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Embracing and rejecting multilingualism

A linguistic ethnographic study of policy negotiation in an urban secondary school with a multilingual project

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Langage et Discours

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Summary

This dissertation investigates language policy in a Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels. The school in question endeavours to implement a language policy in which languages other than Dutch are formally included, which is in stark contrast to their peers, which often implement a strict, Dutch-only policy in order to respond to the increasing linguistic diversity and “Frenchification” in Brussels Dutch-medium education. This thesis addresses the question of how the teachers negotiated such a pro-multilingual language policy in the classroom in this setting.

This research is designed as a (socio)linguistic ethnographic case study. It is based on a conceptualisation of language policy as (1) operating on different levels; (2) consisting of three components; and (3) inseparable from the social world in which it is effectuated. The study combines ethnographic field work and participant observation with interview data, linguistic analyses of interactional data, document analysis and analyses of elements of the linguistic landscape. These methods were combined to gain insights into the nature and extent of the school’s unique pro-multilingual pedagogical project. We argue that, while, the school profiles itself as an institution which aims to prepare its pupils for future educational and professional success by increasing their language skills, the school’s policy declarations nevertheless harbour an ambivalent stance vis à vis multilingualism and monolingualism, which is reflected in the linguistic landscape. In terms of individual teachers’ perceptions and practices, then, we demonstrate that they, too, voiced contradictory sentiments and displayed behaviour in the classroom which was at once welcoming of pupils’ use of linguistic resources other than monolingual Dutch, and restrictive of it. These perceived and practiced language policies are argued to stem from teachers’ orientations to different competing and inherently contradictory concerns, which they face as educators of linguistically diverse pupils in a society which, as of yet, values monolingual competencies for its members — regardless of their own school being welcoming of linguistic diversity.

This study shows that teachers do not engage in either investing in multilingualism or problematising it. Rather, they oscillate between the two. Moreover, this oscillating behaviour is not restricted to monolingual settings, as it is also observed in a school which has taken steps to be more inclusive vis à vis multilingualism.

Resumé

Cette thèse étudie la politique linguistique dans une école secondaire néerlandophone à Bruxelles. Cette école met en œuvre une politique linguistique dans laquelle des langues autres que le néerlandais sont incluses. Cela contraste fortement avec les autres établissements d'enseignement néerlandophones, qui mettent en place des politiques strictes et exclusivement néerlandaises afin de répondre à la diversité linguistique et la «francisation» croissantes dans l'enseignement néerlandophone. Cette thèse aborde la question de savoir comment les enseignants de l'école négocient la politique linguistique dans ce cadre.

Ceci est une étude ethnographique (socio)linguistique qui repose sur une conceptualisation de la politique linguistique comme (1) opérant à différents niveaux ; (2) composée de trois parties ; et (3) indissociable du monde social dans lequel elle est effectuée. Nous combinons le travail ethnographique sur le terrain avec des données des entretiens, des analyses linguistiques des données interactionnelles, des documents et des éléments du paysage linguistique. Ces méthodes ont été combinées afin d'étudier le projet pédagogique pro-multilingue de l'école. Bien que l'école se présente comme une institution qui veut préparer ses élèves à la réussite scolaire et professionnelle en augmentant leurs compétences linguistiques, les déclarations de politique de l'école démontrent néanmoins une position ambivalente envers le multilinguisme, qui se reflète dans le paysage linguistique. En ce qui concerne les perceptions et les pratiques des enseignants, nous soutenons qu'eux aussi exprimaient des sentiments contradictoires et qu'ils affichaient des comportements en classe qui étaient à la fois accueillant et restrictifs en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de ressources linguistiques autres que le néerlandais par les élèves. Ces politiques linguistiques perçues et pratiquées ont été basées sur les orientations des enseignants face à différentes préoccupations concurrentes et intrinsèquement contradictoires, auxquelles ils sont confrontés en tant qu'éducateurs d'élèves aux profils linguistiques divers dans une société qui valorise les compétences monolingues pour ses membres, et ce indépendamment du fait que leur école soit accueillante envers la diversité linguistique.

Cette étude montre que les enseignants oscillent entre embrasser et problématiser le multilinguisme plutôt que faire l'un ou l'autre, et que ce comportement ne se limite pas aux milieux monolingues ; on l'observe également dans une école qui a pris des mesures pour être plus inclusive envers le multilinguisme.

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1 Introduction

Do I contradict myself?

Very well then I contradict myself,

(I am large, I contain multitudes.)

Walt Whitman, 'Song of Myself'

The ever-increasing (linguistic) diversity of our modern Western societies has greatly impacted schools and has turned them into environments in which a large amount of linguistic diversity is currently encountered. This is evidently also the case where Dutch-medium education in Brussels is concerned, as these schools presently house a relatively large number of pupils who do not speak Dutch at home, and who are often fluent in French (cf. Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie 2018). Since the 1980s, pupils with such linguistically diverse profiles have started to enrol in Dutch-medium education out of a desire to acquire Dutch language skills through linguistic submersion. As a result, their attendance of Dutch-medium education is often conceptualised as these pupils' choice for an unstructured route towards French-Dutch bilingualism, rather than an official one (cf. Ceuleers 2008; Van Mensel 2016).

In response to the increasing amount of linguistic diversity in general and the high number of Francophone pupils in particular, many Dutch-medium schools endeavour to implement language policies with the aim to safeguard and require Dutch by restricting pupils' use of French (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019; cf. also Jaspers 2018). The school under investigation here, inversely, endeavours to respond to the linguistic diversity of both their pupils and society by explicitly embracing multilingualism, rather than Dutch monolingualism. In this regard, the school (henceforth dubbed 'The Polyglot School') not only profiles itself as a multilingual alternative to its peers in the Belgian Capital Region by way of its inclusion of multilingual initiatives in its pedagogical project and curriculum, but it furthermore implements a language policy which is not restrictive of pupils' use of languages other than Dutch, and in which other languages are formally welcomed at the school. In this thesis, we want to investigate the ideological and practical results of this school's commitment to multilingualism by studying its language policy in great detail.

In brief, this dissertation investigates the negotiation of a pro-multilingual language policy in a linguistically diverse Dutch-medium secondary school in the urban environment of Brussels, the officially bilingual Belgian Capital Region. This research more specifically investigates the school's language policy and the implementation thereof by individual teachers by means of a (socio)linguistic ethnographic case study, in which several methods of data collection and several types of analysis are combined. In our discussion of these teachers' implementations of the school's policy, we will show that they invested in multilingualism in their beliefs and practices in ways which went far beyond what was intended by the school's already relatively progressive policy, but that they at once restricted the space for pupils' employment of all of their linguistic resources in their classroom, and, conversely, required them to use (the standard variant) of monolingual Dutch. We will show that teachers' practices and perceptions were quite contradictory, and that they seemed to embrace multilingualism as often as they resisted it. We will explore and explain why that was the case in spite of the school's formal and explicit commitment to multilingualism.

In this opening chapter of the thesis, we aim to, firstly, introduce the key concepts which will guide our discussions and analyses throughout this remainder of the text. In that regard, we will go into detail about our conceptualisation of what constitutes a language policy. Additionally, we will provide some insight into our conceptualisation of teacher agency vis à vis policy implementation. Following that discussion, we will provide more information about the concrete aims of this research, as well as of the ways in which we endeavour to meet them — namely by means of an ethnographic (socio)linguistic case study. Secondly, then, we will outline the structure of the following chapters of this thesis.

1.1 Key concepts

1.1.1 Language policy

In this dissertation, we adopt a conceptualisation of language policy in education as a process which operates on three levels, namely the macro-level of state or local governments, in this case, the Flemish Government; the meso-level of individual schools, such as The Polyglot School; and the micro-level of face-to-face interaction between individual teachers and their pupils. Language policy furthermore consists of three separate components, namely a *declared language policy*, which comprises a (written) declaration of all language political intentions; a *perceived language policy*, which participants feel should be done in terms of language planning; and a *practiced language policy*, which can be unearthed by gauging the systematicity in participants' language choices, as well as their practical orientation to the choices of others (cf. Bonacina-Pugh 2012).

In the following chapter, we will explain how the field of LPP has evolved to include such a conceptualisation of policy, and we will outline some findings from ethnographic studies of policy in education. In that regard, we will argue that language policy is of the utmost importance in the field of education, specifically, on the basis of the historical ties between language policy and nation-building. Indeed, insofar as language is considered to be the 'key to citizenship' (cf. Heller 2013, 189) and schools have the responsibility to prepare newer generations for their gradual influx in society, many schools endeavour to implement language policies oriented towards the standardised forms of the majority language(s) and, subsequently, towards delimiting pupils' use of other parts of their linguistic repertoires in practice. However, while this informs us of macro and meso-level declared language policies, it does not teach us much about individual teachers' perceived and practiced language policies at the micro-level. While a school can certainly *intend* to valorise monolingualism and, as such, to inadvertently problematise multilingualism, this does not entail that that is what ensues in classrooms. In that regard ethnographic analyses of language policy often highlight the unpredictability of policy implementation (cf. Spolsky 2004; cf. Shohamy 2006).

1.1.2 Structure, agency and language policy

In terms of pupils' perceptions and practices, ethnographic studies of language policy have shown that they often challenge monolingual policies by engaging in linguistically diverse practices both overtly and covertly. In brief, pupils are argued to resist the monolingualism which forms the basis of most educational language policies. They do so in acts of playful linguistic sabotage, in order to accommodate their peers through heteroglossic negotiations of meaning, or in acts of defiance (cf. (Bonacina-Pugh 2012, 2017; Cekaite 2012; Cekaite and Evaldsson 2008; Evaldsson and Cekaite 2010; Heller 1995; Jaspers 2005, 2015a, 2015b; Willoughby 2009)).

A radically different picture emerges where teachers are concerned. In Dutch-medium education specifically, teachers are often argued to be sympathetic to the monolingualism in both the macro-level and their school's meso-level policy (Jaspers 2016; Strobbe et al. 2016; Pulinx et al. 2017). They are shown to display a 'monolingual habitus' (cf. Jaspers 2018, 2) and to harbour negative perceptions of their pupils' use of home languages (Pulinx et al. 2017). So, while teachers are considered to be the 'arbiters of their own classrooms' language policy' (Palmer and Martínez 2013, 270), ethnographic studies of language policy implementation demonstrate that a large number of them have inadvertently interiorised the powerful monolingual structures which permeate our societies and educational institutions, as they are shown to reproduce them in their perceived and practiced policies.

Alternatively, teachers are said to resist such influences, and to counter hegemonic beliefs in favour of the valorisation of linguistic diversity (cf. Canagarajah 2011b; Henderson 2017). While such practices are considered to be valuable steps in dismantling pervasive hegemonic ideals of monolingualism, linguistic purism, and language separation, the positioning of teachers in a binary in which they are either loyal to or critical of these structures provides us with a rather incomplete view of the extent of teacher agency. It leaves little room for research in which they are shown to engage in both, and to waver between the two (Creese and Blackledge 2011; Bonacina-Pugh 2013; 2013; Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014; Jaspers and Rosiers 2019), nor for the investigation of the reasons *why* teacher agency does not appear to be limited to their investment in either monolingualism or multilingualism.

1.1.3 Contradictory teacher perceptions and practices as chronic ambivalence

That teachers seem to oscillate between imposing and resisting monolingualism is often ascribed to the fact that most schools are, as of yet, monolingual spaces. The idea is then that schools need to be challenged and supported to become more welcoming of linguistic diversity. Ambivalent behaviour from teachers is furthermore argued to stem from teachers' not yet knowing *how* to valorise linguistic diversity in neither their perceptions, nor their classroom practices. As such, much research advocates that teachers need to be educated to 'understand that promoting and sustaining [a minority language] need not require them to proscribe or otherwise discourage translanguaging [and other flexible ways of using language]' (Martínez, Hikida, and Durañ 2015, 40) or even aided in working 'more humanely' with the non-standard language practices of linguistic minority pupils (Alfaro and Bartolomé 2017, 12). We want to emphasise, however, that inherently contradictory teacher perceptions and practices are evidently not restricted to monolingual school settings, as they are also found to occur in our case study of a school which takes steps toward the explicit inclusion and valorisation of multilingualism. Indeed, our ethnographic analysis of The Polyglot School's teachers' perceived and practiced language policies will show that these teachers, too, wavered between embracing and problematising multilingualism in their practices. Moreover, these teachers are aware of the contradictory nature of their perceptions and practices, as they are able to articulate precisely which concerns lead to their embracing of multilingualism at the school, and which give rise to their concurrent problematisations of it.

With that in mind, we consider the aims of this thesis to be two-fold; while we (1) want to provide ethnographic insights into the ways in which a pro-multilingual language policy is implemented in the specific urban heteroglossic context of Dutch-medium education in Brussels, we (2) want to use these insights to prove that teachers' contradictory perceptions and practices do not stem from their school setting being monolingual, nor from their being unequipped or uninformed. Rather, they are a result of teachers' perpetual balancing of the various competing concerns which they have to address as educators of linguistically diverse pupils in a society which currently places much value on monolingualism for its (future) members.

1.1.4 An ethnographic, (socio)linguistic case study

To enable us to attain these goals, we have constructed this research as a topic-oriented (socio)linguistic ethnographic case study. By virtue of the nature of ethnographic research, such methodology allows us to combine methods for gathering and analysing the different kinds of data needed to analyse policy holistically.

In practice, we have gathered data by means of long-term participant observation at The Polyglot School, as well as recordings of interviews with teachers and pupils, and recordings of individual pupil and whole-class interaction. Additionally, we have taken photographs in order to analyse the school's linguistic landscape, which, as 'outward evidence of language policy' (Spolsky 2004, 1) proved to be helpful for our analysis of the school's language policy. Furthermore, we have collected and analysed various documents, such as the school's inspection reports, the school's guidelines booklet for its pupils, and the media's reports on the school's pro-multilingual pedagogical project and the linguistic diversity in its curriculum; we have let both the insights from our participant observation and the early data collection guide our further gathering and analysis of data in a cyclical process of hypothesis generation and testing.

As a result of such an approach, we have gained an in-depth understanding of all of the different phenomena surrounding the various layers and components of language policy at The Polyglot School. Where our analyses of the inherently contradictory perceptions and practices of TPS' teachers are concerned, we want to highlight that this thesis adopts a realist perspective. In that regard, we conceptualise teacher agency not as something which is boundless, but rather as something which can be facilitated or constrained by pre-existing social, institutional, and historical structures and conditions. As such, these teachers' perceived and practices language policies are not considered to be situated in a vacuum, nor is the social world in which they take place constructed entirely anew in each communicative interaction. It is for that reason that our analyses of interviews and classroom interaction can be connected both to one another, and to pervasive societal ideologies. In brief, investigating policy in this way allows for a holistic understanding of policy in which many different kinds of information and insights are integrated.

1.2 Thesis structure

The following chapter will explore the origins and development of the field of Language Policy and Planning on the one hand, and the ways in which ethnographic studies of language policy in education have attempted to make sense of the role of teacher perceptions and ideologies in practical policy implementation on the other. In the third chapter, then, the research questions for this dissertation will be formulated on the basis of insights from the literature. We will furthermore outline the methodology and methods used to gather and analyse the data needed to answer them.

Following these first two chapters, we will introduce the context and setting of this research. In the fourth chapter, we will firstly provide information about the ideological and practical tensions between Dutch and French in Belgium's history, as well as in Brussels' current educational landscape. Secondly, we will discuss the ways in which The Polyglot School is representative of Brussels Dutch-medium education in terms of its highly linguistically diverse pupil composition and large attendance of French-speaking pupils. We will then go into detail about the ways in which the school is, inversely, unique by virtue of its implementation of a multilingual pedagogical project in order to respond to the demands of modern, linguistically diverse urban societies. In the fifth chapter, then, we will discuss the participants of the case study, namely the pupils and teachers of class 2G, and we will briefly illustrate their dynamics inside and outside of the classroom.

After having provided the necessary (ethnographic) background information on the context and setting of this research, namely Dutch-medium education in the Belgian capital of Brussels and The Polyglot School, we will analyse each of the components of the school's language policy. The sixth chapter will be oriented towards the school's declared language policy, as well as the reflection of certain elements of that policy in the school's linguistic landscape. In the seventh chapter, then, we will analyse a selection of class 2G's teachers' perceived language policies, and in the following chapter we will do the same where teachers' practiced policies are concerned. Lastly, we will summarise our findings in the ninth chapter of the thesis.

2 Literature review of language political research

In this chapter, we will provide a literary backdrop to the research reported on in this dissertation. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first of which provides a chronological overview of Language Policy and Planning (henceforth abbreviated to 'LPP') theory and research in general, and the second of which is a state of the art of ethnographic language political research in educational settings in particular.

We will firstly discuss the origins and development of the field of LPP. Although early LPP scholarship and research were initially thought to be ideologically neutral and objective, LPP was intrinsically connected to nation-building and based on three central ideological tenets; (1) nation-building was framed as the establishment of unity between people who share one territory and one language — with (2) 'language' being conceptualised as a standardised, stable, finite, rule-governed instrument — and, as such, (3) linguistic diversity was thought to preclude nation-building. So, early planning activities and research were oriented towards solving the societal "problem" of linguistic diversity, and yielded practical roadmaps, models, and taxonomies for language planning. Throughout the following decades, then, the field of LPP evolved and became critical; planning was increasingly conceptualised as an ideologically laden instigator of *social* change, rather than an objective instrument for *linguistic* change. LPP scholarship thus became devoted to unearthing (1) issues of ideology, power and inequality within language planning processes and research, in which (2) 'language' included people's social knowledge and practical use of language(s), and (3) linguistic diversity was no longer deemed to be inherently problematic. Rather, it was the normalisation of monolingualism which was scrutinised. We will argue, however, that critical language political research did not yet consistently explore the relationship between the macro- and micro-levels of planning, nor between top-down and bottom-up language political processes. It was not until the adoption of ethnographic methodology and the inclusion of practices alongside policy documents and ideologies that language policy was studied as a (1) holistic unit which is (2) processual, dynamic and multi-layered.

In the second part of the chapter, we will argue that, despite the fact that there have been many evolutions in regard to conceptualisations of language, language use and linguistic diversity within LPP and (socio)linguistics, some of the older ideological assumptions which were at the basis of early LPP are still relevant in the creation, interpretation and appropriation of language policy in education today, in the sense of there being a lingering (monolingual) focus on the (standardised, prestigious forms of) language(s) in language policies in education. This, then, is in stark contrast to the modern reality of urban classrooms, which are increasingly heteroglossic.

In this regard, we will discuss how the juxtaposition of these hegemonic ideals within language policies in education and linguistically diverse urban classrooms has been shown to influence teachers' perceptions and practices in ethnographic research of language policy in education. Although much of this research shows that the contradistinction between monolingual curricula and multilingual pupils leads to teachers' reproducing the monolingual standard, there is at once ample research which argues that they resist it and, as such, provide spaces for multilingualism. Moreover, we will discuss research which shows that teachers do both and waver between investing in and resisting monolingualism, and embracing and problematising multilingualism. Although this kind of oscillating and contradictory teacher behaviour is often considered to be a temporary result of the fact that schools are, as of yet, monolingual spaces with monolingual language policies, we encounter similar instances of ambivalent teacher behaviour in settings which are more favourable towards multilingualism. Therefore, we will demonstrate that this kind of oscillating and contradictory teacher behaviour is better conceptualised as a chronic result of teachers' balancing contradictory beliefs and ideologies in regard to mono- and multilingualism, rather than as a temporary one.

2.1 Chronological overview of LPP theory and research

2.1.1 Early LPP theory and scholarship (1960s-1970s)

The inception and advancement of the field of LPP are intrinsically connected to the increase of decolonisation efforts in the aftermath of World War II, when a number of countries gained autonomy or complete independence. Language planning research developed in this context specifically as a means to systematically engineer linguistic unity within these and other new and developing nations, with the aim to democratise and modernise them. Indeed, the decolonised states in Africa and Asia were ‘regarded as a particularly apt arena of language planning’ (Ferguson 2006, 1) because of the linguistic diversity within them. It is, however, important to note that language planning activities did not all commence after World War II. Languages have indeed been the object of planning throughout history, and we will also discuss some examples of language planning which predate decolonisation and the increase of modern independent nations. What LPP as a field of scientific inquiry contributed to the concept of language planning in the second half of the twentieth century, then, is exactly the synthesis of planning processes and activities into step-by-step models of language planning, typologies of languages and different configurations of bi- and multilingualism, and ways of developing policy texts, and evaluating their effectivity.

In regard to the relationship between planning languages and building nations, there are, broadly, three underlying ideological tenets which have influenced the development of LPP. Firstly, nation-building is framed as the establishment of unity between people who share a territory and, more importantly, a language. Secondly, ‘language’ is conceptualised as a ‘finite, stable, standardized, rule-governed instrument for communication’ (cf. Ricento 2006, 14), as well as a commodity which can be modified and engineered in an objective way. From the first two tenets entails, thirdly, that linguistic diversity poses a “problem” insofar as it stands in the way of nation-building and citizenship. This perceived problem can be resolved by planning, i.e. interventions in the linguistic structure and perceived value of a/the (different) language(s) in society. In other words, unifying citizens and forming stable, postcolonial states is, from this point of view, accomplished by achieving linguistic unity through the optimisation of language and language choices (cf. Ricento 2000).

Haugen's model of language planning

A first and oft-cited definition of language planning was formulated by Einar Haugen, who described language planning as 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community' (1959, 8). The objects of early LPP were thus not speakers and their day to day language use, but, rather, linguistic forms and structures, and its purpose was pragmatic; planning was oriented towards solving issues that were, on the one hand, language internal and, on the other, which involved the positioning of the different language(s) present in society. This shared focus on linguistic structuralism and pragmatism led to the development of practical roadmaps, planning models, taxonomies, classification systems, and frameworks by early LPP researchers. As an illustration, we will discuss Haugen's model for language planning, which has been quite influential to the development of the field of LPP, as it inspired the formulation of many revisions, additions, and alternatives (cf. section 2.1.2 below).

Haugen's (1966) four-fold model of language planning was designed to serve as a synthesis of the different steps involved in planning, and it can thus function as a practical starting point for language planners. The model encompasses four steps; the *selection* and *codification* of language norms, and the *implementation* and *elaboration* of the functions of these norms in societal domains. Haugen (1983; 1987) later revised the model to include, among other things, Ferguson's (1968) concepts and terminology of graphization, grammatication and lexication, to elaborate what is specifically meant by *codification*, and what it entails precisely. For reasons of clarity, the addition of that terminology will be included in our discussion of the model. We will focus on some of the insights of Haugen's original research on historical processes of language planning in Norway. More specifically, he based his model on a case study involving the conflict (dubbed 'språkstriden' or 'language struggle') between Nynorsk (based on Landsmål, the rural dialect) and Bokmål (based on Riksmål, the urban variant which hails from Danish) after Norway's independence from Denmark in 1814. In this discussion of Haugen's model, we will include some of those insights, but will also provide examples based on language planning in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Nineteenth century — i.e. around the same time as the historical processes discussed in Haugen (1966) — which led to the 'spelling war' in Belgium.

The first step in planning, *selection*, involves the decision to select a language norm and to replace certain language varieties or linguistic forms in society with others. Often it is the case that conflicting norms are present in society, and that selection is a matter of a society and its leaders' assignment of relative status to those norms, to eventually influence their official status. Haugen himself provides the example of replacing 'urban with rural dialects in Norway' (Haugen 1983, 270), but we also find an instance of the process of selection in the decision-making process of the Dutch government in 1804, when the Siegenbeek norm (devised by Dutch academic Matthijs Siegenbeek) was decided upon as the official spelling norm for Dutch by the State Council of the Batavian Republic. A decision which, as we will discuss later, caused some debate (cf. Vandenbussche 2009).

Following the selection process, *codification* takes place, i.e. efforts are made to stabilise the norms which have been selected by codifying and standardising them. Languages can be codified by outsiders to the speech community, for example missionaries, or by insiders, as was the case with the Dutch Siegenbeek norm. Codification yields prescriptive orthographies, grammars and dictionaries, and involves several processes. Often a first step is *graphization*, which is the development of scripts and writing systems. Graphization requires that professionals, mainly linguists, make decisions in regard to alphabets or other writing systems, which may or may not already exist within the community. When that is not the case, they are devised by linguists or imported from (an)other language(s). Another codification activity is *grammatication*; the formulation of rules of grammar and syntax. Other decisions yet pertain to *lexication*; the selection of a lexicon. Lexication does not solely pertain to norms related to individual words, but also to 'the assignment of styles and spheres of usage' of those words (Haugen 1983, 271). To return to the example of the 1804 codification of Dutch orthography, Siegenbeek's spelling norms were indeed flanked by additional efforts to standardise the Dutch language. In 1801, the government requested the composition of a normative grammar and dictionary by Dutch preacher Petrus Weiland, who based his work on that of his German contemporary Adelung, a grammarian (cf. Noordegraaf 2018, 155).

The next step is *implementation* (or *acceptance*, cf. Cobarrubias 1983, 4). This step has to do with the practical spread of the results of selection and codification processes in society, for example by writers' or governmental institutions' adoption and use of the established norm. This is not always successful, however. We return

to the selection and codification of Dutch in the early nineteenth century to discuss the thwarted implementation of the Siegenbeek norm in the Netherlands and Flanders, the Northern part of Belgium. In 1814, King Willem I endeavoured to plan the language in Flanders, effectively attempting to implement the norms mentioned above. While they eventually became compulsory in the North, they were never obligatory in the Southern part of the country, where the norms were and remained somewhat unpopular with Dutch-speakers. Some resisted the Siegenbeek spelling on the grounds of it being either “too Hollandish” or, because of its protestant origin, it being deemed incompatible with Catholic Flemish society (cf. Vandenbussche 2009). When acceptance does not take place, as this example demonstrates, language planning is a continual and cyclical process — although this was not stressed in Haugen’s original (1966) model, it is explicitly mentioned in revised iterations.

The final step of the planning process is *elaboration*, which is described as the ‘continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of the modern world’ (Haugen 1983, 273). Whereas codification requires the identification of stable rules, elaboration is a flexible process. Elaborating a language can result in the development of more resources, to ensure that the forms of the language are able to meet myriad, diverse, and constantly increasing functions. A lexicon, for example, may need to be elaborated to keep pace with technological inventions, leading to the formulation or borrowing of new words.

The corpus-status distinction

The processes and steps in Haugen’s model relate to, on the one hand, language-internal decisions, namely the codification of linguistic norms and the elaboration of languages by linguists and professionals to equip them well for modern and modernising societies, and, on the other, societal decisions, such as the selection and implementation of these norms in society by governing bodies. This two-fold (i.e. linguistic and societal) orientation in LPP has led to the distinction between corpus and status planning by Kloss (1969), which Haugen would explicitly incorporate into his model (cf. Haugen 1983; 1987).

Corpus planning encompasses interventions which affect the language-internal structure, such as graphization (the development of scripts and writing systems), standardisation [the establishment, selection, and/or modification of the forms of a language, and the choice of one language variety to take precedence over (an)other

regiolect(s) or dialect(s) present in society (cf. Hornberger 2006) — i.e. Haugen's *grammatication* and *lexication*], and modernisation (i.e. the expansion and modification of the lexicon through word formation or borrowing, Haugen's *elaboration*)¹. Status planning, then, affects 'the perceived relative value of a named language, usually related to its social utility, which encompasses its so-called market value as a mode of communication' (Ricento 2006, 5) (i.e. Haugen's *selection* and *implementation*). As such, it involves the recognition by governing bodies of the importance of certain language varieties, and the (re)allocation of a language or variety to functional domains within society, such as the court, or education (cf. Cooper 1989). In brief, a language's status can be raised or lowered, based on certain criteria.

Typologies of language planning, taxonomies of language

This brings us to scholarship which provided descriptive typologies and overviews of overt, explicit, *de jure* language policies, as well as of multilingual societies. This type of research produced two different things. Firstly, it yielded overviews of the different features which characterise policies [bilingual, trilingual; (in)tolerant toward other languages; state or province-level], and, as such, the different kinds of policies that exist. Secondly, these overviews showed the different features which characterise linguistically diverse societies, and the different societal configurations of languages. Scholars thus developed typologies that could be used to describe and categorise the ways in which different societies deal with multilingualism (cf. Schiffman 1996). Because of this orientation towards specific, often national policies and the detailed abstractions which they provide of all the factors that policy can be made up of in a (multilingual) context, these typologies represent, on the one hand, ways for scholars to *describe*, and, on the other, for governing bodies to *determine* the status of the various languages which co-occur in a society.

Kloss' (1968) framework, for example, encompasses twelve variables to categorise multilingual societies based on, among other things, mother tongue (whether a society is officially monolingual, bi- or trilingual, or multilingual), the number of languages used by individuals (whether the speech community is monolingual, diglossic, bilingual, or tri- or multilingual), the differences in legal status between

¹ Jaffe adds renovation, purification, reform, stylistic simplification, and terminology unification to the interventions classified under 'corpus planning' (2011, 207-208).

languages (whether a language is official, or even prohibited in society or restricted to certain functional domains), to its prestige, origin, distance (whether languages are related), origin (whether the language is endoglossic or indigenous in the speech community, or exoglossic and imported from outside the community).

Similarly, Stewart (1968) used attributes such as the degree of standardisation of a language and its 'vitality' (i.e. the presence of that language in society in terms of the numbers of speakers of that language or variety relative to the total population), and identifies seven language 'types' (e.g. whether the language is standard, classical, artificial, vernacular...), and ten societal functions (e.g. a status as an official or provincial language, the use of a language in wider communication, internationally, or in education) to contribute to 'the development of a comparative framework for describing national multilingualism, by suggesting a technique for describing national sociolinguistic situations' (Stewart 1968, 532-533; Schiffman 1996).

It is clear that such frameworks and typologies served as abstract representations of the diverse and inherently complex ways in which nations and planners are faced with — and how they *deal* with — multilingual realities in actuality. As such, they could be used to describe these situations and, subsequently, to inform planning. In developing such typologies, however, scholars often conflated language policies with multilingualism (cf. Schiffman 1996, 48), as they attempted to represent policy and multilingual reality along the same or similar criteria, regardless of the fact that a *de jure* policy is more stable (and, to an extent, apt for description) than reality, which is changeable, and less well-determined.

Summing up early LPP

It is evident that early LPP activities and scholarship had a clear ideological basis. Firstly, language planning was considered to be an indispensable aspect of nation-building. Indeed, as Heller would argue decades later, ‘making and managing nation-states has involved the construction of standardized languages and their supposedly native speakers, providing lots of work for linguists, grammarians, and language educators over the years’ (Heller 2013, 189). When we consider the Dutch ‘spelling war’, for instance, we can see that different people (Flemings, Dutchmen) identified with different cultural norms (Catholic, Protestant), and used language to solidify that contrast. Language is indeed a commodity which can be planned or engineered, not based on speakers’ language use per se, but on linguistic structures, and through activities such as corpus and status planning. These activities, then, are aimed towards “solving” the practical “problems” of there being present competing codes or linguistic norms within one nation. We have discussed the specific ways in which scholars in the twentieth century researched planning processes to, on the one hand, develop practical roadmaps or planning models [such as Haugen’s (1966; 1983)], and to, on the other, develop taxonomies, classification systems, and frameworks [such as Kloss’ (1968) and Stewart’s (1968)] to argue that this kind of scholarship was innovative because it served to make abstractions of these processes to describe them, and to inform new planning processes.

2.1.2 Departure from purported ideological neutrality (1970s-1980s)

Although the results yielded by early planning scholarship advanced the field of LPP, the models and taxonomies which were devised in this period were also the subject of revisions, criticism, comments, and additional observations. We will discuss some of the developments following early LPP in regard to the ideological basis of corpus and status planning and taxonomies, the development of new and revised models which followed Haugen’s (1966), as well as the debate surrounding the question of what it means to build LPP theory, and what such a theory should encompass.

Problematic aspects of typologies and taxonomies

In regard to typologies and taxonomies, a few concepts were deemed to be questionable, and were increasingly considered to be more subjective than was

previously argued, such as Kloss' (1968) argument that there are languages which are inherently better suited for national development than others. Later on, Tauli (1974) claimed that languages and parts of languages could not only be regulated but evaluated and effectively ranked in terms of efficiency from a linguistic standpoint, i.e. based on features such as a language's economy/redundancy, clarity and elasticity. Following this, he argued, linguists could determine which languages or linguistic features are better than others, but also which languages can be improved upon through planning. Tauli furthermore maintained that, although 'no language can express everything adequately', it was nevertheless 'the ethnic languages' especially which were 'not constructed methodically according to plan' (Tauli 1974, 51). It became clear that some language typologies, which were developed to encompass "objective" categories, resulted in rankings with clear ideological bases, because they involved a hierarchy with indigenous languages at the bottom and colonial languages at the top (cf. Johnson and Ricento 2013, 9), a notion which was already deemed controversial at the time — Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), for example, ardently defended the linguistic theory that all languages are equal.

Revisions of and additions to Haugen's model

Haugen's did not remain the sole roadmap for language planning, and based on that model, revisions and alternatives were formulated by other scholars.

Although it is often reported to be a revision to Haugen's model, due to the fact that he re-works some of Haugen's steps, Haugen's model is not mentioned explicitly by Neustupný (1970). Neustupný's model differentiates between policy approaches on the one hand, and cultivation approaches on the other, as two distinct ways to tackle language problems. As such, it has an orientation quite different to Haugen's. Neustupný argued that, in a *policy approach*, the emphasis lies on linguistic varieties and their distribution in society with a focus on problems regarding selection, standardisation, literacy, developing orthographies, and the stratification of languages, in a vein similar to Haugen. However, in a *cultivation approach*, the focus is on the language code *and* actual language use. This encompasses issues related to correctness, efficiency and style, but also the possibility of constraints on communicative capacity. *Cultivation* can be considered to be somewhat akin to Haugen's *elaboration*, as Neustupný argued that *cultivation* is necessary in modern industrialized societies, while the policy approach is more so related to less

‘developed’ speech communities (Neustupný 1970, 12). So, although most of the contents of Haugen’s (1966) model correspond to Neustupný’s *policy approach* to solving language problems, Neustupný added a new dimension to planning with the *cultivation approach*.

Rubin (1971), then, developed a model which involves stages such as fact-finding, selection, development, implementation, and feedback and evaluation, of which *evaluation* has been the most influential. This concept was not explicitly present in Haugen’s model, and Rubin herself determined that ‘the evaluation used thus far in planning has been lacking in many ways’ (1971, 496). Rubin’s (1971; 1972) concept of *evaluation* focussed on determining the needs of planning, and whether the aims and goals of planning have been met with. She argued that evaluation is a necessary step in each part of the planning process, and she thus suggested, among other things, criteria along which the strategies and outcomes of planning could be evaluated. Evaluation, furthermore, already takes place at the fact-finding stage, with the evaluator having to identify and analyse the needs for planning, and it recurs throughout the planning process. In this sense, evaluation is not a step following planning as described by Haugen, but a continual process, with the evaluator acting as a consultant for each step.

Fishman (1973) would later harmonise Neustupný’s and Haugen’s models (adding *evaluation* to Haugen’s model as a second step, and *implementation* to Neustupný’s), which Haugen nevertheless did not find necessary. Although Haugen did revise his own model [incorporating Ferguson’s (1968) terminology in it, cf. above, cf. Haugen (1983; 1987)], he did not explicitly include either the concept of *cultivation*, nor that of *evaluation*, arguing that ‘the procedures of Neustupný and Rubin are provided for and to some extent foreseen within [the] original scheme’ (Haugen 1983, 270).

Absence of an LPP theory

Additional critiques of early LPP scholarship focussed on the fact that neither the distinction between status and corpus planning, nor Haugen’s and others’ models encompassed what language policy theory could and should be, nor what happens in reality and why (cf. Cobarrubias 1983, 5). Cobarrubias reported that Haugen himself conceded that his model did not amount to a theory of language planning, due to it being too descriptive and not sufficiently explanatory. He therefore advocated for a

paradigm shift and challenged the field to be more explanatory, and to increase the focus on the socio-political effects of language planning on society in particular.

The ideological nature of typologies and taxonomies, and arguments such as Kloss' and Tauli's, furthermore prompted the discussion that the field was lacking in considerations about the role of ideology in LPP processes and theory. Scholars like Haugen argued that 'a stand on difficult value judgements' needed to be included in a sound theory of language planning (1983, 276), but he was unsure how, which values to adopt, which languages to cultivate, and which type of language education to favour. Moreover, although scholars like Cobarrubias disagreed with Haugen's call to include ideological aspects, they nevertheless acknowledged that there needed to be a clear divide between objective knowledge and ideological sympathies in planning theory. The lack of attention for socio-political effects and dimensions, as well as the presumed and purported ideological neutrality of language planning activities and scholarship were no longer upheld, and both became subject to an increasing amount of criticism. This, along with additional developments in (socio)linguistics and other social sciences, greatly impacted the evolution of the field, as will be discussed below.

Influence from (socio)linguistics and other social sciences

Among these developments in social sciences was Hymes' (1972) notion of *communicative competence*, which broadened the scope of what 'language' entails. To reiterate one of the three underlying assumptions of early LPP, language was seen to be a 'finite, stable, standardized, rule-governed instrument for communication' (cf. Ricento 2006, 14). Hymes' notion resisted the concept of language *competence* in the Chomskyan sense, where it was distinguished from *performance* — the former being speakers' knowledge of the linguistic structure and system (i.e. of grammar, phonology...) and the latter being actual language use in specific situations. Hymes' notion of *communicative competence* does not just involve knowledge of the rules of grammar, but also the rules of *use*; the focus was thus broadened to not only include knowledge of the application of linguistic rules in isolation, but also speakers' ability to use social knowledge of language. *Communicative competence* thus frames linguistic behaviour as, first and foremost, a form of social behaviour, and language choice as something which is not just influenced by language planning (i.e. political, at the macro level), but also by speakers' attitudes and beliefs, as well as by the attitudes and beliefs which exist in speech communities. Hymes' *ethnography of communication*

furthermore led scholars to reconceptualise and redefine communicative competence as the ability and grammatical knowledge for 'appropriate language use in the communicative events in which they find themselves in any particular speech community' (Hornberger 2001, 281).

LPP was furthermore influenced by Critical Theory. In the 1960s, the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School had spread to the humanities through, for instance, the work of Bourdieu, and found its way to linguistics through Fowler et al.'s *Language and Control* (1979). Critical theories influenced the way culture, society (and therefore also language) were conceptualised and studied. In general, there was a heightened awareness of the way human society and culture systematically (re)produce constraints for people or communities based on the interests of certain social groups. Critical social sciences, then, engage with questions and issues of power and inequality within society, culture, language et cetera (cf. Pennycook 2001). Critical Theory moreover disputes the presumed capacity of research and theory to represent reality objectively, as if it is devoid of implicit value judgements (cf. Fowler 1996)². This led to an increase in research which studied the way language policy and issues of power, ideology and hegemony were interwoven, such as Ethnography of Language Policy, in which research objects were broadened to include, for example, the ways in which power is motivated and embedded in language use, as well as Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Fairclough 1989), and Critical Language Policy.

² Although there is critical research which supposes that critical inquiry can be objective and yield objective results exactly *because* of its 'engagement with social critique' (cf. Pennycook 2001, 4).

2.1.3 Development of Critical Language Policy (1990s-2000s)

We can identify the changes that the conceptualisation of LPP underwent following the criticism and revision of earlier models and theories, and the developments in social sciences discussed above, by reconsidering the three underlying ideological assumptions which we have unearthed earlier. Firstly, the conceptualisation of language was broadened to include speakers' language use, as well as discourse; languages were no longer solely studied as named, rule-bound entities with defined social distributions and functions, but as a form of human behaviour. Secondly, the notion that the nation state implies that there is unity between people who share a language and that diversity poses "problems" was also altered; language diversity was no longer deemed to be inherently problematic, and tendencies like the normalisation of monolingualism in planning and policy were criticised in favour of the normalisation of multilingualism. Thirdly, the role of ideology in LPP activities, processes, *and* scholarship gained significant importance. Neither language and monolingualism, nor the tasks and activities of language planners, policymakers and researchers could still be considered to be ideologically neutral. As a result, the meaning of LPP itself shifted; no longer was planning considered to be a practical solution for communication issues in linguistically diverse societies, but as an instrument for social change (cf. Cooper 1989) which can (re)produce social inequality, due to the fact that it 'usually promote[s] the interests of dominant social groups' (Tollefson 2006, 43). The role of the researcher also changed to become more self-reflexive, and scholars were challenged to (re)evaluate their relationship to their research subjects and objects.

As LPP theory became more comprehensive, research contexts were broadened. Specifically, there was much research on LPP processes effectuated in social institutions, such as education. Furthermore, *acquisition planning* was added to the corpus and status distinction (cf. above). Acquisition planning points towards the ways in which language-internal and status-related aspects are effectuated in and through education, for example when efforts are made to increase literacy, or when a certain language is chosen as a/the language of instruction. Other goals of acquisition planning include foreign language acquisition, maintenance, and revitalisation (cf. Cooper 1989; cf. Hogan-Brun, Robinson and Thonhauser 2013).

As a result of the increasing importance of issues related to hegemony and social (in)equality in social science, much LPP research in this period focussed on the ways in which the power asymmetries present in society were reflected and reproduced in language planning processes. If Haugen (cf. above) was still unsure how to incorporate ideological aspects in policy theory and development, this new wave of language political research provided an answer to those doubts and considerations.

Scholars such as Ruiz (1984), and, later on, Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), provided typologies and paradigms to grasp ideological assumptions vis à vis language and its role in society, in the form of the identification of possible orientations towards language as a problem, a resource, and a right, and the juxtaposition/continuum of the *diffusion-of-English* and *ecology-of-language* paradigms, respectively. Other researchers, such as Cooper (1989) and Tollefson (1989; 1991), specifically focussed on the way language planning contributes to social change, or reproduces socio-cultural inequalities connected to, in Tollefson's case, the Westernisation and modernisation of (new, postcolonial) nations. Cooper's (1989) work is more theoretical; in his overview of LPP literature, he brought together a wide array of case studies to provide a synthesis of the various definitions and frameworks for language planning which existed at the time, but which were not very coherent (cf. Hornberger 1992). Tollefson, inversely, focussed specifically on the connection between a policy and the ideological assumptions underlying it (1989), to work towards the development of the *historical-structural framework* which scholars could use to adequately research LPP in a critical manner (1991).

Among the influential research on hegemony and ideology in language planning and policy, we furthermore mention Wiley's (1996) historical-structural analysis of two ideologies, namely monolingualism (English Only) and standard language (Standard English), and Lippi-Green's (1997) research on the involvement of ideologies in attitudes toward language (in the form of language policies, but also in education, the work place, and mass media) in the U.S., and the negative consequences of language prejudice for marginalised groups in society. In the remainder of this section, however, we will focus mainly on Cooper's (1989) and Tollefson's (1989; 1991) contributions to the field of LPP, and we will briefly discuss the paradigms formulated by Ruiz (1984) and Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996).

Cooper's innovation of LPP theory, and emphasis on social change

In *Language planning and social change* (1989), Cooper's aims and merits are two-fold. Firstly, he provides a general overview of the field of language planning at the time, to endeavour to move toward the formulation of an all-encompassing LPP theory which, he argues (cf. also above), did not yet exist. As a result of the absence of a comprehensive theory, Cooper claims, LPP activities and processes were ad-hoc and lacking in systematicity. He attempts to resolve this by providing a synthesis of LPP activities and processes to 'define the field, relate it to other fields, outline its scope, and offer generalizations which would relate language-planning goals, procedures, and outcomes to one another' (Cooper 1989, preface). Following his literature review, Cooper discusses the existing definitions of language planning to move towards the formulation of what LPP scholarship should ask; namely *who* plans *what* for *whom* and *how*? He furthermore determines whether or not existing models and frameworks are able to aid scholars in analysing LPP, using criteria related to a framework's descriptive, predictive, explanatory (with regards to processes and outcomes), and generalizational capacities (i.e. whether these processes and outcomes can be related to those of other research), and he provides a framework of his own.

Secondly, by emphasising the ways in which language planning and policy are influenced by socio-political aspects and agents, Cooper claims that language is not planned in order to make it inherently more efficient or better suited for various goals. Rather, it is planned to bring about societal change. Language planning, then, cannot be seen as divorced from society, nor from other complex and interrelated processes of societal change. Cooper furthermore argues that earlier LPP theories placed too much emphasis on the macro-level of policy and focussed mainly on the way policy is formed when it is initiated by higher levels in society. He asserts that planning is, in fact, not just a top-down undertaking: top-down processes can be influenced by bottom-up changes, as well as by changes which take place on the micro-level of face-to-face interaction. Cooper's theory of LPP and social change is influenced and supported by the various case studies he provides of, for instance, language planning carried out by politicians, but also by religious leaders (in his case study of the foundation of the *Académie française*), and by minority groups in society (by way of, for instance, the feminist challenging of the ubiquity of androcentric generic nouns).

Tollefson's historical-structural approach to LPP

Like Cooper, Tollefson stressed the interconnectivity of language planning and societal change. Tollefson studied the harsh living conditions and the Americanisation, cultural and linguistic assimilation, and acquisition planning activities in a refugee camp preparing people for immigration to the United States in Southeast Asia in *Alien Winds* (1989). Tollefson argues that there was, alongside the actual language policy/acquisition planning in place at the camp, also a hidden curriculum at work. While the camp's written (language) policy aimed to prepare migrants for an American way of life, the underlying ideological aspects of the policy actually served to obstruct these migrants' upward social mobility, in the sense of the intended planning efforts and goals only leading to a level of linguistic competence that would restrict immigrants to entry-level jobs — a conclusion which caused some debate (cf. Ranard and Gizlow 1990; Tollefson 1990).

Following this study, Tollefson wrote *Planning language, planning inequality* (1991). In this book, he conceptualises language policy as a means to stratify groups in society, which can lead to social inequality because it can undermine or cater to certain economic and political interests. Like Cooper's, this book is an explicit critical response to earlier planning work. Tollefson contrasts earlier approaches to planning and planning research (*neo-classical approaches*) to his own framework (the *historical-structural approach*). Neo-classical approaches conceptualised language, language policy, and policymakers and researchers as objective and, therefore, unaffected by historical and structural aspects, processes, and ideology. The historical-structural approach, inversely, focusses on the subjectivity of the researcher, as well as on the influence of structure and history on people's agency and the way this can constrain their language choices, and, as a result, their social mobility.

Tollefson's framework can be used to determine the specific ideological orientations of planning and to gauge how planning can delimit the range of acceptable attitudes towards a certain language, while legitimising others. In older models and approaches to evaluating policy the emphasis was on (1) the researcher as an objective outsider; who (2) assesses whether a policy has attained the goal(s) it was designed to reach, namely; (3) influencing language choices in a rational way, based on "objective" aspects such as efficiency, Tollefson's framework, then, is based on the idea that (1) the researcher is subjective, because they are influenced by their own

ideologies and beliefs; and that evaluating policy therefore (2) requires critical reflexivity on the part of the researcher, to make explicit the historical and structural processes at play in policy implementation; because (3) language choices are a form of human behaviour, which can be constrained or facilitated by ideologies, as well as by historical and structural processes (such as class distinctions) in society.

