будет заниматься, кем работать? Будете ли вы сами говорить по-русски? Будет ли ваш ребенок говорить по-русски? Понадобится ли ему русский во взрослой жизни?

# Appendix E

## INTERVIEW GUIDE: MIGRANT CHILDREN

### Дети: роль языков в их прошлом, настоящем и будущем.

1. На каких языках ты говоришь? Пишешь? Какие можешь понимать? На каких языках ты хотел бы уметь говорить?
2. Опиши твой обычный день. Какими языками ты пользуешься в течение дня? Приведи пример ситуации. (Где и с кем? Что ты делаешь?)
3. Как ты считаешь, на каком языке ты думаешь? Как часто ты говоришь/пишешь на этом языке? (Где и с кем?)
4. Как ты узнал, что вы едете в Португалию?
5. Расскажи о твоих первых днях в португальском детсаду (школе) (коллектив педагогов, дети, реакции самого ребенка). Как развиваются отношения с учителями и одноклассниками (меры поддержки, дополнительное внимание)? Говоришь ли ты с кем-нибудь на русском (украинском) в португальской школе? Просили ли тебя рассказать о родной стране и языке, традициях? Как ты готовился к этой беседе?
6. В чем русская школа отличается от португальской? Приведи пример. (Помогает ли она тебе? Как?)
7. Помогает или мешает тебе то, что ты знаешь русский язык (украинский, английский, французский). Что бы изменилось в твоей жизни, если б ты говорил только на португальском (только на русском, только на украинском, только на английском).
8. Что бы ты хотел уметь делать с русским языком? с другими языками?
9. Давай подумаем о будущем, через 5-10 лет. Где ты живешь? С кем? Чем ты занимаешься, кем работаешь? Говоришь ли ты по-русски (украински, английски, французски и т.д)? Понадобится ли тебе русский во взрослой жизни?