Ruiz', and Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas' paradigms of LPP

As mentioned earlier, Critical Language Policy scholarship also saw the birth of new paradigms for language planning, such as Ruiz' (1984) framework detailing the orientations towards language, and the ecology of language. Ruiz (1984) identifies three orientations in language planning, namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. When language is perceived as a *problem*, Ruiz argues, what is problematised is not language per se, but the diversity in communicative resources and the lack of national unity that language diversity purportedly engenders. As a result, policies based on such a perception are often oriented towards assimilation and monolingualism in the dominant majority language, with bi- and multilingualism being considered deficits to the monolingual ideal. When language is perceived to be a *right*, the concern that linguistic inequality can lead to social inequality comes to the forefront, which is reflected in policies which legally allow language use and language education in speakers' mother tongues. Lastly, when language is supposed to be a *resource*, linguistic diversity is no longer considered from a deficit, but from a difference-perspective. Multilingualism is then encouraged and actively aspired towards for individuals and nation states alike. Although it is considered to be influential in its capacity to inform policy formulation and research to some extent, Ruiz' paradigm is also criticised for having 'limited utility as an analytical heuristic' (cf. Hult and Hornberger 2016, 42) because it does not teach scholars nor policymakers anything about policy in practice.

Ecology-of-language was first theorised by Tsuda (1994, cited in Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996), and elaborated on by Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas. On its own, the ecology-of-language paradigm opposes the past, homogenising responses to linguistic diversity, which aim to achieve, in most cases, monolingualism or stable diglossia, and instead radically advocates the maintenance and cultivation of bi- and multilingualism through language learning, or, for example, the maintenance of indigenous language and culture, alongside the promotion of language rights. In

their paper, however, Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas contrast the *ecology-of-language* with the *diffusion-of-English* paradigm, with both perspectives forming the end points of a continuum. This continuum moves from, among other things, a human rights perspective, equality in communication and multilingualism (ecology-of-language), to capitalism, science and technology, modernisation and monolingualism (diffusion-of-English). Language policy, then, is conceptualised as an endeavour to 'shift the political or educational ground towards one end [...] or the other' (Philipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, 436). As such, the ecology-of-language versus diffusion-of-English paradigm functions as a typology with parameters to characterise certain ideologies and policies, which has continually influenced policy analyses and recommendations (cf. Ricento 2000).

Summing up Critical Language Policy

In this period, the ideological basis of LPP underwent significant changes. Firstly, due to the influence of Hymes' (1972) notion of *communicative competence*, language was drastically reconceptualised. It was no longer seen as a static structure, but first and foremost as a form of human social behaviour. Secondly, planning itself was no longer considered to involve the objective engineering of language forms to optimise languages themselves, unify people, solve communicative problems, and modernise nations, but conceptualised as a result and an instigator of social change.

Because of this new focus on social behaviour and social change, innovative ways of looking at language and policy emerged. Scholars identified, described and analysed the underlying ideological aspects of planning activities and scholarship, and the researcher was challenged to become self-reflexive. If we relate this back to early LPP efforts, it would no longer be acceptable to argue that certain "ethnic" languages are less well-suited for national development than more "systematically planned" ones, because a scholar would need to evaluate their position as a scientist from, often, a first-world country investigating, yet not fully engaging with, speakers in drastically different speech communities. Such power imbalances were thus no longer taken for granted but identified as stemming from and potentially leading to inequality.

In terms of the innovations in and advancement of the field of LPP, scholarship yielded frameworks such as Cooper's (1989), which synthesises a number of different and diverse older LPP studies into guiding principles, and Tollefson's (1991) historical-structural approach; and paradigms, for instance Ruiz' (1984) and Philipson and

Skutnabb-Kangas' (1996) orientations in planning. While frameworks and paradigms in itself were not new, these were innovative precisely because they accounted for the role of ideology, power and historical and social aspects of planning. As such, they attested to the conceptualisation of LPP as a social, rather than a purely linguistic field.

Although the scholarship in this period advanced the field by placing societal and ideological aspects at the centre of LPP, it also explicitly criticised early LPP and distinguished itself from earlier research. Cooper (1989) argued that LPP theory needed to be improved upon because of the *de facto* absence of one single, comprehensive theory and, instead, the co-existence of different frameworks and models. He claimed that LPP was not equipped to engage with the social aspects of planning and change. In devising his own framework, he furthermore came to the conclusion that there was not enough attention for bottom-up and micro-level processes in LPP. Tollefson (1991), then, identified issues with older, neo-classical approaches. His research (1989) led him to unearth implicit aims and (un)intended results of policy which could lead to social inequality.

2.1.4 Development of Ethnography of Language Policy (2000s-now)

A merit of critical language political research was that it focussed on the (re)production of dominant ideologies in language policy at the macro-level and, to some extent, at the micro-level. However, scholars nevertheless seemed to prioritise language planning as it happens at the higher levels of (social) life, such as the nation state, rather than planning as it takes shape in, for instance, schools or individual classrooms (cf. Tollefson and Pérez-Milans 2018). Moreover, there was little attention for the ways in which policy intentions influence practices; when there actually was a focus on micro-level, interactional aspects, scholars tended to overemphasise the hegemonic power of policy, as if the ideology represented in a written policy document directly impacted and restricted or enabled the practices of those who had been given the task to implement said policy (cf. Hornberger and Johnson 2007). Although critical research of language policy brought to light many implicit, unconscious and pervasive issues of power and ideology in policy, as well as unintended consequences of policy, it was considered to be too deterministic, and, as such, underestimating of the power of human agency in policy processes and practices (cf. Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Johnson 2011). So, despite the innovations that CLP brought to the field, LPP was still lacking a theory capable of addressing the relationship between macro-level policies

and micro-level interactions. While some scholars certainly argued that a view of policy as something which exclusively operates in a top-down manner was restrictive (cf. Cooper 1989), there was far more research which focussed on the relationship between policy and inequality than there was research which investigated language planning processes as they unravel in practice, to explore the ways in which ‘micro-level interaction relates to the macro-levels of social organization’ (Johnson 2009, 139).

Indeed, LPP theory needed to incorporate language practices in a more central way than was previously the case. In this regard, we will discuss Spolsky’s (2004) distinction between the various components of policy, as this theory provides a conceptualisation of policy as something which can be revealed through patterns which are observable in people’s practices, in addition to through texts, discourses, and ideologies (cf. also Bonacina-Pugh 2012). Then, we will discuss how ethnography emerged as a methodology which enabled researchers to gather the kinds of empirical data needed to explore the connections between the macro, meso, and micro levels of policy, as well as its components (texts, beliefs and ideology, and practices).

Spolsky’s division of policy

Spolsky (2004) distinguishes three components of policy, namely *management*, *beliefs and ideology*, and *practices*. *Management* comprises the efforts and explicit plans to modify the language practices of individuals or groups by means of interventions — i.e. corpus, status and acquisition planning. The language practices which a policy can seek to manage or engineer, can vary; *management* can point towards the appointment of a national language by a government, or it can target the spelling of a word or the pronunciation of a sound (cf. Spolsky 2004, 10). Although management often involves written policy texts, a formal document is, however, not a necessity: Spolsky lists the United Kingdom and the United States as examples of countries which do not have explicit macro-level policy documents detailing which languages have officially been granted the status of national language, although the *de facto* official language is English in both cases, as evidenced by people’s language practices. Conversely, just because an official policy *does* exist, this does not mean that it is implemented, or that its implementation is successful at the micro-level.

Management, in the form of decisions and (possibly) policy documents, is based on the language *beliefs* or *ideology* of the members of a speech community,

and management can in turn serve to 'conform or modify' those beliefs (Spolsky 2004, 14). In this sense, language *beliefs* are the myriad ideas and perceptions that members of the speech community have regarding which language practices are deemed appropriate, and which are not. When these beliefs are more or less accepted and represented in the speech community, we speak of them forming a 'consensual ideology' (Spolsky 2004, 14). This happens when, for instance, certain aspects of language, such as a specific pronunciation, are assigned positive or negative values which are largely agreed upon within a speech community. The relation between language *management* and language *beliefs*, then, is that management makes one specific ideology dominant, which can either contrast with other beliefs or ideologies within by the speech community or reflect them.

Management, evidently, does not only exist to change the perceptions and beliefs of (groups of) people, but also their language *practices*. These practices are, however, not simply the object of policy — rather, a policy can exist within language practices themselves. If we return to the example of the United Kingdom, which does not have an official policy text in place, we can see that English is widely spoken in practice. In this case, it is not a text or macro-level decision which constitutes the nation's language policy, but the policy is revealed to us through observable patterns in the language choices and use of members of the speech community at the micro, face-to-face level of everyday interaction.

Spolsky stresses that it is not feasible to separate each of the three components of policy and to only study one or two of them, as that would lead to 'a very incomplete and biased view' (2004, 40) of policy, and his framework thus helps scholars to look at these different levels of policy.

His explicit integration of practices into the concept of policy has been quite significant in the advancement of LPP theory for two reasons. Firstly, it moved the field beyond conceptualising policy as a binary. Critical language political research up until this point mainly contrasted policy texts (*management*) and policy discourses (*beliefs/ideology*) to study 'the ideologies and discourses which influence policy texts and language practices' (Bonacina-Pugh 2012, 215), without much regard for policy as it takes shape in practice. When research did take practices into consideration, they were mostly studied to evaluate a given policy, i.e. *management* was contrasted with people's *practices*, conceptualising both as 'separate, even conflicting, notions'

(Bonacina-Pugh 2012, 216). Following Spolsky, the notion of what constitutes a policy has been broadened to include three components, and, as such, it moves beyond a binary concept of policy. Secondly, the idea that there can also be a policy at the level of practices solidifies the conceptualisation of policy as something that is part of a sociocultural system, and, as such, not devoid of historical and cultural context. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to gauge the impact of the sociolinguistic setting on the various components of policy, as well as the effects of political structures and bureaucracy. So, the inclusion of practices meant that LPP theory fully encompassed the macro, meso, and micro levels on which policy operates.

Bonacina-Pugh (2012) formulates a number of updates to Spolsky's theory (cf. also Shohamy 2006). She emphasises that, although policy is holistic, there is also policy which occurs within each of these components. In this regard, Bonacina-Pugh speaks of *declared policy* to discuss Spolsky's management level, as this points to the policy as it is declared or communicated. *Perceived policy*, then, is used to discuss the policy which can be unearthed when policy agents' beliefs and ideologies are under consideration. Lastly, Bonacina-Pugh's *practiced policy* corresponds to Spolsky's practices, but it emphasises that there is a systematicity in people's practices which is not merely a result of what is *declared* or *perceived*, but a policy in and of itself — a 'policy within practices' (Bonacina-Pugh 2012, 214).

Following the incorporation of practises into what constitutes policy, there is now a holistic theory of policy which highlights the inherent dynamicity of policy components across various levels. What has become the object of language political research, is currently the ways in which people achieve policy interactionally and socially; research does not focus on evaluating whether a *declared* policy is implemented or not, but on gauging the relationship between *declared*, *perceived*, and *practiced* policies, so as to explore the ways in which policy can provide spaces for resistance of *intended* policy, or instances of 'unplanned language planning' (Ramanathan 2005, cited in Hornberger and Johnson 2007, 511).

Ethnographic methodology proved to be suited for gathering this type of data and conducting analyses capable of encompassing the various components and levels of policy. We have mentioned ethnography with regards to Hymes' *ethnography of communication* earlier. Ethnography is concerned with the qualitative study of culture, which is accomplished by describing and analysing human behaviour in (a) specific social situation(s). Hymes' *ethnography of communication*, then, is a paradigm

which stresses the interrelationship between human culture and communicative competence, in which communicative competence is defined as people's knowledge of and practical ability for 'appropriate language use in the communicative events in which they find themselves in any particular speech community' (Hornberger 2001, 281). If ethnography is concerned with studying the patterns in people's social behaviour, *ethnography of communication* focusses on the systematicity which can be unearthed in people's communication specifically, and, moreover, that patterns in language use can intersect with other patterns in the organisation of human social life. The object of *ethnography of communication* is thus human communication and language, which are components of one holistic conceptualisation of culture and human behaviour, and its subject is describing and understanding 'communicative behaviour in specific cultural settings' (Saville-Troike 1982, 2).

Applied to language *policy*, then, ethnographic methodology can help researchers to investigate the interaction between the different components of policy at the different levels, because it focusses on the way people *do* and *experience* policy in a specific context (cf. McCarty 2011). By adopting an ethnographic methodology, the types of data can be gathered which can be used to gauge the relationship between policy power and the interpretative agency of the people involved in the creation, interpretation and appropriation of policy (cf. Johnson 2011), and, as such, policy can be studied (1) in a holistic manner; and (2) as the processual, dynamic, and multi-layered phenomenon which it is. One concrete ethnographic method which was introduced into LPP research is participant observation, in which the researcher integrates into the speech community for a lengthy period of time.

Not all innovations in the field of LPP stem from the introduction and appropriation of ethnographic methodology, however. Other advancements include the inception of (Critical) Discourse Analysis of Language Policy (cf. Ricento 2005), which is often integrated into ethnographic studies of LPP to reveal the relationship between the multiple layers of policy, although there is a focus on the discursive links between policy texts and discourses, rather than practices (cf. Johnson 2011). Furthermore, Linguistic Landscapes analysis was included in LPP, which focusses on 'visual representations of language(s) in the public space' (Van Mensel, Vandebroucke and Blackwood 2016, 423, cf. Shohamy and Gorter 2009, cf. Landry and Bourhis 1997). In the introduction of *Language Policy*, Spolsky contrasts, for instance, the trilingual public signage in Jerusalem's old city with the bilingual Hebrew

and English signs in other cities in Israel, calling traces of language decisions and planning in the landscape 'outward evidence of language policy' (Spolsky 2004, 1).

The theoretical advancements of LPP have taught us that, when we look at the different levels on which policy operates (the macro, meso and micro), as well as at the three components of which it is comprised (texts, discourses and practices), policy becomes a multifaceted, multi-layered concept which is not easy to describe nor to analyse when it is researched using methodology that does not take each of these levels and components into consideration, or which does not account for human agency in policy appropriation. Ethnography, in co-occurrence with additional methods, filled that gap.

There are different orientations in ethnographic language political research (cf. Johnson and Ricento 2013). There is, for instance, much research which focusses on language maintenance and revitalisation, and which is concerned with improving the rights of indigenous and minority speakers, such as Canagarajah's research on language maintenance in Sri Lankan diaspora communities (2011a) and King's research on the effects of migration on language maintenance in the Indigenous Quichua community in Ecuador (2001; but cf. also 2011). Much research furthermore focusses on the way language policies are negotiated in schools (cf. Ricento and Hornberger 2007) to study the role of teachers as policy agents in the (re)imagination of multilingual schools (cf. McCarty 2011, 15; cf. also below). As we will focus exclusively on ethnographic studies in education in the next part of this chapter, we will discuss Jaffe's research on Corsican language revitalisation planning (1999; 2011) here, to provide an example of the innovations which ethnography brought to LPP.

Jaffe's study of Corsican language policy

Jaffe applies ethnographic methodology to study, on the one hand, language planning measures, activism and the ideologies inherent in both, and, on the other, the everyday, lived realities of Corsicans. She analyses the ways in which the French-dominant ideologies and policies of the French state on the one hand, and the politics of Corsican nationalism on the other, have shaped language revitalisation policy processes and discourse, as well as the meta-discourses reported by her informants, *and* their language practices. Jaffe discusses three different phases of revitalisation.

The first phase is what she calls the *resistance of reversal*. From this viewpoint, French and Corsican are contrasted to one another at the macro-level, with activists attempting to reverse the order where French is the dominant language in most (prestigious) societal domains and Corsican is restricted to face-to-face interaction, by focussing on Corsican literacy. Jaffe argues that this strategy stems from monolingual and purist language ideologies, such as the notion that one nation unities people who share one language, one territory, and one culture, and the notion that Corsican (in contrast to French) was not yet sufficiently codified so as to be suited for national development. From their practiced policies, it became evident that Corsicans did not have easy access to the standard form of Corsican, and that regional and dialectal linguistic diversity, as well as mixed forms of languages, were problematised; Jaffe discusses data in which schoolchildren were learning about the Corsican names of certain utensils by talking to an older, “authentic” speaker of Corsican, yet their teacher corrected this speaker’s use of French loan words to provide the pupils with the “real” Corsican names (cf. Jaffe 2011). Jaffe stresses the ambivalence in teachers’ behaviour as they, on the one hand, reproduced a monoglot standard, marginalising variation and, on the other, sometimes ‘moved between Corsican and French within and across different instructional activities in the school day’ (Jaffe 2011, 210), reinforcing the importance of French.

In *resistance of separation*, revitalising Corsican is intended to be achieved by equal representation of both French and Corsican in all relevant societal domains — i.e. ‘coofficiality’ (Jaffe 1999, 25 — and, thus, requiring bilingualism of all citizens. Again, Jaffe unearths the ideological tensions at play at the macro-level; although this strategy strengthens the Corsican minority identity — an identity which, Jaffe argues, has historically been formulated based on shared language and culture *and* in contrast to the French language and culture — it reproduces the same structures of dominance as the *resistance of reversal*; Corsican natives would still need to be educated in Corsican to become bilingual in the sense of them achieving similar language competence and literacy levels in Corsican as in French. Although being “forced” to learn Corsican is not the same as being “forced” to learn French, Jaffe argues that this created tensions vis à vis the Corsican which people already spoke in their day-to-day lives, and the literary standard that coofficiality compelled them to acquire; younger language learners, for example, felt that making errors was a sign of their

inauthenticity, as it reinforced the idea that they lacked competence in a language they felt they ought to already know.

The final strategy is that of *radical resistance*, where there is not much focus on linguistic form. Corsican is conceptualised as a *langue polynomique*, meaning that the unity of Corsican exists precisely within its diversity. What constitutes ‘Corsican’ is, then, not based on linguistic homogeneity — as was the case in the previous two discourses — but on a social consensus of what speakers themselves regard as Corsican. This, however, was by some considered to come at the expense of Corsican cultural identity, which, as mentioned before, was partly based on linguistic and cultural contrasts with the French. Once more, Jaffe describes many dilemmas which Corsicans find themselves in from her data. For every elderly Corsican speaker who mixed Corsican and French, there was, for instance, an elderly Corsican activist whose principles firmly excluded blending, and for some, these dilemmas were internalised. Indeed, in their perceptions ‘people will stigmatize the Corsican-French language mixtures that they use all the time, and which neither they, nor others, sanction in everyday practice’ (Jaffe 1999, 15).

In Jaffe’s research, the macro and micro-level are thus combined to unearth the ideological orientations which are present both in declared policies, and in people’s perceived and practiced policies, and which produce tensions between language, identity and authenticity. Her research shows us how ethnographic methodology can provide us with a complex account of the workings of, in this case, revitalisation politics, and furthermore aptly illustrates the processual nature of language policy.

2.1.5 Summarising conclusion

In this first part of the literature review, we have provided a chronological overview of the changes that LPP theory and research have undergone since the inception of language planning and policy as a scientific field. In the early years, the field was mostly concerned with providing objective, ideologically neutral models, roadmaps, typologies, and taxonomies which could aid policymakers in their endeavours to engineer language. We have, in this regard, spoken of pragmatism and linguistic structuralism — indeed, ‘language’ was conceptualised a stable, rule-bound entity, which could be altered or manipulated in order to achieve the goal of establishing one nation which was comprised of one people who were united in their mastery of one language. It was pragmatic, then, in the sense that most of these early LPP efforts

were aimed towards either eradicating or “solving” the “problem” of there being (too much) linguistic diversity within the nation, or ranking languages based on their suitability for national development and the definition of citizenship to inspire planners.

It was, on the one hand, this conception of language and, on the other, the purported neutrality of the “problem-solving” powers of monolingual policies vis à vis linguistic diversity which were increasingly challenged in the following years. As scholars started to criticise these aspects, the central tenets of what language and LPP were, as well as what LPP *does*, changed. Firstly, ‘language’ was re-defined to include language *use* — i.e. people’s communicative competence, alongside discourses, and (the influence of) beliefs and ideologies on both language use *and* language policy. Secondly, because of this critical stance towards older conceptualisations of language and policy, the notion that linguistic diversity was either inherently problematic, or that it impeded nation-building, was challenged. Instead, it was the normalisation and pursuit of monolingualism which came under scrutiny. Thirdly, researchers became interested in studying LPP efforts and processes not as instances and instigators of language change, but of *social* change. In order to do that, the position of the researcher was altered; studying language policy in a manner that is attuned to unearthing the role of beliefs and ideology requires some reflexivity from the researcher. In this period, LPP research became conscious of the role of policy and policy scholarship in the (re)production of social inequality.

The role of ideologies became firmly incorporated into LPP theory, and the reciprocal relationship between policy texts, discourses and ideologies came to the forefront of LPP research. However, much of that research was criticised for being too deterministic — as if the ideologies and beliefs which are present in a policy have a *direct*, unmitigated impact on policy agents’ and subjects’ social behaviour. As there was not much empirical research which explored the actual effect of macro and meso-level policies on people’s agency — as evidenced in their micro-level practices — it seemed that LPP research and theory had a blind spot, and that it followed a theoretical and conceptual dogma which was unproven. As a result of the identification of these issues, the role of language *practices* became more central in LPP theory. No longer could policy practises be conceived of as being opposed to policy texts or beliefs, and, indeed, all three components currently together form part of one holistic theory of policy. To empirically explore policy in a holistic manner across texts, perceptions and practices at the macro, meso and micro-levels, then, ethnographic

methods emerged, often in conjunction with sociolinguistic methods, and this type of research yielded an all-encompassing view of what policy is and what policy does, in a variety of different research contexts.

2.2 Ethnographic language political research in education

2.2.1 Hegemonic ideologies in language policy in education

In the previous part of this chapter, we have discussed the ways in which conceptualisations and perceptions of language, language use, and linguistic diversity have changed throughout the decades. Of course, this evolution is not unique nor limited to the field of LPP. Indeed, in linguistics in general, and in research of bi- and multilingualism in particular, similar conceptual changes have taken place. Language is presently acknowledged to be a social construct (cf. Makoni and Pennycook 2007), which means that the focal point shifted from “a language” to “language”. As such, bi- and multilingualism can no longer be conceptualised as one person’s mastery of two or more different, separate languages — viz. the idea that bilinguals have mastery over two distinct monolingual systems. Instead, language is considered to be a person’s employment of (parts of) a single holistic linguistic repertoire. It is not surprising, then, that several theories have emerged which reflect this conceptualisation, such as *translanguaging* (cf. García 2009; Li Wei 2011), where the focus is on people transcending the boundaries of languages which would previously be considered to be separate; *metrolinguism* (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), which studies the fluidity of people’s language use in urban and linguistically diverse contexts; and *polylingualism* (Jørgensen 2008), which emphasises the contrasts which exist between people’s actual multilingual practices and the normative expectations in society.

In spite of these changes regarding the conceptualisation of language and the ideologies surrounding linguistic diversity and the monolingual standard, however, some of the older underlying ideological assumptions which we encountered in early LPP are still relevant in the creation, interpretation and appropriation of policy in education as a social institution (cf. also Karrebæk 2013). This is not entirely unexpected, as education is a very valuable domain for language policymakers — in part because of the centrality of language to education, but also because of the role of education in the preparation of newer generations for social and professional life. Indeed, language is considered to be the ‘key to citizenship’ (Heller 2013, 189), to be acquired not only by migrants, but also by children and (young) adults who were born in the country in which they are educated. Because the overt juxtaposition of several

languages at once threatens the very notion of the monolingual norm and the unity that monolingual competence is thought to establish, there is, generally, a (monolingual) focus on the (standardised, prestigious forms of) language(s) in language policies in education which is/are associated with the nation or government which organises that education.

This entails two things. Firstly, it means that there is a focus on a/the language(s) which have been granted (an official) status in a specific region or country. Secondly, the way language is conceptualised is also monolingual. Bi- and multilingualism are then considered to be a person's high-level mastery of two or more different, separate languages or monolingual systems, and not as their employment of (parts of) one, holistic linguistic repertoire. Schools thus often teach language and teach by means of language in a way that corresponds to a conceptualisation of language that is based on monolingual, separate, rule-governed ideals, which resemble those which we encountered in the ideological bases of early LPP.

We have already established that language policies are created in order to influence people's linguistic and social behaviour, i.e. to engineer people's language use, and to cause their language use to align with the goals stipulated by the policy. So, insofar as language policy in education serves to influence the linguistic behaviour of pupils to transform it in favour of monolingualism, it is important to note that there is an evident contradistinction in terms of the monolingual curricula and language policies usually encountered in educational institutions, and the linguistic diversity among pupils and in the world outside the classroom. We have also argued that macro and meso-level declared policies cannot simply be presumed to automatically influence people's perceptions, nor their micro-level practices. Indeed, policies in education, as all policies, have to be negotiated and put into practice — not simply by pupils, but also by their teachers. In this regard, teachers are often considered to be the 'arbiters of their own classrooms' language policy' (Palmer and Martínez 2013, 270) due to their position as 'central agents in language policy development at th[e] micro/local level' (Hélot and Laoire 2011, xvii). As both critical and ethnographic studies of language policy have shown that policy agents' perceptions and micro-level practices are not easy to predict, nor directly or systematically based on a macro or meso-level declared language policy, however, we know that teachers do not just implement a policy consistently, passively, and uncritically, but, rather, they make practical

decisions based on, for instance, their beliefs and ideologies. In this way, teachers are generally considered to be responsible for an intended language policy's success in engineering pupils' language use, i.e. when the teachers' perceptions and practices align with the policy's intentions, or for its unfulfillment, i.e. when they do not (cf. below). Therefore, teachers' ideologies and practices have become rather important objects of language political research.

In what follows, we will explore some insights from ethnographic studies of language policy in education which focus on the relationship between declared language policies and teacher practices and beliefs. Although we will show that teacher behaviour is indubitably and unequivocally unpredictable — insofar as individual teachers do have agency in regard to the appropriation of policy in their own classrooms — the scope of their agency is nevertheless often reported to be limited to either imposing or resisting monolingual policies. We will argue that this is an oversimplification of teachers' practical negotiation of the tensions between monolingual policies and multilingual realities, and that teachers often do not either impose or resist policies in practice, but that they engage in both. We will discuss research which shows that teachers waver between different ideological and practical stances, and, indeed, impose monolingualism as often as they undermine it. We will endeavour to explain how and why this is the case. In this regard, we will not only focus on teacher practices vis à vis monolingual language policies in linguistically diverse educational settings, but also vis à vis multilingual language policies.

2.2.2 Teacher agency in educational language political research

In terms of the relationship between macro and meso-level policy declarations and micro-level ideologies and practices, teachers in monolingual school settings are often argued to have a tendency to impose monolingualism on their pupils — i.e. they are reported to display a monolingual habitus and, as such, to reproduce ideologies of monolingualism, purism, and language separation in their teaching practices (cf. also Jaspers 2018).

They, for instance, prohibit pupils from accessing their full linguistic repertoire, or they sanction pupils when they fail to adhere to the rules stipulated by the declared policy. In Martín Rojo's study in Madrid, teachers are shown to systematically and explicitly correct pupils' use of languages other than Spanish in the classroom, as well as of non-standard forms of Spanish. These teachers explained that adhering to those

norms not only helps to eradicate linguistic differences among pupils, but that it enables all pupils to 'integrate and progress in Spanish society' (Martín Rojo 2010, 43). In Heller's (1995, 1996) research in French-medium education in Ontario, the *français avancé* teacher reproduced ideologies of monolingualism and separate bilingualism in their teaching practices, stating that they enforced certain linguistic and behavioural rules because access to the school's French-medium curriculum is a prerequisite for pupils' future success. Earlier, we have discussed how a teacher in Jaffe (2011) reproduced ideologies of linguistic purism by correcting an older Corsican speakers' use of French loan words, to ensure that their pupils had access to a linguistically pure form of Corsican.

Alternatively, teachers are shown to counter such hegemonic beliefs, and to provide 'safe' (cf. Canagarajah 2011b, 8) and 'pluralist' spaces (cf. Henderson 2017) in their classrooms where pupils' non-standard, linguistically diverse, and/or hybrid language practices are not policed, but tolerated and encouraged, and in which teachers are shown to use additional linguistic resources in class themselves. This is the case in Hélot's research in French education, in which a Turkish-French bilingual teacher explained that he sometimes used Turkish to scaffold a minority-language pupil's comprehension of classroom instructions alongside rephrasing and repeating instructions in French (2010). Furthermore, although the aforementioned teacher in Heller (1995) enforced the monolingual language policy of the school, they also tolerated pupils' code-switches and their use of languages other than French, and, moreover, engaged in it themselves, in response to their pupils' struggles as learners of (standard) French in a context where English is much more wide-spread. It thus seems that, although there are teachers who appear to be relatively uncritical of the hegemonic ideologies represented in most societies and most macro-level language policies in education, there are also teachers who counter those ideologies.

As Jaspers and Rosiers (2019) claim, teacher practices are indeed not limited to either imposing or resisting monolingualism. Moreover, there are a number of studies which show that there are teachers who do *both*. These teachers seem to waver between being *for* and *against* multilingualism, in both their practices *and* their beliefs.

In Creese and Blackledge's (2011) study in heritage schools in England, teachers' practices ranged from separating languages to its opposite, namely teachers' moving between languages in (i.e. displaying 'flexible bilingualism') in both formal teaching interactions and informal conversations with pupils. Creese and

Blackledge demonstrate that, as much as these teachers kept languages separate out of the conviction that that constitutes good bilingual pedagogical practices, they engaged in code-switching and otherwise translanguaged, because the language separation-view in the curriculum is not simply reflected in the way these teachers experienced bilingualism themselves. In Bonacina-Pugh's (2012; 2013) study of language practices in an induction classroom for newly arrived migrant children in France, teachers used multilingual label quests in spite of the strong monolingual, French character of the policy. However, they also oriented to pupils' use of other languages as being deviant, and they sometimes halted and prohibited the translation processes which they, at other times, participated in. They then required French, because they felt that it was the only language which was common to all pupils in the induction classroom. In Codó and Patiño-Santos' study in Catalonia, teachers likewise tolerated pupils' systematic use of Spanish and they code-switched to Spanish themselves because they wanted to cater to their pupils' high Spanish proficiency. Nevertheless, they also enforced the monolingual policy of the school, and required their pupils to speak Catalan, because of the cultural importance of that language in Catalan society (2014). In their study of a Brussels secondary school with a strict monolingual Dutch language policy, Jaspers and Rosiers (2019) show that teachers simultaneously allowed French in class and policed their pupils' use of that language. Although these teachers considered systematically sanctioning pupils to be impractical, unproductive, and unjust, they feared that doing nothing or not doing enough to counteract pupils' use of French would jeopardise the Dutch-speaking character of their school, and, furthermore, pupils' chances of acquiring Dutch by being submersed in a Dutch-speaking environment.

So, what generally emerges is (1) that teachers impose the monolingualism which is stipulated by the language policy, and that they therefore prohibit pupils' access to their whole linguistic repertoire in class; or (2) that teachers resist the monolingualism in the official language policy and provide spaces for counter-hegemonic beliefs and practices; but, additionally, (3) that teachers are shown to oscillate between either imposing or resisting monolingual policies. Jaspers (2018) and Jaspers and Rosiers (2019) argue that, while the first conclusion is often denounced by scholars and considered to be repressive and or undesirable, the second is deemed more ideologically neutral, and favourable. The third conclusion, however, is as of yet relatively underrepresented in the literature.

Schools as monolingual spaces

In the first part of this chapter, we have discussed how linguistics in general, and studies of LPP in particular, have evolved to recognise, acknowledge, and systematically deconstruct ideologically-laden conceptions of both language and language policy. This has led to a tendency in the literature to advocate that teachers deconstruct their current-day monolingual habitus in the same vein as scholars have, with studies concluding that teachers need to be educated in order to ‘understand that promoting and sustaining [a minority language] need not require them to proscribe or otherwise discourage translanguaging [and other flexible ways of using language]’ (Martínez, Hikida, and Durán 2015, 40), or even that teachers need to be enabled to work ‘more humanely’ with linguistic minority pupils and their non-standard linguistic practices (Alfaro and Bartolomé 2017, 12).

The scientific consensus seems to be that teachers can be taught why and how they can resist monolingual policies, and that their attitudes and beliefs can be cultivated to become more open towards multilingualism. Teacher beliefs are not, however, stable nor clear-cut. Indeed, beliefs and ideologies have been proven to almost always be multiple, and often inherently contradictory (cf. Henderson 2017). So, even if teachers can be educated to harbour fewer or no hegemonic beliefs, this does not mean that they will interiorise those new beliefs completely and, subsequently, we cannot assume that even the most “educated” of teachers will always and consistently act on counter-hegemonic ideologies, without ever resorting to practices which align more with ideologies of monolingualism. Moreover, teachers’ beliefs and their possible interiorisation or resistance of societal ideologies are not the only factors which influence their practices; teachers also voice the pedagogical concerns which they have, such as their responsibility in regard to preparing pupils for educational and professional success in an educational system and, often, a society which, as of yet, requires (separate) monolingualism — being as it is that most curricula are monolingual.

An alternative view-point is that the fact that teachers impose monolingualism, or that they oscillate between imposing and resisting policy, is considered to be a temporary result of the fact that schools are still, largely, monolingual spaces, and that, until and unless schools openly embrace multilingualism and implement policies which advocate for linguistic diversity, teachers’ contradictory beliefs, as well as the

oscillating practices which result from them, will persist (cf. Goossens 2019). This, then, begs the question of what actually ensues, in terms of teacher practices, when schools *do* make efforts or takes steps to embrace multilingualism.

Schools as multilingual spaces

In general, we encounter similar dilemmas and contradictory responses from teachers when we look at research in schools which *do* provide bilingual or multilingual education. In Henderson's (2017) study of a primary school oriented towards dual Spanish-English bilingual education, for instance, teachers' practices ranged from separating languages and, thus, refraining from code-switches to English and using Spanglish, to providing pupils with additional English-medium teaching materials and using and allowing English code-switches for classroom management and clarifying course contents. In these teachers' personal ideologies, there was '(mis)alignment (or both)' (Henderson 2017, 22) with societal ideologies and the school's meso-level policy — they, at once, emphasised the importance of pupils' Spanish mother tongue and of bilingualism *and* acknowledged that thorough knowledge of English would benefit their pupils' in their future educational and professional endeavours. Henderson concludes that one of his teachers' 'ideological struggle was connected to the tension between the mandated [bilingual] program policy, her commitment to fidelity of implementation, and her lived experiences in the classroom' (2017, 27).

Then, in schools which do not provide bi- or multilingual education, but which nevertheless have a language policy oriented towards linguistic diversity, we also encounter tensions, dilemmas, and contradictory responses. In Puskás and Björk-Willén's (2017) research in linguistically diverse Swedish preschools, for instance, the meso-level policy stipulates that all languages are equal in terms of each language in the classroom having equal status, and, moreover, pupils' development of bilingual competence is stated as an explicit goal. However, there are tensions between this mission statement and the fact that these children nevertheless need to be prepared for the monolingual Swedish school system to which this preschool is a gateway. In practice, then, these teachers would translanguage and would not force pupils to use Swedish, yet Swedish at once remained the default language of the classroom in many situations. Moreover, teachers voiced concerns that, if they did not encounter Swedish often enough, their pupils would not acquire sufficient Swedish skills.

It is evident that, to some extent, teachers' oscillations between allowing and disallowing linguistic diversity lies in the fact that teachers are not always adequately supported in their requirement to provide multilingual education, nor are they always specifically trained to do so. This, however, is not a cause, but a symptom. Apart from the fact that it places the onus entirely on the individual teacher, this reasoning seems to disregard the fact that monolingual structures *are* hegemonic, ubiquitous and powerful both in society, and in education as a social institution. It is, then, not strange that individual teachers, even if they are employed in settings which favour linguistic diversity, do not entirely lose sight of the very tenacious tradition of monolingualism which, however "undesirable" it may be from a scientific standpoint, is reflected everywhere in society, and which, moreover, was explicitly constructed to clash with the existence of linguistic diversity. Therefore, instead of viewing teachers' oscillation as a temporary result, it can better be reconceptualised as a chronic result of them navigating a world in which linguistic diversity is a fact (Jaspers 2019), while simultaneously operating in a society and context where monolingualism is a(n additional) requirement.

2.2.3 Summarising conclusion

In urban heteroglossic settings in which education tends to favour or disfavour multilingualism, the fact that teachers oscillate between investing in and resisting multilingualism seems to remain a constant. Contradictory teacher practices are thus not a temporary, but a chronic result of the tensions between monolingual policy orientations and multilingual pupils (Jaspers 2019), or, rather, of teachers' perpetual balancing of contradictory beliefs and values (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019). Moreover, these contradictory practices are better conceptualised as an inherent result of policy itself. As long as a policy signals the gap between what *is* and what is *intended* (cf. also Ahmed 2006), policy agents need will strike balances in their practical efforts and attempts to bridge it. The simple fact that teachers are responsible for the implementation of a policy in the classroom entails that they are continually negotiating solutions for the problems that the policy poses to them, and, as such, it can be expected that teachers' implementation of that policy is, at times, a matter of compromise, and of improvisation and strategy (cf. Jaspers 2018; citing Ball 1997, 265). Teachers can thus be *expected* to oscillate between allowing and valorising, and policing and problematising multilingualism, because there is no way to balance all of

the competing concerns which they face as educators in monolingual institutional environments with linguistically diverse pupils (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019), and not because they are confused, do not yet know better, or are not yet better equipped.

This dissertation will research the ways in which similar compromises and oscillations in teachers' behaviour and perceptions are encountered in a Brussels Dutch-medium school which endeavours to embrace multilingualism within their curriculum and declared language policy. We will discuss how this school implements a language policy which is in favour of multilingualism and how its teachers unite the contradictory values which we have outlined in this chapter — viz. how they create spaces where linguistic diversity is allowed and pupils are encouraged to use (parts of) their linguistic repertoire, and how they limit those spaces — in their perceived (cf. chapter 7) and practiced (cf. chapter 8) language policies.

3 Research questions, methodology, and data

The research reported on in this dissertation forms part of a project called *Between the devil and the deep blue sea: Implementing language policy in urban heteroglossic schools*. In general, the project is oriented towards investigating the implementation of monolingual language policies in Dutch-medium education in Brussels, a linguistically diverse, urban context (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019; cf. chapter 4). More specifically, its aim is to investigate the ways in which teachers reconcile the inherently contradictory affairs of (1) providing monolingual education to (2) linguistically diverse pupils. As we will discuss further on in this chapter, however, this thesis specifically focusses on a Dutch-medium school which, unlike its local counterparts, endeavours to implement a *multilingual*, rather than a Dutch-only language policy.

In our literature review above, we have argued that it is, however, not self-evident that a school's implementation of a multilingual rather than a monolingual declared language policy will automatically result in drastically different or consistently counter-hegemonic teacher perceptions and practices when compared to school settings which are more favourable to monolingualism, or which do not have a language policy which favours multilingualism. Even in a context in which teachers are expected to embrace multilingualism in their perceived and practiced policies, certain practical and ideological dilemmas nevertheless seem to persist, as well as, subsequently, the oscillating and contradictory teacher practices which result from them. Although a school's intended mission to be more open to and encouraging of multilingualism seems to be a step towards teachers' embracing linguistic diversity and, conversely, away from them problematising multilingual language practices, it cannot be taken for granted that even a multilingual language policy will lead to certain unexpected results. It is for this reason that the particular school setting under investigation here constitutes an interesting, and indeed essential case study to aid in providing a realistic account of how teachers deal with the various challenges which contemporary urban education poses for them.

3.1 Research questions

What this dissertation will specifically attempt to address is how teachers at this school respond to the chronic dilemmas which they are faced with when they implement policy, and, thus, how teacher perceptions and practices can be described and analysed in this particular context. Relevant sub-questions therefore centre around (1) whether and how linguistic diversity (in any form) is policed, allowed and tolerated, or encouraged at the school; (2) whether and how these stances are embodied by teachers — i.e. what form(s) teachers' language use itself take(s), both during teaching activities and in more informal interactions; (3) which beliefs and ideological orientations prevail in which contexts; and (4) how teachers balance their *practiced* and *perceived* policies. More concretely, we want to gauge the ways in which individual teachers experience policy based on their perceptions and beliefs and negotiate policy in their practices without necessarily favouring teachers' implementation of what we have considered (cf. above) to be counter-hegemonic practiced policies. Instead, we aim for this research to capture and analyse the myriad, contradictory and, at times, sociolinguistically "undesirable" (cf. part 2.2) ways in which teachers negotiate their position as educators and policy agents. To answer these questions, the project adopts a sociolinguistic-ethnographic methodology. In brief, this means that the research questions will be explored by engaging in long-term participant observation, interviews, and audio-recordings of interaction at one specific school. As such, the various levels on which policy operates, as well as the three components of which policy consists, can be linked and researched holistically to provide an all-encompassing account of policy implementation.

In terms of the nature of the school's meso-level declared language policy, we will investigate whether there are any ideological orientations present within the expectations which the school communicates to its pupils and, importantly for this research, its teachers. We will furthermore analyse the ways in which the school's linguistic landscape can be considered to be an outward reflection of the school's declared language political intentions, as well as the ways in which it strays from the (contradictory) values inherent in it (cf. chapter 6). Where teachers' micro-level perceived language policies are concerned, then, we will explore the ways in which teachers articulated favourable dispositions towards multilingualism in interviews and other communication with the researcher, as well as whether and how they, at once,

voiced their concerned and reluctant stances vis à vis allowing linguistically diverse language practices to enter their classrooms (cf. chapter 7). In this discussion, we will attempt to identify the dilemmas which these teachers faced, and endeavour to analyse the different ideological orientations which prevail in different situations. In terms of their practiced policies, lastly, we will investigate teachers' positive and negative embodied behaviour vis à vis linguistic diversity (cf. chapter 8). We will do so by describing and analysing how and when these teachers allowed different languages to enter their classroom, either because they used different languages themselves or encouraged or allowed pupils to do so, and how and when they policed or problematised pupils' language practices in similar situations.

Earlier, we have discussed the limits and constraints of teacher agency vis à vis hegemonic, monolingual structures in both society and education, and have concluded that *practiced* and *perceived* language policies are not static, but emergent phenomena, which are inherently contradictory because of the tensions which arise when teachers are confronted with the structures which surround them, for instance multilingualism and monolingualism (cf. section 2.2.2).

In this regard, this thesis adopts a realist perspective, in which human agency is conceptualised as something which can (unconsciously) be constrained or enabled by pre-existing social, institutional, and historical conditions, and where language policy implementation thus involves a constant interplay between 'pre-existent structures, having causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers of their own', which can result in unforeseen outcomes which are nevertheless not random, nor inexplicable (cf. Sealey and Carter 2004, 10-11). This contrasts with a social constructionist perspective in which the social world is not a stable, pre-existing given, but constructed completely anew in each communicative interaction (cf. Burr 1995, 5). In our discussion of language policy, we will thus not entirely separate teachers' embodied behaviour from their voiced perceptions, nor from pre-existing societal ideologies. Rather, we will gauge how these factors and other factors interact when teachers 'do policy'.

Moving forward, we firstly explain what is meant by linguistic ethnography and how it can be applied to this research. Secondly, we will clarify why we have chosen to base our research of language policy in Dutch-medium education in Brussels on a single case study design in which different methods of data collection are used.

Thirdly, we will discuss the process of data collection, which can be divided in three distinct phases. Lastly, we will go into more detail about the various kinds of data which were gathered, as well as the methods used to gather them, providing overviews of all that was gathered.

3.2 A linguistic ethnographic case study

The term *linguistic ethnography* functions as an umbrella uniting research which combines sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspectives (cf. Rampton 2007; Shaw, Copland and Snell 2015). It involves an 'interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in the wider social context and structures' (Creese and Copland 2017, 340; cf. also Copland and Creese 2015). The orientation of linguistic ethnography is different to that of classical anthropological research; while the latter is oriented towards 'making the strange familiar' and, as such, to trying to understand the life of the Other from their own point of view, in the former the researcher endeavours make 'the familiar strange' (Erickson, 1986, 191), viz. it attempts to uncover and report on meanings in everyday social life that were previously invisible due to researchers' epistemic proximity to them (cf. Hammersley 2007). In engaging with linguistic ethnography, then, the researcher uncovers the meaning of people's discursive behaviour in specific contexts by experiencing, interpreting, and reporting on their subjects' micro-level communicative routines during regular, mundane activities (cf. Creese and Copland 2017; cf. also Gumperz 2015; but cf. also Bonacina-Pugh 2012) and relating them to the broader context and social order at the meso and macro levels (cf. Tusting and Maybin 2007, 580). It is, thus, interested in both language use and meaning-making, and it conceptualises the relationship between language and social life as one where both mutually shape one another (cf. Rampton et al. 2004).

There is not one presupposed theoretical framework, single analytical approach or specified (set of) method(s) related to linguistic ethnography. Instead, it provides opportunities to combine methods and analytical angles, and is thus suited for the application of a multitude of methods, such as participant observation, (semi-structured) interviews, and audio recordings. Furthermore, it invites the use of data-driven analytical approaches. Linguistic ethnographic research is, therefore, topic-oriented, and much of it crosses disciplinary boundaries and encompasses different contexts. Studies can, for instance, be set in the context of international solidarity and development work, to explore how first-world volunteers work toward a shared body of knowledge with their third-world partner organisation over a brief period of time by applying Conversation Analytical principles to the investigation of institutional talk

(Kappa 2019); or in an international corporate setting, to study how people establish and navigate norms for language choice in that context by analysing their code-switches (Lønsmann 2011). Linguistic ethnography has been applied to myriad different contexts to study many different phenomena (cf. also the research reported on in section 2.1.4). For language policy in particular, we have argued earlier that linguistic ethnographic methodology is suited to holistically investigate the combination of both the macro, meso and micro levels, and the declared, perceived, and practiced components of policy, specifically in education (cf. section 2.2).

In this dissertation, linguistic ethnography is used to qualitatively investigate the ways in which teachers (and, to a lesser extent, pupils) make sense of language policy in their local context, i.e. that of one heteroglossic Dutch-medium Brussels secondary school, by participating in their daily lives for an extended period of time. In our outline of the research questions for this dissertation, we have mentioned that policy implementation can lead to unexpected results. The research in this thesis, however, was not specifically designed to test the hypothesis that a school with a multilingual declared policy will nevertheless still implement a monolingual practiced policy or, for that matter, that it will lead to perceived policies which are unequivocally favourable towards linguistic diversity. This research does not endeavour to test one single hypothesis at all, but, rather, to generate hypotheses through exploration and interpretation, which, in turn, informs the methods used to test them.

This entails that we entered the field with an open mind and embarked on a cyclical process of hypothesis generation and testing. For instance, information about the field gathered through participant observation informed, in part, what to look out for in the field in terms of participants' embodied behaviour. In turn, information gathered in the field aided the formulation of relevant interview questions to gauge participants' perceptions and beliefs. Ultimately, a variety of methods was used. While data collection initially focussed on gathering field notes based on participant observation, additional photographs were taken to enable an analysis of elements of the school's linguistic landscape, as the latter appeared to mirror the school's language political intentions, rather than its pupils' language use in practice. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were conducted at the end of the field work to gauge pupils' and teachers' perceived language policies and ideologies vis à vis multilingualism and monolingualism, and recordings were made to more accurately

grasp their practiced policies through analyses of their pedagogical strategies, classroom management and (responses to) code-switches and hybrid language practices. We gathered information about the setting from outside sources as well, such as state educational inspection reports, and news articles and other media, in order to better understand the discourse surrounding school's mission and that mission's practical inspirations and ideological underpinnings. Moreover, this information allowed us to gain insight in regard to the school's position within the broader context of Dutch-medium education and the unicity of their multilingual pedagogical project.

This is, thus, a topic-oriented single case study (cf. also Shaw, Copland and Snell 2015), as it does not endeavour to provide a detailed ethnographic account of the entirety of participants' cultural life (cf. Spradley 1980), but, instead, centres specifically on the implementation of a multilingual language policy in a linguistically diverse school by a select group of teachers. The single case study-approach does not entail that the wider setting or context is ignored in the analysis of policy, however. In order to gauge attitudes and ideologies at the macro and meso levels, and to study policy from myriad angles, it is necessary to take a few steps beyond the classroom and the school, too (cf. below).

An advantage of a case study-approach is that it grants the researcher the ability to gain a detailed, in-depth understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Bonacina-Pugh, for instance, based her investigation of practiced policies, which were evidenced by participants' implicit display of norms and their response to "deviant cases", on an extensive case study in one classroom (2012; cf. also 2017). Moreover, a case study can enable an investigation of language policy which incorporates unexpected phenomena, as is the case in Jaspers and Rosiers' exploration of the 'friendly' practical implementation of a strict and authoritarian, rather than amicable declared language policy (2019; cf. also section 2.2 above).

As apt to study authentic behaviour in an in-depth manner as they are, however, a disadvantage of case studies is their relatively low degree of generalisability. This is in no small part due to the fact that most findings which are attained in this way cannot be collected a second time, because the context upon which they are based cannot be recreated (cf. Hambye 2015a). This does not, however, mean that there is no generalisation possible. As we have argued earlier (cf. section 2.2.2), different case

studies together can lead to an accurate understanding of certain phenomena insofar as they each provide the pieces of a broader puzzle. Indeed, case studies 'seek generality by speaking more directly to existing theories and ideas, and they use their detailed analyses of particular circumstances to probe at the general principles, processes and relationships that these theories and ideas normally see at work in the worlds they refer to' (Rampton 2006, 387). In this case, the case study for this research can be placed within the wider contexts of Belgian and Brussels Dutch-medium secondary education, and heteroglossic schools and urban multilingualism. The findings from this case study can then be compared to and contrasted with studies on (multilingual) language policies in Brussels, as well as in other urban, heteroglossic contexts, both within Belgium and in other countries which are faced with similar issues, to contribute to the wider understanding of the ways in which schools (can) strike a balance between valuing monolingual education and embracing multilingualism (cf. also section 2.2).

3.3 Data collection

As per the orientation of the project, we needed to gain access to a heteroglossic school providing Dutch-medium education in the urban context of Brussels. The main criteria were thus (1) that the school provided Dutch-medium education (and, as such, implemented a monolingual language policy); (2) that it was located in Brussels; and (3) that the linguistic diversity of the Brussels Capital Region was reflected in the school's demography, in the sense of there being a relatively large number of French-speaking and otherwise linguistically diverse pupils at the school. The Polyglot School (an alias, as all other names in what follows) was eventually chosen. As we will explore, however, the school has an explicit orientation towards multilingualism in their curriculum and language policy, rather than the implementation of a Dutch-only policy (cf. chapter 5). In this section, we will clarify how and why this school was chosen, and we will go into detail about the field work we conducted for this research.

Negotiating and gaining access to the field

At the start of the field work, in mid-December 2016, we sent out an e-mail to inform several Dutch-medium secondary schools in the Brussels Capital Region of the nature and aims of the project (cf. Appendix A, translated from Dutch) to invite them to participate. These schools were located on the basis of an official list of Dutch-medium educational institutions (Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie 2014). As we did not receive any replies initially, we telephoned a number of the schools early January 2017. Although one school was enthusiastic about the project on the telephone, they eventually declined via e-mail and said that any period of observation exceeding two to three weeks was too lengthy. Four other schools, then, allowed us to come by to talk to them about the project in person. While one of these schools was relatively reluctant to participate, the others were quite interested. After our conversation, a teacher from one school e-mailed to say that they welcomed us, and a teacher from another school said that the research topic was very relevant to them and that they wanted to be part of the research. The headmaster of the third school, The Polyglot School, however, specifically invited us to meet with their staff, too, to introduce the project to them.

The Polyglot School emphasise that they have a favourable attitude vis à vis multilingualism; not only is this mentioned on their website (cf. section 4.2.1), it is also referenced in the school's official name — which we have endeavoured to represent in this thesis while at once guaranteeing the school's anonymity. It is therefore not surprising that the headmaster mostly talked about the benefits of multilingualism for pupils' development, the linguistic diversity of the pupil composition at the school, and the ways in which the school's curriculum and language policy incorporated languages other than Dutch during our first conversation Mid-February 2017. Throughout this conversation, it became evident that the school's multilingual vision was at least in part informed by the headmaster's insights in (recent) scientific findings. For instance, the headmaster casually referenced Struys and Van De Craen's (2013) research on early exposure to multilingualism and pupils' cognitive development in our conversation. In translating their vision of multilingual education into practice, the Polyglot School is unafraid to travel off the beaten path and, moreover, to stray from macro-level guidelines. Although they strongly believe in CLIL education, for instance, their proper implementation of it infringes on the guidelines stipulated by the Flemish government and is instead modelled after EMILE in French-medium education (cf. section 4.2.2). The headmaster emphasised that she was quite keen on cooperating with researchers, and by the end of the conversation she invited me to introduce the project to the other staff, too. So, Mid-February 2017 I participated in a staff meeting. Teachers were handed a brochure (cf. Appendix B, translated from Dutch), and we discussed the contents of the project together. After our conversation, they welcomed me to do research at their school.

Although the project is *in se* oriented towards schools which implement Dutch-only language policies, it was decided that the school's multilingual mission would provide an interesting case study for the project, as it would be complementary to the other school under consideration which had a strict orientation towards Dutch monolingualism (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019). This, along with the school's welcoming attitude and quick response, informed the choice for the Polyglot School as the case study of this dissertation.

Finding and selecting participants

After the spring holidays had ended early March 2017, I went to the Polyglot School to do field work for the first time. During the first hour, I sat in the teachers' lounge and introduced myself to some of the staff, who helped me to be on my way to find class groups to observe. Throughout these first two days, teachers regularly helped me to find certain rooms, allowed me to observe their classes, and talked to me before and after class without much apprehension.

My list of criteria for a group of participants was rather short; I was looking for a class group which was *talkative*. It did not matter to me whether that meant that they mostly participated in class-oriented interaction, or mainly talked to each other; I wanted a group which would yield much interactional data, and whose degree of talkativeness and linguistic diversity could place their teachers for challenges in terms of managing, encouraging, or policing pupils' language use. I observed three different class groups on the first day — a third-year Dutch language class, a first-year “learning workshop”, and a second-year Dutch language class. The pupils in the first group were not very animated; only a minority of them participated in the whole-class discussion led by the teacher, and many of them seemed largely disinterested. The second group was not talkative either, but this was perhaps due to the heavily teacher-centred interaction pattern which they were subjected to that hour. Both groups, however, stood in sharp contrast with the final group of the day, which consisted of pupils who were chatty, yet not rowdy nor disruptive, and who seemed to talk to their classmates as often as they loudly blurted out answers to the teacher. On the second day, then, I observed a fourth year French CLIL geography class, as well as the same second-year group from the day before, this time during a history and a mathematics class. The year fours talked a lot, but they did not have the same degree of talkativeness as the year twos, who, in fact, seemed to be as active as they were when I had first observed them. So, the choice for this latter group (class 2G, henceforth) was made. After this choice had been approved by the headmaster, I received class 2G's daily schedule from the staff at the school (cf. Appendix C, translated from Dutch with teacher names anonymised). The next week, I asked the pupils for their permission to be observed and, eventually, recorded, to which they obliged.

Field work

The field work for this research can be divided into three phases. The first phase started when we took our first steps in accessing the field. From December 2016 to February 2017, I investigated the websites of some ten Dutch-medium schools and collected all of the e-mails that I had sent and received. I also took field notes of every interaction, conversation or meeting, either on the telephone or in person. This part of the field work informed me of the challenges which teachers and school teams experience in providing Dutch-medium education in the face of linguistic diversity, (often) in the form of the relative over-representation of speakers of French. March to June 2017, then, marked the second phase of the field work, during which I was present at the Polyglot School regularly and for many hours at a time, to take field notes, make recordings of whole-class interaction and individual pupils' language use, and interview the pupils of class 2G. During this phase, I gained much insight into 2G's classroom dynamics, which ultimately informed my selection of which individual pupils to record and which questions to ask during the interviews. I also took some photographs, both at the school and on a field trip. Lastly, I returned to the school from September to December 2017, to interview a selection of 2G's teachers. I also went on another field trip in April 2018, after one of the teachers, namely Mr. Nollet, had invited me. This phase taught me more about teachers' attitudes and perceptions.

I was with these pupils and teachers during a wide variety of activities, on different locations; I was there during class and free periods, I took breaks in the teachers' lounge and photocopy room, I attended a graffiti workshop, I went on field trips — during which I went mountain biking with the pupils twice, and shared a cabin by the lake with a teacher once — and I had *moules-frites* with the teachers and staff at the end of the school year in 2016-2017. All the while, I had fruitful conversations, keenly observed my surroundings, and jotted down anything which I considered to be of interest during or right after it happened. When writing was not an option, for instance when I was cycling through the hills, I would narrate various events and points of interest to myself in the bathroom or on the way home and would write them down immediately after.

Doing field work at a school

Because of my introduction to the whole staff during the meeting prior to my selection of a class group, I seldomly had to explain who I was or why I was at the Polyglot School. When teachers — mostly the ones who did not see me in the classroom regularly because they did not teach class 2G — did ask about my reasons for being there, I would try to strike a balance between answering their questions and attempting to be vague enough so as to avoid influencing anyone's behaviour. I would tell them that I was a PhD student working on a project on multilingualism in Brussels education. If they asked more questions, I would add that my focus was on observing the (linguistic) reality of contemporary urban classrooms. Most teachers were, furthermore, seemingly reassured by the fact that I recorded individual pupils, rather than teachers. The pupils, then, regularly referred to me as “de stagiaire” (‘the intern’) or “die mevrouw” (‘that missus’). Although it was evident that I was not their classmate, I clearly was not their teacher either; they would watch me watch them break the rules of classroom conduct, as well laugh at the inside jokes of which their teachers were not aware, and they learned that I did not and, indeed, *would* not tell on them, nor ask them to behave a certain way.

The ethnographic methods which I used, such as participant observation, were time-consuming and required much effort centred on building trust with the pupils, the teachers, and the other staff, in order to blend into my surroundings. In order to investigate teachers' practiced and perceived policies, I needed to be in the classroom with the pupils, but in order to avoid being seen as a figure of authority by them and, thus, to prevent influencing their behaviour, I did not observe the pupils during breaks, and seldomly in the hallways (cf. Eckert 1997). While keeping my distance, I instead engaged in regular and lengthy, sometimes personal and almost always impromptu conversations with teachers in the photocopy room or teachers' lounge, which gradually enabled me to gain access to the meanings of their interactions. For the teachers I was an outsider, a researcher who was present to gauge the way their school deals with the multilingualism of its pupils, but also an insider, whom they welcomed in their classroom and break room, and a confidante with whom they shared their thoughts and concerns.

3.4 Methods and data

Participant observation

Because it allows the researcher to become acquainted with and immersed in the environment or culture under investigation — in this case, the implementation of a language policy in a linguistically diverse classroom in a Dutch-medium secondary school in the urban environment of Brussels — participant observation is either described as a basic method of ethnographic data collection (Spradley 1980), or as a ‘backdrop for other research methods’ (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, 93). In this research, it functions as both; it was both used to gather data which simply cannot be collected otherwise, *and* it informed the use of other and additional methods. Although it is a lengthy and demanding endeavour, participant observation allows the researcher to gain specific insights vis à vis people’s linguistic and social behaviour. In combination with other methods, it furthermore enables a holistic analysis of policy implementation because of its ability to gather information which would otherwise not be accessible, for instance because it is implicit or covert. Moreover, participant observation can additionally be used to provide ‘explanation, context, causation and confirmation’ (Guest et al. 2013, 83) for data gathered through other methods.

Alternatively, we could have conducted a series of interviews or questionnaires without gathering participant observational data, but while these certainly have value insofar as they contribute to a researcher’s investigation of *who* plans *what* for *whom* and *how* (cf. Cooper 1989), these methods presuppose which questions to ask and to whom, rather than explore and uncover those questions and participants in the relevant setting(s). Furthermore, as participants are not always aware of what they do and how they do it, data gathered through these methods would merely provide an abstract view of teachers’ *practiced* policies, as we would not gain insight of covert norms or taken-for-granted practices. While recordings can be used to capture (some) of those processes, they do not inform us of *what* exactly to look for when analysing the data (cf. Eckert 1997). Moreover, they are momentary and provide us with little data to allow an interpretation of the possibly oscillating and contradictory behaviour displayed by individual teachers in different situations and over a longer period of time.

Participant observation was carried out in various locations on different occasions. While we initially aimed to focus on the pupils and teachers of one class

group, the scope was eventually broadened to include, firstly, other schools when accessing the field and, secondly, while at the Polyglot School, other pupils than those of class 2G and other members of the staff than their teachers, (e.g. supply teachers and sports instructors). This is so because participant observation entails that the researcher investigates participants' everyday lives; when they move to another location to do different things and encounter new people, the researcher does so, too (cf. Spradley 1980). The different locations and situations furthermore led to different degrees of involvement, which contributed to the richness of the data (cf. Duranti 1997). For example, had I not gone biking with a large group of pupils and their instructor — which required my full participation — I would have missed out on a lot of what pupils said and did when their teachers were not present. Conversely, there were times when a lower degree of involvement led to the collection of rich data, due to the fact that I could devote the majority of my attention to observing.

Field notes

A large part of my participant observation took place at the school, and often in class. I typically wrote down the date, location, and participants of every class, break or other activity; I indicated where each of the participants was seated; I alternated coloured pens to differentiate what teachers said and did from what pupils said and did; I used abbreviations to indicate who was talking, who was doing what, and how others responded to it; and I differentiated between what was paraphrased and what I was able to write down verbatim. Although I gradually developed somewhat of a focus on what teachers and pupils said about language diversity and language policy, which language(s) they themselves used while talking, how they responded to each other's' language use, and how teachers and pupils responded to pupils' deviations from the rules of classroom conduct, I tried to write down as much information as I could. I always typed out my field notes at the end of each individual day, adding any observations that I did not write down earlier.

In terms of the different courses during which I observed class 2G, a distribution can be found in figure 1 below. I did not attend any Mandarin Chinese classes, as none of the pupils of class 2G were enrolled in them. I was furthermore unable to observe any geography, PE or art classes due to scheduling conflicts. Where religion is concerned, the pupils at The Polyglot School had a choice between ethics, catholic, protestant,

orthodox and Islam class, which were all taught in parallel. As the majority (13/21) of the pupils in 2G chose the latter, I opted to observe those.

Although I observed *some* classes during the third phase of the field work (in the school year 2017-2018), I realised that I could no longer follow the pupils of class 2G as a result of some of them having chosen different specialisations for their third year, at least four of them having switched schools, a few of them having been held back a year, and the remaining pupils having ended up in class groups with pupils whom I did not know. These changes, apart from affecting 2G's classroom dynamic, made it impossible for me to perceive my participation in class as a continuation of my previous participation, and I therefore chose to focus on class 2G's (former) teachers during this part of the field work. I interviewed them and had many informal conversations with them both inside the school and on another field trip.

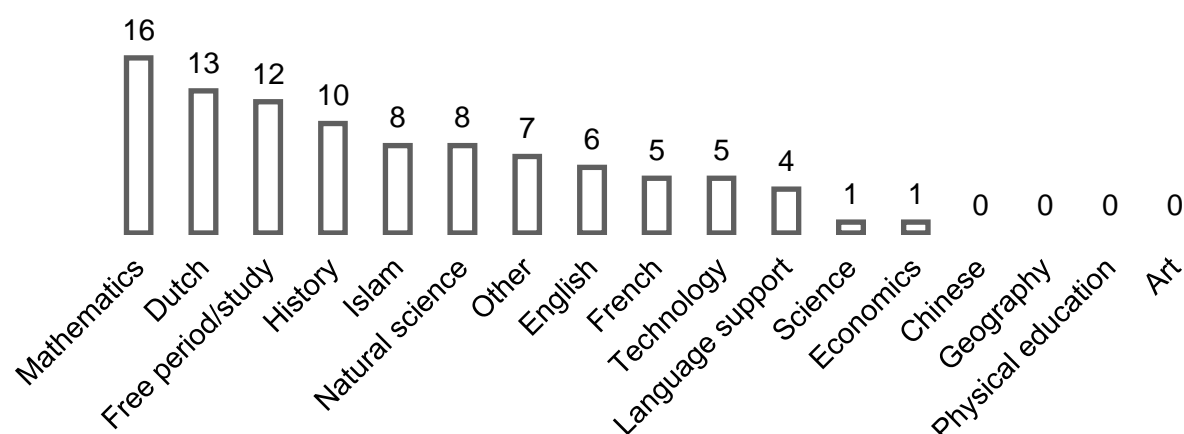


Figure 1: Distribution of all the possible classes attended in the school year 2016-2017

On breaks and field trips, then, I had many informal conversations and participated in different activities during which I could or did not write anything down, but I did make a point of doing so immediately after. If I did not have the opportunity to do this, I quickly wrote down key words, or I would record audio of myself summarising the main points of interest.

	Purpose	Duration	Time frame	Details
Phase 1	Accessing the field	Two months	Mid-December 2016 to mid-February 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - E-mails to 7 schools - Phone calls to 1 school - 5 meetings at 4 schools
Phase 2	Investigating policy (implementation) Interviews with pupils + informal conversations with teachers	Four months	Beginning of March to mid-June 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ± 102 hours at school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ ± 94 hours class ○ ± 6 hours breaks ○ 1:24:24 hours interviews - ± 10 hours on field trip
Phase 3	Assessing changes Interviews + informal conversations with teachers	One month	Mid-October to end of November 2017 One day and night in April 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ± 9 hours at school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ ± 4 hours class ○ 3:50:12 hours interviews ○ ± 2 hours break - ± 24 hours on field trip

Figure 2: Overview of participant observation

Individual and whole-class recordings

Near the end of the second phase of the field work, I audio-recorded several different hours of whole-class interaction, with a total of around 27 hours. Rather than selecting which classes or teachers to record, I simply recorded whenever I was present at the school. During the initial meeting with them (cf. Appendix B), teachers were informed of the fact that recordings could occur at the end of the field work. They were told that they could refuse this, but none of them did. Their consent sheet forms were furthermore collected at the end of the field work (cf. Appendix C). Parallel with the whole-class recordings, individual pupils were recorded, too. This led to approximately 24.5 hours of audio-recorded interaction (cf. figure 3 below).

	Whole	Indiv.	Class(es)	Teacher(s)	Pupil(s)
May 8	03:57:50	05:02:17	Study period Dutch French Economy	Ms. Dirckx Ms. Malchair Ms. Degelin	Adil Vjosa
May 10	03:11:17	03:09:09	Study period Mathematics History	Ms. Meeus Mr. Blanco Intern/Ms. Peers	Nabil
May 11	03:18:19	02:41:33	Study orientation Natural science Dutch English	External instructor Mr. Blanco Ms. Dirckx Ms. Dirckx	Scott
May 16	04:20:38	02:25:20	Dutch English History Mathematics	Ms. Dirckx Ms. Dirckx Intern/Ms. Peers Mr. Blanco	Tim
May 18	03:17:50	03:30:44	Natural science Science English Dutch	Mr. Blanco Mr. Blanco Ms. Dirckx Ms. Dirckx	Jad
May 22	02:29:11	02:29:22	Islam English	Mr. Idrissi Ms. Dirckx	Jad
May 23	03:16:35	01:38:50	English History Mathematics Natural science French	Ms. Dirckx Ms. Peers Mr. Blanco Mr. Blanco Ms. Malchair	Aya
May 24	03:12:47	03:20:37	Study hour Mathematics History	Ms. Meeus Mr. Blanco Ms. Peers	Tim

Figure 3: Overview of audio recordings

Pupils' consent was gathered by the school at the start of the school year. The headmaster informed me that the school annually issues an information slip pertaining to any and all privacy-related aspects, where parents have the option to refuse their child's participation in video and audio recordings and photographs. During my first conversation with the pupils, they were furthermore asked to write a note in their diaries to inform parents of the possibility of recordings, and to ask them to object if they did not want their child(ren) to participate. None of the parents did. Individual pupils were selected based on their "reach", i.e. their regular interactions with certain classmates and their position or seat in the classroom, as well as on their willingness to record themselves for at least a few hours, with an optional follow-up. The pupils who were given the recording device were asked for their permission, were told how to operate it, and were informed that they could choose to pause or stop recording whenever they pleased. While some of those recordings are shorter due to pupils' turning off the recording device, some of them are longer than the whole-class recordings due to the inclusion of breaks and walks to different rooms in the hallway.

The audio recordings were transcribed and coded using NVIVO. Coding focussed on teachers' and pupils' *use of* and (non)verbal (*lack of*) *responses to* (1) languages other than Dutch (namely Arabic, English and French); (2) non-standard forms of Dutch; and (3) code-switches, both inside and outside the school building. Furthermore, I also coded teachers' (classroom) management efforts when they did not relate to language as I noticed that, on myriad occasions, teachers responded to pupils' deviant language use in more or less the same way as they responded to pupils talking in general (cf. section 5.2 below).

Semi-structured interviews

Near the end of the field work I conducted semi-structured interviews, all in Dutch. As mentioned earlier, the questions were based on my observations and served to elaborate on and complement them.

I interviewed the pupils from class 2G in May 2017. I initially wanted to interview them in the playground but encountered some complications after the first two interviews. Firstly, there was never much time, as breaks only lasted 15 to 30 minutes and, secondly, the playground was quite noisy. On the one hand, this meant that pupils were easily distracted, and that a large part of the interview consisted of some pupils appointing each other as "volunteers" to join in and answer, and others leaving halfway

through. On the other hand, looking for more quiet, secluded areas took up much time and led to teachers and staff telling the pupils (and me) off for straying out of sight. I ultimately interviewed the pupils in small groups — with the exception of one girl, Melissa (a pseudonym; as all other names in this dissertation) — during a free period in an empty classroom. This entailed that some of the pupils had already answered some of the questions in the playground a few weeks earlier, although much more concisely. The questions for pupils centred on pupils' linguistic repertoires, their attitude vis à vis languages and language learning, their perception of the school's language policy, teachers' implementation of that policy, Dutch-only policies in general, and the presence of multiple languages at school.

	Who	Duration ³	Time frame
Pupils	Mehdi, Dan, Scott, Tim, Michel, Adrian	00:05:44	May 10, 2017
	Aya, Olivia ⁴	00:07:37	May 15, 2017
	Jad, Michel, Hamza, Dan, Tim, Cédric	00:17:07 00:17:22	May 18, 2017
	Adil, Vjosa, Noah, Nabil, Omar	00:17:02 00:17:27	May 18, 2017
	Nina, Aya, Chloë, Lina	00:14:48 00:14:53	May 18, 2017
	Naomi, Loubna, Adrian, Scott, Mehdi	00:13:24 00:13:35	May 18, 2017
	Melissa	00:13:09 00:13:12	May 18, 2017

Figure 4: overview of pupil interviews

³ Most of the interviews with pupils were recorded using two separate devices.

⁴ Katy is a friend of Aya's who is in another class group.

I also interviewed some of class 2G's teachers in November 2017. My selection was based on their ability and willingness to take the time to answer questions, and the relative frequency and extent of their contact with the pupils in class 2G. Some teachers, notably Ms. Dirckx and Mr. Blanco, taught class 2G for 7 and 8 hours per week respectively (cf. Appendix D). Others, such as Ms. Malchair and Mr. Nollet, had furthermore joined them on the sport-oriented field trip in April 2017. My questions revolved around teachers' professional careers training/background, the presence of multilingualism in their teacher training and daily lives, and their attitude vis à vis the school's language policy and pupils' language use, among other things.

	Who	Duration	Time frame
Teachers	Mr. Verhelst, technology	00:33:10	November 2, 2017
	Ms. Dirckx, Dutch and English	00:50:37	November 2, 2017
	Ms. Malchair, French	00:25:20	November 2, 2017
	Mr. Nollet, geography	00:44:48	November 2, 2017
	Mr. Blanco, mathematics, sciences, natural science	00:39:23	November 5, 2017
	Mr. Idrissi, Islam	00:36:54	November 27, 2017

Figure 5: overview of teacher interviews

Photographs, schedules, documents, booklets

I initially took a few photographs of the hallways to complement my field notes, in case those did not accurately describe the spaces in which I moved during the fieldwork or in case I overlooked anything. Ultimately, they helped me to explore elements of The Polyglot School's linguistic landscape (cf. chapter 6). In taking these photos, I mostly focussed on informative signage, as well as on the (multilingual) poems and creative writing tasks which were written by the pupils and which decorated the hallways, although I also took photos of the building in general. I furthermore took pictures on a sports-oriented field trip in April 2017 to support my memory of that day visually, as I was there for a long time and was unable to write everything down during some of the activities.

Additionally, I gathered various class schedules, such as 2G's schedule for the school year 2016-2017, as well as both the schedules and lists of the pupils of all the different classes the pupils of 2G were in in the school year 2017-2018, after they had chosen different specialisations. I also collected the documents which I had provided for the school, such as the information slip which I handed out to teachers, and the documents used to gather teachers' informed consent. I furthermore gathered documents which the school provided to parents, such as the information handed to parents to inform pupils about the address and activities of the field trips, and the school guidelines booklets for 2016-2017 and 2017-2018.

E-mails and messages

I sent e-mails to seven different schools in the initial phase of the field work, in order to find one willing to participate in this research. Although some never replied, most did, which resulted in a lot of e-mailing back and forth, either to accept schools' declinations, or to engage with them further to plan phone calls, conversations and visits, or to follow up on previously made commitments and appointments. In all, I accumulated some 45 e-mails. During the second and third phase, 2G's geography teacher furthermore exchanged text messages and Facebook private messages with me to plan my presence at the sport-oriented field trip on both years.

Media coverage and educational reports

During and after the participant observation carried out for this research, I kept track of the media's coverage of The Polyglot School. The school was mentioned in a few newspaper articles, and they were furthermore featured on public television and radio to clarify how they, as an urban school, "deal with" multilingualism. In these instances, they were reported to be unique and different to the other schools in their region due to their inclusion of languages other than Dutch in their curriculum, either by journalists or by the headmaster herself. The schools' inclusion of Mandarin classes was furthermore covered in the press a few times, alongside their implementation of reception classes for recently migrated minors, during the fieldwork, prior to it, and following it. Alongside the media's coverage of the school, I also consulted the state inspection reports for the school years 2013–2014 and 2017–2018 (cf. chapter 4).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have clarified the research questions, methodology and data (collection) for this research, which is a (socio)linguistic ethnographic case study of one class group in a Dutch-medium secondary school in the Brussels Capital Region. We have argued that this thesis aims to study the implementation of language policy by the teachers of one particular class group, and that such a study involves the exploration and analysis of the school's declared language policy and linguistic landscape, as well as teachers' perceived and practiced policies. We have demonstrated that answering these research questions requires various types of data, such as classroom interaction and teachers' and pupils' articulated beliefs and ideologies, which have been gathered using different methods, such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and individual and whole-class recordings.

We have furthermore postulated that these perceived and practiced language policies are emergent, rather than static, and can be expected to be inherently contradictory because of the tensions experienced by teachers in implementing language policy in modern heteroglossic classroom in a society in which ideologies favouring monolingualism, the standard varieties of languages, and language separateness are dominant. In our analysis of policy as a holistic entity — uniting what is declared, perceived, and practiced — we thus want to link policy implementation to pre-existing beliefs and ideologies, which are present in society and voiced and embodied by individual teachers. In that sense, we do not consider such structures to be constructed anew in each of these teachers' interactions with the researcher in interviews or with their pupils inside and outside the classroom; rather, they are ever-present and continually constrain and/or enable teachers' perspectives and agency.

Before we can analyse policy implementation in such a way, however, we need to provide background information about the context and setting of this research. It is for that reason that the next two chapters will go into detail about The Polyglot School, a Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels, the officially French-Dutch bilingual Belgian capital (cf. chapter 4), as well as the participants of our case study, namely the teachers and pupils of class 2G at that school (cf. chapter 5).

4 The Polyglot School, a Brussels Dutch-medium secondary school with a multilingual project

In this chapter, we will provide contextual information about the setting of the case study for this research, namely The Polyglot School. More specifically, we will focus on the ways in which the school is representative of the broader context of Dutch-medium secondary education in the Brussels Capital Region and, inversely, the ways in which it is not.

Firstly, we will discuss the context in which this research is situated, namely Dutch-medium secondary education in the Brussels Capital Region. In this part of the chapter, we will discuss, firstly, the Belgian state structure from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, as the nation's historical division on linguistic and territorial grounds has affected the ways in which education is organised in both Belgium in general, and Brussels in particular. There are, more specifically, at least two separate educational structures which currently operate in parallel in Brussels, namely Dutch-medium secondary education organised by the Flemish Community, and French-medium education organised by the Belgian French Community. So, although Brussels is an officially bilingual French-Dutch region, we will explain how it came to be that bilingual French-Dutch education is, at present, not entirely legally possible. Following that discussion, we will provide information about the languages which are currently represented among Brussels' citizens, as well as among pupils enrolled in Dutch-medium education in the Capital Region. In this regard, we will discuss the unequal representation of Dutch and French, which is currently tilted in favour of French both in people's everyday lives and in classrooms in Dutch-medium schools. Then, we will go into detail about the ideological and pedagogical challenges which ensue from the large and increasing influx of non-Dutch speaking pupils into Dutch-medium education, which is often dubbed *wild* or *unstructured immersion*. Lastly, we will explain the role of declared and perceived language policies at the macro and meso level in terms of schools' safeguarding of the position of Dutch on the one hand, and, on the other, teachers' affective stances vis à vis multilingualism and monolingualism in the classroom.

In the second part of the chapter, we will discuss the Dutch-medium secondary school in which the case study for this research is situated, namely The Polyglot School. Firstly, we will contrast the school's linguistic pupil composition with what is observed in Dutch-medium education in general, in addition to providing insight into the school's specific location within the Brussels Capital Region, as well as its composition in terms of pupils' socio-economic backgrounds. In this section, we will explore the ways in which the school is not so different from its counterparts within Brussels, and we will demonstrate that it is rather representative of the broader context which we discuss in the first part of the chapter. Secondly, then, we will explore what makes the school unique. In this regard, we will discuss the school's multilingual project, as this distinguishes The Polyglot School from most of its counterparts in Brussels and, moreover, Flanders. This section will focus on the ideological underpinnings and practical inspirations for the school's multilingual project, and we will furthermore discuss the three practical axes along which the school profiles itself as 'multilingual', namely the implementation of a CLIL programme, the inclusion of various additional languages to the standard modern foreign language curriculum, and the inclusion of a reception class for recently-migrated, unaccompanied minors. Following that discussion, we will explore the ways in which The Polyglot School has marketed itself as a multilingual school in the national media, and has, subsequently, profiled itself successfully as a uniquely multilingual school and a pioneer within the Brussels educational landscape in that regard.

4.1 Context: Dutch-medium education in Brussels

This part of the chapter will be oriented towards Belgium and Brussels in general. Firstly, we will discuss the ways in which Belgium's state structure and the origins thereof have influenced the organisation of education in Belgium in general, and in Brussels in particular. To that end, we will provide a present-day overview of Belgium's state structure, as well as a concise historical overview of the origins of Belgium's division on linguistic and cultural, and territorial grounds. The history of these divisions is related to what has been dubbed 'de taalstrijd' ('the language struggle') between the (predominantly but not exclusively) Dutch-speakers in the north, and the French-speakers in the south of the country. This 'struggle' gave rise to several waves of language legislation which have had a lasting effect both on Belgium's current administrative configuration — i.e. one based on parallel monolingualism, rather than bi- or trilingualism — as well as on the way education is organised in Brussels. Furthermore, they illustrate the tensions between Belgium's linguistic communities, which, in addition to having shaped the nation administratively, influence societal perceptions in regard to the relation between French and Dutch to this day.

Secondly, we will discuss Brussels' linguistic demography, and the ways in which the region's ample linguistic diversity and ongoing "Frenchification" impact education. Although language in Brussels is not restricted to either Dutch or French, or both, we will argue that French's status as the default language both in personal and professional situations greatly affects the knowledge and use of Dutch among Brussels' citizens. In terms of the impact that this relatively large representation of French has on Dutch-medium education, then, we will discuss the large influx of linguistically diverse and, due to its *lingua franca* status, French-speaking pupils in Dutch-medium education in the recent three to four decades. We will go into detail about the reasons why pupils from (linguistically) diverse backgrounds have come to view enrolment in Dutch-medium education as an unofficial route towards French-Dutch bilingualism, which has been called *wild* and *unstructured immersion* in the literature. We will furthermore discuss the pedagogical and ideological challenges related to this rather drastic change in pupil composition.

Thirdly, then, we will go into detail about the role of language policy in facing these pedagogical and ideological challenges. We will discuss the macro-level language policy of Dutch-medium education in general, as well as what is known of

individual Brussels schools' meso-level policies. Although multilingualism is to some extent promoted in official documents, Dutch language skills are often framed as a "more" essential prerequisite for educational and professional success, as well as a goal which pupils ought to attain before acquiring additional language skills. Regardless of the promotion of multilingualism, moreover, (certain forms of) linguistic diversity (are/is) still problematised and often prohibited or sanctioned in individual schools. Because declared language policies do not inform us of teachers' appropriation of the ideologies within them, nor their attitudes, however, we will also discuss what is generally known about teachers' perceptions and beliefs vis à vis Dutch monolingualism on the one hand, and multilingualism on the other.

4.1.1 Belgium's division on linguistic and territorial grounds

Belgium's communities and regions

Belgium is a federal constitutional monarchy which is divided administratively into three linguistic and cultural *communities*, of which the largest is the Dutch-speaking (ca. 58-59%) in the north, bordering the Netherlands; followed by the French Community (ca. 40-41%) in the south, bordering France; and the German-speaking Community (less than 1%⁵), in the east, bordering Germany. Legally, Belgium's linguistic communities have jurisdiction over what are considered to be person-bound matters such as, among other things, culture [i.e. language (use), the arts, cultural patrimony, media, and sports], healthcare and childcare, equal opportunities policy, and, importantly for this thesis, education (i.e. all aspects pertaining to educational policy, with the exception of the federal matter of the age of compulsory schooling^{6;7}). From this follows that there are at least three educational structures operating within the country, namely Dutch, French and German-medium education, organised by the Flemish, French, and German-speaking communities, respectively.

⁵ Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft Belgiens, "De Duitstalige Gemeenschap.", last accessed June 5th, 2020 (dg.be/nl/desktopdefault.aspx/tabid-2788/5431_read-34851)

⁶ Flemish Government, "Wetgevingstechniek: Principes over de bevoegdheden van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap en het Vlaamse Gewest in het kader van de wetgevingstechniek.", last accessed June 5, 2020 (overheid.vlaanderen.be/wetgevingstechniek/principes-over-de-bevoegdheden-van-de-vlaamse-gemeenschap-en-het-vlaamse-gewest-in-het-kader-van)

⁷Flanders, "Bevoegdheden van gemeenschappen.", last accessed June 5th, 2020 (vlaanderen.be/uw-overheid/verdeling-van-de-bevoegdheden/bevoegdheden-van-gemeenschappen)



Figure 6: Belgium's Flemish, French and German-speaking communities, respectively (via eea.europa.eu/soer/2010/countries/be/country-profile-distinguishing-factors-belgium/country-profile-distinguishing-factors-belgium-2/figure-1-the-regions-and/view)

Belgium is furthermore divided into territorial *regions*. There is Flanders, the predominantly Dutch-speaking region in the north; the Brussels Capital Region, which was officially granted bilingual status in 1962 and which is, geographically, an enclave within the region of Flanders; and Wallonia, the predominantly French-speaking region in the south (cf. figure 7 below). The regions have jurisdiction over territory-bound matters, such as spatial planning, agriculture, the environment, tourism, economy, mobility, and scientific research. Lastly, there is the over-arching Belgian federal government, which has jurisdiction over matters which cannot be delegated to the regions and communities because they bear relevance across regional and community borders, such as foreign and internal affairs, the national budget, defense, as well as aspects pertaining to social security and justice⁸.



Figure 7: The Belgian regions of Flanders, Brussels Capital, and Wallonia, respectively (via eea.europa.eu/soer/2010/countries/be/country-profile-distinguishing-factors-belgium/country-profile-distinguishing-factors-belgium-2/figure-1-the-regions-and/view)

⁸ Belgian Government, "België, een federale staat.", last accessed June 5th, 2020 (belgium.be/nl/over_belgie/overheid/federale_staat)

So, Belgium's regions and communities have different administrative and legal functions, and they do not entirely overlap geographically (with the exception of the Flemish Community). As an officially French-Dutch bilingual *region*, the Brussels Capital Region, then, is administratively separate from both Flanders and Wallonia, and Brussels thus has its own government and parliament in which both French and Dutch are represented. As education is a community matter, and not a regional one, however, it falls under community jurisdiction. From this it follows that there is no "bilingual" educational system (with the exception of EU-funded European schools, cf. also Jaspers and Rosiers 2019), but, instead, Dutch-medium education operates separately from French-medium education within the Brussels Capital Region. So, while the Brussels Capital Region is *de jure* bilingual, it is *de facto* home to two parallel monolingual communities and educational structures (cf. Hambye 2015a). Where Brussels school-going youths are concerned, then, they have access to both educational systems regardless of their home language.

The Belgian 'language struggle'

In brief, Belgium's rather complex state structure is a result of the 'language struggle' between Dutch and French, an issue which unites linguistic, political, and social problems (Willemyns 2002), has led to several historical waves of language legislation, and currently still affects perceptions vis à vis Dutch and French in Brussels, specifically. After Belgium's independence in 1830, French became the country's *de facto* sole official language; although citizens' language choice was *de jure* free, there was, at the time, a state of diglossia in which French was the language of the higher social class and of administration, court, army, and education, while Dutch had little to no prestige (Bollen & Baten 2010; Witte & Van Velthoven 1998). In an endeavour to increase the status of Dutch and aid in the socioeconomic emancipation of its speakers, members of the Flemish Movement advocated for progressively far-reaching language legislation in favour of Dutch from the start of Belgium's history. These endeavours led to an initial wave of language laws at the end of the nineteenth century.

These first laws specifically focussed on the domains of justice, public administration, and education in the northern, predominantly Dutch-speaking provinces of the country. In brief, the 1873 Coremans law stipulated that Dutch could be used for legal matters in these provinces (but not yet in Brussels); the 1878 De Laet

law formally equalised the use of French and Dutch in present-day Flemish and Brussels public administration (cf. Fredericq 1906; cf. Goethals 2014); and the 1883 De Vigne-Coremans law specified that at least two courses in secondary education could be instructed in Dutch (cf. Bollen & Baten 2010, cf. also Marynissen and Janssens 2013). Lastly, the 1898 Equality Law (cf. Vandenbussche et al. 2006) formally equalised Dutch and French nationwide, by stipulating that laws in Belgium had to be ‘voted, ratified, proclaimed, and announced’ in both French and Dutch (cf. Nys 2012, 361, translation from Dutch). Although these first laws were symbolic in placing Dutch on *de jure* equal footing with French, the lingering low prestige of Dutch meant that French remained the norm both in present-day Wallonia *and* Flanders⁹, effectively granting Flanders a bilingual status, while Wallonia remained monolingually French (cf. Hambye & Richards 2012; Marynissen and Janssens 2013). This would change at the start of the twentieth century, when Dutch-speaking citizens were able to gradually gain societal impact through democratic representation, following the generalisation of men’s right to vote in 1919-1920.

When Dutch-speakers gained political representation, the Flemish Movement increasingly advocated for Flemish monolingualism in Flanders (cf. Marynissen and Janssens 2013). This, then, gave rise to the question whether Belgium would formally become a bilingual nation, or a nation divided on the basis of territoriality, i.e. made up of two separate linguistic regions (cf. Witte & Van Velthoven 1998). As we know from the present-day overview above, the territoriality principle was chosen, and in 1921 Flanders was granted monolingual Dutch, and Wallonia monolingual French status, while Brussels became officially bilingual (Marynissen and Janssens 2013). Language boundaries were put into place, which were based on language census data. In practice, the language status of a municipality was determined by the majority language of its citizens¹⁰, with census counts recurring every ten years. Belgium’s

⁹ French was still widely used as the language of instruction in Flemish private education, which was mostly comprised of Catholic schools. Moreover, because public education did not want to risk ranking second to Catholic schools, French often remained the language of instruction in those schools, too, despite additional laws being put into place to remedy this, such as a 1910 law which equalised public and private education, and a 1914 law which stipulated that pupils had to receive instruction in their mother tongue.

¹⁰ The 1932 laws furthermore stipulated that municipalities with a linguistic minority of at least 30% would be governed both in Dutch and French (cf. Willemyns 2002).

division into regions was furthermore solidified by an additional wave of language laws in 1932-1938, which stipulated, among other things, that the language of instruction was determined by the territorial language, with Dutch thus becoming the *only* possible language of instruction in education organised by the Dutch-speaking community.

In 1947, however, problems arose when the census data indicated that the number of Dutch-majority municipalities had drastically decreased in Brussels, which was the result of reportedly ill-concealed 'fraudulent manoeuvring by (local and/or national) authorities', who had manipulated the census questionnaires (cf. Willemyns 2002, 40). As a result, the language censuses were abolished altogether (cf. Janssens 2008) when a third wave of language laws followed in 1961-1963. These laws fixed the language status of individual municipalities, which could now only be adjusted after changing the law, and divided the country into linguistic areas. It is at this point that the Brussels Capital Region, comprising Brussels and eighteen municipalities surrounding the city, was officially established to be bilingual. Lastly, when the federalisation of Belgium was initiated in 1970 (Marynissen and Janssens 2013), the country's division into regions and communities was included in the constitution.

4.1.2 Language and education in the Brussels Capital Region

From the synchronic and diachronic overviews of the Belgian state structure above, it is evident that, while Brussels is an officially bilingual French-Dutch region, this does not entail that Dutch and French are equally represented among the Capital Region's citizens. Furthermore, while Brussels is presently home to at least two separate, parallel educational structures, namely French and Dutch-medium education, its citizens have equal access to either regardless of their home language(s), meaning that pupils can enrol in Dutch-medium education despite not (often) speaking Dutch outside of the school. In order to understand what this entails in terms of the pupil composition in Dutch-medium secondary education in Brussels in general and at The Polyglot School in particular, we will, firstly, discuss Brussels' general linguistic demography, and will gauge the relative relationship between speakers of Dutch, French, and other or additional languages in Brussels. Secondly, then, we will discuss what is known about the demography of Dutch-medium education in Brussels, to address what has been described in the literature as the *wild* or *unstructured immersion* (cf. De Bleyser 2001; Ceuleers 2008), or rather, the linguistic submersion

of French-speaking pupils in Dutch-medium education — which is, in practice, the increasingly large influx of non-Dutch-speaking pupils in Dutch-medium education.

Brussels' general linguistic demography

From the Taalbarometer ('language barometer'), a survey-based research which provides a synchronic and diachronic overview of the languages spoken in Brussels (cf. Janssens 2001; 2013a; 2013b; 2018), we learn that Brussels' citizens certainly do not just speak Dutch or French, or both. In fact, there are currently more people who report to have good English skills (34.4%) than there are people who report to speak Dutch well (16.3%), despite the fact that English is not often people's home language (Janssens 2018, 22); Most of Brussels' citizens encounter English as a language of instruction, or as the default language of their work place. Additional languages which are well represented in Brussels are Arabic, Spanish, Italian, German, and Portuguese (cf. Janssens 2018, 22; cf. figure 8 below).

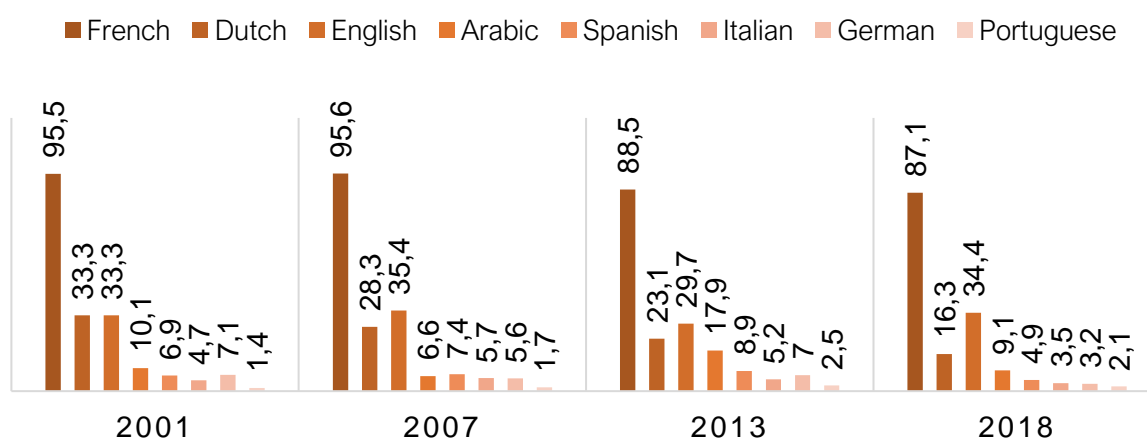


Figure 8: Best-known languages of Brussels in 2001-2018 in percentages (cf. Janssens 2018, 22)

These languages, inversely, are not typically used in education, but 'exclusively transferred via intergenerational language transfers in families and/or via institutions or organisations linked to these communities' (Janssens 2008; cf. Janssens 2018).

Although 36.9% of Brussels citizens identify as bilingual and 37.4% as multilingual, only a relatively small number of people report to be French-Dutch bilingual specifically (9%). Furthermore, almost half of Brussels' citizens report that French is their home language, while a much smaller number of people report to speak Dutch at home (cf. figure 9 below).

Dutch is reported to be the sole home language of roughly a third (31.7%) of Dutch-speakers and is otherwise often spoken alongside French (40.1%), rather than along with (an)other language(s) (1.2%) (cf. Janssens 2018, 24). When it is not people's home language (25.5%), citizens report that they acquired Dutch skills through their enrolment in either Dutch-medium (10.5%), French-medium (11.7%), or other forms of education (3.2%) (cf. Janssens 2018, 24). Inversely, a large number of Brussels citizens report to have good or excellent mastery of French (roughly 87.1% vis à vis Dutch 16.3%). Citizens who speak French often do so at home (82.8%), where French is the sole home language in most cases (59.6%). Alternatively, French is spoken in combination with Dutch (2.2%), or in with (an)other language(s), although not very often (11% cf. Janssens 2018, 26). Furthermore, while the majority of youths (roughly 80%) are enrolled in French-medium schools (cf. Janssens, Carlier & Van de Craen 2009), only 10.6% report to have learned French through their attendance of either Dutch-medium (2.1%), French-medium (8.9%), or other forms of education (0.6%) (cf. Janssens 2018, 26).

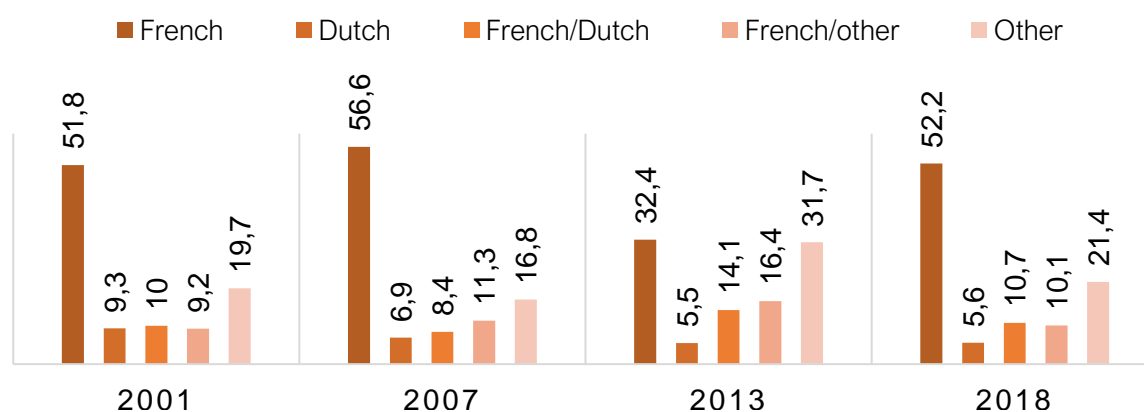


Figure 9: Citizens' home languages in 2001-2018 in percentages (based on Janssens 2018, 40)

Apart from being the majority language in Brussels, French serves as the region's *lingua franca* for interpersonal communication among citizens. Indeed, the majority of people (90%) from monolingual Dutch or bilingual Dutch-French households currently report that they systematically switch to French when communicating with Brussels' civil servants (cf. Janssens 2018). Conversely, increasingly fewer people in Brussels report to know Dutch sufficiently in order to use it in their daily lives, which seems to especially be the case in regard to Brussels' citizens who do not speak Dutch at home and who are not enrolled in Dutch-medium education. For others, i.e. the ca. 20% who

are enrolled in Dutch-medium schools (cf. Janssens, Carlier & Van de Craen 2009), Dutch is a language which they *exclusively* encounter in an educational context (cf. Janssens 2008, 4). So, for the majority of Brussels' citizens, French is the language they either speak at home or use in educational contexts, and, moreover, it is the *lingua franca* used in their personal and professional lives (cf. also Hambye 2015a).

This, however, does not mean that Dutch proficiency is considered to be inessential in Brussels. On the contrary; French-Dutch bilingualism is increasingly perceived to be a necessity for the Belgian and Brussels' labour markets, be it a factual (cf. Mettewie & Van Mensel 2009) or a perceived one (cf. Hambye & Richards 2012). As many people already report to have an excellent mastery of French, becoming functionally bilingual often requires that people learn Dutch. This (perceived) necessity for Brussels' citizens to be bilingual has led to increasing numbers of predominantly French-speaking pupils who enrol in Dutch-medium education in order to acquire Dutch by being *de facto* submersed in a Dutch-speaking environment — a pathway towards bilingualism which has been called *wild* and *unstructured immersion*.

Linguistic demography in Brussels' education

Not only are there currently fewer citizens who report to speak Dutch in Brussels in favour of French and other or additional languages, there are furthermore three French-medium schools for every Dutch-medium one in the Capital Region (cf. figure 10 below). In addition to being relatively underrepresented in the Brussels Capital Region, Dutch-medium education has, moreover, recently welcomed a large number of pupils whose home language(s) is not or do not include Dutch and who are, inversely, rather fluent in French.

	Pre-primary and primary	Secondary	Total
French-medium	333	119	425
Dutch-medium	131	35	166

Figure 10: Institutions providing education in the Brussels Capital Region by organising community in 2017-2018 (BISA 2019)

Since the 1980s, the relative proportion of monolingual speakers of Dutch enrolled in Dutch-medium education has dwindled. While the number of pupils who report to be bi- or multilingual and to speak Dutch alongside (an)other language(s) has increased over time, there is, concurrently, a much larger influx of pupils who do not report to speak Dutch, but, instead, speak French [in addition to (an)other language(s)] (cf. figure 11 below). As a result, more than half of all pupils who currently attend Dutch-medium education do not speak Dutch at home. In fact, roughly 18.8% have two Dutch-speaking parents, while 21.6% have one Dutch-speaking parent (cf. Flemish Community Commission 2019; cf. also Jaspers and Rosiers 2019, 4).

	Pre-primary		Primary		Secondary	
	1979-80	2017-18	1979-80	2017-18	1979-80	2017-18
Dutch monolingual	71.9	6.9	85.9	7.7	76.5	18.7
Dutch + other	17.8	29.1	10.1	21.7	17.2	25.4
French monolingual	5.8	34.1	2.3	32.8	3.7	24.7
French + other	4.5	38.9	1.7	37.8	2.6	31.2

Figure 11: Home languages in Brussels Dutch-medium education in percentages (Flemish Community Commission 2019)

Although it may seem unorthodox, the enrolment of pupils from non-Dutch-speaking backgrounds was, in fact, once actively promoted by the Flemish Community. In the 1980s, French-speaking pupils were targeted by a campaign aimed towards increasing the overall attendance of Dutch-medium education in Brussels. To that effect, the campaign used French slogans such as ‘l’avenir est aux bilingues’ (*‘the future is for bilinguals’*) (Allain & Ceuleers 2009, 140, cf. also Jaspers & Rosiers 2019 for additional slogans and photo material). Evidently, the Flemish Community was successful where increasing the number of enrolments in Dutch-medium pre-primary and secondary schools was concerned. A possibly unintended by-product of this campaign’s success, however, was that it inadvertently aided in legitimising *unstructured immersion* and ratifying it as a route towards French-Dutch bilingualism.

There are different reasons why enrolment in Dutch-medium education is an attractive option for parents today. Firstly, there is the belief that Dutch-medium education trumps French-medium education in terms of overall quality. Because the Flemish Community is currently more prosperous than the French (cf. Van Mensel 2014), Dutch-medium education receives a larger amount of funding [roughly 22.5% more in primary, and 18% more in secondary education a decade ago (cf. Janssens, Carlier & Van de Craen 2009)], which aids in the perception that it is superior to French-medium education. Secondly, Dutch-medium education is perceived to lead to better results where language learning is concerned, which is not unimportant in a context where many citizens consider French-Dutch bilingualism to be a prerequisite for future success. In contrast, despite the popularity of EMILE ('Enseignement d'une Matière Intégré à une Langue Étrangère') immersion in French-medium schools in Brussels, with 22 Brussels French-medium schools currently offering Dutch EMILE immersion in primary, and 26 in secondary education (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles 2019a, 2019b), French-medium education is believed to have 'a poor record' where results of language learning are concerned (Jaspers and Rosiers 2019, 3; Van Mensel 2016).

This, then, brings us to the practical differences between attending immersion education in French-medium education, and enrolling in Dutch-medium education. In an EMILE programme, the subject matter of non-language courses (e.g. biology, mathematics) is taught by means of a second or foreign language, providing a learning environment in which pupils are immersed in the target language. Within the current EMILE programme, pupils in Brussels have the choice to attend one to three quarters of their classes in Dutch, from nursery school onwards and throughout primary and secondary education (cf. Janssens et al. 2009; Hiligsmann et al. 2017). A notable factor which distinguishes EMILE immersion from enrolling in a Dutch-medium school is thus that pupils in the latter case do not attend three quarters of their courses in Dutch, but nearly all of them — resulting in increased exposure to Dutch, i.e. the target language.

This type of linguistic submersion has often been called *unstructured* and *wild* (cf. De Bleyser et al. 2001; Ceuleers 2008; Van Mensel 2016). It is not structural, because neither the Dutch-medium curriculum, nor Flemish teacher training is equipped to cater to a relatively large number of pupils for whom the main language of instruction is also a target language. Indeed, because Dutch-medium education is more or less the same for Flanders *and* Brussels — a notable difference being that French language instruction in Brussels commences at latest at the age of 8 rather than 11 (cf. below) — teachers and pupils in Brussels are confronted with course contents, and learning materials, methods and objectives which are oriented towards speakers, rather than learners of Dutch, in spite of the greater amount of (linguistic) heterogeneity in Brussels' school-going demography. An oft-used example to illustrate the pedagogical challenges which result from this, is that of a teacher of French as a foreign language in Dutch-medium Brussels education who has to teach what is effectively either students' mother tongue, or the *lingua franca* which they are already quite fluent in, following a step-by-step curriculum built for novices and learners of the target language, and not for its speakers (Allain & Ceuleers 2009; cf. also Jaspers 2015).

The challenges that this influx of pupils from non-Dutch-speaking backgrounds entails are not merely pedagogical, however. From the historical overview of Belgium's 'language struggle' (cf. above) it is evident that the "Frenchification" of Brussels has been a point of contention for decades (cf. also Van Mensel 2016). Indeed, the fact that the last ever census count in Brussels, which "proved" that French-speakers started to outnumber Dutch-speakers in the capital, served as the catalyst for the fixation of Belgium's language border and, moreover, the establishment of Brussels' official French-Dutch bilingual status, illustrates that these historical tensions serve, to this day, to fuel the perception that Dutch is "losing ground" in Brussels. Moreover, it is not the case that Dutch-medium education was organised solely to cater to the Dutch-speaking minority in Brussels, but, rather, it shared that objective with the additional aim to maintain the position and presence of Dutch in the region (cf. Allain & Ceuleers 2009). Therefore, conserving the Dutch-speaking character of Dutch-medium education (and, thus, its role in the representation of Dutch in Brussels) continues to pose ideological challenges, especially now that Dutch-medium schools' pupil compositions are increasingly skewed towards French.

4.1.3 Language policy in Dutch-medium education

We have briefly discussed the ideological challenges related to Dutch becoming a *de facto* minority language in schools originally designed to safeguard the position of Dutch, and have furthermore illustrated some of the pedagogical challenges that Dutch-medium Brussels schools and, particularly, their teachers, may encounter in the face of urban linguistic diversity in general and an ever-increasing representation of French-speaking pupils at their schools in particular. In their efforts to respond to these ideological and pedagogical challenges, schools, not unlike nation states, often implement a language policy which is oriented towards monolingualism, in order to “solve” the “issues” of linguistic diversity and, in the case of Dutch-medium education in Brussels specifically, the ongoing “Frenchification” among individual schools’ pupil compositions.

In this section, we will briefly discuss the over-arching declared language policy of Dutch-medium education in Flanders and Brussels, to provide insight into the ways in which monolingualism and multilingualism are represented at the macro-level. Then, we will briefly touch on the language political efforts which are encountered in individual Dutch-medium schools both inside and outside of Brussels, i.e. declared language political decisions which are often encountered at the meso level. Insofar as they are centred on declared language policies (cf. Bonacina-Pugh 2012), however, these insights teach us little about teachers’ affective stances towards either monolingualism and monolingual language policies or linguistic diversity. Therefore, we will also discuss what is generally reported in terms of teachers’ attitudes and beliefs vis à vis monolingual language policies, as well as their perceptions of multilingualism.

The macro-level *declared* language policy of Dutch-medium education

In our discussion of the current macro-level declared language policy for Dutch-medium education, we will focus on two different documents, namely the one pertaining to the period in which the field work for this research took place (Crevits 2014-2019), and the one which followed it after Belgium’s most recent elections in May 2019 (Weyts 2019).

In these official policy documents, we see several different viewpoints become united. On the one hand, language knowledge is explicitly stated to be ‘important for a successful and motivating school trajectory, access to higher education, labour market opportunities, and participation in a globalised (knowledge-based) society’ (cf. Crevits 2014, 28, my translation from Dutch) as well as ‘a real [source of] wealth for Flemings’ (Weyts 2019, 36, my translation from Dutch). In its macro-level policy, Flanders furthermore subscribes to the European ideal of educating its citizens and pupils to become trilingual citizens, following the guideline that citizens must learn two languages in addition to their mother tongue. In Flanders’ most recent policy documents, however, this ambition translates into an emphasis on economically valuable foreign languages, such as English as the international *lingua franca*, and on second languages such as French and German (cf. Weyts 2019), the country’s official languages beside Dutch (cf. above; cf. also Jaspers 2018). Meanwhile, immigrant minority languages, which may also be widely spoken in the region, are not formally or structurally included in the educational system.

On the other hand, there is also a strong orientation towards Dutch and Dutch monolingualism (cf. Jaspers 2011; Pulinx & Van Avermaet 2014). In the policy documents, Dutch proficiency is not only stated to be ‘essential for full participation in social and economic life’ (cf. Crevits 2014, 26, my translation from Dutch), but also ‘a primary prerequisite for a successful school career, labour market opportunities and a knowledge-based society’ (cf. Weyts 2019, 9, my translation from Dutch). Indeed, Dutch proficiency is considered to be the most important condition for educational success (cf. Pulinx et al. 2017), while pupils’ additional (home) language knowledge is often mentioned in the same breath as Dutch-language deficiency, specifically where pupils from low socioeconomic and immigrant backgrounds are concerned (cf. Weyts 2019). Indeed, the official policy frames Dutch as something which is essential, and Dutch proficiency is to be acquired before pupils learn additional languages. In practice, the declared policy moreover determines that pupils cannot learn foreign languages at school before the 5th year (usually when pupils are 11) in Flanders, and before the 3rd year in Brussels (when they are 8, cf. Bollen & Baten 2010), thus giving priority to Dutch.

The meso-level *declared* language policies of individual Dutch-medium schools

The official over-arching declared language policy of Dutch-medium education notwithstanding, individual schools receive an ample amount of autonomy in terms of the development of their proper, meso-level language policies (cf. Strobbe et al. 2016). Although this, in theory, may lead to much variability among schools, much research on the declared language policies of Flemish and Brussels Dutch-medium secondary schools reports that there seems to be a common thread in practice. Indeed, many schools implement a Dutch-only declared language policy, meaning that, while Dutch is enforced, French and other languages are prohibited (Agirdag 2010; 2017; 2019, cf. also Hambye 2015a).

(Case) studies in Brussels in particular report that schools implement ‘an explicit language policy which is oriented towards the sustenance of its Dutch-speaking character’ (Allain & Ceuleers 2009, 149, my translation from Dutch), or that a school’s ‘official school policy firmly insisted on the use of Dutch’ (Jaspers 2016, 197). Studies furthermore discuss the ways in which schools inform their pupils that ‘Standard Dutch is spoken at school’ (cf. Jaspers 2015b, 247, my translation from Dutch), or that ‘pupils who repeatedly fail to speak Dutch will be given a linguistic assignment they need to present to management. After several linguistic assignments the school will impose penalties’ (Jaspers and Rosiers 2019, 6). Researchers also describe the way pupils are frequently reminded of their schools’ policies — which is by means of posters, or booklets that they and their parents have to sign (cf. Allain and Ceuleers 2009; Jaspers 2015a) — or they mention that there are specific sanctioning methods in place (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019).

The micro-level *perceived* language policies of teachers in Dutch-medium schools

What is declared in a policy document is, as we have stated earlier, but one component of policy. As such, it cannot lead us to either assume or disregard the possibility that the ideologies and beliefs which underlie a policy text are, in fact, shared by policy agents. We will therefore also explore what is generally known about teachers’ perceptions, attitudes and beliefs vis à vis, on the one hand, the official, monolingual language policy at the macro and meso level in Flanders and Brussels and, on the other, multilingualism and linguistic diversity in their individual classrooms.

Teachers are generally argued to be ‘quite sympathetic of the official language policy’ (Jaspers 2016, 191), i.e. at the macro-level, and to have a tendency to adhere to the monolingual policies at their own schools, too (Strobbe et al. 2016; Pulinx et al. 2017). Moreover, they report and are often reported to harbour negative attitudes towards pupil’s home languages when they are different from Dutch, to the point where many of them have been argued to believe that pupils should be punished for speaking them (Pulinx et al. 2017). In support of monolingual language policies, then, teachers report that they believe that a Dutch-only policy implies that there is unity in the classroom; although pupils’ home languages can be myriad, Dutch, as the language of instruction, is a code which they all share. Using Dutch is thus not only polite, but indeed a sign of linguistic inclusivity (cf. Jaspers 2016, 191) and equality. Alternatively, teachers align with the official macro-level policy for different reasons, and, for instance, stress their beliefs that Dutch proficiency is a necessary condition for school success (cf. Jaspers 2005), a perception which is often accompanied by a deficit-perspective of pupils’ non-Dutch language skills (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2014; Pulinx et al. 2017).

Although teachers’ seemingly strict adherence to monolingual language policies and their reluctance to accept pupils’ use of other languages may seem harsh, or even unjust, an aspect of teachers’ beliefs regarding monolingualism which is not often emphasised is that of teachers’ *concerns* (cf. Jaspers 2018) and their desire to ensure pupils’ academic success and socio-emotive wellbeing. Indeed, teachers are shown to at once be reluctant to introduce languages other than Dutch in the school and the classroom, but also to want to experiment with pedagogical methods tailored towards linguistically diverse class groups, because they are aware of the challenges that a linguistically diverse class group engenders and want to address them. They prohibit and sanction pupils’ use of other languages, *and* they want to cater to pupils’ interests to create a safe learning environment — but they are reported to be unsure of how to do that (Van den Branden and Verhelst 2009). They believe in their school’s language monolingual policy and justify their adherence to it, *and* explain why they nevertheless deviate from it, and use or allow other languages in class to a certain extent (cf. above; Jaspers & Rosiers 2019).

Evidently, the juxtaposition of a monolingual language policy and a linguistically diverse school and classroom context brings about tensions for teachers. In terms of their voiced beliefs, teachers thus seem to orient toward different concerns and values,

which may or may not align with a school's declared policy. However, to represent teachers' agency as being limited to either remaining loyal to the policy or withstanding it, would be an oversimplification; it is not the case that teachers either always and consistently justify enforcing a policy, or systematically explain why they wish to subvert it (cf. Jaspers and Rosiers 2019, cf. above). On the contrary, there can be a striking ambivalence in teachers' orientations toward a policy (cf. section 2.2). In the remainder of this thesis, we will explore if and how this was the case at the school under investigation in this case study, namely The Polyglot School.

4.2 Setting: The Polyglot School

In this part of the chapter, we will provide background information for the specific case study reported on in the remainder of this thesis, namely The Polyglot School (henceforth abbreviated to 'TPS'). TPS is a Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels which, unlike most of its counterparts, endeavours to implement a pedagogical project and language policy which are explicitly oriented towards embracing multilingualism, rather than enforcing monolingualism. In this part of the chapter, we will discuss different aspects of the school's representativeness vis à vis Dutch-medium secondary education in the Brussels Capital Region in terms of its demography, before going into detail about school's unique position within the Dutch-medium Brussels educational landscape by virtue of its multilingual pedagogical project. Throughout this discussion, we will include an ample amount of news reports, field notes, interview extracts, and transcripts of classroom interaction in order to adequately introduce the setting of this study.

We will firstly provide general information about TPS as a Brussels Dutch-medium secondary school which forms part of public education organised by the Flemish Community, and which offers 'general track' education. Secondly, we will go into detail about the school's location and demography; while TPS is located within the Brussels Capital Region, it is located more specifically near what is called the 'Flemish periphery'. In this regard, we will discuss how TPS' demography, like the Brussels Capital Region and the Flemish periphery, has evolved throughout the last one to two decades, and what that entails in terms of the current linguistic diversity in the school's pupil composition. We will furthermore demonstrate that TPS' teachers, in addition to having noticed certain linguistic changes among their pupils, furthermore consider there to be many different ethnicities and socio-economic backgrounds among TPS' pupils, which has, in turn, impacted their perceptions vis à vis their pupils' teachability, in the sense that it has led them to conclude that their pupils require much support from them, going beyond the purely linguistic.

While the first section is oriented towards the ways in which TPS is representative of Dutch-medium education in Brussels in terms of the increasing heteroglossia and ongoing “Frenchification” in its pupil composition, the second section focusses on what sets TPS apart from other Dutch-medium secondary schools in the Brussels educational landscape, namely the multilingual concept which TPS has been developing since 2011. We will firstly discuss the inspirations and ideological bases of TPS’ multilingual profiling. Secondly, we will provide an outline of the concrete steps that the school has taken in terms of implementing multilingual education in the form of their (1) organisation of a CLIL programme since 2011; (2) expansion of the school’s modern foreign language curriculum since 2013; and (3) inclusion of reception classes for recently migrated minors since 2016. Thirdly, we will provide a non-exhaustive overview of the ways in which the school has been presented and portrayed in the Flemish, Walloon and Brussels media, as this has aided in establishing a profile for TPS as a multilingual school which is one-of-a-kind, and currently rather well-known both inside and outside of Brussels.

4.2.1 A Dutch-medium, Brussels secondary school with a diverse pupil composition

TPS is a relatively small Dutch-medium school located within in the Brussels Capital Region, with 209 pupils attending the school at the time of the field work. The school specialises in ‘general track’ secondary education, which is oriented towards preparing pupils for higher education — in contrast to the artistic, technical and vocational tracks, which each have a curriculum oriented towards specific segments of the job market. In terms of the specialisations offered by the school, pupils can choose between Latin and modern education for the first and second year (when pupils are generally aged 12 to 14); Latin, science, economy, and the humanities for the third and fourth year (when pupils are generally aged 14 to 16); and Latin and mathematics, science and mathematics, languages and science, Latin and languages, economy and languages, and the humanities for the fifth and sixth year (when pupils are generally aged 16 to 18).

TPS is, furthermore, a public education institution which is fully subsidised by the Flemish Community (*vis à vis* private, mostly Catholic education). As such, the school subscribes to the goals and values included in the over-arching pedagogical

policy of public Dutch-medium secondary education, which encompasses aspirations such as cultivating pupils' self-confidence, authenticity, and integrity; enabling pupils to have an open mind and to voice their thoughts clearly and correctly; and ensuring that pupils experience and align with the ideals of social justice and equality. TPS' meso-level pedagogical project additionally comprises the goal of providing multilingual education to adequately prepare its pupils for higher education and future professional success in a globalised world. At the time of the field work, in the school years 2016-2017 and 2017-2018, TPS described its pedagogical project as follows (cf. extract 1 below).

<p>[TPS] is een Nederlandstalige school van het GO! in Brussel met speciale aandacht voor meertaligheid. Wij bieden kwaliteitsvol algemeen secundair onderwijs aan, waarbij we veel belang hechten aan de begeleiding en ondersteuning van onze leerlingen en waar de nodige discipline zorgt voor een sereen leer- en leefklimaat</p>	<p>[TPS] is a Dutch-medium Flemish public school in Brussels with special attention for multilingualism. We provide qualitative general secondary education, in which we value guidance and support for our pupils, and where the necessary discipline makes for a serene climate to learn and live</p>
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Extract 1: school guidelines 2016-2017; 2017-2018 and website 2020

In juxtaposing the values which they share with other public Dutch-medium secondary schools and their proper, multilingual emphasis, the school does not seem to consider providing quality Dutch-medium education and embracing multilingualism to be mutually exclusive — a stance which is not generally encountered in Dutch-medium education in general, nor within Brussels in particular. As we have argued earlier in this chapter, it is instead common for Dutch-medium schools in Brussels to implement a policy oriented towards enforcing Dutch and prohibiting other languages (especially French and pupils' home languages) with the aim of safeguarding Dutch and increasing pupils' Dutch proficiency (cf. section 4.1.3). Therefore, TPS' explicit inclusion of multilingualism in its pedagogical project renders it quite unique within the Brussels Capital Region.

While we will go into more detail about the school's exceptional dual focus on its Dutch-medium character *and* multilingualism below, we will firstly provide information about the school's location and demography in terms of pupils' home languages and socio-economic status (SES). Secondly, we will go into detail about the participants of this case study, namely the pupils and teachers of class 2G.

Location

TPS is located in a residential area in a borough south-east of the city of Brussels, i.e. within the Brussels Capital Region, near what is called the ‘Flemish periphery’ (‘Vlaamse Rand’ in Dutch). The Flemish periphery consists of 19 Flemish municipalities surrounding Brussels. Like the Brussels Capital Region, the municipalities in the Flemish periphery have undergone a process of Frenchification throughout the last century. Because a thorough discussion of the language-related tensions in the Flemish periphery falls outside of the scope of this dissertation, we want to mention that this area’s linguistic demography has become increasingly diversified in the last few decades due to external and internal migration of residents who are originally from outside of the EU, and people who initially moved to the city of Brussels because of its international status and who have since relocated to the more suburban periphery. As a result, the area bordering TPS is presently quite linguistically diverse and, moreover, home to a relatively low number of Dutch-speaking families (cf. Mares 2012). So, we can expect there to be a large amount of linguistic diversity among TPS’ pupils, too; not just because of the diversity inherent of the Brussels Capital Region and Dutch-medium education in Brussels in general, but also because of the growing linguistic diversity in the Flemish municipalities immediately surrounding the school.

Linguistic demography

A survey issued by the school to its pupils at the beginning of the school year 2016-2017 shows that the majority of TPS’ pupils (self)reported to speak French at home, either as the sole language (38%), or along with (an)other language(s) (37%) or with Dutch (22%). Conversely, a minority of TPS’ pupils said that they spoke only Dutch at home (3%). When we compare TPS’ linguistic demography to the mean distribution of languages in Dutch-medium secondary education in Brussels, it is evident that the recent decrease of (monolingual and bilingual) Dutch-speaking pupils and increase of linguistically diverse and French-speaking pupils attending Dutch-medium education was reflected in TPS’ linguistic composition at the time of the field work (cf. figure 12 on the next page).

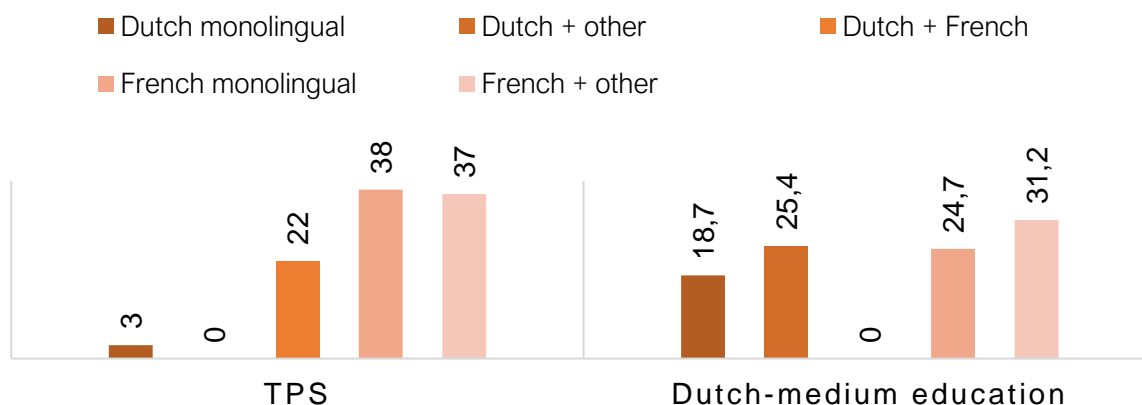


Figure 12: Home language at TPS reported by its pupils; and the means for Brussels Dutch-medium education in percentages (cf. Flemish Community Commission 2019)

According to the school's staff, TPS' pupil composition has not always been this linguistically diverse. The school's headmaster, Ms. Libbrecht, said that TPS' linguistic demography has evolved along with that of the Flemish periphery. She added that TPS additionally attracts (socioeconomically diverse) pupils from all over Brussels due to its profiling as a CLIL school (cf. field note 1 below).

Vandaag is de [Vlaamse] Rand meer divers geworden, en de school weerspiegelt volgens haar die evolutie. [TPS] is 'meer gemengd'. Dat is voor een deel te wijten aan hun profilering als CLIL-school. Ze zegt dat ze merkt dat de ouders in gezinnen met een hogere socio-economische status vooral voor de school kiezen vanwege de CLIL-visie, en dat andere gezinnen vooral tevreden zijn over de nadruk op meertaligheid

Presently, the [Flemish] periphery has become more diverse, and the school reflects that evolution according to her. [TPS] is 'more mixed'. This is partly due to their profiling as a CLIL school. She says that she notices that parents in families with a higher socio-economic status mainly choose the school because of the CLIL vision, and that other families are especially drawn to the emphasis on multilingualism

Field note 1: conversation with Ms. Libbrecht at the start of the field work, February 7, 2017

It is indeed not the case that all of the pupils who attended TPS resided near the school. During the field work, the pupils of class 2G would regularly talk about their daily use of public transportation to travel to the school, and I would join them on buses and trains on the way home. Many of class 2G's pupils furthermore proudly sprayed tags of their postal codes around TPS' playground following a graffiti work shop at the school, indicating that many indeed lived relatively far from TPS' location (cf. field note 2 below, pupil names, postal codes and locations anonymised).

<p>Mehdi tagt de postcode van [deelgemeente], en iemand vraagt wat is [<i>dix-XX</i>]? [...] Hamza spuit overal piemels, en Dan schrijft Dan was here. De tags van alle leerlingen worden al vlug overspoten, waardoor er dingen staan zoals 'RPZT 40XY [deelgemeente] 10XZ'</p>	<p>Mehdi tags the postal code of [borough], and someone asks what is [<i>ten-XX</i>]? [...] Hamza is spraying willies everywhere, and Dan writes Dan was here. All the pupils' tags were quickly covered, and now it says things like 'RPZT 40XY [borough] 10XZ'</p>
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Field note 2: graffiti work shop, March 30th, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

TPS' teachers were not unaware of the (recent) changes in the school's demography. Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography) said, for example, that TPS used to be 'white'— viz. that pupils were mostly autochthonous Belgians — and that the school's linguistic demography was rather balanced between French and Dutch. Over the last twenty years, then, TPS' pupil composition has diversified in terms of pupils' ethnicities *and* language(s). As a result, Mr. Nollet did not seem to consider TPS to currently be a Dutch-medium school with a large proportion of French-speaking pupils, but rather, an ethnically diverse, heteroglossic school (cf. extract 2 below).

<p>Toen ik hier toekwam was da een euh een zeer euh witte school, en euh zeer Franstalig [...] in vieren- wanneer was da, zesennegentig [...] 't was al heel Franstalig, allez heel Franstalig, 't was ik zou zeggen m: ik denk voor vijftig procent Franstalig en toen nog vijftig percent Nederlandstalig [...] nu euh hebt ge: hebt ge alle talen, nu is da hoofdzakelijk <u>anderstaligheid</u></p>	<p>When I arrived here it was er a very er white school, and er very Francophone [...] in four- when was that, ninety-six [...] it was already very Francophone, although very Francophone, it was I'd say m: I think fifty percent Francophone and back then fifty percent Dutch-speaking [...] now er you: have you have all languages, now it is mainly <u>foreign</u> languages</p>
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Extract 2: interview with Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography), November 2, 2017

In addition to them becoming increasingly ethnically and linguistically diverse, TPS' staff considered their pupils to be more and more challenging to teach, too. In this regard, Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology) said that the gap between the 'strong' and 'weak' pupils has increased over the last decade, which requires teachers to 'change their approach' in order to teach effectively (cf. extract 3 on the next page).

<p>Da komt er inderdaad wel een, de laatste jaren enorm op (.) dat het verschil tusse: euh en ook bijvoorbeeld d- de zwakkere leerlingen en de sterkere leerlingen dat da groter begint te worden [...] euh: dus dat die aanpak ook volledig moet veranderen [...] dus euh pakweg tien jaar geleden, dan viel da echt minder op</p>	<p>That has indeed been a, on the rise the last few years (.) that the difference between: er and also for instance th- the weaker pupils and the stronger pupils that that begins to increase [...] er so that our approach needs to change completely [...] so er give or take ten years ago, then that was really less obvious</p>
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Extract 3: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

It is not uncommon for teachers in linguistically diverse school settings to harbour such (negative) perceptions vis à vis their pupils' *teachability*, regardless of the fact that this is largely related to pupils' socio-economic status (SES), rather than their linguistic diversity (cf. Agirdag 2018). TPS' headmaster was acutely aware of this; the field note below was collected during the final meeting of the school year 2016-2017. In it, Ms. Libbrecht addresses the fact that another general track secondary school (in a different Brussels borough) has started to implement CLIL, and that this has resulted in lower enrolment numbers at TPS. She tells the teachers that, although the pupils at TPS may require more guidance than those at the other school because of their low-SES, rather than their 'language deficiencies', this should only make TPS' teachers proud of the progress they are able to make (cf. field note 3 below).

<p>De leerkrachten van [TPS] denken dat die school andere ('betere') dingen zal gaan bereiken met de leerlingen met hun CLIL dan [TPS], en de directeur benadrukt dat taalachterstand vooral te maken heeft met sociaaleconomische afkomst. Ik leer op dit moment dat de leerlingen op [TPS] doorgaans kansarm zijn en van een niet al te rijke komaf. De directeur zegt dat het voor [TPS] meer moeite kost om met leerlingen iets te bereiken, maar ze voegt eraan toe dat ze denkt dat de voldoening voor hen groter is dan voor [andere school]. De leerkrachten knikken enthousiast</p>	<p>The teachers of [TPS] think that that school will achieve other ('better') things with its pupils with CLIL than [TPS], and the headmaster emphasises that language deficiency is mainly related to socio-economic background. It is at this point that I learn that the pupils at [TPS] are generally disadvantaged, and from not too wealthy backgrounds. The headmaster says that it requires more effort for [TPS] to achieve things with its pupils, but she adds that she thinks the satisfaction is greater for them than for [other school]. The teachers nod enthusiastically</p>
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Field note 3: staff meeting at the end of the school year 2016-2017, June 30, 2017

Pupils' use of languages other than Dutch at home is indeed but one of the criteria used to determine their SES, along with living in a household where the mother has a low degree of schooling, receiving an education allowance, and residing in a neighbourhood where many pupils have been held back for one or more school year(s) (cf. Statistiek Vlaanderen 2019). While it is evident that TPS' pupils were linguistically diverse, it is rather difficult to determine whether they were mostly low-SES at the time of the field work. While there are statistics available, the numbers reported by the Flemish agency for educational services for the school year 2016-2017 incorporate one of TPS' sister schools, which is located in a different Brussels borough. We thus cannot draw firm conclusions from them for TPS' specific location¹¹. We do want to mention that it is common for general track Dutch-medium secondary schools in Brussels to house pupils to whom most of the SES-related criteria apply, certainly when compared to Flanders (cf. figure 13 on the next page).

So, while it might be the case that TPS was a low-SES school when compared to the other general track Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels mentioned in the field note above, it is generally not unusual for general track secondary schools in the Brussels Capital Region to house a relatively high number of low-SES pupils. Although TPS' staff may *perceive* their pupils to be predominantly low-SES — and may relate that to both the heteroglossia at the school and their pupils' teachability — low-SES is thus not a factor which distinguishes TPS from most of their peers within the Brussels Capital Region. Rather, it serves to make the school quite representative of Dutch-medium general track education within the Brussels Capital Region, especially in conjunction with their pupils' linguistic diversity.

¹¹ AGODI, "Cijfermateriaal – Leerlingenkenmerken." via agodi.be/cijfermateriaal-leerlingenkenmerken, last accessed June 5th, 2020.

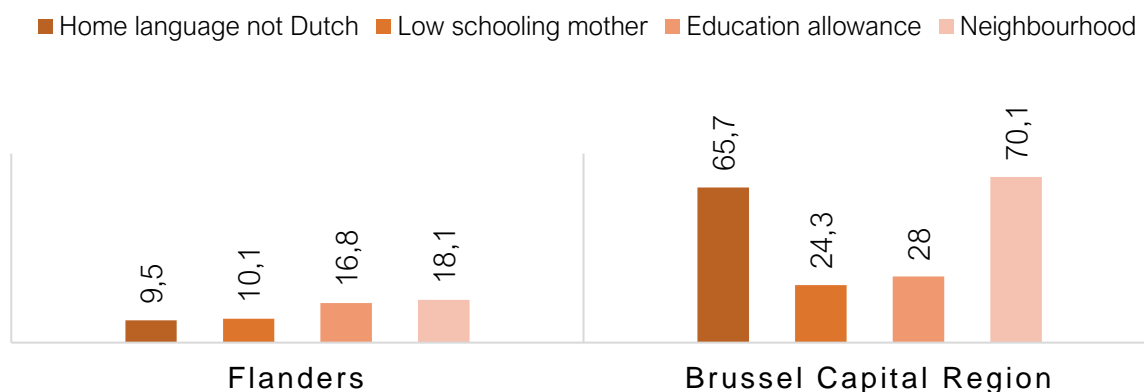


Figure 13: Pupil characteristics in general track secondary education in Flanders and the Brussels Capital region in the school year 2016-2017, in percentages based on numbers from Vlaams Ministerie van Onderwijs en Vorming, 2019

4.2.2 The Polyglot School's unique, multilingual pedagogical project

What sets the school apart from its peers, then, is the multilingual concept which has been part of TPS' pedagogical project since the arrival of their current headmaster, Ms. Libbrecht, in 2008. Throughout the last decade, namely from 2011 onwards, Ms. Libbrecht has made an effort to develop a new profile for TPS as a Dutch-medium school which provides multilingual education. Before going into detail about what this entails in regard to the inclusion of multilingualism in TPS' curriculum, we will firstly discuss the headmaster's inspirations for doing so, as well as the ideological underpinnings of the school's implementation of multilingual education in addition to their standard Dutch-medium curriculum.

TPS' first step towards implementing multilingual education was made in 2011, when they became the first Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels to offer their pupils the possibility to attend a CLIL immersion programme. The school's choice for CLIL was partly inspired by STIMOB ('Stimulating Multilingual Education Brussels', cf. Allain and Ceuleers 2009, cf. extract 4 on the next page). STIMOB was a project launched in 2001 that initiated CLIL-like initiatives in Dutch-medium primary education in Brussels, and which the primary school adjacent to TPS joined in 2003. Because CLIL was only legally allowed in Dutch-medium education from 2014 onwards, both STIMOB and TPS' implementation of CLIL were, as Ms. Libbrecht told us during our meeting in February of 2017, 'not yet legal, in fact'.

<p>Wij zijn gestart in 2011 in navolging van het lager onderwijs dat het meertalig onderwijs heeft gestimuleerd euh met STIMOB [...] vanaf 2014 mochten wij van de de- euh de Vlaamse Overheid 20% van het curriculum in het Frans, het Engels of het Duits onderwijzen [...] en wij doen dat in het Frans en het Engels</p>	<p>We started in 2011 following primary education which has stimulated multilingual education er with STIMOB [...] from 2014 onwards, it was allowed by the- the er Flemish Government to teach 20% of the curriculum in French, English or German [...] and we do that in French and English</p>
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Extract 4: radio interview with Ms. Libbrecht on public broadcasting, December 9, 2019

In 2001, STIMOB was only possible by virtue of a legal “loophole”; as there is no formal language specification vis à vis a school’s organisation of remedial classes in the first two years of Dutch-medium primary education, Brussels schools were able to teach up to two hours per week using a language of instruction other than Dutch without requiring the approval of the Ministry (cf. Van de Craen 2007). When TPS announced that they planned to implement CLIL from the school year 2011-2012 onwards in a January 2011 news article, Ms. Libbrecht is quoted as saying that she had asked the Minister’s approval to teach up to five hours per week in English, but that she had decided that TPS would start implementing CLIL that year regardless of the response.

In addition to STIMOB, TPS’ CLIL programme was influenced by the extensive immersion which has been possible in EMILE in French-medium education since 1998. It is likely that implementing CLIL was a strategic move for TPS to provide further multilingual education for pupils graduating from primary schools who joined the STIMOB-project, and to capitalise on the popularity of EMILE in French-medium education by profiling themselves as a high quality, Dutch-medium alternative for parents who want their child to attend a multilingual programme. As such, TPS’ CLIL programme is, in part, a clever marketing tool to ensure that the school’s enrolment numbers do not dwindle. As we have discussed earlier, it is certainly the case that TPS’ headmaster considers the school’s profiling as a multilingual and CLIL school to be a pull factor for pupils from high-SES households especially (cf. field note 1 above). She and her staff are furthermore mindful of the possibility that the growing popularity of CLIL in other schools may result in fewer pupils attending TPS, due to parents’ then having access to more than one option (cf. field note 3 above).

To imply that TPS' multilingual emphasis is *but* a marketing tool is, however, to greatly underestimate the headmaster's conviction that multilingualism is, apart from a reality in present-day Brussels, an important aspect of life in a modern, globalised society.

In terms of the ideological underpinnings of TPS' multilingual emphasis, it is, firstly, Ms. Libbrecht' view that the school has a responsibility to aid its pupils in developing a positive attitude vis à vis learning and using other languages. In order to facilitate this development, TPS wants to provide a safe (language) learning environment for its pupils, where their confidence to speak can increase because they are not prohibited from using languages other than Dutch and, moreover, where they are not sanctioned for language errors in those languages, but instead encouraged to learn from their mistakes and to experiment — all of which are elements inherent in CLIL (cf. field note 4 below).

2017 zal het eerste jaar zijn dat er leerlingen afstuderen op [TPS] die vanaf het begin CLIL hebben gevolgd. Ze hebben de resultaten van deze leerlingen bijgehouden voor Nederlands, Frans en Engels, en de CLIL-vakken (I.T., wiskunde, aardrijkskunde en chemie, en in sommige gevallen ook muziek en natuurwetenschappen). Ze verzamelen data, maar de directeur zegt dat het bijna meteen duidelijk is geworden dat leerlingen meer spreekdurf hadden. Vooral voor Engels was dat het geval; vooral de Franstalig opgevoede leerlingen waren bang om Engels te spreken omdat ze geen fouten durfden te maken. Ze zegt dat de school een delegatie Chinezen ontvangen had, en dat de leerlingen hen aanspraken in het Engels, terwijl ze die taal anders niet durfden spreken. 'Ze maakten fouten, ja, maar ze gebruikten hun talen tenminste, en uit fouten kan je leren, hé'

2017 will be the first year in which pupils will graduate from [TPS] after having attended CLIL from the start. They have recorded the results of these pupils for Dutch, French and English, and the CLIL subjects (I.T., mathematics, geography and chemistry, and in some cases also music and natural sciences). Although they collect these data, the headmaster says that it immediately became clear that pupils' audacity to speak had increased. This was especially the case for English; the French-speaking pupils especially used to be afraid to speak English for fear of making mistakes. She says that the school had received a Chinese delegation, and that the pupils spoke to them in English, while many did not dare to speak that language otherwise. 'They made mistakes, yes, but at least they used their languages, and you can learn from your mistakes, can't you?'

Field note 4: conversation with Ms. Libbrecht, the headmaster, February 7, 2017

Secondly, the school's implementation of multilingualism is not oriented towards ensuring that pupils acquire a perfect, native-like mastery of the languages included in TPS' curriculum, but that they understand spoken messages and are able to comprehend course content, a viewpoint which Ms. Libbrecht mentioned during our first conversation in February 2017. She repeated this sentiment in a radio interview on public broadcasting in December 2019 on the topic of TPS' implementation of multilingualism. In that interview, Ms. Libbrecht stressed that the ultimate goal of multilingual education ought not to be that pupils acquire perfect language knowledge in the target language, but that they have 'functional' language skills (cf. extract 5 below) — with an implicit focus on receptive, rather than productive skills. This, however, does seem to apply mostly to pupils' skills in curricular languages other than Dutch, as Dutch proficiency is a requirement which *is* explicitly represented both in the school's curriculum and in their declared language policy (cf. below; cf. chapter 6).

<p>[...] dat het niveau van die taalkennis eigenlijk, niet, euh honderd procent moet zijn en dat is natuurlijk zo (.) euh wij moeten niet van alle leerlingen Romanisten en Germanisten [...] maken he ((lacht)) euh w- wij moeten hen functioneel euh leren omgaan met verschillende talen, met verschillende sprekers</p>	<p>[...] that the extent of that language proficiency actually does not need to be one hundred percent and that is of course so (.) er we do not have to turn all pupils into Romance and Germanic philologists [...] do we ((laughs)) er w- we have to er teach them how to functionally deal with different languages, with different speakers</p>
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Extract 5: radio interview with Ms. Libbrecht on public broadcasting, December 9, 2019

Thirdly, it is Ms. Libbrecht's aspiration that TPS is a space where pupils can acquire a firm basis for using and learning additional languages, as she considers language skills to be of the utmost importance in modern, globalised societies. During our conversation in February 2017, Ms. Libbrecht furthermore said that she was aware that scientific studies have shown that it is especially *early* exposure to multilingualism which has cognitive benefits for pupils. Because they, as a secondary school, are only able to have an impact on their pupils from age 12 onwards, TPS strives to provide as extensive a multilingual experience as possible. It is for that reason that multilingualism is represented in the school's curriculum throughout pupils' school trajectories.

Multilingualism in three waves

The practical implementation of TPS' 'special attention for multilingualism' has evolved over time and has known three distinct waves of additions to the curriculum, namely the implementation of English and French CLIL in 2011, the inclusion of Mandarin Chinese in addition to the standard modern foreign language curriculum from 2013 onwards, and the organisation of reception classes for (unaccompanied) recently migrated minors in 2016. In this section, we will go into more detail about these changes in TPS' curriculum. Following this section, we will discuss the ways in which these multilingual emphases were reported on in the Brussels, Flemish and Walloon media. As such, we will gain a better understanding of the school's profiling as a multilingual, rather than a purely Dutch-medium institution, as well as of its particularity within the Brussels educational landscape.

When TPS first implemented CLIL, its programme consisted of geography taught in English and a remedial mathematics course taught in French. The programme did, however, undergo some changes over the years. At the time of the field work, TPS' programme consisted of geography in French and STEM(-adjacent) courses in English, while there is a remnant of TPS' older CLIL configuration in the sense that pupils who do not choose to attend Mandarin Chinese class instead attend a remedial mathematics class in French in their first year. Additionally, from the school year 2018-2019 onwards, TPS started providing Latin courses taught in French.

In this current configuration, French CLIL geography was chosen specifically because it is mandatory for all pupils regardless of their specialisation and included in the curriculum throughout pupils' secondary education from the first year onwards. As such, it provides a consistent CLIL experience for all pupils (cf. field note 5 below).

Ik vraag [...] wat de motivatie is voor de keuze van de vakken aardrijkskunde in het Frans en chemie in het Engels. Ze zegt simpelweg: 'we hadden daarvoor de juiste leerkrachten in huis'. [TPS] had een tweetalig Franstalige leerkracht aardrijkskunde ('ze is opgegroeid in het Frans en Nederlands') en een bijna-moedertaalspreker Engels voor Chemie ('hij is getrouwd met een Engelstalige en ze spreken thuis altijd Engels'). Later kwam daar	I ask [...] what the motivation was for the choice for geography in French and chemistry in English. She simply says: 'we had the right teachers here for that'. [TPS] had a bilingual French-speaking geography teacher ('she grew up in French and Dutch') and a near-native English speaker for chemistry ('he is married to native speaker of English and they always speak English at home'). Later on, they hired a bilingual French-speaking geography
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nog een tweetalig Franstalige leerkracht aardrijkskunde bij in de eerste en derde graad, wat veel mogelijkheden met zich meebracht.

Verschillende wetenschapsvakken (zoals chemie, een deel van de lessen wiskunde en I.T.) hanteren het Engels om leerlingen voor te bereiden op STEM, waar voornamelijk Engelse terminologie gebruikt wordt. Aardrijkskunde was gekozen omdat iedere leerling het in elk jaar volgt

teacher for the first and final two years, which brought along many opportunities. Different science courses (such as chemistry, part of the mathematics classes, and I.T.) use English to prepare students for STEM-fields in which English terminology is often used. Geography was chosen simply because every pupil attends it in every year

Field note 5: conversation with Ms. Libbrecht, the headmaster, February 7, 2017

English, then, is the language of STEM(-adjacent) courses at the school. This implementation is motivated by the ubiquity of English in scientific fields and, as such, oriented towards preparing pupils for higher education and the job market (cf. field note 5 above). Because the emphasis is on chemistry and not all specialisations offered by the school include chemistry classes, pupils who are not enrolled in a scientific specialisation merely have *some* materials presented to them in English in their science and I.T. courses, such as text books and videos. Additionally, English is used in music class in the first year, where there is an emphasis on English songs.

While French is a language of instruction used in geography class throughout all pupils' secondary education trajectory, English CLIL is progressively introduced to TPS' pupils. In year 1, English is not yet used as a language of instruction but, instead, featured in the songs which pupils have to learn as part of their musical education. When pupils proceed to year 2, English is used as the language of instruction in scientific courses during one half of the school year, in which pupils read English texts or conduct experiments based on English instructions. During the other half, then, these courses are taught in Dutch. It is not until year 3, when pupils need to choose their final specialisation, that English CLIL is implemented year-round. For pupils who choose the science specialisation, English is the language of instruction in chemistry class, while for all other pupils English is the language of instruction in I.T. class.

There are several reasons why school management deems it possible to implement French as a language of instruction from the first year onwards, yet necessary to only gradually implement English CLIL. Firstly, French is the most widely spoken language

and, subsequently, the practical *lingua franca* of the Brussels Capital Region and the home language of many of TPS' pupils. As such, it is not exactly a *target* language but, rather, a language in which many of TPS' pupils are expected to already have acquired functional skills. English, on the contrary, is not a language which pupils can be expected to know before attending secondary education, as it is not part of either the French or Dutch-medium primary school curriculum. The differences between TPS' implementation of French and English CLIL are thus based on pupils' prior knowledge and, as a result, related to pupils' perceived (in)ability to comprehend course contents.

<p>Bij ons is de CLIL vaak meer in de in de lessen Nederlands dan in mijn vak wat voor sommigen, voor vele leerlingen euh uiteindelijk is in hun moedertaal is [...] dus in dat opzicht is 't vrij gemakkelijk voor mij om om (in) Frans les te geven omda voor sommige en vele leerlingen sterker zijn in 't Frans dan in 't Nederlands [...] aardrijkskunde in 't Frans da's dan meer zo eigenlijk om- om voor de Franstaligen dan om een beetje comfort te scheppen zo en euh en een beetje <u>waardering</u> voor hun kennis van 't Frans</p>	<p>At our school CLIL takes place in Dutch class to a greater extent than in my course which for some, for many pupils er at the end of the day is in their mother tongue [...] so in that respect it is relatively easy for me to to teach (in) French because for some and many pupils are stronger in French than in Dutch [...] geography in French that is then more like to- to for the Francophones then to bring some comfort like and er and a bit of <u>appreciation</u> for their knowledge of French</p>
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Extract 6: interview with Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography), November 2, 2017

In extract 6 above, Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography) affirms that his pupils know French very well, and have little trouble understanding his class. He adds that it is, in fact, often more difficult for his pupils to be instructed in Dutch — a sentiment which was echoed by Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), who said that 'Dutch is actually also like a CLIL class to them'. Mr. Verhelst furthermore stressed that his pupils' lack of prior knowledge of English caused them to experience anxiety (cf. extract 7 on the next page).

<p>Het tweede jaar, die kijken er meer: angstiger naartoe in het begin (.) zeker en vast (.) dat is het eerste vak dan zogezegd in het Engels dat ze krijgen</p>	<p>The second-year pupils, they regard [it] with some more: anxiety at first (.) certainly (.) that is the first course then that they are taught in English so to speak</p>
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Extract 7: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

Secondly, the differences between French and English CLIL at TPS have to do with pupils' comfort where French is concerned and minimising their anxiety vis à vis English — possibly, in part, to mitigate the anxiety which pupils may already experience in the majority of their classes, which are taught in Dutch. As we have discussed above, providing a safe space in which pupils can learn and experiment with languages is one of the central aspects of CLIL, as well as one of the goals of TPS' implementation of multilingual education, alongside ensuring that pupils acquire a firm basis for further language learning and, evidently, enabling pupils to comprehend course contents and acquire functional (receptive) language skills.

Currently, TPS' implementation of CLIL does not entirely correspond to the official CLIL guidelines stipulated by the Flemish Ministry of Education. We have established that CLIL immersion has been possible in French, German and/or English in Dutch-medium education since 2014, which TPS' CLIL implementation evidently predates. Requirements for CLIL are that a maximum 20% of all non-language courses are CLIL-courses, and that there is always a parallel, Dutch-medium trajectory available to ensure that CLIL is optional (cf. Onderwijs Vlaanderen 2018). Furthermore, CLIL teachers need to have at least a C1 level of mastery of the language of instruction, following the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (cf. Onderwijs Vlaanderen 2020).

While it is difficult to determine whether TPS' CLIL programme presently exceeds 20% of pupils' curriculum, due to the differences in the extent of English CLIL for the different grades (i.e. partially in year one, only for one semester in year two...), it is more extensive than what is legally allowed in at least one way; there is no parallel Dutch-medium trajectory available at the school. CLIL is thus not optional, but purposefully implemented to reach all pupils and throughout their secondary school trajectory.

Furthermore, not all of TPS' CLIL teachers have officially attained a C1 level in the language of instruction, although Ms. Libbrecht claims that many have (near)native proficiency (cf. field note 5 above). While this was the case for some teachers at the school, this was not true for Mr. Blanco, a STEM-teacher who said in our interview that his 'English is very bad, I am very bad at speaking English'. It is, however, Ms. Libbrecht's view that the emphasis in CLIL is on spoken, rather than written language. So, while teachers do need to be able to correctly convey course content to pupils, they do not need to be able to write error-free when using the language of instruction and, as such, Mr. Libbrecht believes that a B2 level suffices (cf. field note 6 below).

<p>Ze zegt dat het verschil tussen niveau B2 en C1 net daarin schuilt: het gaat om iets goed te kunnen uitleggen versus een geschreven document te kunnen voorzien waarin iets wordt uitgelegd</p>	<p>She says that that is precisely where the difference between level B2 and C1 lies: it is about being able to explain something well versus producing a written document explaining something</p>
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Field note 6: conversation with Ms. Libbrecht, the headmaster, February 7, 2017

While in a September 2017 news article about CLIL in urban contexts Ms. Libbrecht is quoted as saying that C1 'is very high, perhaps too high', emphasising that teachers simply need to speak the language 'well' and know course terminology (paraphrased, translated from Dutch), in a December 2019 radio interview she nuances this somewhat (cf. extract 8 below). So, either her vision has changed and C1 is currently a requirement which TPS subscribes to, or the headmaster simply does not consider 'being a perfect language teacher' to be something which is solely a matter of official certification — a sentiment which she would, then, share with many other school teams implementing CLIL (cf. Onderwijsinspectie 2017).

<p>Een Romanist moet perfect Franstalig zijn [...] een ingenieur euh of- als die zegt <i>le pont</i> of <i>la pont</i>, euh, dan weet iedereen dat het over de brug gaat euh, he, dus dat is geen ramp. De leerkrachten natuurlijk moeten wel euh, perfecte leerkrachten zijn, euh, taalleerkrachten</p>	<p>A Romance linguist needs to speak French perfectly [...] an engineer er if- whether they say <i>the bridge</i> or <i>the bridge</i>, er, then everybody knows it's about the bridge, right, so that is not a disaster. The teachers of course do er need to be perfect teachers, er, language teachers</p>
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Extract 8: radio interview with Ms. Libbrecht on public broadcasting, December 9, 2019

French in italics

TPS' seemingly idiosyncratic interpretation of CLIL notwithstanding, the school is presently included in an official list of Dutch-medium schools providing CLIL education — contrary to what is reported in Goossens (2019). Furthermore, the state inspection reports for the school years 2013-2014 and 2017-2018 do not mention any of these deviations from the official guidelines, although Ms. Libbrecht said that a specific CLIL-oriented inspection, which was carried out in October 2016, asked the school to make an effort to provide a parallel Dutch-medium trajectory for each of their CLIL courses, and ensure that teachers had the necessary certificates. They nevertheless did not comply (cf. field note 7 below).

<p>De directeur zeg dat ze de inspecteur verteld had dat B2 voldoende is, en dat de regering misschien een bonus moet voorzien voor leerkrachten die wél C1 halen. 'Het zou geen voorwaarde moeten zijn, maar het kan gestimuleerd worden' [...] ze zegt dat het bijna onmogelijk is om leerkrachten te vinden die aan de vereisten voldoen. Ze zijn volgens haar niet realistisch. Ze zegt dat er een reden is waarom slechts 25 scholen in Vlaanderen CLIL aanbieden, en dat zij de enige zijn in Brussel</p>	<p>The headmaster says that she told the inspector that B2 is sufficient, and that the government should perhaps provide a bonus for teachers who do attain level C1. 'It shouldn't be a prerequisite, but it can be stimulated'. She says that it is almost impossible to find teachers who meet the requirements. According to her, they are not realistic. She says there is a reason why only 25 schools in Flanders offer CLIL, and that they are the only one in Brussels</p>
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Field note 7: conversation with Ms. Libbrecht, the headmaster, February 7, 2017

Noncompliance with these specific requirements, however, seems to be the rule rather than the exception for schools offering CLIL in Dutch-medium education; the CLIL-specific inspection mentioned above yielded that it is precisely these two requirements which 21 of the 23 CLIL schools which they inspected claimed to have issues with (cf. Onderwijsinspectie 2017).

In addition to the school's CLIL programme, TPS' main modern foreign language curriculum is slightly more extensive than is usually encountered in Dutch-medium education. While French and English are compulsory in general track Dutch-medium education throughout pupils' secondary school trajectory (evidently, alongside Dutch), pupils who select a language-oriented specialisation in their third year of secondary education are taught an additional, third modern foreign language from then onwards (when pupils are aged 15). While this language is usually German, Belgium's third official language alongside Dutch and French (cf. Denies, Heyvaert and Janssen 2015), pupils at TPS are able to choose between German and Spanish.

Furthermore, from 2013 onwards pupils are able to attend optional Mandarin Chinese classes from the first year of secondary education onwards. The inclusion of Mandarin in TPS' curriculum is based on that language's perceived economic capital. In a January 2013 news article announcing the school's inclusion of the course, the headmaster is quoted saying that Mandarin is 'an up-and-coming language, with ties to a culture which is also in full swing'. The article concludes with Ms. Libbrecht's statement that it is important to teach pupils as many languages as possible, so that they can function well in society in the future. For the practical realisation of the course, TPS worked with the Chinese embassy, and they would frequently invite and receive delegates and participate in exchanges. Later, news outlets reported that the school had additional plans to implement optional Finnish and Arabic classes. These classes were however never practically realised due to a purported lack of enrolments.

Lastly, TPS has started implementing OKAN ('OnthaalKlas voor Anderstalige Nieuwkomers', 'reception class for foreign-language newcomers') from February 2016 onwards, alongside their general track curriculum. OKAN consists of reception classes where recently migrated minors are intensively prepared for Dutch-medium education for one to two years (with an optional one-year continuation). At TPS, these pupils were generally 15 to 16 years old and attended Dutch language classes, as well as mathematics, physical education and ethics. While there are currently nearly 90 schools who provide OKAN in Flanders, TPS is one of the mere three Dutch-medium schools who implement this in the Brussels Capital Region.

Multilingual profiling

In our discussion of the inspirations and practical implementation of TPS' 'special attention for multilingualism', we have referenced several media reports on the school. In this section, we want to briefly discuss TPS' relation to and portrayal in the media in more detail, as this gives us insight into the ways in which the school's multilingual profiling is presented and perceived as unique. We have decided not to cite or quote these news articles and reports verbatim in this dissertation, as we feel that this could compromise the anonymity of the school. Instead, we have opted for paraphrased translations.

In the Brussels, Flemish and Walloon media alike, it is exactly the three waves of TPS' multilingualism which we have discussed above which have often been reported on. For instance, TPS was the subject of media attention in Brussels and Flanders in 2011, when they announced that they had decided to implement CLIL. While one of these reports stressed that TPS was the first Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels to do so, another article draws comparisons between TPS' decision to organise CLIL and the popularity of EMILE in French-medium education — which not only aids in establishing TPS' reputation as unique, but also as a pioneer where multilingual Dutch-medium education is concerned. Secondly, TPS' announcement to organise a Mandarin Chinese course was picked up by the Brussels, Flemish and Walloon media in 2013. In addition to communicating about the school's plans to teach Mandarin Chinese, a number of articles focussed on the school's ties with the Chinese embassy, reporting on, for example, visitations from Chinese delegates to the school and exchange programmes between Chinese and Brussels pupils. Some articles furthermore mentioned the school's planned implementation of Finnish and Arabic classes — although these were eventually never organised in practice (cf. above). Thirdly, then, a number of Dutch-medium news outlets announced that TPS would join other Brussels schools in implementing reception classes for unaccompanied minors in February 2016. In October 2018, one of those schools reports to have teamed up with TPS for a language-oriented OKAN afternoon in a blog post. Additionally, there is a March 2019 YouTube video in which one of the school's OKAN-teachers is interviewed alongside a few of her pupils to talk about reception classes at their school.

As these reports focus on TPS' plans and announcements vis à vis the different steps and elaboration of their multilingual project, they aided in establishing TPS'

reputation not as a multilingual Dutch-medium school in Brussels but as *the* multilingual Dutch-medium school in Brussels. Because EMILE in French-medium was rather well-known and common in the Belgian educational landscape in 2011, the school's organisation of CLIL was not as often the subject of media attention in French-medium outlets as it was in Dutch-medium news. It was, however, certainly noteworthy where Dutch-medium education is concerned. Therefore, since 2011 TPS is often mentioned in the news as a predecessor to other Brussels schools who have since announced that they would start implementing CLIL. French-medium outlets, on the other hand, seem to have mainly communicated about TPS' inclusion of Mandarin Chinese (and, to a lesser extent, about their announcement to include Finnish) in the curriculum. So, while TPS is reported to be unique on both sides of the Belgian language border, this is due to different aspects of TPS' multilingual project depending on the region.

In 2017, TPS was prominently featured in the news following two waves of media attention for multilingualism. In September, a series of articles appeared in the Flemish and Brussels press on the topic of CLIL in urban contexts. This was prompted by the media's reports on the scientific conclusion that CLIL is not often implemented in Brussels education and, moreover, associated with schools with higher-SES pupil compositions in rural, Flemish contexts. Many articles used this occasion to talk about TPS as the first and one of the few Brussels schools who implement CLIL. In a number of them, Ms. Libbrecht is interviewed to talk about her expertise on the matter. In November 2017, attention for multilingualism and education again peaked when Flemish public education announced that it would formally allow pupils to use their home languages in the playground (Vancaeneghem 2017). Among the news articles which focussed on the scientific (cf. Vermeersch 2017) and political debates (cf. Belga 2017) surrounding this decision, Ms. Libbrecht was interviewed for the official website of Flemish public education to talk about TPS' efforts to include multilingualism in their curriculum — in which she nevertheless expressed her reluctance to allow pupils to speak their home languages in the playground (cf. section 6.1.3).

Media attention for TPS again sparked when the possibility of bilingual and multilingual education in Brussels entered the media, shortly before Belgium's general elections. In May of 2019, the heads of two of Brussels' universities, the Dutch-medium VUB and the French-medium ULB, jointly proclaimed that Brussels ought to implement

bilingual (Dutch and French) education, adding that both universities would lend their support and cooperation in exploring the legal and practical possibilities thereof (Grymonprez 2019; Nijs 2019). This statement garnered a lot of media attention (Terzake 2019; De Decker 2019). After the Brussels' government was formed following the elections, Sven Gatz was appointed as Brussels' Minister of Multilingualism (Kelepouris 2019). On December 9th of 2019 he drafted a policy document detailing his vision on multilingualism in Brussels, saying that every Brussels child should attain 'a certain level of proficiency' of at least Dutch, French and English by the age of 18 through schooling, and that educational institutions are obliged to 'acknowledge' pupils' home languages (translated from Dutch, Gatz 2019, 20). In the midst of this media attention, TPS' headmaster was featured in a radio programme on Flemish public broadcasting, also on December 9th of 2019, to talk about TPS' several years' worth of experience with multilingual education. In this period, the school was furthermore featured in many more Flemish and Brussels news articles, as an example of what urban multilingual education could look like.

4.3 Summarising conclusion

In this chapter, we have endeavoured to, on the one hand, provide information pertaining to the specific context in which the case study for this research is situated, i.e. that of Dutch-medium secondary education in the officially bilingual Brussels Capital Region in Belgium, and, on the other, to go into detail about the concrete setting of the research, namely The Polyglot School ('TPS').

We have argued that TPS is like its Dutch-medium counterparts in terms of its pupil composition being affected by the trend of *wild* or *unstructured immersion* which is often observed within the Brussels Capital Region, but that it is the school's unique response to this ever-increasing linguistic diversity which distinguishes it from others in the area. While most of its peers in Dutch-medium education endeavour to implement a language policy which is oriented towards Dutch monolingualism, TPS profiles and markets itself as a school whose explicit aim it is to adequately prepare its pupils for life in a heteroglossic, urban environment — in which it is not only Dutch proficiency which is deemed to be of importance, but, indeed, where pupils' fluency in multiple languages is valorised and pursued. In that regard, we have not only discussed the (inspirations for) multilingual emphases in the school's curriculum, but we have also briefly investigated the ways in which the school and its specific multilingual project are perceived by gauging the school's portrayal in national media.

While we have included some insights from ethnographic observations, such as conversations with TPS' headmaster as well as with a number of the school's teachers, this chapter has nevertheless mostly focussed on investigating the school from an outsider's perspective, by providing more general information using mostly data which was publicly available. The following chapters, in contrast, will investigate the school and its language policy from an ethnographic standpoint.



Figure 14: View from the stairwell at The Polyglot School, photo taken March 6, 2017

5 Ethnographic background

While the previous chapter informed us of the context and setting of this research, this chapter will be centred specifically on the pupils and teachers of class 2G. We base this discussion on data gathered through long-term participant observation, recordings and transcriptions of classroom interaction, and interviews, alongside data which was publicly available, such as TPS' state inspection reports and website.

Firstly, we will discuss the participants of the case study, namely the pupils of class 2G and their teachers. We will provide an overview of the different languages which class 2G's pupils reported to use the most, prefer to use, and identify with. We will demonstrate that this class group was quite linguistically diverse and, moreover, did not consist of many pupils who were used to speaking Dutch either at home or at school. Then, we will go into detail about TPS' staff in general, and class 2G's teachers in particular. We will emphasise that there have been a number of changes in TPS' staff since the arrival of the school's current headmaster, which has coincided with TPS' efforts to profile itself as a multilingual school. In terms of class 2G's teachers, then, we will discuss their language practices to argue that, while the language used most often by TPS' staff members was evidently Dutch, it was clear from their language practices that many of class 2G's teachers were bi- and multilinguals.

Secondly, we will provide a number of general observations. We will demonstrate that French was the default language used among TPS' pupils to such an extent that pupils were seldomly observed to use the other languages which they reported to speak. We will explain the ways in which the ubiquity of French in this class group was a cause for concern for teachers, but that pupils, too, felt that their frequent use of French impacted their acquisition of Dutch. We will show the ways in which pupils' French fluency affected teachers' practices, too, as they endeavoured to strike a balance between accommodating their pupils and allowing their linguistically diverse practices and ensuring that they spoke and heard Dutch. This part will illustrate what daily life was like for class 2G and will serve as an introduction to the remaining three chapters, in which we will analyse the different components of TPS' language policy.

5.1 Participants

5.1.1 The pupils of class 2G

The field work at TPS focussed on one second-year class group and their teachers, namely class 2G. In the school year 2016-2017, there were 21 pupils in class 2G, with 14 boys and 7 girls. All but one of them were enrolled in the modern track, with the exception of Cédric, who attended Latin class. At the time of the field work, none of class 2G's pupils attended the school's optional Mandarin Chinese class (cf. below), although a few of them said that they had in their first year but had since quit. While most of class 2G's pupils were at age level and were 14 years old, some of them, for instance Noah and Adil, had been held back a (few) year(s) in the past and were 15 or 16 years old.

As is the case for most pupils at the school, the pupils of class 2G were quite linguistically diverse. When asked about the languages they used the most, preferred to use, and identified with, most of them reported a strong preference for French, at home and at school. Other well-represented languages in this class group were English, Dutch, and Arabic (cf. figure 15 below; cf. also figure 16 on the next page). While pupils who identified with Arabic did not report speaking the language often (with the exception of Hamza), all of them were enrolled in the Islam religion class where they, at times, read and used Classical Arabic texts and terminology.

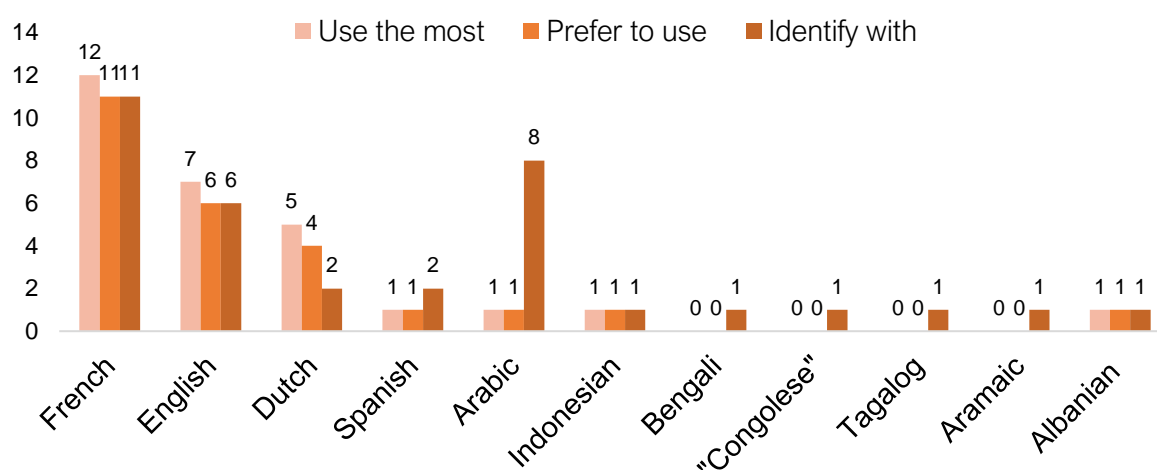


Figure 15: Overview of the linguistic composition of class 2G (n = 21)

	Name	Used the most	Prefer to use	Identify with
Boys	Noah	French	French	French; “Congolese”
	Jad	French	French	French; Arabic
	Adil	French	French	French; Arabic
	Hamza	Arabic; French; Dutch	Arabic	Arabic
	Michel	French; Dutch	Dutch; French	Aramaic; Dutch; French
	Dan	English	English	English
	Adrian	English	English	English
	Scott	French	French	French
	Omar	French	French	French; Arabic
	Tim	English	English	English; Tagalog
	Mehdi	English	English	English
	Cédric	Dutch; English; Indonesian	Dutch; English; Indonesian	Dutch; English; Indonesian
	Vjosa	Albanian; English	Albanian	Albanian
	Nabil	French	French	French Arabic
Girls	Lina	Dutch	Dutch	Arabic
	Naomi	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
	Nina	French	French; Dutch	Spanish
	Melissa	Dutch; English	English	Bengali; English
	Aya	French	French	French; Arabic
	Chloë	French	French	French
	Loubna	French	French	French; Arabic

Figure 16: Detailed breakdown of the linguistic composition of class 2G, pupil names anonymised (n = 21)

5.1.2 The teachers at TPS

Over the last decade and a half, TPS has undergone a number of changes in its staff. The school's state inspection reports for 2013-2014 and 2016-2017 speak, in this regard, of a "recovery" or "reorientation" for the school following a "difficult period". Due to communication issues between staff and management, which led to growing dissatisfaction among teachers, there had been many and rapid changes in school management. TPS' website mentions that different headmasters managed the school in 2001, 2003, 2004, and early 2008. It appears that TPS' management issues had not been resolved until late 2008, when their current headmaster, Ms. Libbrecht, was hired. The inspection report summarises that Ms. Libbrecht has since managed to 'reinstate a positive climate' with the school's staff with the help of external guidance.

At the time of the field work, however, next to none of the teachers at the school had been there since before its reorientation. The few who had, such as Ms. Peers, a 50-something history teacher who had been at TPS for 30 years, and Mr. Nollet, a 40-something CLIL geography teacher who had been at the school some 15 to 20 years, did not report to have experienced issues with school management neither before nor during our field work at the school. Moreover, many of TPS' teachers had only recently started working at the school, and for many of them this was their first teaching job; for instance, for Ms. Malchair, a 26-year-old French and English teacher who started teaching at TPS after having worked as an engineer; Mr. Blanco, a 25-year-old mathematics and science teacher who had recently graduated from teacher training; and Ms. Dirckx, a 35 to 40-year-old Dutch and English teacher who had started working at TPS four years prior, after having had a career as a civil servant.

Many of the school's teachers taught a variety of different courses. For example, Ms. Dirckx, who was class 2G's English and Dutch teacher, taught Dutch in the second year and English in the second, third and fourth years. Mr. Blanco, then, taught class 2G's mathematics, natural sciences, and science classes, and also taught physics, biology, natural sciences, I.T. and technology in the first, second, third and fourth years, as well as mathematics in OKAN, i.e. the reception class for recently migrated minors. There were only a small number of teachers at the school, which entails a few things. Firstly, pupils often encountered the same teachers several times per day. As a result, the staff, teachers and pupils generally knew each other quite well. Secondly, teachers had to take up different roles on top of their teaching

assignment(s). Ms. Dirckx, for instance, organised several annual field trips, coordinated a number of work groups centred around language and learning support, was one group's cross-subject classroom teacher, and was involved in the school's equal opportunities policy. Indeed, most of the school's teachers had busy schedules.

Most of TPS' staff were Dutch-speaking or spoke Dutch and French, as is often the case in Dutch-medium education in Brussels (cf. Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie 2011). Additionally, teachers reported to speak languages such as Moroccan Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, English and Spanish. While some reported that their French proficiency was greater than their Dutch, for instance Mr. Blanco (mathematics, sciences), Ms. Malchair (English, French) and Mr. Idrissi (Islam religion), others, such as Ms. Dirckx (English, Dutch) and Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography) said that they had similar proficiency in both languages. Many teachers who reported to be bilingual, such as Mr. Blanco, Ms. Dirckx, and Mr. Nollet, were either raised bilingually themselves, or currently lived in a bilingual French-Dutch household. Furthermore, while most of class 2G's bi- and multilingual teachers (had once) lived in Brussels, most who reported that they were not fluent in French, such as Ms. Dreesen (language support), lived in Flanders. Conversely, Ms. Malchair, who was a Francophone living in Wallonia, said that she was acquiring Dutch at the time of the field work.

So, while Dutch was the main language at TPS, a number of class 2G's teachers were fluent in several additional languages. As a result, there were many instances in which staff members used different languages in informal conversations in the teachers' lounge. For example, in the field note below, Ms. Libbrecht spontaneously addresses the staff in French when she brings a vase of daffodils into the teachers' lounge. Ms. Malchair initially responds in French, but switches to Dutch to ask what daffodils are called in Dutch. When Ms. Libbrecht cannot seem to remember the Dutch word, she looks at the bottom of the vase — possibly to check whether there is a label there — and translates the name of the flowers into English (cf. field note 8 on the next page).

Ze zet die op het midden van de tafel en zegt '*la printemps est arrivée!*' Mevrouw Malchair is in haar nopjes: '*ah, c'est bien, oaie, les fleurs!*' ze klapt. Meneer Lemmens zegt iets over 'bloemen en vrouwen...' en er volgt een gesprek over de Nederlandse benaming van de bloemen. Mevrouw Malchair vraagt hoe die in het Nederlands heten, en ik zeg 'narcissen', maar niemand had me gehoord. Mevrouw Libbrecht pakt de pot op en zegt '**daffodils** in het Engels? Ah, narcissen!'

She places them in the middle of the table and says, '*spring has arrived!*'. Ms. Malchair is excited: '*oh, that is good, yes, flowers!*' she applauds. Mr. Lemmens says something about 'flowers and women...' and a conversation ensues about the Dutch name of these flowers. Ms. Malchair asks what they are called in Dutch, and I say 'daffodils' but no one heard me. Ms. Libbrecht lifts the vase and says '**daffodils** in English? Ah, daffodils!'

Field note 8: teachers' lounge, March 13, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

When teachers spoke French in the teachers' lounge, this mostly took place in informal conversations with Ms. Malchair, rather than with their other colleagues. Although she was relatively fluent in Dutch, Ms. Malchair did, at times, signal to her colleagues that she was still learning the language. In the field note below, for example, she asks Ms. Dreesen if she has correctly applied the Dutch comparative, which is formed by adding -(d)er, to the word 'stoer' ('tough') (cf. field note 9 below).

Ik vang een gesprek op tussen mevrouw Malchair en mevrouw Dreesen over het woord 'stoerder'. Mevrouw Malchair vraagt 'is dat juist? Kan je dat zeggen?'. Ze vraagt waarom het met een 'd' is, en mevrouw Dreesen zegt dat ze het niet weet. 'Maar jij bent van Nederlands' lacht mevrouw Malchair. Mevrouw Dreesen zegt dat ze hetzelfde zegt als wat ze tegen de leerlingen zegt: 'mevrouw weet ook niet alles!' [...] Daarna komt mevrouw Dirckx langs bij mevrouw Malchair. Ze vraagt haar iets over een website, of mevrouw Malchair al eens de kans had gehad om ernaar te kijken. Ze code-switchen voortdurend tussen Nederlands en Engels, mevrouw Dreesen moet ermee lachen. Mevrouw Dirckx was begonnen met het Engels, en mevrouw Malchair volgt. Ze

I am listening in on a conversation between Ms. Malchair and Ms. Dreesen about the word 'tougher'. Ms. Malchair asks 'is that correct? Can you say that?' She asks why it is [written] with a 'd', and Ms. Dreesen says that she does not know. 'But you teach Dutch'. Ms. Malchair laughs. Ms. Dreesen says that she says the same thing she tells her pupils: 'miss does not know everything!' [...] then Ms. Dirckx walks by Ms. Malchair. She asks her something about a website, whether Ms. Malchair had had a chance to look at it yet. They are continuously code-switching between Dutch and English, it makes Ms. Dreesen laugh. Ms. Dirckx had started [talking] in English, and Ms. Malchair followed suit. She says, 'I thought [Book] **One** was for the first and second year, and [Book] **Two for third year**'. Then, there is

zegt 'ik dacht dat [Book] **One** was voor eerste a conversation about the fact that there is no
 en tweede jaar, en [Book] **Two for third year**'. French-language equivalent involving
 Daarna volgt er een gesprek over het feit dat monkeys for the expression "now the cat's out
 er geen equivalent met apen bestaat in het the bag"
 Frans voor de uitdrukking "nu komt de aap uit
 de mouw"

Field note 9: teachers' lounge, March 16, 2017, English in bold

When Ms. Malchair asks why 'stoerder' ('tougher') is written with a 'd', Ms. Dreesen replies that she cannot answer her. Ms. Malchair then emphasises that she expected Ms. Dreesen to know because she, as the language support teacher, teaches Dutch. In this interaction, Ms. Malchair thus inadvertently characterises herself as a learner of Dutch. Then, after Ms. Malchair talks about the English textbooks used by TPS' teachers with Ms. Dirckx — in which both of them code-switch between Dutch and English — she and her co-workers talk about the differences between the animals involved in specific idioms in French vis à vis Dutch, highlighting their linguistic competences in English, as well as their fascination with intralinguistic differences.

So, in addition to simply being linguistically diverse, TPS' teachers regularly used languages other than Dutch, and mostly French, in (informal) conversations with each other in the teachers' lounge — regardless of the fact that nearly all of their co-workers spoke Dutch (fluently). In TPS' teachers' lounge, languages other than Dutch were thus accepted, and Dutch was never a requirement for teachers — even the headmaster would initiate conversations with her staff in the teachers' lounge using at least some French. Additionally, it was especially the differences between languages which appeared to interest teachers, as many of them seemed to see in conversations with their multilingual and linguistically diverse co-workers opportunities to ask about idioms, figurative language use, grammar, spelling, and translations, and to otherwise learn from each other in that regard.

5.2 General observations

5.2.1 French as the default language among class 2G's pupils

In our discussion of class 2G's teachers, we have mentioned that they often, though not exclusively, used Dutch. Where class 2G's pupils are concerned, an inverse dynamic between Dutch and French was observed. Class 2G's language practices revealed that French was the norm in pupils' conversations with classmates, either in asides during class or outside of the classroom. Moreover, as we will discuss in greater detail in chapters 7 and 8, the pupils also often used French in conversations with their teachers inside of the classroom.

As I spent more time at TPS, I became so accustomed to pupils' frequent use of French that I would not mention it as often in my field notes by the end of the field work — in fact, even after the first few weeks, I would only take note of it when it was salient. For example, I emphasised that class 2G's pupils were speaking French in contrast to other pupils, who used Spanish in the hallways, in a field note collected during my third week observing class 2G (cf. field note 10 below).

<p>Ik zat al in het lokaal voordat de leerlingen binnenkwamen. Op weg naar het lokaal hoorde ik twee meisjes van een ander jaar druk Spaans spreken, en terwijl ik op de leerlingen van 2G wacht, hoor ik hen Frans praten in de gangen. Iemand in de gang roept "Jad" aangezien het Jad blijkt te zijn die nog steeds het drukst aan het woord is in de gangen. Terwijl de leerlingen de klas binnenstromen, hoor ik veel Frans. Onder andere Aya is enthousiast aan het babbelen met Noah. Mevrouw Kerkhofs zegt snel: 'Noah, kom eens op uw plaats'</p>	<p>I was already sitting inside the classroom before the pupils entered. On my way to the classroom I heard two girls from another year speaking Spanish, and while I wait for class 2G's pupils, I hear them speaking French in the hallways. Someone in the hallway yells "Jad" as it turns out to be Jad who is still talking the loudest in the hallway. As the pupils enter the classroom, I hear a lot of French. Aya, among others, is enthusiastically talking to Noah. Ms. Kerkhofs quickly says, 'Noah, come to your seat'.</p>
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Field note 10: pupils' use of Spanish and French in the hallways before
entering a natural science class with Ms. Kerkhofs, March 28, 2017

So, as the field work progressed, I gradually redirected my attention to the rare instances in which the pupils of class 2G used languages other than French or Dutch.

English

In that regard, we observed that there were some pupils — notably Tim, Dan, Mehdi, Michel and Melissa — who sporadically spoke English to each other and, to a lesser extent, in conversations with other pupils. Their use of English in class was mostly limited to short, covert conversations in asides, in which they used the language to make friendly, joking remarks to one another. For example, in the field note below Melissa tells Aya to make some room by telling her to ‘move [her] butt’ (cf. field note 11 below).

Melissa zegt tegen Aya: ‘ move your butt ’.	Melissa tells Aya: ‘ move your butt ’.
Chloë draait zich naar haar om: ‘ <i>tu vois, j’ai écrit un truc en anglais</i> ’.	Chloë turns around to face her and says: ‘ <i>can you see, I’ve written something in English</i> ’.
Melissa helpt haar met haar tekstje. Chloë vraagt ‘ma begrijp je?’	Melissa helps her out with her text. Chloë asks: ‘but do you understand [it]?’

Field note 11: natural science class with Mr. Blanco, June 6, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

While pupils would thus use English at times, we did not observe many instances in which they did so in front of the whole class outside of the English language classroom. When it did happen, it was usually not explicitly responded to by class 2G’s teachers. For example, in the field note below, Omar answers Ms. Dreesen’s question in regard to the meaning of the word ‘ervaren’ (‘experienced’) by using the English word, while another pupil provides a Dutch explanation. Although Omar’s use of English was audible to the whole class and Ms. Dreesen did respond, it is not clear if she responded to the other pupil, to Omar, or to both (cf. field note 12 below).

Mevrouw Dreesen vraagt de klas wat “ervaren” betekent. Een jongen zegt: ‘je hebt talent, je kan da goed doen’.	Ms. Dreesen asks the class what “experienced” means. One boy says: ‘you have talent, you’re good at that’.
Mevrouw Dreesen vraagt: ‘wat betekent dat?’ en Omar zegt: ‘dat je experience hebt’, en iemand anders antwoordt: ‘je hebt da al gedaan.’	Ms. Dreesen asks: ‘what does that mean?’ and Omar says: ‘that you have experience ’, and someone else replies: ‘you’ve done that already’.
Mevrouw Dreesen zegt dat dat juist is	Ms. Dreesen says that that is correct

Field note 12: language support class with Ms. Dreesen, March 15, 2017, English in bold

Arabic

While a number of class 2G's pupils identified with the Arabic language — with Hamza reporting that it was his main language (cf. figure 16 above) — pupils' use of Arabic both in the playground and in class was sporadic and mostly limited to relatively commonly used words and expressions. For example, in the field note below, Nabil says 'chouf' ('look') to point out to Mr. Blanco that he was paying attention in class and had finished the exercises he had to make, contrary to Mr. Blanco's assumptions (cf. field note 13 below).

Meneer Blanco zegt: 'er werd mij gevraagd om minder streng te zijn, maar jullie zijn gewoon constant aan het babbelen'. Hij legt uit wat er vervelend aan is en zegt dat de leerlingen niet opletten. Adil en Nabil stoppen allebei meteen hun papieren de lucht in. Nabil roept ' chouf! '. Hij toont dat hij [de oefening] wel heeft ingevuld	Mr. Blanco says, 'they asked me to be less strict, but you are just constantly talking.' He explains what is annoying about it and says that the pupils are not paying attention. Adil and Nabil both immediately raise their papers. Nabil shouts: ' chouf! '. He shows that he did fill in [the exercise]
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Field note 13: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, May 23, 2017, Arabic in bold

There was only one instance in the data in which a teacher acknowledged that Arabic was spoken in class. In the field note below, Jad responds to his classmates' conclusion that a door opening by itself involves the presence of ghosts by saying 'mesquine'. The teacher asks him what that means in Dutch, to which Jad replies, 'poor [fellow]' — which is indeed the Dutch translation (cf. field note 14 below).

De deur gaat plots open. Wanneer dat de eerste keer gebeurt, zegt Chloë dat er geesten zijn. De tweede keer vraagt de stagiair zich hardop af of er iemand in de gang is, en Loubna verduidelijkt dat het inderdaad gaat om geesten. Jad zegt ' mesquine '. De stagiair vraagt 'wat betekent mesquine in het Nederlands?' Jad zegt 'ocharme'. Ze gaan nu een oefening verbeteren die ze thuis moesten maken	Suddenly the door opens. When that happens the first time, Chloë says that there are ghosts in the room. The second time, the intern asks himself out loud if there is someone in the hallway, and Loubna clarifies that there are indeed ghosts. Jad says ' mesquine '. The intern asks, 'what does mesquine mean in Dutch?' Jad says, 'poor fellow'. They are going to correct an exercise which they had to make at home
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Field note 14: history class with an intern, April 26, 2017, Arabic in bold

In this example, it is clear that the intern teaching the class responded to Jad's use of this Arabic word; he not only repeated it, but explicitly asked for a Dutch clarification of the meaning of the word. As such, the interns' topicalisation of Arabic renders Jad's use of the language public, and therefore potentially sanctionable. Alternatively, the interns' addressing Arabic in this way could deter pupils from using Arabic in class, for fear of having to translate their utterances in front of the whole class.

Regardless of pupils' use of the occasional word or phrase, neither English nor Arabic was often or systematically used by class 2G's pupils either in the classroom or in the hallways — in contrast to French, which was used both covertly and overtly. For instance, when Chloë asked Melissa to proofread her text in the field note above, she did so in French, rather than English or Dutch (cf. field note 11 above).

5.2.2 Pupils' perceptions vis à vis Dutch proficiency

Although French was the default language among pupils in the classroom, pupils were nevertheless also concerned about improving their Dutch proficiency. Aya said that, if they always spoke French, it would be better for them to attend a French-medium school (cf. transcript 1 below, SG is the researcher).

- | | | | |
|---|-------------|--|---|
| 1 | SG | Wat gebeurt er met, als mensen andere talen spreken, wa gebeurt er dan? [...] in het gebouw bijvoorbeeld | What happens to, when people speak other languages, what happens then? [...] in the building for instance |
| 2 | Katy | Ah, in het gebouw | Ah, in the building |
| 3 | Aya | In het gebouw, dan, euh, de leraren, euh | In the building, then, er, the teachers, er |
| 4 | Katy | Ze geven een opmerking en als het is te vaak, dan ze geven een meldingfiche | They say something and if it is too often, then they [notify their colleagues] |
| 5 | SG | Ja. En vinden jullie da goed of vinden jullie da nie zo leuk? [...] | Yes. And do you think that's good or do you not like that very much? [...] |
| 6 | Aya | ((<i>lacht</i>)) Ik, ik vind da goed, want anders, euh, als we altijd Frans spreken en euhm, dan, euh, da's beter om naar een Franse school te gaan. Want, euh, al ons Nederlands is nie, euh, perfect | ((<i>laughs</i>)) I, I think that's good, because else, er, if we always speak French and em, then, er, it's better to go to a French[-medium] school. Because, er, all our Dutch is not, er, perfect |

Transcript 1: interview with Aya and Katy, May 15, 2017

It is evident that these pupils were mindful of the fact that attending a Dutch-medium school in order to increase their Dutch proficiency required a commitment from pupils to use the language. Noah, for example, also said that it would not be helpful nor desirable if the school would formally allow pupils to speak other languages in class because ‘our Dutch is a little bit dead’ (cf. transcript 2 below).

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|---|---|
| 1 | SG | Zouden jullie da fijner vinden als jullie in de klas gewoon mogen kiezen? Wat jullie spreken? Of is het wel belangrijk dat er Nederlands is, of | Would you like it more if you could just choose in class? What you speak? Or is it actually important that there is Dutch, or |
| 2 | Pupil | Nee | No |
| 3 | Noah | Want ons Nederlands is een beetje dood | Because our Dutch is a little bit dead |
| 4 | Pupils | Ja ((<i>lachen</i>)) | Yes ((<i>laugh</i>)) |
| 5 | Noah | We praten nie- ons Nederlands is nie heel, euh, correct (hoe zal ik zeggen) | We don't talk- our Dutch is not very, er, correct (what can I say) |

Transcript 2: interview with Adil, Vjosa, Noah, Nabil and Omar, May 18, 2017

In addition to self-labelling their Dutch skills as ‘dead’, pupils would also struggle in class, as they experienced difficulties in expressing themselves in Dutch and, at times, in comprehending course content conveyed through Dutch. In the field note below, for instance, Omar and Loubna ask Mr. Idrissi a number of questions in regard to the meaning of several different words which they encountered in a Dutch text in Islam class, such as ‘begeerte’ (‘desire’), ‘bevorderen’ (‘promote’) and ‘vrijgevig’ (‘generous’). There is some confusion surrounding the two similar-sounding Dutch words ‘vrijgevig’ (‘generous’) and ‘vergeven’ (‘to forgive’), which the teacher endeavours to clarify by providing Omar with the French translation, in addition to his classmates’ explanations of what ‘vrijgevig’ means (cf. field note 15 below).

- | | |
|---|---|
| De leerkracht vraagt wat “de zinnen bedwingen” is. Mehdi zegt iets van “ <i>force</i> ... vermijden”. Mr. Idrissi vraagt ‘wie kan da uitleggen, “begeerte”? Loubna?’ maar Loubna weet niet wat het is [...] Loubna vraagt wat “bevorderen” is. Mr. Idrissi zegt ‘promoten, vermeerderen, ontwikkelen van liefde’. Hij dicteert verder wat de leerlingen | The teacher asks what it means to “control one’s desires”. Mehdi says something like “ <i>compel</i> ... avoid”. Mr. Idrissi asks ‘who can explain that, “desire”? Loubna?’ but Loubna does not know what it is [...] Loubna asks what “promote” is. Mr. Idrissi says ‘promote, multiply, generate love’. He goes on to dictate what the pupils need to write down. He asks |
|---|---|

<p>moeten opschrijven. Hij vraagt wat “vrijgevig” betekent, en Omar denkt dat het “iemand vergeven” is. Andere leerlingen leggen het uit, en de leerkracht besluit “<i>généreux</i>... gul”</p>	<p>what “generous” means, and Omar thinks that that is “to forgive someone”. Other pupils explain, and the teacher concludes “<i>generous</i>, generous”</p>
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Field note 15: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics

Class 2G’s pupils would furthermore jokingly comment on each other’s and their own (unidiomatic) use of Dutch. In the following field note, Omar and his classmates laugh at his use of ‘*Zweedsland’, instead of ‘Zweden’ (‘Sweden’) (cf. field note 16 below).

<p>Mevrouw Degelin vraagt ‘waar haalt de Ikea meubels?’ en Omar antwoordt ‘Zweedsland’. De leerlingen lachen, ze vinden Omars antwoord hilarisch. Hij moet er zelf ook mee lachen wanneer hij beseft dat het “Zweden” is</p>	<p>Ms. Degelin asks, ‘where does Ikea get its furniture from?’ and Omar replies ‘Swedesland’. The pupils laugh, they think Omar’s reply is hilarious. He laughs, too, when he realises it is “Sweden”</p>
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Field note 16: economy class with Ms. Degelin, May 8, 2017

These responses to each other’s’ unidiomatic use of Dutch did not always take the form of a joke or a friendly remark, however, as pupils would also explicitly or implicitly correct their classmates. In the field note below, for example, Jad tries to point the teacher’s attention towards Aya, whom he thinks is eating in class. When she denies this, he is adamant that she *was* eating before but has since swallowed whatever it was. In signalling this to the teacher, he applies the morphology of the Dutch past participle, namely the circumfix *ge-[-...]-d*, to the French word stem ‘*aval*er’ (‘to swallow’). Instead of responding to his allegation, however, Aya merely corrects Jad, saying ‘*doorgeslikt*’ (‘swallowed’) — probably to silence him, rather than correct him (cf. field note 17 below).

<p>Jad zegt dat Aya iets heeft, waarop Noah zegt ‘nee’ [...] Jad zegt nadien dat Aya iets aan het eten is, maar zij zegt dat dat niet zo is. ‘Je hebt *geavaleerd’, zegt Jad. Aya antwoordt ‘doorgeslikt’. Intussen blijft Mr. Blanco vragen stellen aan de klas</p>	<p>Jad says that Aya has something, to which Noah responds ‘no’ [...] then, Jad says that Aya is eating something, but she says that that is not true. ‘You’ve *swallowed’, says Jad. Aya replies ‘swallowed’. In the meantime, Mr. Blanco is asking the pupils questions</p>
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Field note 17: natural science class with Mr. Blanco, May 11, 2017

There were many occasions in which pupils would similarly recast each other's utterances or, alternatively, would more explicitly correct others' Dutch in front of the whole class. Such responses to their own and others' unidiomatic or normatively incorrect use of Dutch do show that Dutch competences were available for pupils to use for myriad purposes, which were not all friendly in nature.

5.2.2 Pupils' perceptions vis à vis French proficiency

We have demonstrated that a number of pupils self-labelled their Dutch knowledge and skills as deficient, not good, and 'dead' (cf. above). Conversely, pupils who were not fluent in French would voice their ambition to increase their French proficiency, so that they could communicate more effortlessly with their classmates. Melissa, for instance, who spoke mostly Dutch and Bengali, said during our interview that she 'must learn French' because it is the language which surrounds her everywhere, both in her neighbourhood and at the school. Vjosa, who spoke Albanian and Dutch and was close friends with Noah, Adil, Omar and Nabil, who all mostly spoke French, laughingly said that he 'would like to be able to speak French better'. His friend, Adil, cheekily asked him if Vjosa merely wanted to learn French in order to increase his capacity to pick up girls (cf. transcript 3 below).

1	SG	Zijn er nog talen die jullie zouden willen leren?	Are there still languages that you would like to learn?
2	Adil	Spaans	Spanish
3	Vjosa	Ik, ik zou graag m'n Frans <i>((lacht))</i>	I, I would like my French <i>((laughs))</i>
4	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
5	Vjosa	Nee, nee ik zou wel, euh, bijvoorbeeld beter Frans kunnen praten	No, no I would, er for example be able to speak French better
6	Adil	Waarom? Da's voor de meisjes?	Why? Is it for the girls?

Transcript 3: interview with Adil, Vjosa, Noah, Nabil and Omar, May 18, 2017

In the interview, Vjosa and his friends laughed at his response that he would like to learn French. Vjosa's (lack of) French proficiency was often the topic of jokes among this friend group. For instance, earlier in that same interview, Omar half-jokingly reprimanded Vjosa for his lack of French skills, adding that 'yes, Vjosa, you must learn French'. Moreover, Vjosa's French proficiency was even brought up in interviews with other pupils. For instance, when Mehdi, who speaks Dutch and English,

embarrassedly said that his French was not very good, Scott comforted him by joking that it was at least better than Vjosa's (cf. transcript 4 below).

1	SG	Vindt ge dat ge goed Frans kunt?	Do you think you speak French well?
2	Mehdi	Nee	No
3	SG	Nee? Ah	No? Ah
4	Scott	Ja je kan goed Frans praten	Yes, you speak French well
5	Mehdi	Nee	No
6	Scott	Je praat beter dan Vjosa	You speak better than Vjosa
7	Pupils	((<i>lachen</i>))	((<i>laugh</i>))

Transcript 4: interview with Naomi, Loubna, Adrian, Scott and Mehdi, May 18, 2017

While Vjosa and his friends would regularly code-switch between Dutch and French, the frequency of his use of French increased as the school year 2016-2017 progressed, and during our observations in the school year 2017-2018, I only observed him to speak French with his classmates.

5.2.3 Teachers' perceptions of their pupils' language skills

Class 2G's teachers were certainly aware of their pupils' linguistic limitations and varying language skills. Some of them felt that, as TPS' composition had changed throughout the last ten years, there were simply not enough Dutch-speaking pupils at the school to provide a Dutch-speaking environment for pupils with other home languages to be submersed in. In this regard, Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography) said that he does not even respond to pupils' use of French anymore, in part because he thinks that that is the responsibility of Dutch-language teachers, and in part because he does not feel that it would make a difference (cf. transcript 5 below).

1	SG	Dus als ge Frans op de gang hoort da behandelt ge: gaat ge daar anders mee om op basis van de leerling?	So, when you hear French in the hallway you treat tha: do you treat that differently based on the pupil?
2	NOL	Ja, ma ik ga daar niemeer euh, allez ik	Yes, but I do not anymore er, well I
3	SG	Nee, ge hebt eigenlijk geen	No, you actually have no
4	NOL	Ik ga daar niet op ingaan	I will not respond to it
5	SG	Nee (0.02)	No (0.02)
6	NOL	Ik euh denk dat dat een een probleem is voor de leerkrachten Nederlands	I er think that that is a a problem for the Dutch-language teachers (0.02) and er

- (0.02) en euh ik denk dat hier toch (xxx) I think that here anyway (xxx) so: so d-
 zo: zo m- zo moeilijk te euh te bewaken so difficult to er guard it that tha- that we
 is dat da dat we et nie kunnen cannot make it happen here
 waarmaken hier
- 7 **SG** Hm-hm Hm-hm
- 8 **NOL** Omdat er nie genoeg Because there are simply not enough
 Nederlandstaligen zijn gewoon Dutch-speakers

Transcript 5: interview with Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography), November 2, 2017

Other teachers said that their pupils' language skills surprised them. Ms. Dirckx said the following about teaching in the Brussels Capital Region. (cf. transcript 6 below).

- 1 **SG** Euh wa vindt gij van het taalgebruik van uw leerlingen? Er what do you think about your pupils' language use?
 (0.02) (0.02)
- 2 **DIR** Ja euh ((lacht)) (0.02) toch wel, toch Yes er ((laughs)) (0.02) actually,
 wel een beetje van geschrokken dat actually a bit startled that it, that it em,
 het, dat het euhm, zo onaf is [...] in is so incomplete [...] in Brussels you
 Brussel weet je da dat da voor het know that that for the majority of
 merendeel van de kinderen niet zo is (.) children it is not the case (.) they are
 die zijn zeer Franstalig van achtergrond very much of Francophone
 dus da wist ik al wel [...] maar euhm van backgrounds so I did know that already
 het Nederlands had ik nie gedacht dat [...] but em for Dutch I wouldn't have
 hun taal zo ja echt onaf was, en ik w- ik thought that their language was so yes
 wil het nie slecht noemen ik wil het echt really incomplete, and I w- I do not want
 onaf noemen [...] Omda je merkt dat zij to call it bad I really want to call it
 echt gewoon delen missen in die taal, incomplete [...] Because you notice that
 euhm, en ik vind ondertussen ook, dit is they really just miss parts of that
 nu mijn vijfde jaar, euhm, ik had daar in language, em, and I think in the
 het begin nog iets meer (.) euhm (0.02) meantime also, this is my fifth year now,
 hoop in of bepaalde ideeën in of maar em, in the beginning I had some more
 ik begin ondertussen ook een beetje (.) em (0.02) hope or certain ideas but
 aan te voelen of te denken euhm, dat in the meantime I'm starting to feel or to
 het op deze leeftijd, dus ik geef ze les think em, that at this age, so I teach
 in het tweede middelbaar, dertien, them in the second year of secondary
 veertienjarigen, dat het op deze leeftijd education, thirteen, fourteen year-olds,
 (.) zeer moeilijk is om sommige van die that at this age (.) it is very difficult to
 lacunes in die taal echt nog aan te really fill some of those gaps in that
 vullen language

Transcript 6: interview with Ms. Dirckx (English, Dutch), November 2, 2017

Although Ms. Dirckx expressed doubts vis à vis TPS' teachers' capacities to aid these pupils in speaking and learning Dutch, she would nevertheless regularly dedicate parts of her Dutch language class to checking pupils' comprehension of certain (abstract) words and terminology. On one occasion, she told me that she thinks that teaching pupils who are this linguistically diverse requires a thorough and slow approach, which takes up a lot of time, and, moreover, risks her not covering all the required attainment goals (cf. field note 18 below).

<p>Ze heeft me tijdens onze tweede (maandag 6 maart) ontmoeting verteld dat ze veel tijd verliest door altijd alle kleine dingetjes grondig uit te willen leggen. Ze zei dat, als er mensen komen die eerder op een andere school hadden gezeten, ze verbaasd zijn over hoe ver [de leerlingen van TPS] nog niet zitten en hoe traag alles gaat. Ze zegt dat dat frustrerend is omdat ze haar leerplan helemaal niet haalt, maar dat ze het belangrijk vindt dat alles duidelijk is</p>	<p>During our second (Monday March 6) encounter, she told me that she loses a lot of time by always wanting to explain every little thing thoroughly. She says that, when people arrive who had gone to a different school before, they are surprised to see how little [the pupils of TPS] have progressed and how slow everything is going. She says that it is frustrating because she is not at all attaining the curriculum goals, but she does think that it is important that everything is clear</p>
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Field note 18: conversation with Ms. Dirckx, March 20, 2017

As such, pupils' (lack of) Dutch proficiency at times caused their teachers to experience feelings of stress.

5.2.4 Teachers' perceived and practical responses in class

Another result of pupils' limited Dutch proficiency and difficulty with course terminology was that teachers often thought it necessary to translate elements to French or other languages, to quickly clarify course content and to ensure that pupils understood what was being taught. Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), said, in this regard, that 'indeed, we have to approach things differently, translate [elements] to French, to English'. We have shown an example of this earlier [cf. field note 15 above, in which Mr. Idrissi eventually uses 'généreux' ('generous') to clarify the Dutch word 'vrijgevig' in addition to providing his pupils with Dutch synonyms]. In the field note below, then, Ms. Dirckx checks the class' comprehension of the meaning of the English vocabulary item 'black pudding', by asking them for the French translation before providing it herself shortly after (cf. field note 19 on the next page).

Dan legt uit wat **black pudding** is: 'it's a kind of sausage'. Hij zegt dat het een plaats kent in een English breakfast. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt "zwarte pens", *en français?* "*Boudin noir*"

Dan explains what **black pudding** is: 'it's a kind of sausage'. He says that it is a part of an **English breakfast**. Ms. Dirckx says "black pudding", *in French?* "*Black pudding*"

Field note 19: English class with Ms. Dirckx, April 27, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

Although teachers accommodated their pupils in this way, they were at once concerned that pupils did not fully understand the importance of speaking and acquiring Dutch, nor the importance of Dutch-language proficiency for higher education and, eventually, the job market. In this regard, Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English) said that, although she does not want her pupils to think that their additional language skills are not valuable, she feels compelled to stress that they need to acquire sufficient (academic) Dutch proficiency, too (cf. extract 9 below).

Ik wil het zeker vermijden van, van bijvoorbeeld het Frans te gaan stigmatiseren, of een andere taal te stigmatiseren want ik ben voor talen, en dat ook vooral, wij zijn een meertalige school, en dus daar wil je toch ook absoluut die boodschap meegeven, alle talen zijn evenwaardig [...] der is geen enkele taal die minderwaardig is, verre van. Elke taal is een rijkdom, dus hoe meer talen jij kan spreken: hallelujah, des te beter. Maar (.) hier moet je wel beseffen je zit in het Nederlandstalig onderwijs en je wilt eigenlijk euhm afstuderen in het zesde middelbaar met een niveau en een diploma waarmee je in principe doorgaat naar hoger onderwijs [...] en dus moet die taal genuanceerd genoeg zijn, je moet academische taal kunnen gebruiken als jij da nie kan, wa ga je dan doen? (.) en dan is de keuze geweest Nederlandstalig onderwijs, ja zorg dan da je ook die academische taal beheerst, en dus moet er altijd teruggekoppeld worden naar da Nederlands, niet omdat die andere talen minderwaardig zijn, maar omda je nu

I definitely want to avoid to, to for instance stigmatise French, or stigmatise another language because I am pro languages, and that also especially, we are a multilingual school, and so there you absolutely want to send the message, all languages are equal [...] there is not one language that has less value, far from it. Every language is a richness, so the more languages you are able to speak: hallelujah, the better. But (.) here you do need to realise you attend Dutch-medium education and you actually want to em graduate in the sixth year of secondary education with a level and a diploma with which you can actually proceed to higher education [...] and so that language needs to be sufficiently nuanced, you need to be able to use academic language if you can't do that, what are you going to do? (.) and then the choice was Dutch-medium education, yes then make sure that you speak that academic language, and so we must always relate back to Dutch, not because the other languages have less value, but because

eenmaal moet zorgen dat je dat niveau later	you simply have to make sure that you can
ook aankan	handle that level later on, too

Extract 9: interview with Ms. Dirckx (English CLIL, Dutch), November 2, 2017

Other teachers problematised their pupils' language attitudes, as they felt that pupils did not always make an effort to speak the language(s) required from them. Mr. Nollet (French CLIL geography) said, in this regard, that he thought that French-speaking pupils who only used French in his course had an opportunity to show 'laziness, not respect for my course', while Dutch-speaking pupils' use of French, which often required an effort from them, was 'positive'. Mr. Blanco, then, said that pupils speaking French when Dutch was required was a sign of laziness, but, however, one that he nevertheless recognised as a French-Dutch bilingual (cf. transcript 7 below).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|--|--|
| 1 | SG | [...] bijvoorbeeld als ze een andere taal in de les gebruiken, hebt ge enig idee waarom of wanneer ze dat doen? | [...] for instance, when they use another language in class, do you have any idea why or when they do that? |
| 2 | BLA | Euhm dus gewoon uit luiheid, denk ik. Want ja (trouwens) ik geef wiskunde, aan de derdejaars, zij beginnen Frans te praten, zij weten dat ik daar opmerking ga maken zij weten dat 'k daar punten voor ga aftrekken <i>mais</i> toch blijven ze Frans praten, dat's niet over de les dat's echt over het dagelijks leven dus gewoon ja dat zouden wij ook (doen) he wel hebde jij gisteren ge: gekocht of 'k heb een nieuw videospelletje gespeeld en dan gaan ze dat in het Frans gaan vertellen in plaats van in 't Nederlands dus dat's gewoon ja dat's het is hun moedertaal | Em so just out of laziness, I think. Because yes (by the way) I am the third-year maths teacher, they start speaking French, they know I'm going to respond to it, they know I'm going to deduct points for that <i>but</i> still they speak French, it's not not about the class it is truly about daily life so just yes we would (do) that too, wouldn't we. What did you buy yesterday or I played a new videogame and then they will talk about that in French instead of Dutch so that just yes that's it is their native tongue |

Transcript 7: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics), November 5, 2017, French in italics

Teachers would, at times, conflate pupils' language use and attitude with (other) signs of disobedience. So, while they often corrected pupils' unidiomatic Dutch or asked them to stop speaking French in class, it was not always clear whether they responded to the use of French, or the mere fact that pupils were talking or otherwise misbehaving vis à vis the general rules of classroom conduct. In the field note below, for instance,

the intern teaching class 2G's history class signals that Jad has misbehaved one too many times and, in the same breath, he mentions that Jad is not only 'rowdy', but, additionally, that he is talking French (cf. field note 20 below).

Toch betert het niet met Jads gedrag vooraan in de klas, hij blijft lachen en praten. De stagiaire zegt: 'Jad, da is de laatste keer, he, je spreekt Frans, je bent druk, en zoals je ziet: ik heb geen geduld'. De leerlingen zijn aan het praten in het Frans	Still, Jad's behaviour does not improve at the front of the class, he keeps laughing and talking. The intern tells him, 'Jad, that is the last time, okay, you are speaking French, you are rowdy, and as you can see: I have no patience'. The pupils are talking in French
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Field note 20: history class with an intern, May 10, 2017

In the transcript below, then, Mr. Blanco only explicitly responded to pupils' use of French after he had told them to be quiet several times. Throughout the field work, the pupils of class 2G would often loudly call out Jad's name as a running joke, which was especially the case in Mr. Blanco's classes. This also happened prior to the events in this note; Noah was hiding underneath his desk and yelling Jad's name, who sat next to him. Mr. Blanco had already lost his patience a few times during this class, and had threatened to send pupils to detention, saying 'the next one screaming "Jad" just gets detention'. The pupils, and particularly Noah, nevertheless continued to yell and call out Jad's name. When Jad responds — rather quietly, but in French (line 18) — him and Noah are both sent to detention (line 19). It is, however, not the case that Jad and Noah were the only pupils speaking French; they were simply the loudest and the least obedient ones (cf. transcript 8 on the next page).

1	Tim	<i>Moi je (souffre) Oei oei</i>	<i>Me, I suffer oy, oy</i>
2	Vjosa	Ja::d	Ja::d
3	BLA	Ma JONGENS STOP DAARMEE	But GUYS STOP IT
4	Pupils	Oh	Oh
5	?	<i>(xxx) il n'(aime) pas</i>	<i>(xxx) he doesn't (love)</i>
6	BLA	Noah	Noah
7	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
8	BLA	Je moet je nie verstoppen	You don't need to hide
9	Tim	<i>((lacht))</i>	<i>((laughs))</i>
10	Noah	Hé ik was (xxx) niet zeggen Noah <i>hein</i>	Hey, I was (xxx) don't say Noah <i>eh</i>
11	BLA	Nee nee gij verstoep u (waarom verstoep gij u dan)	No no you're hiding (then why are you hiding)
12	Jad	<i>((lacht))</i>	<i>((laughs))</i>
13	Noah	Jij kijkt (hij ga) <i>((zagerig))</i> Noah	you look (he goes) <i>((whining))</i> Noah
14	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
15	Noah	Da is nie mijn fout ik heb da nie (xxx) ik heb (xxx) dus nu zijn (xxx) alstublieft	That is not my fault I didn't (xxx) I did (xxx) so now his (xxx) please
16	Jad	Nee da's nie he (.) (Nabil)	No that isn't right (.) (Nabil)
17	Tim	<i>(xxx) ((lacht)) pas sa gueule ils vont-</i>	<i>(xxx) ((laughs)) not his mouth they will-</i>
18	Jad	<i>Si si c'est (eux)</i>	<i>Yes yes it is (them)</i>
19	BLA	JAD! Frans naar buiten studie	JAD! French outside detention
20	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
21	BLA	IK BEN HET BEU MANNEN JULLIE ZIJN CONSTANT AAN 'T BABBELLEN	I AM FED UP WITH IT GUYS YOU ARE CONSTANTLY CHATting
22	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
23	BLA	Jongens ik ben er gewoon beu van (.) oké hoofdstuk is gedaan ik ben blij, ik heb mijn vijf pagina's kunnen oplossen wij kunnen nu met een nieuw hoofdstuk beginnen	Guys I am just tired of it (.) okay chapter is finished I am happy, I was able to solve my five pages we can start a new chapter now

Transcript 8: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, May 16, 2017, French in italics

Tim was recorded individually

Tim was also speaking French (lines 1 and 17), while Vjosa was calling out Jad's name (line 3). Examples such as this one show that teachers, while they certainly responded to French, did not always do so out of a desire to ban French from the classroom, but, rather, 'as part of a more general rebuke' (Willoughby 2007, 7.6).

5.2.5 Teachers' responses in the hallways and on field trips

Throughout the field work, it became evident that teachers' stances vis à vis pupils' and their own use of French were as ambivalent in TPS' hallways as they were inside the classroom. While teachers generally did not respond to pupils' frequent use of French in the hallways, there were many occasions in which they would, inversely, explicitly ask their pupils to stop speaking French and/or to speak Dutch in the hallways (cf. field note 21 below).

In de gang zegt mevrouw Peers: 'Nederlands praten' tegen de leerlingen. Ze antwoorden: 'we praten Nederlands'. Jad switcht onder andere meteen van Frans naar Nederlands na de opmerking	In the hallway, Ms. Peers tells the pupils to 'speak Dutch'. They reply, 'we are speaking Dutch'. Jad, among others, immediately switches from French to Dutch after the remark
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Field note 21: preceding history class with Ms. Peers, May 30, 2017

Such directives from teachers mainly occurred when pupils waited in line before the start of class, viz. in the liminal space between the freedom of a break and the teachers' authority of the classroom, which each corresponded to different linguistic norms. Teachers, however, did not always respond in this way (cf. transcript 9 below).

1	Adil	Nabil zegt ik ben een <i>trafiqué</i>	Nabil said I'm a <i>trafficked person</i>
2	DIR	(dat je een <i>trafiqué</i> bent?)	(that you are a <i>trafficked person</i> ?)
3	Adil	(xxx) <i>trafiqué</i> (xxx)	(xxx) <i>trafficked person</i> (xxx)
4	DIR	En waarom (zegt hij dat)	And why (does he say that)
5	Adil	(ah ja) ik weet nie waarom (xxx)	(ah yes) I don't know why (xxx)
6	DIR	Ah ja (.) oké	Ah, yes (.) okay
7	Adil	(hij zegt me:) (xxx)	(he tells me:) (xxx)
8	DIR	((<i>lacht</i>))	((<i>laughs</i>))
9	Nabil	Ma Adil (xxx)	But Adil
10	DIR	((<i>lacht</i>))	((<i>laughs</i>))
11	SG	((<i>lacht</i>))	((<i>laughs</i>))
12	Adil	(xxx) Vjosa (xxx)	(xxx) Vjosa (xxx-
13	DIR	(xxx) ah nee: <i>trafiqués</i> moeten aan de deur blijven staan he jong ((<i>lacht</i>))	(xxx) ah no: <i>trafficked people</i> must stay by the door don't they ((<i>laughs</i>))
14	Pupils	((<i>lachen</i>))	((<i>laugh</i>))

Transcript 9: preceding Dutch language class with Ms. Dirckx, May 15, 2017, French in italics

This interaction took place by the door of Ms. Dirckx' Dutch language classroom. Before entering, Adil tells the teacher that Nabil has just called him a '*trafiqué*', a 'trafficked person' (line 1). Ms. Dirckx, rather than responding to the fact that Adil has used a French word, repeats the word (line 2) and asks Adil why Nabil called him that (line 4). At the end of this interaction, she jokingly tells Adil that '*trafiqués*' should wait at the door and are not allowed to enter the classroom (line 13). Ms. Dirckx' response to Adil's use of a French word in this case resulted in an amicable interaction, in which French was not negatively oriented to.

That teachers seemed to differentiate between the worlds inside and outside the classroom was particularly evident from their practices on field trips. When I visited class 2G during their sports week in the school year 2016-2017, I observed pupils speaking French almost exclusively, mostly without a reaction from their teachers. When teachers did respond, they did not require pupils to speak Dutch and, rather, spoke French with them. The field note below was collected during a fitness session with Class 2G's P.E. teacher, Mr. Vanhellemont. It describes a moment at the end of the session in which it seemed that all of the pupils were speaking French overtly to one another, while switching to Dutch in conversations with the teacher. However, the field note also shows that Mr. Vanhellemont spontaneously addressed his pupils in French himself, when he told them 'vas-y' ('come over here') (cf. field note 22 below).

<p>Aya is achter me aan het tellen in het Frans. Wanneer de leerkracht langskomt, schakelt ze over naar Nederlands. Tegen hem spreekt ze Nederlands, maar ze blijft tegen iedereen die rondom haar staat Frans spreken. In het algemeen spreken de leerlingen allemaal onderling Frans, ook Noah, Omar, Adil, Olivia en Aya [...] De leerkracht roept iedereen bij hem, en zegt 'kom is allemaal hier'. Aya schept op over haar kracht, en roept: '<i>j'en avais (xxx) kilos! J'en avais (xxx) kilos! J'en avais (xxx) kilos!</i>'. Meneer Vanhellemont herhaalt: 'meisjes, jongens, vas-y, kom (...) ja, stop'</p>	<p>Aya is behind me, counting in French. When the teacher comes back, she switches to Dutch. She addresses him in Dutch but keeps talking French to everyone around her. In general, the pupils are all speaking French to each other, such as Noah, Omar, Adil, Olivia and Aya, too [...] the teacher tells everyone to come to him, and says, 'can you all come here.' Aya is boasting about her strength, and yells '<i>I had (xxx) kilo, I had (xxx) kilo! I had (xxx) kilo!</i>'. Mr. Vanhellemont repeats: 'girls, boys, <i>come over here</i>, come (...) yes, stop'</p>
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Field note 22: fitness class with Mr. Vanhellemont, April 20, 2017, French in italics

Apart from tolerating or implicitly allowing pupils' use of French with their classmates on such field trips, class 2G's teachers would also initiate conversations with their pupils in French or respond to them in French when they were addressed by their pupils in that language. For instance, following the fitness session, the class ran into Mr. Nollet, who had been away for another activity. He asks the pupils whether they liked the fitness session in French, and Mr. Vanhellemont joins in and speaks French to both Mr. Nollet and the pupils (cf. field note 23 below).

<p>Tijdens het buitenkomen van de fitness, komen we meneer Nollet tegen. Hij vraagt de leerlingen in het Frans hoe het geweest was, en de leerlingen vertellen van alles. Meneer Vanhellemont blijkt ook tweetalig te zijn, en tegen hem vertellen ze dat Vjosa de anemometer van meneer Nollet had stukgemaakt. Vjosa zegt: '<i>le truc est tombé</i>'. Meneer Vanhellemont vraagt: '<i>quel truc?</i>'. Omar zegt: 'hij heeft kapotgemaakt' en meneer Nollet zegt: 'de anemometer'</p>	<p>As we exit the fitness lounge, we run into Mr. Nollet. He asks the pupils in French what they thought about it, and the pupils tell him all kinds of things. Mr. Vanhellemont, as it turns out, is also bilingual, and they tell him that Vjosa has broken Mr. Nollet's anemometer. Vjosa says, '<i>the thing fell</i>'. Mr Vanhellemont asks, '<i>what thing?</i>'. Omar says, 'he has broken' and Mr. Nollet says 'the anemometer'</p>
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Field note 23: following fitness class with Mr. Vanhellemont, April 20, 2017, French in italics

Conversely, there were no instances during the field trip in which class 2G's teachers responded negatively to their pupils' use of French, nor did I observe any interactions in which teachers translated or provided recasts to their pupils' French utterances and, as such, oriented to their pupils as (language) learners rather than conversation partners. Instead, class 2G's teachers seemed to accept pupils' use of French, and they furthermore switched between speaking French and speaking Dutch themselves in their own practices.

Such examples illustrate rather well the dilemmas which these teachers faced in their roles as educators of linguistically diverse (and often French-fluent) pupils, as we see them striking a balance between engaging in amicable, multilingual conversations outside the classroom, and communicating to their pupils the concurrent expectation that Dutch is, to an extent, required inside the classroom. It appears, in this sense, that French is often a language for interpersonal communication, while Dutch is the one associated with education and learning.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have introduced the participants of the case study, namely class 2G and its teachers. We have argued that class 2G's pupils were representative of both their school (cf. section 4.2), and the demography of Dutch-medium education in the Brussels Capital Region in general (cf. section 4.1). This class group was quite linguistically diverse and, furthermore, many of these pupils reported to be more fluent in French than in Dutch. Many of them appeared, at times, to experience difficulties in comprehending course contents conveyed through Dutch. As is the case in many Dutch-medium secondary schools in Brussels, Dutch was not only the main language of instruction for these pupils, but also a target language. While this, at times, resulted in pupils' joking responses to one another, pupils also overtly corrected their classmates to silence them, or they drew their teachers' attention to their classmates' behaviour. Dutch proficiency was thus continually available for pupils as a skillset which they could use to distinguish themselves from their classmates in both a positive and a negative way. French proficiency, conversely, was considered to be a desirable skill for pupils who wished to communicate effortlessly with their classmates.

Class 2G's teachers were certainly not unaware of their pupils' greater fluency in French than in Dutch, and they would adapt their teaching practices to their linguistically diverse pupils. For instance, they would often check pupils' comprehension of key concepts, and would clarify them using translations and linguistic scaffolds. Although teachers accommodated their pupils in this way, they were also concerned that pupils did not realise the importance of Dutch for their future educational and professional success. Additionally, they felt that pupils' frequent use of French was a sign of their general lack of interest in the goings-on at school. From their classroom practices, moreover, it was evident that pupils' frequent use of French and (perceived) lack of Dutch proficiency were only part of teachers' practical concerns, which they balanced with their busy schedules, ensuring that they remained on track vis à vis the curriculum goals, and generally managing their classrooms. Outside the classroom then, for instance on field trips, teachers appeared to be somewhat more lenient, as they allowed their pupils to use French as often as they spoke the language with pupils and colleagues themselves.

6 The Polyglot School's declared language policy

We have stated earlier that TPS, contrary to most of its peers in Dutch-medium education in Brussels, has developed a unique pedagogical project oriented towards embracing multilingualism (cf. chapter 4.2). While we have alluded to the fact that TPS additionally endeavours to implement a multilingual, rather than a Dutch-only language policy, we have not yet discussed the school's language political intentions in greater detail. This chapter will therefore consist of a discussion and analysis of, on the one hand, TPS' declared language policy and, on the other, the ways in which that policy is (not) reflected in the school's linguistic landscape. This chapter will be the first of three which each discuss a different component of TPS' language policy. As we have clarified earlier, we consider language policy to be a holistic unit, which comprises what is declared, what is perceived, and what is practiced (cf. Spolsky 2004; Bonacina-Pugh 2012), and which operates across various different levels.

What is meant by a *declared language policy* is people's explicit plans to modify their own or others' language practices, often in the form of a text (cf. Spolsky 2004). This, however, does not mean that a school's declared language policy solely involves efforts to plan pupils' language use and, for instance, to implement a rule which bans French and requires Dutch. Where Dutch-medium education is concerned, a policy is more specifically conceptualised as 'a structural and strategic attempt by a school team to adapt teaching practices to pupils' language learning needs with the aim of promoting their overall development and improving their educational outcomes' (Van Den Branden 2004, 51, my translation). As such, any language-based rule, guideline, or intervention forms part of a school's declared language policy. Our discussion of TPS' language policy will thus be oriented towards language political requirements for teachers and parents, in addition to those communicated to pupils. TPS' policy, while it is open to other languages, nevertheless prioritises certain forms of multilingualism, and that it conceptualises multilingual skills as secondary or additional to (standard) Dutch language skills and does not topicalise neither pupils' (home) language skills nor their flexible use of language.

Following our discussion of TPS' declared language policy, then, we will briefly explore the 'the visual representation of language(s) in the public space' (cf. Van Mensel et al. 2016) or, in other words, the school's Linguistic Landscape. Analyses of Linguistic Landscapes have often been included in ethnographic studies of language policy because such representations of language are considered to be 'outward evidence of language policy' (Spolsky 2004,1; cf. also section 2.1.4). Certain signs TPS' buildings exhibit characteristics which are similar to the ones observed in the school's declared language policy; While other languages are visually represented at the school, the different functions associated with the Dutch-only and the non-Dutch linguistic signs at TPS implicitly communicate a hierarchy in which Dutch is prioritised over the other languages of TPS' curriculum. As is the case in the school's declared language policy, moreover, pupils' home languages are absent in signs in the school building.

6.1 Declared language policy

In this part, we will discuss three groups of declared language political intentions formulated at TPS. Firstly, we will highlight a number of efforts made by the school to aid in pupils' language learning process. These comprise, on the one hand, a 'language support' course which is organised specifically with the aim of improving pupils' proficiency (in the academic register) of the Dutch language and, on the other, a poster project which is likewise aimed towards improving pupils' language skills. Secondly, we will discuss the expectations and guidelines which TPS, as a school with a linguistically diverse pupil composition, formulates in terms of parent-teacher communication. Thirdly, then, we will discuss the language-oriented behavioural rules communicated by the school to its pupils. While TPS' declared policy is open towards the presence of languages other than Dutch under certain circumstances, the policy exhibits a language hierarchy in which Dutch is prioritised.

6.1.1 Language political intentions at the school-level

In the state inspection report for 2013-2014, TPS is said to have an 'active and structured Dutch language policy' in response to 'the increasing number of French-speaking and linguistically diverse pupils'. Its language policy is furthermore described as being 'targeted' and 'sufficiently attuned to the heterogeneous and multicultural student profile'. At the time of the field work, TPS' declared language policy indeed comprised several initiatives oriented towards, on the one hand, pupils' mastery of the academic use of Dutch and school-related and abstract terminology, and, on the other, pupils' proficiency in the academic registers of other languages which were present at the school. Where Dutch is concerned, the school implements a language support course which is oriented towards pupils' acquisition of Dutch as a language of instruction specifically. The course is centred on teaching pupils how to interpret questions, tasks, and exercises, to understand and use specific school-related terminology, and to read and write academically oriented texts (cf. field note 24 on the next page).

<p>Nu volgt een luisteropdracht met de woorden die tijdens 'schooltaallessen' aan bod zijn gekomen. De woorden worden gebruikt in een zin waaruit de betekenis duidelijk zou moeten zijn. De leerlingen moeten zeggen waarom een woord juist, of waarom het fout wordt uitgelegd [...] mevrouw Dreesen leest de zinnen die de woorden uitleggen voor, en de leerlingen vullen in. Het gaat om de betekenis van onder andere 'definiëren', 'ervaren' en 'misverstand'</p>	<p>Now follows a listening assignment with the words that were discussed during 'school language lessons'. The words are used in a sentence from which their meaning should be clear. The pupils have to say why a word is correct or why it is explained incorrectly [...] Ms. Dreesen reads the sentences explaining the words, and the pupils complete them. It is about the meaning of 'define', 'experience', and 'misunderstanding'</p>
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Field note 24: language support class with Ms. Dreesen, March 15, 2017

In addition to those classes, there was a poster project which aimed to aid pupils in learning and understanding the academic register of Dutch and other languages. So, while in the mathematics classroom there were posters which read, for instance, 'zelfstandig = iets doen zonder hulp. Lola wil de oefening zelfstandig maken, zonder hulp van haar vriendin' ('independently = doing something with no help. Lola wants to do the exercise independently, without her friend's help'), there were posters in the French classroom with frequently used French phrases, such as 'excusez-moi, monsieur, je suis en retard' and 'viens au tableau, Thomas' ('excuse me, sir, I am late' and 'come to the blackboard, Thomas').

While this project was mentioned in the state inspection report and had thus already been a part of the school's declared language policy for a few years by the time of the field work, several teachers spoke about recent plans to include more posters. These new posters would then be oriented specifically towards pupils' frequently made mistakes in terms of grammatical correctness, use of the standard language, and school-specific words and phrases. In that regard, Ms. Malchair (French, English) said that the team of teachers working on the poster project 'take action to promote Dutch'. Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology) clarified in our interview that the plan was to make pupils' frequently made language mistakes visible by strategically putting up posters with errors in places where they are relevant, and to change these posters every few weeks. Although these posters would thus to an extent 'promote Dutch', the school's teachers planned to include the other languages of the school's curriculum, too (cf. extract 10 below).

[...] da was mijn voorstel ook om die meest voorkomende fouten echt zichtbaar te maken, euhm, ik denk dat dat eigenlijk iets, is wa- wat alle leerlingen aangaat ook, he, die dat de fouten maken euhm, bijvoorbeeld in 't leraarslokaal ook: 'wilt u dat in 't bakje zetten', 'in 't bakje leggen [...] euh, der zijn zoveel fouten die regelmatig voorkomen als we het visueller maken, sommige dingen dan gaan ze dat ook beter onthouden en [...] gaat dat ook euh minder gebeuren [...] dan gaan zij zoiets hebben van 'ah ja da was zo' en, en dat is de bedoeling eigenlijk da we zo'n poster maken nie om de week ma zo is om de twee à drie weken en dan euh echt de verschillende talen da we in de verschillende talen 's gaan kijken van wat zijn de meest voorkomende fouten en daarop ons echt gaan focussen euhm om hun- hun taal echt beter te gaan maken

[...] that was my idea, too, to really make those frequently made mistakes visible, er, I think that that is actually something, wh- which concerns all pupils too, er, who make those mistakes er for example in the teachers' lounge as well: do you want to '*put this in the pigeon hole', 'place in the pigeon hole' [...] er, there are so many mistakes which happen regularly and if we make it more visible, some things then they will remember it better and [...] it will happen er less, too [...] then they will think 'oh, right, that was like that' and, and that is the idea then that we make such a poster not every week but like every two to three weeks and then er really the different languages that we look at the different languages, at what are the most frequently made mistakes and focus on that er to really make the- their language better

Extract 10: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

It is thus evident that TPS' declared policy at the school-level specifically comprises efforts oriented towards pupils' acquisition of and correctness in the decontextualised, academic registers of Dutch. Firstly, the school implements a language support class oriented towards aiding pupils in acquiring these registers. In this course, pupils run the risk of being sanctioned for language mistakes, as they can receive low scores on their report card — in contrast to CLIL courses, where the message is more important than its linguistic form (cf. also below). Secondly, the school organises a poster project which is not oriented towards sanctioning pupils, but, rather, on aiding them in comprehending and using the academic registers of Dutch in non-invasive ways. Contrary to the language support classes, however, these posters do not exclusively focus on Dutch, but include the other languages of the school's curriculum.

6.1.2 Language political intentions in communication with parents

As part of TPS' declared language policy, communication with parents is often bilingual or otherwise attuned to parents' linguistic needs. For instance, during

teacher-parent conferences, the school gives parents the possibility to communicate in either Dutch or French by teaming French or bilingual teachers up with Dutch-speaking teachers. This is mentioned in the school guidelines for parents and pupils, be it alongside a commitment to Dutch which parents must nevertheless make when enrolling their child at TPS (cf. extract 11 below).

<p>Engagement ten opzichte van de onderwijstaal: als school erkennen we de anderstaligheid van sommige ouders en leerlingen en benaderen we dit met respect. We doen al het mogelijke om een goede communicatie met ouders te bewerkstelligen, waar de boodschap belangrijker is dan de vorm. Wanneer je voor Nederlandstalig onderwijs kiest, verwacht de school een positief engagement ten opzichte van deze onderwijstaal. Als school kunnen we bijvoorbeeld anderstalige ouders en leerlingen begeleiden naar naschoolse en buitenschoolse Nederlandstalige activiteiten en/of initiatieven</p>	<p>Commitment to the language of instruction: as a school, we acknowledge that some parents and pupils speak other languages, and we want to approach this with respect. We do what we can to ensure good communication with parents, in which the message is more important than the form. If you choose Dutch-medium education, the school expects a positive commitment to this language of instruction. As a school, we can, for example, guide non-Dutch-speaking parents and pupils to after-school and out-of-school Dutch-language activities and/or initiatives</p>
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Extract 11: school guidelines, 2016-2017, translation from Dutch

TPS thus additionally commits to aiding parents in accessing Dutch language learning activities and other or additional initiatives oriented towards learning and using Dutch, and expects a commitment from them, too. However, TPS at once gives parents the opportunity to communicate in languages other than Dutch (and, in practice, mostly French), which is in accordance with the headmasters' beliefs that that the contents of a message are more important than its linguistic form (cf. section 4.2.2). So, while Dutch language skills for parents are construed as being beneficial and desirable, they are not framed as a *conditio sine qua non* for parents' communication with the school.

6.1.3 Language political intentions oriented towards pupils

TPS' school guidelines contain a number of language-related behavioural rules for pupils (cf. extract 12 below), which were repeated verbatim by Ms. Libbrecht when she was asked to explain TPS' language policy to us;

Tijdens de les spreek je steeds de taal van de leerkracht. In het gebouw spreek je Nederlands. Op de speelplaats mag je Nederlands, Frans of Engels spreken	In class, you always speak the language of the teacher. In the building you speak Dutch. In the playground, you are allowed to speak Dutch, French or English
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Extract 12: school guidelines, 2016-2017, translation from Dutch

Ms. Libbrecht clarified the reasoning behind these rules in a November 2017 interview for the official website of Dutch-medium public education, following public education's amendment of its macro-level language policy and its formal decision to allow pupils to speak their home language(s) in the playground (cf. also section 4.2.2). In that interview, Ms. Libbrecht says that, while pupils' home languages could be allowed in primary education to increase pupils' sense of well-being, they ought not to be present in secondary schools. As pupils 'need to be prepared for further education and a rapidly changing society', the emphasis should be on Belgium's national languages and English as an international *lingua franca*. She does, however, add that, if pupils speak (an)other language(s), she would prefer that they are not sanctioned, but encouraged by means of a light-hearted remark, as the former would only lead to 'resistance'. So, while pupils' home languages are not formally allowed, TPS' school management nevertheless reports to accept their presence by turning a blind eye.

Teachers' and pupils' interpretation

Although these rules are concise, all of the teachers and pupils of class 2G agreed that pupils were, in fact, allowed to speak any language in the playground, rather than simply Dutch, French or English. Scott said, 'in the building we have to speak Dutch, and, in the playground, we can speak all languages', and Aya replied, 'in the building Dutch and outside the building French, er, [...] the languages you want'. A few pupils simply said that the rule was that French is spoken outside, like Nina, who briefly summarised the rules as 'in the building Dutch and French outside'.

Class 2G's teachers all said similar things. Ms. Malchair (English, French) said that the policy required 'Dutch inside the school, with the exception of conversations with teachers who teach a different language, and during classes in different languages. If pupils address you in the hallway, they can do so in French, but it is best that they speak Dutch with each other. However, when they are outside, they can choose'. Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English) said: 'the rule is simple: outside the building you

speak whichever language you want, inside the building you speak Dutch or the language of the course that is being taught at that moment, at the time of the course or when you communicate with the teacher who teaches that course'. Mr. Idrissi (Islam) said that 'when [pupils] enter the building, it is not tolerated, it is just Dutch. However, in the playground they are allowed to speak French with each other'. While most teachers said that they considered pupils' use of their home language(s) in the playground to be harmless, some said that they allowed pupils to speak their language(s) of choice because of their practical inability to consistently police pupils' language use outside of class. So, pupils' and teachers' articulated language policy is different from the language policy as it is stipulated by the headmaster and in the school guidelines in terms of the languages allowed in the playground.

Furthermore, neither the pupils nor their teachers seemed to know exactly what the rules were when pupils were on field trips. Some of the pupils said that they were not sure but *thought* that the rule was that they must speak Dutch — which they nevertheless said they did not do unless their teachers were standing next to them — while others were adamant; as field trips take place outside the building, pupils have a free choice of language(s). While this confusion was in part due to the fact that the school's language policy mentions 'the building' so explicitly, it did not help that there were many teachers who spoke French with their pupils on field trips (cf. section 5.2.5).

6.1.4 Discussion

In this part of the chapter, we have discussed some of the characteristics of TPS' declared language policy. While the school certainly makes an effort to include languages other than Dutch both inside and outside the building, TPS' declared language policy nevertheless prioritises Dutch in different ways, in addition to employing a relatively narrow conceptualisation of multilingualism.

Firstly, we want to emphasise that there is a focus on normative "correctness" in terms of pupils' acquiring productive Dutch language skills at TPS, more so than where the school's multilingual additions to the curriculum are concerned, i.e. in CLIL. Earlier, we have discussed the ways in which the school's implementation of CLIL is oriented towards pupils' acquisition of "functional", receptive language skills, in which the contents of a message are considered to be more important than its linguistic form (cf. section 4.2.2). The school's implementation of Dutch language support classes, inversely, is explicitly oriented towards aiding pupils in building receptive *and*

normatively correct productive skills in (the academic register) of Dutch, specifically. In other words, while there is a certain standard of correctness and abstract, decontextualized, academic language proficiency connected to pupils' language learning goals in terms of Dutch, pupils are merely required to attain receptive language skills in the school's CLIL programme. As such, pupils' Dutch language proficiency is implicitly valorised more so than their other, multilingual language skills through TPS' inclusion of language support classes in their curriculum.

Secondly, Dutch is prioritised in terms of pupils' language use, as well. While other languages are certainly allowed at the school, pupils' practical use of these languages is highly regulated, and in some cases restricted. For instance, pupils are allowed to speak French with Mr. Nollet, both inside the classroom and in TPS' hallways only when he is *their* French CLIL geography teacher. Conversely, they cannot address him in French when they are no longer taught geography by him, for example when they are not in the first or second year. Furthermore, pupils also cannot address Mr. Idrissi, their Islam teacher, in French, neither inside the building, nor in the playground; Although the latter speaks French fluently, French is not the target language of his Islam class. In accordance with the school's declared language policy, pupils' choice of language(s) is dependent on their location (inside the building versus in the playground), interlocutor (their CLIL/language teachers versus their classmates and other teachers, and occasion (during class versus during breaks). Dutch is, inversely, always a legitimate option, as there is no location, person, or occasion which can serve to restrict pupils' use of the language. So, while other languages are not precluded in TPS' declared language policy, they are, at times, restricted — which is not the case where Dutch is concerned.

Thirdly, in terms of the school's unique, explicit inclusion of multilingualism in their intended declared language policy, there is a clear focus on consensually economically and socially valued languages such as English, French and German. It is indeed the case that the languages included in the curriculum (and, specifically, Dutch) are legitimised in the school's declared language policy, while pupils' home languages are not. The headmaster, moreover, explicitly claimed that she did not reckon that pupils' home languages, when they are different from the languages incorporated in TPS' curriculum, hold the same benefits for their (future) educational and professional success. As such, this distinction points towards TPS' relatively narrow conceptualisation of multilingualism, in which the multilingualism which is

associated with the elite is perceived to be of higher value than the multilingualism which is associated with pupils' migration backgrounds (cf. Blommaert 2011; cf. also Martín Rojo 2010). In teachers' and pupils' interpretations of the school's declared policy, in contrast, pupils are allowed to speak both the languages of the school and their home language(s) in the playground. As such, this interpretation does not include a similar orientation towards elite multilingualism as in the school's declared language policy. What both versions of the school's declared language policy share, however, is a(n implicit) separate view of multilingualism, as neither topcalises hybrid or flexible language use (Blackledge and Creese 2010).

6.2 Signs at TPS

In this section, we will be exploring a number of linguistic signs found at TPS. We will argue that the parallel yet unequal focus on Dutch and multilingualism which is evident in the school's declared language policy is reflected in these signs.

Before we can discuss the visible linguistic signs in TPS' hallways, however, we need to provide some information about the floor plan and lay-out of the school. TPS is made up of two parts. The school's main building is rectangular and consists of several floors with different classrooms all on one side, and a hallway and windows on the other (cf. figures 17 and 18 on the next pages). In our discussion of the linguistic signs in TPS' main hallway, we will refer to the side of the hallway where the classrooms are located as the left-hand side, and the side where the windows are located as the right-hand side.

In general, TPS' classrooms were not accessible to everyone at all times. For instance, the year one and two French language classroom was reserved for French class for pupils of years one and two, and only the French language teacher has the keys to the room. As a result, it was unlikely that, for instance, a geography teacher or a visitor would enter this room, nor a pupil from a following year. The hallways, conversely, were a transitional space shared by all teachers, pupils, and visitors at the school. Pupils would wait in line there before the start of each class, they would sit in detention outside the staff room, or they would use the water fountain during breaks.



Figure 17: View from the central hallway in the main building (left-hand side)
photo taken March 15, 2017



Figure 18: View from the central hallway in the main building (right-hand side)
photo taken March 6, 2017

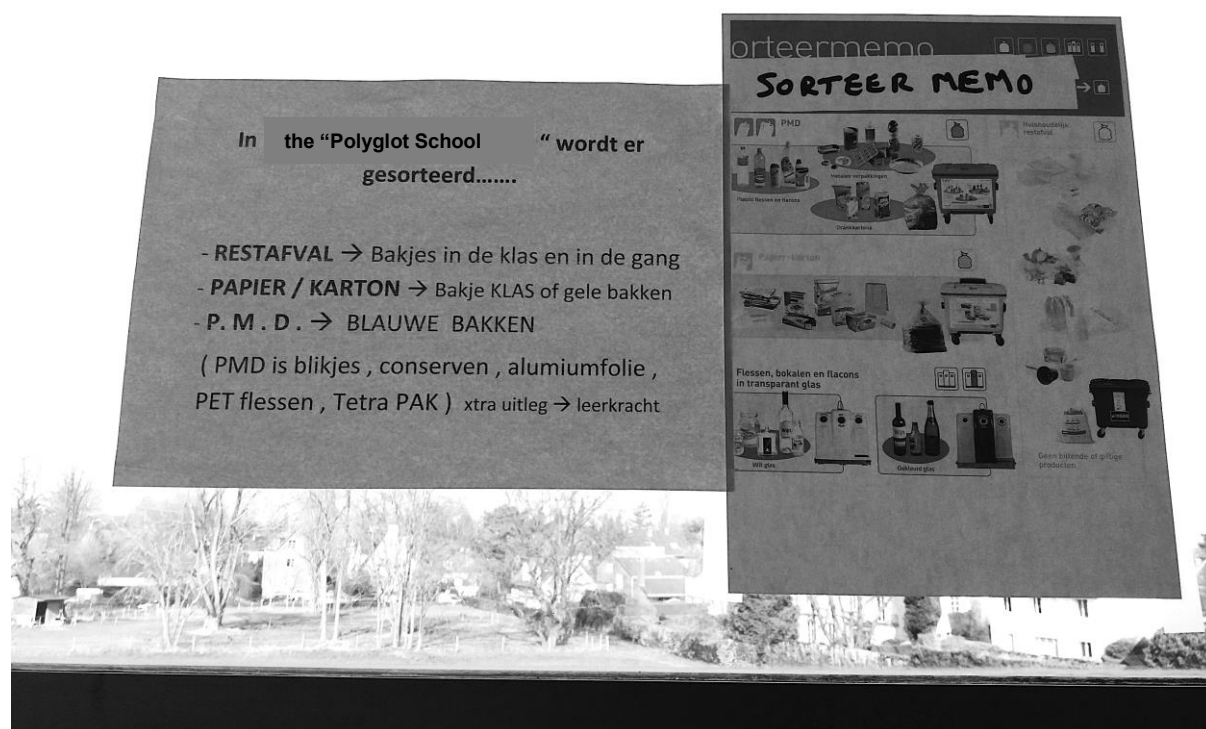
6.2.1 Dutch-only signs

The following pages include photographic examples and transcripts of Dutch-only signs in the main hallway at TPS, on the windows on the right-hand side.

Figure 19 (cf. next page) depicts two sheets of paper with different kinds of information for pupils pertaining to recycling and sorting their waste. This sign was placed on the window-side of the hallway on the second floor, and pupils would see it when they exited the classroom. The first page contains only text and informs pupils about the specific places within the building where they can recycle different kinds of waste. The sign tells pupils that they can sort residual waste in bins in the classroom and the hallway, and paper and cardboard either in the classroom or in the yellow bins found in the hallway; which kinds of packaging fall under the category of 'PMD' (an abbreviation of 'plastic, metaal en drankkartons', 'plastic, metal, and beverage cartons'); and that they can ask their teachers for help. The second page is a free-to-download awareness poster for schools issued by Fostplus, a company which coordinates garbage disposal and informs the public. This page contains pictures and the names of the different kinds of waste found in schools.

Figure 20 (cf. following page) shows nine different pages of information about Smartschool, an online learning platform which is widely used in Dutch-medium education by parents, teachers and pupils. The posters are downloadable from Smartschool's website and inform pupils and parents about the platform's functionality. The first page shows the platform when accessed on a monitor, tablet and smartphone and displays key words, such as 'messages' and 'free app', in a slightly bigger font. The second and third pages indicate where users (in this case, parents) can access the messages tab, and where they can indicate that their child will be absent from school, et cetera. The fourth and fifth pages, then, provide some more information about the app's interface, indicating where users (in this case, pupils) can find (information pertaining to) tasks and texts. The sixth, seventh and eighth pages show the interfaces of day planner tab, the report cards tab, and the messages tab, respectively. The ninth page informs users that they can disable notifications. It depicts a school during daytime, with the text 'altijd mee met je school' ('always on track with school') and at night, 'maar nu even niet' ('but not right now').

Waste memo



1	<p>In de “Polyglot School” wordt er gesorteerd</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - RESTAFVAL → Bakjes in de klas en in de gang - PAPIER / KARTON → Bakje KLAS of gele bakken - P.M.D. → BLAUWE BAKKEN <p>(PMD is blikjes, conserven, aluminiumfolie, PET flessen, Tetra PAK) xtra uitleg → leerkracht</p>	<p>At the “Polyglot School” we sort</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - RESIDUAL WASTE → Bins in the classroom and in the hallway - PAPER / CARDBOARD → Bin CLASSROOM or yellow bins - P.M.D. → BLUE BINS <p>(PMD is cannisters, cans, tinfoil, PET bottles, Tetra PAK) xtra explanations → teacher</p>
2	SORTEER MEMO	SORTING MEMO

Figure 19: Waste memo in the main hallway, photo taken March 13, 2017

Learning platform



1	Smartschool Digitaal Schoolplatform	Smartschool Digital School platform
2	Een startpagina speciaal voor ouders	A homepage especially for parents
3	Alle belangrijke informatie op één scherm	All important information on one screen
4	De bestanden bij een les? Ze staan op Smartschool	The files for a class? They are on Smartschool
5	Een overzicht van alle taken, toetsen en lesmateriaal	An overview of all tasks, tests and teaching materials
6	Schoolagenda met taken en toetsen	School diary with tasks and tests
7	Puntenboek voor leerlingen en ouders	Report card for pupils and parents
8	Berichten sturen en ontvangen	Send and receive messages
9	Bepaal zelf wanneer je meldingen wilt ontvangen via de Smartschool App	Decide when you want to receive notifications via the Smartschool App

Figure 20: Information on a learning platform in the main hallway, photo taken March 13, 2017

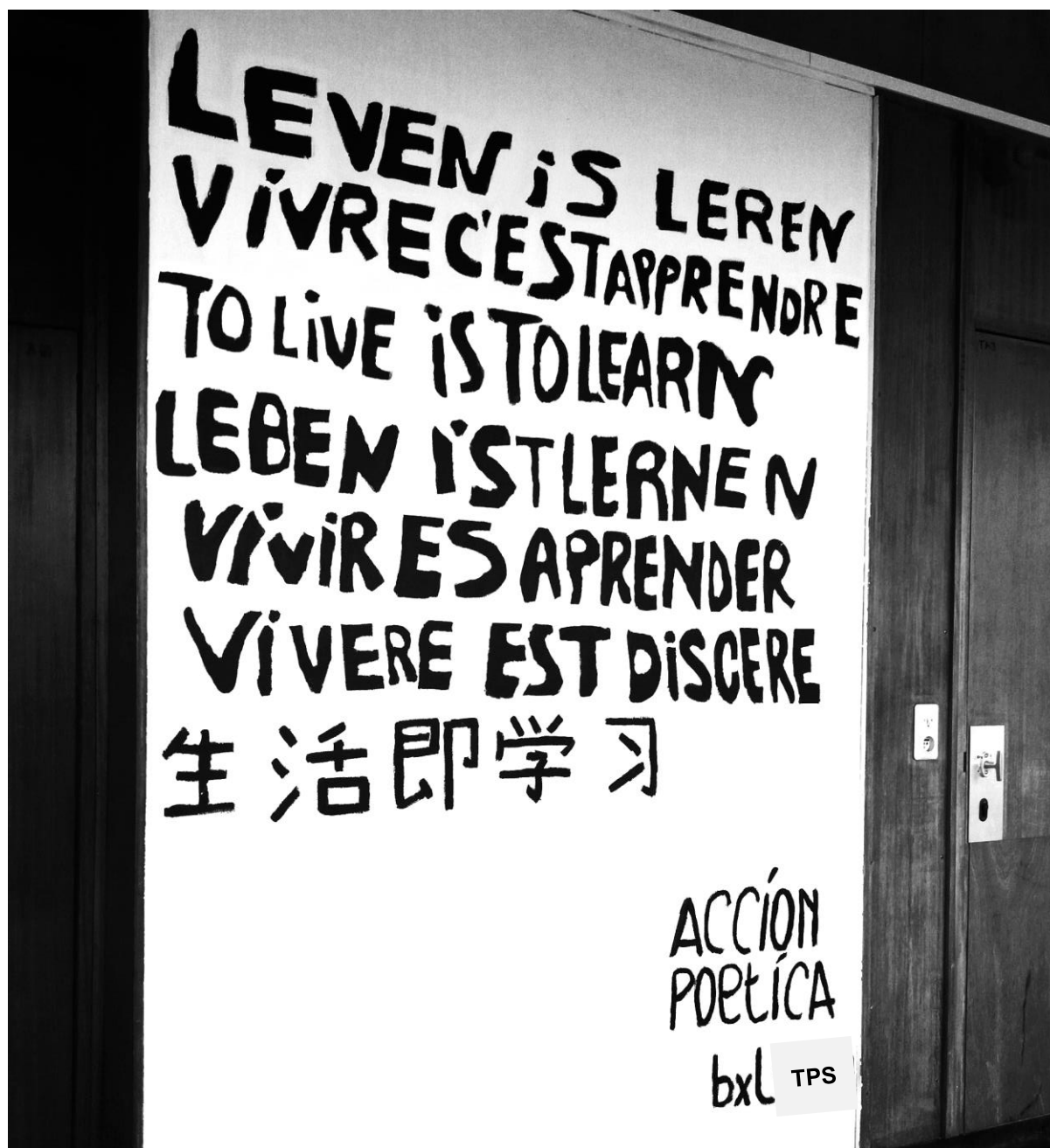
6.2.2 Non-Dutch and bi- and multilingual signs

Not all of the signs found at TPS were Dutch-only, however. In this section, we will discuss a selection of both the non-Dutch and the bi- and multilingual signage found at the school. These signs were encountered between the doorways of the different classrooms on the left-hand side of TPS' main hallway. These signs, which formed part of a project called 'Poetic Action', had all been present in the hallways since before the field work for this research. So, while we acknowledge that 'attention to human agency and the material evidence of this transforming discourse is a crucial element in understanding the linguistic landscapes of educational spaces' (Brown 2012, 283), we want to clarify that we base our interpretation of these signs on the results rather than the process of their formation (cf. Spolsky 2009).

Figure 17 (cf. above) displays two different murals, namely a first one which reads 'et in tenebris lux' ('and in darkness, light', in Latin), a phrase which is accompanied by 'poetica actio Bruxellae [TPS]' ('poetic action Brussels', also in Latin), and a second one, which reads 'real friends love each other and say it out loud', accompanied by the sign-off 'poetic action', both in English, alongside the abbreviations 'bxl' ('Brussels') and '[TPS]'. While both of these signs are monolingual, they are not in Dutch and instead involve Latin and English — two languages which form part of TPS' curriculum.

Figures 21 and 22, in contrast, depict murals in which different languages co-occur. Figure 21 (cf. next page) shows a mural in which the phrase 'to live is to learn' is repeated in all of the languages included in TPS' curriculum, namely Dutch, French, English, German, Spanish, Latin, and Mandarin Chinese — in that order. Accompanying this phrase is the sign-off 'acción poetica' ('poetic action' in Spanish), in addition to 'bxl' ('Brussels') and '[TPS]'. Figure 22 (cf. following page), then, shows a mural with the phrase 'que t'aimes ou que t'aimes pas ta life, donne-moi un hi5', which mixes French and English (cf. transcript below). Additionally, the mural depicts two hands and includes the sign-off 'poetic action' in English, as well as the abbreviations 'bxl' and '[TPS]'.

To live is to learn



Leven is leren
Vivre c'est apprendre
To live is to learn
Leben ist lernen
Vivir es aprender
Vivere est discere
生活即学习
Acción poetica
Bxl [TPS]

To live is to learn
To live is to learn
To live is to learn
To live is to learn
To live is to learn
To live is to learn
To live is to learn
Poetic action
Bxl [TPS]

Figure 21: Text in the hallway (left), photo taken March 15, 2017, French in italics, English in bold, German underlined, Spanish underlined, Latin underlined, Mandarin underlined



Que t'aimes ou

Que t'aimes pas

Pas ta **life**

Donne-moi un **hi5**

Poetic action

Bxl-[TPS]

Whether you love or

Whether you do not love

*Your **life***

*Give me a **hi5***

Poetic action

Bxl-[TPS]

Figure 22: Poem in the hallway (right), photo taken March 15, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

6.2.3 Discussion

We have discussed a number of linguistic signs which were observed in shared spaces at TPS. We have, firstly, shown a number of Dutch-only signs which were located in the main hallway. These signs include messages which are informative in nature and which are oriented towards, on the one hand, helping pupils to sort waste, and, on the other, aiding both pupils and their parents in accessing and using an online learning platform. Secondly, where the bi- and multilingual signs at TPS are concerned, we have argued that those displayed in the main hallway all involve (pupils') creative messages, in the form of poems and short texts. While some of these messages juxtapose different languages, there are a few which exhibit linguistic hybridity. For instance, the mural shown in figure 22 mixes French and English ('pas ta life', cf. above) and, as such, incorporates pupils' translanguaging. Furthermore, these signs all involve pupils' creative expression, rather than, for instance, the divulgence of practical information. Moreover, it is evident that all of the languages used in these signs form part of TPS' curriculum, rather than of pupils' individual linguistic repertoires per se.

In TPS' hallways, the non-Dutch signs outnumber the Dutch-only signs in terms of their relative presence. This, however, cannot lead us to conclude that multilingualism is the default at TPS; When we look at the *functions* associated with the different languages used in the signs, it is evident that Dutch is prioritised at the school. When it occurs by itself, Dutch is reserved for information which teachers have determined to be of importance to their pupils. As such, Dutch is the language associated with practical matters at TPS. When other languages occur in the hallways, then, either in isolation or alongside the other curricular languages, they are solely used in signs which are oriented towards (pupils') creative expression — a function which they share with Dutch. Additionally, the Dutch-only and non-Dutch (bi- and multilingual) signs display different kinds of information, rather than similar messages translated into different languages. From this entails that pupils are not expected to need scaffolds or translations to clarify the information displayed on these signs, and that the assumed or intended audience of these signs is multilingual and sufficiently fluent in Dutch so as to be able to understand the information conveyed through these Dutch-only signs.

Secondly, the multilingual signs at TPS seem to assert the school's identity as multilingual, rather than its pupils'; while other curricular languages are allowed to take up a place in the landscape, this is hardly ever the case for non-curricular home languages. It thus seems that pupils' home languages do not hold the same symbolic weight as either Dutch (i.e. the language of important functions) or the curricular languages (the presence of which is associated with expressive, emotive functions). The bi- and multilingual signs at TPS thus do not symbolise the linguistic identities of the school's pupils, but, rather, they reflect TPS' investment in (elite forms of) multilingualism in its curriculum.

It is evident that the signs discussed in this section are, in a way, a manifestation of the school's declared language policy. In that policy, we have uncovered a similar imbalance and hierarchy between Dutch, the other languages of the curriculum, and pupils' home languages. Dutch, in the sense that it occurs both in important and expressive signs, can serve myriad functions, and is thus always legitimate. The legitimacy of other languages, inversely, is dependent on factors such as the inclusion of the language in the school's curriculum, and the use of that language in signs which have a creative, rather than an informative function. Pupils' home languages, then, seem to have no place at the school where their presence in plain sight is concerned. These languages do not appear in signs in either the hallway or the corridor and the playground.

6.3 Conclusion

We have explored and discussed TPS' declared language policy, as well as the ways in which the characteristics of that policy are visually reflected in the school's hallways. This gives us insight into the ways in which TPS marries its Dutch-medium character with its investment in multilingualism in terms of its discourse and landscape.

Firstly, the school's declared policy reflects the notion that TPS' multilingual emphases do not overshadow the school's Dutch-medium character, but rather, they supplement it; TPS is not a 'multilingual' school but rather, as they write in their guidelines, a 'Dutch-medium school with special attention for multilingualism' (cf. section 4.2.1). We claim this on the basis of our observation that Dutch is prioritised at the school. While it is certainly not the sole language which is included in the school's declared language policy, it is the only one which is explicitly associated with normative correctness and with education itself, insofar as TPS emphasises the importance of the academic variety of Dutch, especially. Furthermore, while pupils' use of Dutch can be *required*, other languages, in contrast, are merely *allowed*. Even then, however, the legitimacy of these languages hinges on various different factors, such as pupils' location, interlocutor, and occasion, and, in some cases, a language's inclusion in TPS' curriculum. From this entails that, while the curricular languages, as well as pupils' home languages, are sometimes legitimate, Dutch is *a/ways* legitimate. In terms of the visual presence of these languages in the hallways, then, we have demonstrated that Dutch is reserved for informational rather than expressive functions, in contrast to the curricular languages. Moreover, while Dutch can be used alongside the other curricular languages in TPS' visual, creative celebrations of their investment in multilingualism, the functions which are reserved for Dutch cannot be shared by these other languages. As such, the informational signage at TPS implicitly communicates that Dutch is a prominent language at TPS. Additionally, these monolingual informational signs show that the school's staff expects their pupils to have access to important information when it is conveyed exclusively in Dutch, and, subsequently, they do not expect that pupils need translations. Instead, we have shown, the school has opted to complement at least one Dutch sign with visual, rather than linguistic support, such as pictograms (cf. figure 19 of the 'waste memo' above).

Secondly, we want to argue that TPS' declared language policy furthermore reflects certain ideological stances vis à vis multilingualism, in the sense that the

school prioritises certain types of multilingualism over others and exhibits an ambivalent stance vis à vis flexible and hybrid language use. The school has decided to represent the languages of their curriculum, rather than the linguistic diversity of its pupils. While pupils can use the languages of the school to communicate inside the school building, both with their peers and with certain members of school staff, their home languages, when they are not included in the curriculum, can only be used in private conversations with their peers. These languages are then furthermore relegated to the playground, rather than allowed inside the school building. As such, TPS' declared language policy reflects an ideology which conceptualises pupils' existing language skills as less important in an educational context than (pupils' acquisition of) the curricular languages (and, particularly, Dutch). So, while TPS is certainly open towards pupils' use of different languages at school, not all of their (emergent) language skills are equally valorised (cf. also Agirdag 2009).

In terms of the school's conceptualisation of multilingualism proper, then, the declared language policy does not topicalise hybrid or flexible language use. It does, however, mention that pupils can speak Dutch, French or English — implying that pupils, in practice, are allowed to use different separate codes, rather than employ different parts of one unified linguistic repertoire. This, in conjunction with the underlying ideology that there are certain aspects of pupils' language skills that are *a priori* out of place at a school, may lead us to assume that TPS' conceptualisation of multilingualism is one in which languages are strictly separated (cf. above).

The school's declared language policy shows that TPS orients to values associated with (Dutch) monolingualism, language separation, and the valorisation of certain languages over others, in spite of its self-proclaimed 'special attention for multilingualism'. This orientation can be explained on the basis of the constraints which TPS faces in its reconciliation of multilingualism with the demands of both an educational structure and a society which demand certain Dutch and monolingual competences for its members (cf. also Goossens 2019).

Their profiling as a multilingual school notwithstanding, TPS remains a Brussels Dutch-medium school. TPS thus has a responsibility to not only prepare their pupils for life in a globalised society in which language skills in general are an essential commodity, but, additionally, to cater to parents who have enrolled their child(ren) at TPS because of their desire that they will acquire Dutch through being immersed in it at school and, moreover, to aid pupils in attaining the official educational goals formulated by the Flemish government. Evidently, Dutch skills are essential in regard to the latter; they are a vital part of Dutch-medium education and a prerequisite for further language learning in a setting where Dutch is as often a target language as a language of instruction for pupils. Pupils' educational success in the non-language and non-CLIL courses hinges, in part, on their ability to understand and use the academic registers of Dutch. Outside of education, then, Dutch language skills are furthermore perceived to be essential on the Brussels labour market (cf. section 4.1.3; Mettewie & Van Mensel 2009; but cf. also Hambye & Richards 2012), alongside other language skills. Furthermore, the school conceptualises bi- and multilingualism as speakers' mastery of separate linguistic codes, instead of as one integrated linguistic repertoire, as is the case in theories such as translanguaging (García 2009; Li Wei 2011), polylingualism (Jørgensen 2008), or metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) (cf. also Blackledge and Creese 2010). Moreover, it prioritises the languages associated with more esteemed nations and speakers (cf. Blommaert 2011) over those brought to the school by pupils with migration backgrounds (cf. also Agirdag 2009; Martín Rojo 2010). Both of these conceptualisations are, however, quite commonplace in (Dutch-medium) education, while their alternatives, inversely, are not structurally represented (cf. sections 2.2.1; 4.1.3).

As we have argued earlier, the juxtaposition of monolingualism, and multilingualism and linguistic diversity in society inadvertently invites dilemmas for schools (cf. section 2.2). It appears, moreover, that such dilemmas are intensified when a school decides to invest in multilingualism, as this requires that the school finds solutions and ways to balance different goals — for instance, ways to invest in multilingualism alongside the investment in a school's Dutch-medium character. In practice, this has led to a hierarchisation of languages at TPS which is represented both in the school's declared language policy, and its linguistic landscape. We thus want to emphasise that such dilemmas are not restricted to monolingual educational settings; indeed, there are traces of pervasive hegemonic societal ideologies in TPS' declared language policy and LL, too, in spite of the school's active embracing of multilingualism and the inclusion of languages other than Dutch in the school's declared language policy. Such dilemmas are thus not a temporary result of schools being largely monolingual, rather, they are the chronic result of schools' attempts to address vastly different and 'competing pedagogical purposes and societal concerns' (Jaspers 2018b, 1). In TPS' case, the school endeavours to, on the one hand, prepare its pupils for life in a modern, multilingual society and, on the other, to prepare its pupils for a society which values (Dutch) monolingualism, in which certain languages have higher social and economic value than others, and in which ideologies of language separation are pervasive. This dual focus is represented quite clearly in the school's declared language policy, although the balance is somewhat tilted in favour of the powerful hegemonic structures which permeate our society. We want to emphasise, however, that such dilemmas are not merely reserved to what is intended or declared; in the following chapters, we will explore the ways in which these and other inherently contradictory concerns and values influence teachers' perceived (cf. chapter 7) and practiced (cf. chapter 8) language policies, too, and, subsequently, teachers' articulations and embodiments of contradictory beliefs.

7 Perceived language policies at The Polyglot School

In the previous chapter, we have discussed TPS' declared language policy, as well as the ways in which the ideological bases of that policy were reflected in elements of the school's linguistic landscape. We have demonstrated that the school's declared policy, while it is unique in Brussels Dutch-medium education by virtue of its explicit inclusion of pupils' use of languages other than Dutch, exhibits a dual, yet unequal focus on Dutch and certain forms of multilingualism. In that regard, we have discussed the ways in which the school's declared language policy reveals a hierarchy in which Dutch is prioritised. This, we have argued, is due to the school's status and responsibilities as a Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels. TPS, as such, conceptualises its 'special attention for multilingualism' as something which is additional to that priority and, moreover, which mainly involves the economically valuable languages of the school's curriculum, rather than the linguistic diversity brought to the school by its pupils.

What is declared is, however, but one of the different components of policy, alongside what is *perceived* and what is *practiced* at the micro-level of face-to-face interaction (cf. Spolsky 2004; cf. also Bonacina-Pugh 2012). As policy is a multi-layered and dynamic process, no study of policy is complete without taking into account the different levels on which it operates, and the different components of which it consists. While its declared language policy certainly informs us of what TPS *intends* to implement in terms of language use and choice at the school, we cannot simply assume that the ideologies which can be unearthed in the declared policy are shared by pupils and teachers, nor that they guide or dictate their practices. It is to that end that the present and following chapters will focus on perceived and practiced language policies, respectively. We have chosen to orient our investigation of the micro-level of TPS' policy to the teachers, rather than the pupils of class 2G. We base this decision on the observation that, as we have clarified earlier, it is especially a school's teachers who are considered to be responsible for the practical implementation of an educational language policy by virtue of their status as the gatekeepers of pupils' language use within their own classrooms (cf. section 2.2.1).

In this chapter, we will investigate a selection of class 2G's teachers' perceived language policies. While a declared language policy informs us of what policy actors have formally determined is *intended* to be done in terms of language planning, a perceived language policy encompasses what actors, in this case, teachers, feel *should* be done on the basis of their own beliefs and (societal) ideologies. Such perceptions cannot simply be gauged from a text. To study these teachers' perceived language policies, we will thus use data gathered through, on the one hand, semi-structured interviews with some of class 2G's teachers and, on the other, informal conversations with them which were recorded in field notes. In that regard, we will be focussing on six different teachers, namely Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), Ms. Dirckx (Dutch and English), Ms. Malchair (French), Mr. Nollet, (French CLIL, geography), Mr. Blanco (mathematics, sciences and natural sciences), and Mr. Idrissi (Islam religion). As we have clarified earlier, our selection of these teachers was based on, on the one hand, these teachers' availability and willingness to conduct interviews with us and, on the other, the closeness of their contact with class 2G's pupils, and the frequency of our observations of their classes (cf. figures 1 and 5, section 3.4).

On the basis of our discussion of these teachers' articulated stances vis à vis TPS' declared language policy and multilingual project, pupils' use of languages other than Dutch, and their own use of other languages in class, we will show that, rather than them being either proponents or opponents of multilingualism, class 2G's individual teachers endeavoured to unite in their perceptions a number of contradictory beliefs, which led to, on the one hand, their voiced investments in multilingualism and, on the other, their articulated rejections of it. We will clarify that the conflicts in their stances vis à vis multilingualism are not due to teachers' being confused, but, rather, they are the result of teachers' efforts to continually respond to the different antithetical values and concerns which they encounter as a result of their status as educators of linguistically diverse pupils in a society which places high esteem on monolingualism.

7.1 Teachers investing in multilingualism

In this first half of the chapter, we will discuss the different ways in which class 2G's teachers invested in multilingualism. We will explore their stances vis à vis the school's multilingual pedagogical project and declared language policy. We will discuss the ways in which these teachers voiced their support for linguistic immersion specifically, and their belief that the school should expand on its current CLIL programme. As such, these teachers articulated positive stances towards linguistic immersion, and voiced their beliefs that pupils' exposure to and use of the target language is beneficial to their learning of course contents and their acquisition of that language. Furthermore, they did not express concerns that increased attention for the other curricular languages at TPS served to dismiss the importance of Dutch. Rather, it was these teachers' opinion that Dutch and the curricular languages complemented each other in a balanced way.

We will furthermore explore teachers' voiced investments in allowing and encouraging pupils to use other languages at school. It was these teachers' view that, as multilinguals, pupils' use of other languages was harmless because it happened unconsciously and as a result of pupils' mastery of a variety of separate codes. By virtue of their status as language learners, inversely, these pupils' use of other languages or hybrid language was perceived to stem from a linguistic deficiency, rather than a difference. As such, these teachers considered pupils' use of other languages to be beneficial to and, indeed, *necessary* for learning; teachers said that they therefore both allowed and encouraged their pupils to quickly clarify difficult course contents to one another and would advise them to explore cross-linguistic differences and similarities in order to further increase their comprehension of course contents. So, pupils' deviations from the norm which required them to speak Dutch were not perceived as their refusal to do so, nor as their (overt) challenging of teachers' authority, as long as this use was brief, on-topic, and off-stage in relation to the larger teaching interaction. These teachers were furthermore convinced that teaching linguistically diverse class groups required them to, at times, use other languages in class themselves, too.

7.1.1 Investments in TPS' declared language policy and multilingual project

When asked to give their opinion in regard to the school's multilingual pedagogical project and the openness within TPS' declared language policy towards allowing

pupils to use languages other than Dutch, most of class 2G's teachers voiced their support. Many especially praised the policy for allowing pupils to speak other languages, because they thought using the curricular languages was beneficial to pupils' acquisition of them (cf. also section 7.2.1). A number of them added that they would support it if TPS expanded on their multilingual project. For instance, Mr. Nollet said that he would like it if the school became 'fully multilingual', in the sense that all courses at TPS would be taught in Dutch, French and English. He said that he considered CLIL to be the best approach for a school in terms of the practical organisation of multilingual education, and his vision for TPS' future was therefore that '[teachers] teach a course in a certain language and, after for instance two years [they] teach the same course in a different language [...] and [they] work on two languages or three languages, because English can be incorporated, too'.

Likewise, Ms. Malchair felt that a next step for TPS would be to introduce a third language into its current CLIL programme, in addition to organising trilingual (French, Dutch and English) projects. She provided an example of what such a project could look like by discussing one which had recently taken place (cf. extract 13 below).

<p>En ook [...] leuke projecten da ze nie denken van kijk, <i>géographie</i> euh da's zo vervelend omdat het in het Frans is, ma, allez, (toen met de) euh euh uitstap naar [het museum] da was leuk [...] ze moesten zo dingen analyseren, (dan hadden) ze vragen in het Engels, en dan moesten zo hun eigen portret maken en dan da analyseren in 't Frans, allez, da was (.) op een leuk manier, a- a- gevoerd, dus</p>	<p>And also [...] fun projects that they don't think like, look, <i>geography</i> er that is so annoying because it is in French, but, well (that time with the) er er field trip to [the museum] that was fun [...] they had to like analyse things, then they had questions in English, and then they had to make like their own portrait and then analyse that in French, well, that was (.) a- a- conducted in a fun way, so</p>
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Extract 13: interview with Ms. Malchair (French, English), November 2, 2017, French in italics

So, these teachers were particularly in favour of TPS' CLIL programme, out of a conviction that linguistic immersion was beneficial to pupils' learning of both course contents and the target language. Their reported ideal vision of an expansion of the current CLIL programme furthermore places Dutch, French and English on equal footing, by representing each of these languages in a balanced way.

7.1.2 Investments in pupils' use of other languages

As we have established earlier, many of class 2G's teachers were bi- or multilingual themselves (cf. section 5.1.2). As such, they were quite understanding of their pupils' use of other languages in conversations with each other. Ms. Dirckx, for instance, said that she understood that pupils' talking to each other was the 'number one trigger' for them to use other languages, because of the fact that people associate the use of certain languages with specific people. She explained that she thus understood her pupils' use of other languages on the basis of her own experiences as a bilingual, a sentiment with which Mr. Nollet and Mr. Vanhellemont — who were both also French-Dutch bilinguals — seemed to agree (cf. field note 25 below).

Tijdens de lunch hadden we ook een interessant gesprek over meertaligheid. Over hoe moeilijk het is om te verwachten dat iedere leerling Nederlands spreekt. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt daarover dat zij, als ouder van meertalige kinderen Frans-Nederlands, merkt dat de taal die je spreekt afhangt van de persoon waarmee je spreekt, omdat sommige personen ook een bepaald taalgebruik impliceren. Ze zegt dat ze dat merkt aan haar kinderen. Meneer Nollet en meneer Vanhellemont knikken hevig	During lunch, we also had an interesting conversation about multilingualism. About how difficult it is to expect that every pupil speaks Dutch. Ms. Dirckx says, in that regard, that she, as a parent of multilingual French-Dutch children, notices that the language you use depends on the person you speak with, because some people also imply the use of a certain language. She says that she notices this in her children. Mr. Nollet and Mr. Vanhellemont nod intensely
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Field note 25: conversation during the sports week with Ms. Dirckx (English Dutch), Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography), and Mr. Vanhellemont (PE), April 20, 2017

Ms. Dirckx repeated this perspective in our interview at the school, too, pointing out that 'I do understand it because it happens to me, too. I speak several languages and when you see a person with whom you communicate in a certain language, you will actually always communicate with them in that language regardless of the situation'.

Mr. Blanco, then, said that he sympathised with his pupils because he was convinced that their use of languages other than Dutch happened unconsciously and 'automatically'. He added that he had similar experiences (cf. extract 15 below).

Lui da's ja, zoal ik zei da's (xxx) zij zijn daaraan gewoon da's gewoon (een)	Lazy that's yes, like I said (xxx) they are used to that that's just (an) automatic response
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automatisme da's een gemak, da's da's echt	that's an ease, that's that's really automatic
automatisme (xxx) ga automatisch gaan zoals	(xxx) going to happen automatically like my
mijn vriendin ik heb haar leren kennen in	girlfriend I met her in Brussels, I met her with
Brussel, ik heb haar leren kennen met	Francophone friends, so we speak French
Franstalige vrienden, dus wij praten Frans	together [...] she's purely Dutch-speaking
samen [...] zij is puur Nederlandstalig	

Extract 14: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics, science), November 5, 2017

While he did consider pupils' frequent use of French to be 'lazy' to some extent, Mr. Blanco nevertheless did not think that their use of other languages implied that they *refused* to speak Dutch. Rather, he was convinced that his pupils aligned with each other's language use in general. He said that, while pupils accommodated each other's use of French, they also did so where Dutch was concerned, summarising that 'if a pupil doesn't speak French, they will definitely speak Dutch to him', emphasising that pupils' use of French was not a matter of them simply being ill-mannered.

Most of TPS' teachers considered their pupils' use of languages other than Dutch when talking to each other to be a logical effect of the context in which their conversations took place. Moreover, these teachers did not feel that pupils' use of these languages entailed that they were not able to speak Dutch or refused to do so, but, rather, that were simply used to speaking French with their friends. As such, these teachers voiced a difference-perspective on their pupils' language skills and did not imply that pupils' use of French stemmed from a Dutch language deficit.

It is evident that class 2G's teachers were not oblivious to the fact that their pupils frequently spoke other languages in class and in the hallways. While they characterised pupils' use of these languages as deviations from the language political norm, these teachers nevertheless did not perceive such language use inside the building to be problematic as long as pupils at once showed that they were willing to speak the languages expected of them, or code-switched when asked to do so. In this regard, Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology) said that 'usually the pupils will do it behind our backs, and when they see the teacher, they immediately switch', adding that the teachers at the school 'are really not immediately punishing them. They have to engage with languages, and with Dutch, and if we notice that they immediately switch, then that's fine'.

Ms. Malchair explained that, while she was lenient towards her Spanish-speaking pupils' use of that language in class (line 1), she nevertheless expected her pupils to make an effort to speak the target language (line 1-3). She did, however, add that she would not punish pupils as long as they made an effort to also speak French in class (line 4-6) (cf. transcript 10 below).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|--|---|
| 1 | MAL | A- a- ((<i>zucht</i>)) als er zo kliekjes zijn in de les ja ik heb in tweede jaar zo een kliekje van vier sp- Spaanse ook in eerste jaar ja ma ik zeg altijd als ik da hoor, allez we zijn nu in de les Frans | Wh- wh- pf ((<i>sighs</i>)) when there are, like, cliques in class yes in the second year I have one of those cliques of four sp- Spanish also in the first year yes I always say when I hear that, well, we're in French class now |
| 2 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 3 | MAL | Of in de les Engels dus ik wil geen Spaans horen
[...] | Or in English class so I don't want to hear any Spanish
[...] |
| 4 | MAL | Ma ik straf nie om da ik, ja 't is, ik begrijp ook als ik met mijn vrienden ben, ergens, euh zelfs al is da in het buitenland of zo, 't is nie om da ik in een m- in een omgeving ben da in een ander taal dat ik ga, zo, meteen beginnen in den ander taal te communiceren met m'n vrienden, dus ik begrijp da ook ma ja ik wil wel da ze wel de inspanning doen tijdens de les | But I do not punish because I, yes it's, I also understand when I am with my friends, somewhere, er, even if it's abroad or something, it's not because I'm in a m- in an environment that in another language that I will, like, immediately start communicating in the other language with my friends, so I do understand that but yes I do want them to make the effort during class |
| 5 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 6 | MAL | Ma voor mij buiten de les allez, is da nie zo, is 't nie zo erg | But for me outside of class, well, it isn't so, it's not so bad |

Transcript 10: interview with Ms. Malchair (French, English), November 2, 2017

Mr. Nollet, whose geography course was taught in French as part of CLIL, said that he did not feel that pupils' use of other languages in conversations with their peers was an issue, as long as they were able to switch to French when asked. In his view, the goal of TPS' language policy was to ensure that pupils code-switched when they were required to (line 3), and that they therefore displayed an 'open' attitude towards languages in general (line 5). It was for that reason that he, like Ms. Malchair, chose

not to sanction pupils, and instead simply asked them to speak the language required in his course, which is French (line 7) (cf. transcript 11 below).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|---|--|
| 1 | NOL | Dus de meesten spreken Frans ma de Spaanstaligen bijvoorbeeld spreken Spaans als ze in de klas binnenkomen | So most of them speak French but the Spanish-speakers for example speak French when they enter the classroom |
| 2 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 3 | NOL | Euhm en euhm (.) ze gaan (.) vrij gemakkelijk naar euh (.) naar het N-euh Frans overstappen euh de Nederlandstaligen die: die spreken wel Nederlands °onder elkaar° | Em and em (.) they will (.) relatively easily er (.) switch to D- er French er the Dutch-speakers the: they do speak Dutch °to one another° |
| 4 | SG | Ma da zou dan mogen volgens de regels, he? Ook tijdens de CLIL-lessen neem ik aan | But that should be allowed according to the rules, shouldn't it? Also during CLIL classes I assume |
| 5 | NOL | Ma de <u>bedoeling</u> is, is euh is een attitude gaan scheppen bij de leerlingen da ze <u>open</u> staan dat ze gemakkelijk van 't een naar 't ander kunnen gaan d- 't is zeker geen bedoeling van euh t- 't moet zo (xxx) wij proberen euh dat als een verrijking te zien | But the <u>point</u> is, is er is creating an attitude with these pupils that they are <u>open</u> that they easily go from one to the other th- it certainly isn't the point to er i- it needs to be like (xxx) we try er to see that as a richness |
| 6 | SG | Ja, dus jij geeft ook nooit eigenlijk sancties, of | Yes, so you don't ever actually sanction, or |
| 7 | NOL | <u>Sancties</u> ? Nee nee maar euh, ik vraag wel da ze in 't Frans antwoorden als ze da (xxx) °als ze aan 't woord zijn° en ze moeten Frans spreken onder elkaar | <u>Sanction</u> ? No no but er, I do ask that they reply in French if they (xxx) °when they are talking° and they need to speak French to one another |

Transcript 11: interview with Mr. Nollet (French CLIL, geography), November 2, 2017

So, while these teachers characterised pupils' use of languages other than the target language or the language of instruction as deviations from what they considered to be the language political norm, they, as multilinguals, also related to their pupils' language practices. What emerges is thus a perceived language policy which is open towards pupils' use of other languages insofar as it is unconscious and innocuous and, as such, not considered to stand in the way of teachers' authority, nor pupils' language learning opportunities or their development of positive language attitudes at school.

In addition to considering pupils' frequent use of languages other than Dutch or the other target languages to be unconscious and, therefore, harmless and relatable, class 2G's teachers were convinced that pupils' use of other languages in conversations with their classmates during class was strategic and, moreover, beneficial to their comprehension of course contents. For instance, Mr. Blanco said that he tolerated or allowed his pupils' multilingual conversations because he had the impression that they were mostly on-topic (cf. extract 15 below).

<p>Daarstraks heb ik wiskunde gegeven euh ze moesten euh oefeningen maken, er waren er twee die <u>samen</u>werkten om da ze nie wisten en ze hebben dan elkaar in het Frans uitgelegd, oké, daarvoor heb ik gewoon mijn oren toegedaan, ik laat het elkaar in het Frans (xxx) ja, het werkte wel dus ((<i>ademt diep in</i>)) als ze maar op 't einde van de les hun toets kunnen, allez, goed kunnen maken, ben ik tevreden</p>	<p>Earlier [today] I taught mathematics er they needed er to make exercises, there were two who were working <u>together</u> because they didn't know and they then explained to each other in French, okay, for that I just closed my ears, I let them (xxx) each other in French yes, it did work so ((<i>takes a deep breath</i>)) as long as they can make the test at the end of class, well, make it well, I am content</p>
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Extract 15: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics, science), November 5, 2017

He clarified that 'the most important thing is that they pass their exam, so that they understand it, and that they understand what is important [...] whether they've understood in French or in Dutch does not matter to me, but the idea is that they try to speak Dutch, but as long as they understand I am happy'. As such, pupils' brief use of multilingual clarifications and negotiations of meaning in asides was not thought to imply that they were unwilling to otherwise speak Dutch, nor was it perceived to disrupt Mr. Blanco's teaching; rather, they complemented one another. Later in our conversation, Mr. Blanco did nuance his tolerance of pupils' use of other languages in class somewhat, adding that he did not want his pupils to address *him* in French. He said that 'I do make remarks like, speak Dutch [...] ask your question in Dutch, I'll explain in Dutch, if you want to say the explanation in French among yourselves, okay [...] just don't talk in French about video games'. So, pupils' use of other languages in class was allowed, as long as it remained off-stage vis à vis the main teaching interaction and was on-topic.

Mr. Verhelst likewise said that pupils' use of languages other than Dutch to clarify course contents to one another or to negotiate the meanings of terminology

(line 4; 12) was not an issue to him, as long as these conversations were relevant to the class (line 4) and pupils did not hold lengthy conversations in other languages (line 6; 14) (cf. transcript 12 below).

1	SG	Merkt ge ook dat ze soms andere talen dan Nederlands spreken	Do you also notice that they sometimes speak languages other than Dutch
2	VER	Absoluut, ja	Absolutely, yes
3	SG	Ja, ook binnen de les	Yes, in class too
4	VER	Ja, euhm binnen de lessen gebeurt dat ook wel 's euhm, nu, vind ik wel dat we daar toch ietsjes soepeler mee moeten omgaan, euh, want dikwijls wordt dat dan gewoon eigenlijk zo 's in een ander taal gezegd van kijk euh hetgeen dat hier staat dat is, da begrip	Yes, em in class it happens from time to time em, well, I do think that we need to be a bit more lenient with that, er, because often it is actually just being said in a different language, like, look er the thing that is [written] here, that is, that term
5	SG	Ja	Yes
6	VER	Dus da moeten we eigenlijk wel 's toelaten zolang dat het nie een heel gesprek ofzo is in een vreem- een andere taal euhm	So, that we must actually allow as long as it is not a whole conversation or something in a fore- a different language em
7	SG	Gaat ge dervan uit dat het meeste van wat ze vragen euhm zo da soort, allez, begrijs... gerelateerde dingen zijn, dus	Do you assume that most of what they ask em like that kind of well, is comprehension... related, then
8	VER	Het meeste wel ja	Most of it is yes
9	SG	Ja	Yes
10	VER	Meestal gaat het wel- (0.01)	Usually it is- (0.01)
11	SG	En euh wa vindt ge daarvan als ze da doen, dus ge vindt da eigenlijk (...)	And er what do you think of that when they do that, so you do think it's (...)
12	VER	Als het zo wa over zo'n zaken gaat, euh absoluut wel, als het echt met de les te maken heeft en euh (0.02) sommige daarbij kan helpen om- om zaken uit te leggen vinnik wel dat het, dat het zou moeten kunnen, tuurlijk is de taal dat moet gesproken worden Nederlands	If it is about those kinds of things, er, absolutely, if it really has to do with class and er (0.02) it can help some to- to explain things I do think that it, that it should be possible, of course the language that ought to be spoken is Dutch
13	SG	Ja	Yes
14	VER	En dus we gaan der ook vanuit dat het euh dat ze nie een heel les of zo in een ander taal proberen iets te	And so we do assume that it er that they do not try to clarify something in a different language throughout the while

verduidelijken dat het echt enkel bij class, that it is really limited to certain
bepaalde momenten gaat blijven moments

Transcript 12: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

It was his view that teachers in linguistically diverse class situations ought to ‘be a bit more lenient’ and, moreover, ‘actually must allow’ pupils to use other languages in class for these purposes. In this regard, it furthermore did not matter to Mr. Verhelst whether pupils’ multilingual contributions to class were limited to asides or took place in front of the whole class.

In addition to accepting and tolerating their pupils’ deployment of different parts of their linguistic repertoire in asides in class, TPS’ teachers furthermore explicitly allowed and, at times, even encouraged pupils to do so — not only in asides, but also on-stage. Mr. Verhelst, for instance, said that, apart from allowing pupils to speak French in front of the whole class or in conversations with the teacher, he told his pupils that it was acceptable for them to mix different languages on written tests if necessary, too (line 4-10). He was convinced that the contents of a message were more important than the fact that a message is monolingual, and he felt that pupils should not risk losing points on tests because they know how to solve a question, but cannot formulate an answer in Dutch or English (line 6) — although he did nuance his position somewhat, and added that his encouragement of pupils’ hybrid language use on tests mostly applied when pupils ‘really’ did not know a Dutch word (line 8) (cf. transcript 13 on the next page).

- | | | | |
|----|------------|--|---|
| 1 | SG | Wa vindt jij ervan euhm ja ik neem aan dat ge da wel zult goedkeuren ((<i>lacht</i>)) ma als de leerlingen een Frans woord invoegen in een Nederlandse zin, dus bijvoorbeeld ze zijn aan het woord voor de hele klas | What do you think about em yes I assume you will approve of it ((<i>laughs</i>)) but when the pupils include a French word in a Dutch sentence, so, for example they are talking to the whole class |
| 2 | VER | Ja | Yes |
| 3 | SG | Of voor u en ze: gebruiken een woord uit het Frans of een andere taal? | Or to you and the:y use a word in French or another language? |
| 4 | VER | Vinnek ook kunnen want dan stellen ze soms wel 's de vraag op een euh toets van ah ik weet het woord in 't Frans ma in 't Nederlands nie, da'k gewoon zeg schrijf het in het Frans gewoon op | I also think that is acceptable because then they sometimes do ask the question on a er test like ah I know the word in French but not in Dutch, then I just say simply write it down in French |
| 5 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 6 | VER | (xxx) 't is eigenlijk de inhoud die telt, en euh ik vind das- da ze niet de punten moeten verliezen gewoon omdat ze een wo- een woord nie weten in het Nederlands | (xxx) it is actually the content that matters, and er I think that- that they don't have to lose the points just because they don't know a wo- a word in Dutch |
| 7 | SG | Hm | Hm |
| 8 | VER | Da we daar toch eventjes (.) soepeler mee omgaan en zeggen van kijk als ge echt een woord nie weet schrijf het gewoon in 't Frans op | That we do need to be (.) more flexible with that and say like look if you really don't know a word just write it down in French |
| 9 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 10 | VER | En, dan (.) dan heb je toch de punten dan (ook) als het juist is tenminste | And, then (.) then you at least get the marks (also) if it's correct at least |

Transcript 13: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

In contrast, Ms. Dirckx, as a Dutch and English language teacher, generally did not consider the contents of a message to be more important than its linguistic form. She did, however, stress that she was aware that pupils' pre-existent language skills can help them to express themselves and to comprehend course contents conveyed through Dutch or other languages (cf. transcript 14 on the next page).

- 1 **DIR** Ik besef ook wel dat dat de de ene taal I do also realise that that the the one
je kan helpen in de andere taal, en in language can help you in the other
die zin probeer ik altijd wel wat flexibel language, and in that regard I always
te zijn dus ik probeer hen ook nie te try to be a bit flexible so I don't try to
stigmatiseren, he op vlak van de taal stigmatise them, right in terms of the
die zij wel kunnen en da ze da nog niet language that they can [speak] and that
in een andere taal kunnen en daar moet they can't yet in another language and
je dus een beetje flexibel in blijven als there you need to be a bit flexible when
zij soms, Franstalige woorden they sometimes use French words in
gebruiken in het Nederlands, ja liever Dutch, yes rather that they use them
dat ze die gebruiken en =toch zich and =still exp=ress themselves
uit=drukken
- 2 **SG** =dan niks= zeggen =then say: nothing=
- 3 **DIR** Dan niks zeggen, maar dan zal ik wel Then say nothing, but then I will provide
het Nederlandse equivalent the Dutch equivalent, but I won't tsk tsk
aanbrengen maar ik ga hen daar niet tsk tsk them there now what did you just
tsk tsk tsk tsk wat heb je nu weer say
gezegd
- 4 **SG** ((lacht)) ((laughs))
- 5 **DIR** Da zal ik nie doen That I won't do
- 6 **SG** Ja Yes
- 7 **DIR** Plus, het is ik ga hen zelf- s- soms zelf Plus, it's I will even- sometimes myself
ook aanmoedigen als ik bijvoorbeeld in encourage them too when I for instance
het Engels een term aanbreng of in het provide them with a term in English or
Nederlands en ik zeg hen a- je kent da in Dutch and I tell them a- you don't
woord nie ma denk is na? Kijk is wa je know that word but can you think? Look
herkent in da woord, denk is aan je at what you recognise in that word,
Frans, denk is aan je thuistaal, ke- kan think of your French, think of your home
je geen linken leggen? En dus in die zin language, ca- can't you make any
zal ik soms ook zelf Frans tegen hen connections? And so in that sense I will
spreken, of Engels tegen hen spreken sometimes speak French to them
gewoon om hen de linken te laten myself, or speak English to them just to
leggen met woorden in een andere taal, make them make the connections with
structuren in een andere taal zodat ze words in another language, structures
en gelijkenissen en verschillen zien in another language, so they can see
similarities and differences

Transcript 14: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017

So, Ms. Dirckx's concerns in regard to the linguistic form of pupils' messages could be trumped, she points out, by other considerations. For instance, she felt that focussing too much on a message's (Dutch) form could deter pupils from speaking at all and, furthermore, it might reduce their opportunities for noticing similarities between the sets of linguistic resources in their repertoires. While Ms. Dirckx' allowing of pupils' deployment of various linguistic resources stemmed from a deficiency-perspective on her pupils' Dutch language skills, her encouragements of pupils to make connections between languages is based on her conviction that pupils' French language skills can, in fact, help them in their acquisition of Dutch — which is a difference-perspective.

7.1.3 Investments in teachers' use of other languages

In addition to allowing their pupils to use various languages inside the school building and, indeed, in the classroom, the teachers of class 2G reported that they, too, at times used languages other than Dutch. For instance, in transcript 14 above, Ms. Dirckx said that she used French and English to help her pupils explore intralinguistic connections between linguistic structures and vocabulary items, as she reckoned that this aided pupils in better comprehending the contents of her classes (line 7).

Mr. Verhelst, then, said that he would, at times, translate elements of his classes to French or English, as he felt that such translations functioned as a scaffold for pupils' comprehension of course-specific terminology which they might otherwise find quite difficult to understand (cf. extract 16 below).

<p>We letten daar dikwijls op zeker (bij) natuurwetenschappen al die begrippen en zo [...] (da) pakken we nu op een, heel andere manier aan dan euh bijvoorbeeld tien jaar geleden [...] dan gaat ge der vanzelf van- dan gaade er eigenlijk vanuit van, normaalgezien, da woord kennen ze wel, ma nu met die ervaring weten we ook ah ja da kennen ze nie [...] dus dan moeten we het inderdaad anders aanpakken 's vertalen naar het Frans toe of naar het Engels toe</p>	<p>We often pay attention to that especially (in) natural sciences all those terms and such [...] we now handle it in a, very different way than er for example ten years ago [...] then you automatically assume like- then you actually assume like, normally, they do know that word, but now with that experience we also know ah yes they don't know that [...] so then we indeed need to approach things differently and translate to French or to English</p>
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Extract 16: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL science), November 2, 2017

So, these teachers considered their own strategic use of other languages in pedagogical interactions in class to be helpful, and, moreover, a necessary aspect of teaching linguistically diverse pupils. Out of their conviction that pupils' relatively low Dutch fluency might, at times, prevent them from understanding course contents, these teachers saw in their establishing links with pupils' existing language skills a way to teach efficiently, either by scaffolding pupils' comprehension of contents conveyed through the Dutch language, or by quickly clarifying course contents by providing French or English translations. As such, these teachers not only valorised their pupils' linguistic skills by allowing them to use different aspects of their linguistic repertoire in class, but they furthermore legitimised languages such as French and English in their own pedagogical interactions.

7.2 Teachers rejecting multilingualism

In this second part of the chapter, we will explore the ways in which class 2G's teachers, as much as they invested in multilingualism, at once rejected it. We will argue that these teachers' rejections and problematisations, like their investments, are due to their orientations to specific concerns and considerations. In terms of their perceived language policies, then, we will show that these teachers problematised multilingualism in favour of Dutch on the basis of their concern that pupils needed to speak Dutch in order to, firstly, acquire the language and, secondly, to be able to fare well both at TPS, which teaches the majority of its courses in Dutch, and in a society in which French-Dutch bilingualism is considered to be essential (cf. Mettewie & Van Mensel 2009; but cf. also Hambye & Richards 2012). They furthermore rejected a potential expansion of the school's multilingual project out of fear that allowing too many languages to enter the classroom would result in teachers' loss of control over their classroom, as they would no longer be able to understand everything their pupils say. Furthermore, they also scrutinised the current configuration of TPS' multilingual projects, and particularly its lack of focus on linguistic form, because they thought that this jeopardised pupils' chances of acquiring normatively correct forms of language.

These teachers problematised pupils' frequent use of other languages, and their code-switches especially, for similar reasons; Firstly, they expressed concerns that pupils' hybrid language use was a sign of a negative language attitude in particular, and a lack of motivation for learning in general. As such, class 2G's teachers associated allowing pupils to speak other languages with a loss of authority and a lack of discipline. Secondly, they reported that they often required their pupils to speak Dutch out of a concern that pupils otherwise would not be able to increase their Dutch proficiency at TPS, which would negatively impact both their grades and their future opportunities on the Brussels labour market. As such, they saw in their pupils' code-switches proof of a linguistic deficit, and considered it to be their responsibility, as educators employed by a Dutch-medium school, to remedy it by requiring monolingual (Dutch) language use. These teachers problematised their own use of languages other than Dutch in class for similar reasons, as they said that they wanted to maximise their pupils' exposure to high-quality and, as such, monolingual (Dutch) language use.

7.2.1 Rejections of TPS' declared language policy and multilingual project

In the previous part of the chapter, we have argued that class 2G's teachers generally voiced their support for the school's explicit orientation towards multilingualism, because they expressed their belief in the benefits of linguistic immersion for pupils' education in general, and their acquisition of the curricular languages in particular. In this sense, these teachers appeared to place Dutch and other curricular languages, namely French and English, on equal footing. In the same breath, however, a number of them at once explicitly advocated the school's investment in Dutch. While Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology) praised the ways in which TPS' policy left room for pupils to use French and their home languages, he at once stressed that it is important that pupils practice Dutch at the school (cf. transcript 15 below).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|--|---|
| 1 | SG | Wa vindt ge daarvan? (0.02) is da een goed taalbeleid, of | What do you think about that? (0.02) is that a good language policy, or |
| 2 | VER | Da's een goe taalbeleid ja, want dan wordt uw Nederlands sowieso geoefend euh, de taal van 't vak dan zelf ook, euh, ma natuurlijk, sommige dingen, kunnen wel 's aangevuld worden in het Frans. Bepaalde woorden (.) euhm, ma voor de rest is inderdaad belangrijk dat ze hun Nederlands oefenen en de, en de (.) nie alleen de taal die da ze thuis spreken maar ook de andere talen | That is a good language policy, yes, because then you practice your Dutch anyway er, the language of the course itself, then, too, er but of course, some things, can sometimes be complemented in French. Certain words (.) em but otherwise it is indeed important that they practice their Dutch and the, and the (.) not only the language that they speak at home but also the other languages |
| 3 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 4 | VER | En dat is eigenlijk het belangrijkste dus euh ik sta wel achter het taalbeleid ja | And that is actually the most important so er I do support the language policy yes |

Transcript 15: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

Similarly, Mr. Blanco (mathematics and science) said that, while he was not opposed to allowing pupils to speak the languages of their choice in the playground, he felt that it was important that pupils were required to speak Dutch inside the building. Because of his personal experiences as a Francophone who had learned Dutch through his enrolment in a Dutch-medium Brussels school, he was not oblivious

to the fact that Dutch was, in addition to the school's main language of instruction, also a target language for many of TPS' pupils. On the basis of his own prior learning of Dutch and his belief in the functionality of 'wild immersion', Mr. Blanco thus felt that maximising pupils' use of Dutch would contribute greatly to their acquisition of the language, and, subsequently, their ability to receive good grades (cf. extract 17 below).

<p>Ik vind da nie slecht in ieder geval dus goed ga ik ook nie zeggen ma- ma da's nie <u>slecht</u> want ja, dan, ja de leerlingen moeten wel Nederlands praten tijdens de lessen, ah ja, ze zijn nog vrij om hun eigen taal te praten me' hun vrienden en vriendinnen en ja ze zullen (toch het) ook wel merken aan hun punten als hun punten van Nederlands te laag zijn gaan ze wel beseffen of de ouders in ieder geval ge moet meer Nederlands praten, moet meer Nederlands lezen [...] wij, hebben alle lan- allez, mensen van alle landen hier in Brussel dus ze gaan ook andere talen praten (en dus) Afrikanen gaan Afrikaans praten, de Turken gaan Turks praten, Spanjaarden- allez da z- merken we, in dagelijks leven ma ook op school [...] maar <u>toch</u> komen de kinderen naar een Nederlandstalige school en nie naar een Spaanse school of- dus ze willen toch (.) nen taal leren van België dus, >allez< één van de talen dan dus</p>	<p>I do not think it is bad in any case so good I wouldn't say either but- but that isn't <u>bad</u> because, yes, then, yes the pupils do need to speak Dutch in class, well yes, they are still free to speak their own language with their friends and yes they will (certainly also) notice it in their grades when their Dutch grades are too low they will realise or their parents in any case you need to speak more Dutch, need to read more Dutch [...] we, have all coun-, well, people of all countries here in Brussels so they will also go and speak other languages (and so) Africans will speak African, the Turks will speak Turkish, Spaniards- well that s- we notice, in daily life, but also at school [...] but <u>still</u> the children attend a Dutch-medium school and not a Spanish school or- so they do want to (.) learn a language of Belgium >well< one of the languages then so</p>
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Extract 17: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics, science), November 5, 2017

So, while these teachers voiced their belief in both linguistic immersion and the school's declared language policy's investment in pupils' use of languages other than Dutch, they at once voiced their support for the policy's focus on Dutch, out of the consideration that pupils need to practice and use Dutch in order to acquire that language and, subsequently, to fare well in a school where Dutch is as of yet the language of instruction in the majority of its classes.

For others, the policy's insistence on Dutch was perceived to be an unmarked and essential characteristic of Dutch-medium education, rather than something which was simply beneficial to pupils' language learning. For example, Mr. Idrissi (Islamic religion) said that, while he appreciated the policy's orientation towards allowing pupils to speak, for instance, French with their French (CLIL) teachers, he also supported the policy's insistence on what he called 'maintaining the importance of Dutch'.

Similarly, while Ms. Malchair, who was a French and English language teacher, thought that TPS' declared language policy was 'super' (line 2 below), she appreciated that the policy required the pupils to speak Dutch inside the building because TPS 'is a Dutch-medium school' (cf. transcript 16 below).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|---|---|
| 1 | SG | Wa vindt gij van het taalbeleid van de school? Dus, gaat ge daarmee akkoord of zou ge het aanpassen? | What do you think about the school's language policy? So, do you agree with it or would you change it? |
| 2 | MAL | Euh, ik vind het allez, vind da super | Er, I think it's well, think it's super |
| 3 | SG | Ja | Yes |
| 4 | MAL | Ik vind da echt euh da ze de keuze hebben euhm, op 't speelplein dat het vrije tijd is, is goed, euh da ze wel binnen de school Nederlands moeten [gebruiken], allez, 't is (xxx) een Nederlandstalige school dus | I think really er that they have the choice em, in the playground that is it free time, is good, er that they do within the school have to [use] Dutch, well, it's (xxx) a Dutch-medium school so |

Transcript 16: interview with Ms. Malchair (French, English), November 2, 2017

So, while most teachers did not consider TPS' multilingual project to be antithetical to its Dutch-medium character, some did emphasise that it was important for TPS require its pupils to speak Dutch by virtue of its Dutch-medium character alone.

Furthermore, while class 2G's teachers generally praised the school's pedagogical project, their favourable stances vis à vis multilingualism were not limitless; although Mr. Verhelst voiced his support for the school's current multilingual project, he reported that he felt that the school ought to mainly further develop its existing CLIL programme (line 9-10) rather than to incorporate new languages, saying that the school 'cannot offer too many languages' (line 2). When asked if he would consider allowing pupils to use other languages systematically in class in other ways, he seemed much less enthusiastic (cf. transcript 17 on the next two pages).

1	SG	Wa zou de volgende stap zijn volgens u om (.) op een andere manier dan nu het geval is meertalig onderwijs te bieden	What would be the next step according to you to (.) provide multilingual education in another way than is currently the case
2	VER	(Het) zou heel positief zijn, ma het probleem is natuurlijk we mogen ook nie te veel talen aanbieden, euh, het moet echt wel een euh focus zijn op bepaalde talen, en dat euh, eigenlijk doorheen euh alle jaren	(It) would be very positive, but the problem is of course we cannot offer too many languages, er, it really does need to be a er focus on certain languages, and that er, actually throughout er all years
3	SG	Hm	Hm
4	VER	Bijvoorbeeld, hier nu, euh, aardrijkskunde in 't Frans da- dat doorloopt volledig alle jaren, informatica volledig in het Engels euhm, dus misschien inderdaad dat da me andere vakken ook zou lukken	For instance, here now, er, geography in French th- that continues throughout all years, I.T. entirely in English em, so maybe indeed that that could also work with other courses
5	SG	Ja	Yes
6	VER	Ma dan echt wel doorheen alle jaren, nie zo van zeggen van euh een eerste jaar zoals nu bijvoorbeeld W.W. is in het Nederlands, volgend jaar in het Engels want da's zo'n hele	But then really throughout all years, not like to say er a first year like now for example [science] is in Dutch, next year in English because that's like a whole
7	SG	Ja da's een hele =omslag	Yes that is a whole =switch
8	VER	=omschakeling da ze moete- moete maken	=switch-over that they need t- need to do
9	SG	En gij zou dan oo- dus als ik het goed begrijp vooral meer inzetten op euhm, zaakvakken in vreemde talen	And you would then if- so if I understand correctly especially invest more in em non-language courses in foreign languages
10	VER	Ja	Yes
11	SG	Ma nie zozeer, alleez, om u een idee te geven, ge kunt ook euh, andere talen toelaten in de klas, meer of lossier, is da iets wat u zou-	But not really, well, to give you an idea, you can also er, allow other languages in class, more, or with more ease, is that something that you would-
12	VER	Hm da zou ik niet doen nee	Hm I wouldn't do that no
13	SG	Nee, en waarom nie	No, and why not
14	VER	Zou echt gaan focussen puur o- op euh (.) d- die twee talen of die drie talen die	Would really focus purely o- on er (.) th- those two languages or those three

	nu euh hm- h- om enkel die talen	languages that now er hm- h- to only er
	eigenlijk euh te beetje beter te maken	actually er improve those languages a
	euhm ma als ge dan bijvoorbeeld het	little bit em but if you then for example
	Spaans daar ook nog zouden toelaten	would also allow Spanish in there
15 SG	Ja	Yes
16 VER	Als leerkracht (.) allez ja h- we kunnen	As a teacher (.) well yes h- there we
	daar nie echt weten wat er gezegd	cannot really know what is being said
	wordt	
17 SG	Ja	Yes
18 VER	Gaat dat echt over het vak, gaat da nie	Is that really about the course, is that
	over het vak, ja (.)	not about the course, yes (.)
19 SG	Dus eigenlijk heeft da een beetje, allez	So actually, that has a little bit, well, that
	da staat een beetje tussen u en de	stands between you and the control
	controle die ge =dan hebt over °de	that you =then have over °the group° a
	groep°	bit
20 VER	=Ja dus enkel de talen waar de	=Yes so only the languages that the
	leerkracht zich ook bij goe voelt da we	teacher feels comfortable with that we
	voldoende beheersen om euh de	have sufficient grasp of to er also be
	leerlingen ook te kunnen helpen	able to help the pupils

Transcript 17: interview with Mr. Verhelst (English CLIL, technology), November 2, 2017

He explained that his disinclination to structurally incorporate pupils' home languages in class stemmed from his desire to avoid situations in which he could not be certain what pupils were saying, or in which there was a language barrier in his classroom which he felt might otherwise hinder his teaching (line 16-20). In that regard, Mr. Verhelst was seemingly equally opposed to allowing pupils' home languages and the curricular languages (in this case, Spanish) to enter the classroom, because as he was convinced this would result in a loss of control over his classroom.

So, while these teachers voiced their support for TPS' project, this did not entail that all of them were proponents of other conceptualisations of multilingual education. In this regard, these teachers juxtaposed their valorisation of multilingualism with their concerns that allowing too many languages would be too complex, and would hinder their authority in the classroom, because they would no longer be able to understand what pupils are saying.

Up until this point, we have discussed the ways in which class 2G's teachers supported the school's existing project, regardless of the fact that they at once appreciated the declared language policy's insistence on Dutch, and established certain boundaries; for instance, they felt that the school's CLIL programme ought not to become too complex, and that pupils' home languages should not enter the classroom in a systematic way. While teachers were thus aware that a potential future development of TPS' multilingual project could entail certain complexities, some of them, however, expressed doubts in regard to the project's *current* functionality and feasibility. Ms. Dirckx, for instance, said that she was sceptical of the practical organisation and presumed functionality of TPS' current multilingual project. (cf. extract 18 below).

<p>Ik ben eigenlijk wel voor voor een meertalige context maar de manier waarop dit meertalig onderwijs nu georganiseerd is, is dat inderdaad de beste manier (0.03) [...] Ik heb alleen heel sterk euh, de idee, euhm dat als (0.02) je (0.02) dat (0.02) om succesvol meertalig onderwijs dat er effectief wel aan een paar randvolwa- voorwaarden moet voldaan worden, ik denk dat een een een jongere (.) als basis al een vrij goede beheersing moet hebben van één bepaalde taal, welke het dan ook is, [...] hoe ik het bij mijn kinderen zie die tweetalig zijn opgegroeid euhm, hoe ik het hier op school ervaar, ik denk, ik denk maar dat is denken en van een persoonlijk aanvoelen, dat het echt wel belangrijk is dajé een eerste taal eer- eerder grondig kent</p>	<p>I actually am in favour of of a multilingual context but the way in which this multilingual education is now organised is, is that indeed the best way [...] I only have a very strong er, the idea, em that if (0.02) you (0.02) that (0.02) in order to achieve successful multilingual education that there are actually a few pre-conditions that must be met, I think that a a young person (.) should already have a fairly good base command of one particular language, whichever it is, [...] how I see it with my children who grew up bilingually er, how I experience it here at school, I think, I think but that is thinking and of a personal feeling, that it is really important that you know a first language rath- rather well</p>
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Extract 18: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017, English in bold

She was unsure whether TPS' project met certain preconditions which she reckoned were essential for language learning. For example, Ms. Dirckx considered a certain degree of language proficiency to be a necessary and, indeed, indispensable basis for further language learning, saying that 'a young person should already have a fairly good base command of one particular language, whichever it is' — following, likely, Cummins' *interdependence hypothesis* of language learning, which considers

language skills in the L1 to be transferable and, as such, to lead to positive effects in the acquisition of those same skills in the L2 (1981). As such, Ms. Dirckx was concerned that TPS' project, which in its current configuration introduced its pupils to several new languages all at once, ran the risk of not achieving much at all in terms of increasing pupils' language skills in French and English.

Moreover, Ms. Dirckx considered it to be detrimental to pupils' linguistic development if they were not adequately supported in their language learning process. Although the school's focus on the contents of a message rather than its linguistic form is an important pillar of TPS' multilingual project, Ms. Dirckx, inversely, advocated the importance of normatively correct language use (cf. extract 19 below).

<p>Ik vind toch ook wel dat de leerkrachten die voor de klas staan, dat die die taal ook op een voldoende hoog niveau moeten beheersen, daar ben ik ook echt van overtuigd u- u- want het enige wat het anders d- d- doet he want men zegt wel van ja ma die, die technische kennis van de taal is op da moment niet het aandachtspunt, het gaat erom, dus de, de de focus ligt nog altijd [...] bij de inhoud, dus het vakvak wordt gegeven in een andere taal maar met dat de focus op de inhoud van het vak ligt en niet op de taal gaan leerlingen daar spontaner mee omgaan, eh, minder bang zijn om fouten te maken enzovoort, oké. Da kan ik snappen (.) euhm maar dan nog denk ik da je een leerkracht moet hebben die dat echt wel voldoende goed spreekt. Want ik denk toch ook echt wel da jij onbewust wel dingen oppikt en als ge dan heel de tijd foute dingen [...] oppikt, ja dan heb je misschien minder gêne om die taal te spreken of om die taal te gaan gebruiken, goed, da's positief want natuurlijk gêne mag je nie hebben als je een nieuwe taal leert, ma tegelijkertijd denk ik da je ook weer (0.02) fouten aan het leren bent die weer zo, moeilijk af te leren zijn [...] en dan weet ik nie wat is dan, wat is dan het grootste voordeel?</p>	<p>I do think that the teachers in front of the class, that they need to have mastery of that language on a sufficiently high level, of that I am really convinced u- u- because otherwise the only thing that it d- d- does right because they do say like yes but that that technical language knowledge is not the focal point in that moment, it's about, so the, the the focus is still [...] on the content, so the course is taught in another language but as the focus is on the contents of the course and not on the language pupils will engage with it more spontaneously, eh, be less afraid to make mistakes and so forth, okay. That I can understand (.) er but then still I think that you need to have a teacher who really does speak it sufficiently well. Because I do really think that you unconsciously do pick up things and if you then always [pick up] incorrect things [...] yes, then maybe you are less embarrassed to speak that language or to go on and use that language, good, that's positive because of course you can't be embarrassed when you're learning a new language, but at the same time I think that you are also (0.02) learning mistakes that are again so, difficult to unlearn [...] and then I</p>
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<p>Da je over een gêne overkomt en durft te spreken want, alles begint natuurlijk wel met durven spreken, of is het dan t- i- dus da vind ik een moeilijke</p>	<p>don't know what is then, what is then the biggest benefit? That you overcome your embarrassment and dare to speak because, everything of course starts with daring to speak, but is it then t- I- so I think that's a difficult [question]</p>
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Extract 19: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017, English in bold

So, while she supported the idea that favouring the contents of a message over its form decreased pupils' anxiety to speak, Ms. Dirckx was concerned that a lack of focus on form would inadvertently hinder her pupils from acquiring the types of language which they needed to succeed at school and in life. As such, her concerns in regard to creating a safe environment where pupils could experiment with language co-occurred with considerations of providing normatively correct standard Dutch input.

7.2.2 Problematisations of pupils' use of other languages

In addition to their problematisations of the school's multilingual pedagogical project and declared language policy, some of class 2G's teachers articulated negative stances vis à vis pupils' use of other languages inside the school building. Earlier, we have discussed the ways in which these teachers allowed their pupils to use other languages in class on the basis of, for instance, their conviction that this use was automatic, brief and harmless. The following examples, inversely, show that these same teachers at once said that they wished to prevent pupils from speaking languages other than Dutch, out of a concern that pupils' frequent use of French would hinder their exposure to and acquiring of Dutch, or that consistently allowing pupils to speak other languages would impede teachers' authority. For instance, Ms. Dirckx said that she tried to consistently respond to pupils' use of other languages both in class and in the hallways (cf. extract 20 below).

<p>Ik zeg hen ook altijd wel 't is fantastisch da je die andere talen spreekt ma zorg da je elke taal voldoende gebruikt, en da Nederlands gebruiken zij thuis vaak niet, gebruiken zij onder vrienden hier in het Brusselse vaak niet, zelfs als zij naar een Nederlandstalige sportclub gaan daar wordt <u>meer</u> in het Frans</p>	<p>I always do tell them it's fantastic that you speak those other languages but make sure that you use every language sufficiently, and they often do not use Dutch at home, often do not use it among friends here in the Brussels area, even when they go to a Dutch-speaking sports club there's <u>more</u> in French and a</p>
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en een mengelmoesje van van alles naar elkaar geroepen, gecommuniceerd, dan het Nederlands, dus ja m- moeten ze- dan moeten ze hun oefenmomenten hier wel op school hebben [...] ma ik probeer hun altijd te sensibiliseren over elke taal is mooi, elke taal is goed, maar zorgen da je voldoende oefening krijgt in deze taal, waarin je in principe gaat voortstuderen

mixture of of everything being yelled at one another, communicated, than Dutch, so yes m- they must- then they do have to have their moments of practice here at school [...] but I always try to increase their awareness about every language is beautiful, every language is good, but make sure that you practice enough in this language, in which you are basically going to continue to study

Extract 20: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017, English in bold

She said that she policed pupils' language use, not because she did not like it when pupils did not use Dutch, but out of a concern that pupils otherwise would not get many opportunities to speak and hear Dutch and, subsequently, to acquire the language. Like some of her colleagues, Ms. Dirckx felt that not requiring Dutch jeopardised pupils' opportunities to fare well at the school and in their future personal and professional lives. In terms of pupils' lack of Dutch proficiency, then, she added that 'I also see to what extent it can really obstruct them in their studies, I realise that much better than they realise that'. Ms. Dirckx felt that, as an educator working in a Dutch-medium institution, it was her responsibility to require pupils to speak Dutch, so that 'wild immersion' *could* take place. So, although she felt that 'it is even difficult to keep applying that rule of "inside the building you speak Dutch"', she nevertheless felt obliged to police her pupils' language use for fear of Dutch all but disappearing at the school (cf. extract 21 below).

Dat is bijna onbegonnen werk om uw leerlingen daar constant in bij te sturen dus we b- je- je blijft hen daarop aanspreken ma je moet daar ook nie: (.) naïef in zijn. Het is nie omdat je een leerkracht twee drie vier vijf een leerling twee drie vier vijf keer zegt in het gebouw spreek je Nederlands dat die da dan plots ook gaan doen [...] dat is gewoon nie zo maar je moet denk ik da toch blijven opbrengen om (0.02) aan da bewustzijn te blijven werken toch die bloot- boodschap te blijven geven (0.03) van oefen al je talen voldoende, alsjeblieft (0.02) ik denk ook als je

It is almost impossible to constantly adjust your pupils in this so we b- you- you keep talking to them about it but you should also no:t (.) be naive. It is not because you tell a teacher two three four five a pupil two three four five times in the building you speak Dutch that they then suddenly start doing that [...] it is just not like that but you must continue to make that effort I think (0.02) to keep working on that awareness still send that mess- message (0.03) of practice all your languages sufficiently, please (0.02) I also think if you don't do it anymore that then, all bets are off

<p>het niemeer doet dat het, hek helemaal van de dam is [...] misschien alleen al daarvoor misschien (.) dus (0.02) het nie doen om da je nog altijd hoopt of denkt dat iedereen ooit spontaan van 't ogenblik da ze één teen over de dorpel zetten allemaal Nederlands spre- ik denk dat dat te naïef is, maar v- misschien vooral om het niet nog erger te laten worden</p>	<p>[...] maybe for that reason alone maybe (.) so (0.02) to not do it because you still hope or think that everyone will one day spontaneously from the moment they cross the threshold with one toe all spe- Dutch I think that that is too naïve, but e- maybe especially to make sure that it doesn't become worse</p>
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Extract 21: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017

While Mr. Blanco, in contrast, admitted that he would never police pupils' language use in the hallways, he said that he frequently responded to pupils' use of languages other than Dutch in class. He did so because he, like Ms. Dirckx, was acutely aware of the importance of Dutch language proficiency for pupils' future educational and professional success. His message to his pupils was, therefore, the following (cf. extract 22 below):

<p>Ge zijt hier voor het Nederlands te leren, maar ook, ja dan oefen jij jouw Nederlands voor later, (dan ben je) perfect tweetalig, als ik nu alles j- in het Frans ga uitleggen (en jij) ga antwoorden, ga jouw Nederlands nie oefenen en ga je later geen goeie tweetalige zijn, ga je later <u>alleen</u> maar Frans kunnen en een <u>heel</u> klein beetje Nederlands dus ja, wat ga: (.) ga je later doen, enkel maar in Franstalige bedrijven gaan werken?</p>	<p>You are here to learn Dutch, but also, yes then you practice your Dutch for later on, (then you are) perfectly bilingual, if I now go and explain everything y- in French and you are going to answer, you are not going to practice your Dutch and you will not be a good bilingual later on, you will <u>only</u> speak French later on and a <u>very</u> small amount of Dutch so yes, what are you go:ing (.) going to do later on, only work in Francophone companies?</p>
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Extract 22: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics, science), November 5, 2017

It is evident that some of these teachers' perceptions in regard to the undesirability of their pupils' use of other languages stemmed not from their fear of the school's Dutch-medium character being compromised, nor from their idea that policing pupils' language use was a matter of discipline. Rather, teachers problematised their pupils' language use out of a concern for their future wellbeing, in which language skills played an essential part.

While it is evident that these teachers did not simply consider pupils' use of languages other than Dutch to be problematic because they did not like it, they did, however, strongly denounce pupils' frequent use of code-switching, as well as other instances of their hybrid language practices. Some teachers problematised their pupils' hybrid language use because, rather than characterising them as harmless or as a natural result of their habits as speakers of different languages, they saw in these code-switches a sign that pupils had a linguistic deficit in Dutch. Mr. Blanco, for instance, said that he consistently responded to pupils' code-switches and would either translate them or provide Dutch recasts, because he was convinced that their code-switches stemmed from the fact that their 'vocabulary is simply not extensive enough, they just do not know the word'.

Mr. Idrissi, then, said that he considered pupils' hybrid language use to be 'a mess', and that he urged his pupils to work on keeping their languages separate (line 1) (cf. transcript 18 below).

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| <p>1 IDR</p> | <p>Voor mij ik herha- altijd gezegd kijk wil
jij zo euh allez, euh, euh een talen
beheersen dan moet jij blijven
structureren en altijd in, in de talen
spreken je bent in een Nederlandstalige
school, dus euh, euh, als ik j- ik begrijp
als jij buiten bent of zo dan, buiten de
school dan kan zi- (0.03) kie- praten
Turks of Frans of zo, maar dat zij de
talen structureren ik vind da allez
persoonlijk, dat z- de talen door mekaar
zo, euh, zo Frans euh, euh Ne-
Nederlands spreken en dan woorden,
Franse woorden toevoegen of Turks of
zo, da maakt gewoon een soep van euh
dat, allez °k weet nie hoe° ma euh als
zij bijvoorbeeld binnen euh een, een
omgeving Nederlandse omgeving in de
klas bijvoorbeeld, zij moeten
Nederlands spreken dan blijven ze
gewoon Nederlands spreken, en
structureren</p> | <p>For me I repea- always said look do you
want like er, well, er, er master a
languages then you have to keep
structuring and always speak the
languages you are in a Dutch-medium
school, so er, er, if I y- I understand
when you are outside or something
then, outside the school then can zi-
(0.03) choo- speak Turkish or French or
something, but that they structure the
languages I think that well personally,
that they mix the languages like, er, like
French er, er Du- speak Dutch and then
add words, French words or Turkish or
so, that just makes a mess of er, that,
well °I don't know how° how er when
they for instance inside er a, a
environment Dutch-speaking
environment in class for instance, they
must speak Dutch then they just keep
speaking Dutch and structure [it]</p> |
|--------------------------------|---|--|

2	SG	Ja om een beetje te leren wat bij welke taal hoort ook eigenlijk	Yes to also learn a bit what belongs to what language actually
3	IDR	Ah ja, ja	Ah yes, yes
4	SG	Ja	Yes
5	IDR	Ma nu: euh als zij bijvoorbeeld euh voor mij eh, allez, als zij een woord nie begrijpen voor mij die mogen vragen bijvoor- ja, hoe zeggen wij da in- da kan, da helpt ook bij (xxx)	But no:w when they for instance er for me er, well, when they don't understand a word for me they can ask for example- yes, how do we say that that in- that also helps with (xxx)
6	SG	Ja	Yes
7	IDR	Ja heb ik o- om 't juiste woo- woord in het Nederlands te zeggen dat zeker, ja, en ik euh, ik herhaal heel vaak dat zij kijk als ik een tekst geef of zo dus ik kijk ja zijn al de m- moeilijke woorden bij maar dat is ook de gelegenheid dat jullie ook nieuwe woorden leren	Yes that I have a- to say the right word in Dutch that certainly, yes, and I er, I repeat very often that that look when I give a test or something so I look yes are al the h- hard words there but that is also the occasion where you also learn new words
8	SG	Ja	Yes
9	IDR	Maar toch moet je inspanning doen om, om, om, ja te zoeken vragen wat betekent?	But still you need to make an effort to, to, to, yes, to search ask what does mean?

Transcript 18: interview with Mr. Idrissi (Islam religion), November 25, 2017

Mr. Idrissi thus saw in his pupils' code-switches proof of the fact that their vocabulary was limited, and, moreover, that they exhibited a lack of motivation and a disinterested attitude in regard to language learning. As such, he problematised pupils' code-switches, firstly, out of the consideration that pupils needed to acquire "pure", monolingual language and, secondly, out of concerns vis à vis pupils' lack of discipline.

Likewise, Ms. Dirckx considered pupils' use of code-switches to be related to a lack of effort on individual pupils' parts (cf. transcript 19 on the next page).

1	SG	Wa vindt ge daarvan als leerlingen wel Nederlands spreken ma daar komen woorden in van een andere taal?	What do you think about that when pupils are speaking Dutch but include words from another language?
2	DIR	(.) euhm, ik ga hen (.) als ze tegen mij spreken of als ze dat in de les doen, dan ga ik hen altijd het juiste woord, meegeven, euhm, door te herhalen	(.) em I will (.) when they are talking to me of when they are doing it in class I will always provide them with the right words, em, by repeating
3	SG	Ja	Yes
4	DIR	Door hun boodschap eventueel nog is te hernemen maar in het ander woord, of hen te wijzen op, tja, da was een Frans woordje weet je ook wat het Nederlands equivalent is, of, dus altijd weer gewoon die =bewustmaking=	By perhaps repeating their message but in the other word, or pointing them to, well, that was a French word do you also know what the Dutch equivalent is, or, so again and again that =awareness=
5	SG	=(xxx) hen daar zo:= ja hen daar een beetje op wijzen van =ge hebt net euh=	=(xxx) them there so:= yes to make it clear to them like= you've just er=
6	DIR	=ja toch= wel, ik heb al wel is geleerd dat het eigenlijk, gelezen, dat het eigenlijk bitter weinig uithaalt, blijkbaar, herhalen wat de leerling zei maar met een ander woord, 'k heb gehoord dat dat (0.02) of toen gelezen dat dat blijkbaar heel weinig effect heeft, dat dat nie zo heel sterk blijft hangen (.) maar der zijn zo veel onderzoeken en die aan de oppervlakte blijven of elkaar daarin tegenspreken en uiteindelijk (0.02) denk ik dan, degene die het echt willen horen of het echt willen, die zullen het wel oppikken	=actually yes= well, I did once learn that it, actually read, that is actually matters very little, apparently, repeating what the pupil said but with another word, I heard that that (0.02) or read, then, that that apparently has very little effect, that that does not linger quite so much (.) but there are so many studies and that remain on the surface or contradict each other and eventually (0.02) then I think, the ones who really want to hear it or really want it, they will pick it up
7	SG	Ja	Yes
9	DIR	Of het zal dan ooit wel is terugkomen, ik heb ook al gehoord da je eigenlijk een woord zeven keer moet gehoord of gebruikt hebben eer het blijft hangen, eer het geïntegreerd is, en dan denk ik ja dan, dan doe ik het maar, want als we er niet op reageren, dan geef je, dan	Or it will come back sometime, then, I have also heard that you actually need to have heard or used a word seven times before it sticks, before it is integrated, and then I think yes then, then I just do it, because if we don't respond to it, then you give, then it's like you give the signal it is okay like this

- is het alsof je het signaal geeft het is
oké zo
- 9 **SG** Doe maar Go ahead
- 10 **DIR** Ik versta je ook in je mengtaaltje, ja, da I can understand you in your mixed little
kan natuurlijk nie, dus language, yes, of course that's not
possible, so

Transcript 19: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017, English in bold

Ms. Dirckx characterises pupils' code-switches as evidence of their 'mixed little language' (cf. line 10), and considers it her responsibility to remedy this by providing her pupils with the 'correct' (line 2) monolingual (Dutch) equivalents.

While most of TPS' teachers said that they simply asked their pupils to rephrase what they were saying or provided their pupils with translations and recasts, there were also situations in which they reported to sanction pupils for their language practices. In most cases, this was seemingly more related to pupils' behaviour and attitude in general, rather than to their language practices alone. For instance, Ms. Dirckx said that she only sanctioned pupils when she frequently observed that they were not interested in learning (cf. transcript 20 below).

- 1 **DIR** En als ik daar dus eigenlijk 't gevoel And so when there I actually start to get
begin te krijgen hier w- willen ze het the feeling here w- they actually just
eigenlijk gewoon nie, het interesseert don't want it, it doesn't interest them,
hen niet, ja, als positief zijn en yes, if being positive and supporting et
ondersteunen enzovoort niemeer helpt cetera isn't helping anymore then you
dan heb je van die leerlingen waarbij je have those kinds of pupils where you
echt wel sanctionerend moet optreden need to sanction
- 2 **SG** =en haalt da iets uit volgens u= =and does that help do you think=
- 3 **DIR** =ma dadis bij mij eigenlijk mijn laatste= =but that is for me actually my last
toevlucht resort=
- 4 **SG** Ja Yes
- 5 **DIR** Euh, goh, pf (0.03) ((*zucht*)) (0.04) m- Em, well, pf (0.03) ((*sighs*)) (0.04) m- b-
b- bitter weinig very little
- 6 **SG** Ja Yes
- 7 **DIR** 'k Heb op da vlak eigenlijk nog maar On that front I have actually only seen
bittig- bitter weinig resultaat gezien, ja very litt- very little result, yes

Transcript 20: interview with Ms. Dirckx (Dutch, English), November 2, 2017, English in bold

Ms. Malchair, then, said that, rather than sanctioning them, she would prevent pupils from speaking, for instance, Spanish in class by physically separating them. She was afraid that 'otherwise they are slightly apart, and not following along anymore'. She added that she did not, however, think that her colleagues' sanctioning pupils for their frequent use of, for instance, French was unusual, adding that 'if they keep talking in French, in class, then you are allowed to give them a notification sheet'. A notification sheet was a card which detailed and recorded all of a single pupil's behavioural transgressions, which they could receive from a teacher after they had been behaving badly and which they had to show to each of their other teachers before each class.

So, teachers did see in their pupils' deviations from what they considered to be the language political norms at school a sign of their negative attitude towards language learning or their lack of effort and commitment in that regard. Additionally, they reported to police pupils' language use and sanction their pupils for their language practices when they considered it to be but one aspect of pupils' disinterest in learning in general, or as a proxy for reprimanding them for not paying attention in class.

7.2.3 Problematisations of teachers' use of other languages

While there were instances in which class 2G's teachers considered it to be helpful for their pupils when they themselves used other languages in class, it was not the case that all of class 2G's teachers had an equally positive perception of using other languages in formal and informal conversations with their pupils. While teachers such as Mr. Idrissi and Mr. Blanco said that they spoke other languages with their pupils because they considered this to be beneficial to pupils' learning, they nevertheless added that they did so either unconsciously, or only reluctantly, for fear of their language practices setting a bad example for their pupils.

Prior to the conversation recorded in the field note below, Mr. Idrissi had used a number of French words to explain certain terms related to the class. As the pupils were filling out an exercise, he walked up to me. From the note, we learn that he was somewhat embarrassed to have used French in class. Not only did he ask me not to tell on him, he also motivated his use of French despite the fact that I had not required him to. He said that, firstly, as a non-native speaker of Dutch he, at times experienced difficulties expressing himself. Secondly, he expressed his conviction that pupils were more likely to comprehend French words than Dutch ones, and, thirdly, he simply

affirmed that TPS is a multilingual school — implying that the use of different languages in class is generally tolerated (cf. field note 26 below).

Meneer Idrissi komt terug bij mij staan. Hij zegt 'ziet ge, ik heb het ook soms moeilijk'. Hij zegt ook 'ik heb gemerkt dat sommige Franse woorden dringen beter door dan Nederlandstalige'. Hij lacht, en zegt 'het is meertalig, he'. Ik krijg het gevoel dat hij zichzelf verdedigt, maar ik heb niet geoordeeld. Ik zeg dat ik vind dat Frans een plaats mag krijgen in Nederlandstalige lessen. Hij zegt wel dat hij liever geen Nederlandstalige zinnen heeft met Franse woorden in, want [de leerlingen] moeten dat niet leren. Hij vraagt me of ik de teksten die de leerlingen moeten lezen moeilijk vind, en ik zeg van niet. Hij vraagt me ook nog niets tegen de directeur te zeggen over dat hij soms andere talen gebruikt	Mr. Idrissi is standing next to me again. He says, 'you see, it's hard for me sometimes, too'. He also says, 'I have noticed that some French words connect better than Dutch ones.' He laughs, and says 'it's multilingual, isn't it?'. I get the feeling that he is defending himself, but I did not judge him. I say that I think that French should get a place in Dutch-medium classes. He does say that he dislikes Dutch sentences with French words in them, because [the pupils] mustn't learn that. He asks me if I think the texts that pupils have to read are difficult, and I say that I do not think so. He also asks me not to tell the headmaster that he sometimes uses other languages
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Field note 26: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi (Islam), May 22, 2017

Regardless of his reluctance and prior argumentation vis à vis using French in class, however, Mr. Idrissi clarified during our interview that he would nevertheless use short, French sentences in class in a more strategic manner, too (line 1-2) — rather than French words, as he was opposed to any and all kinds of code-switching (line 8-10). He added that his use of French in class was limited to occasions in which it helped his pupils (line 4) to comprehend of Dutch words (line 5-6) (cf. transcript 21 on the next page).

1	SG	Ma ge zult nooit denken in de les van, oké als ik dit nu in het Frans uitleg (.) gaat het duidelijker zijn of ge gebruikt geen Frans om-	But you will never think in class like, okay if I now explain this in French (.) it will be clearer or do you not use French to-
2	IDR	Dat, dat is waar ja	That, that is true yes
3	SG	Ja	Yes
4	IDR	Ja, allez, da soms, ik, ja, da ik euh, ik gebruik zo: korte zinnen in het Frans om ja: als ik moeilijk heb om da ook euh in het Nederlands of of zelf de 'k vind dat de leerlingen euh, gaan moeilijk begrijpen in het Nederlands dan gebruik ik zo een korte zin (in)	Yes, well, that sometimes I, yes, that I er, I use like: short sentences in French to y:es when I have difficulties to that also er in Dutch or or myself the I think that the pupils er, will have difficulty understanding in Dutch then I use one of those short sentences (in)
5	SG	Zodat ze eigenlijk, o- eigenlijk is da om naar het Nederlands toe te gaan, da's nooit (.) allez hoe moet ik het zeggen da's faciliterend ma da's nie: (0.02) het wordt nie Frans dan, da's gewoon een soort hoe moet ik da zeggen een	So that they actually t- actually that is to move towards Dutch, that is never (.) well how should I say this it is facilitating but it isn't (0.02) it doesn't become French then, that is just a kind of how should I say this a
6	IDR	Ah ja, ja	Ah yes, yes
7	SG	Als opstapje	A scaffold
8	IDR	Als een middel, als een middel, ma nie euh Fransiseren wa, ik ben tegen da, ik zeg ja ik ben altijd tegen geweest ik kijk euh, sto- met da- geen euh:, m- allez mengselmoe-	As a means, as a means, but not er Frenchify what, I am against that, I say yes I have always been against I look er, sto- with tha- no e:r m- well mixtu-
9	SG	Mengelmoes	Mixture
10	IDR	mengel van, allez, van de talen (0.02) dat is toch nie mooi ook he ((lacht))	Mix of, well, of the languages (0.02) that isn't beautiful either is it ((laughs))

Transcript 21: interview with Mr. Idrissi (Islam religion), November 25, 2017

Although he seemed reluctant to admit it, as indicated by his long pauses (cf. line 8), Mr. Idrissi furthermore said that he sometimes aligned with his pupils when they spoke French with him in the playground, too (line 4). Although he said that he, in general, tried to avoid doing this for fear of it becoming a habit (line 4), he affirmed that he did speak French to his pupils regardless (line 12) (cf. transcript 22 on the next page).

1	SG	Spreken ze dan ook soms Frans tegen u? Op de speelplaats?	Do they then also sometimes speak French to you? In the playground?
2	IDR	Het gebeurt, euh, ja n- nie al de, de daar, da varieert ook ma er zijn leerlingen die Fans met mij praten, ja	It happens, er, yes, n- not all the, the there, it varies as well, but there are pupils who speak French to me, yes
3	SG	En is da voor u dan leuk om eens met hen een andere taal te praten of (0.04)	And is it then nice for you to speak another language with them for once or (0.04)
4	IDR	Euh, j- af en toe allez, ik euh ik at- allez ik antwoorden in buiten, ja, ik antwoord in het in Frans ma kort euh ma ik probeer een beetje, allez, wa anders ik, ik b- ik vrees dat zij een gewoonte van krijgen en ((lacht))	Er, y- from time to time well, I er, I at- well I reply in outdoors, yes, I reply in in French but briefly er but I try a bit, well, what else I b- I fear that they will have a habit of it and ((laughs))
5	SG	Ja, ge probeert hen echt uit te dagen om =het toch=	Yes, you really try to challenge them to =it anyway=
6	IDR	=voilà= ja, e- en probleem is als zij die zo'n gewoonte van krijgen dan gaan zij meeslepen da naar binnen en zo [...]	=there you go= yes, a- and problem is that they who get such a habit of it then they will drag it inside and so on [...]
7	SG	Ja, dus jij zult ook nooit Frans tegen hen praten	Yes, and so you will never speak French to them
8	IDR	(0.02) da =ideaal=	(0.02) that =ideally=
9	SG	=spontaan=	=spontaneously=
10	IDR	Ja	Yes
11	SG	Ja maar het gebeurt =dus wel=	Yes but it =does happen then=
12	IDR	=maar het gebeurt= ja, °het gebeurt°	=but it happens= yes, °it happens°

Transcript 22: interview with Mr. Idrissi (Islam religion), November 25, 2017

Mr. Blanco's sentiments were akin to Mr. Idrissi's in terms of his statements that he only used French in conversations with his pupils sporadically, automatically, and unconsciously (line 1). Additionally, he expressed a similar hesitancy towards using French strategically in class, regardless of his admission that he did engage in it and that it was, on those occasions, brief and quick (line 1). Furthermore, while he said that it did not happen in mathematics class (line 3) because that was not his intention, he immediately nuanced this and said that he tried to avoid it as much as possible (line 5) unless it was necessary (line 7) (cf. transcript 23 on the next page).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|--|--|
| 1 | BLA | 't Is (xxx) één of twee keer gewoon ook uit automatisme in het Frans (xxx) dus ik probeer daar op te letten, maar ja, soms (.) is dadook een heel gemakkelijke (uitleg) heel snel dus (xxx) nee min en min is plus, dus. Gewoon soms, allez tachtig procent in het Nederlands en soms vergeet ik het en dan (xxx) in het Frans | It was (xxx) one or two times simply also out of habit in French (xxx) so I try to pay attention to it, buy yes, sometimes (.) that is also a very easy (explanation) very quickly so (xxx) no minus and minus is plus, so. Just sometimes, well eighty percent in Dutch and sometimes I forget and then (xxx) in French |
| 2 | SG | En hebt ge ooit zo strategisch Frans gebruikt, dus omdat ge echt dacht dazze het dan misschien =sneller (konden) begrijpen= | And have you ever like strategically used French, so because you really thought that they would then perhaps =be able to understand it more quickly= |
| 3 | BLA | =euhm= niet voor wiskunde | =em= not for mathematics |
| 4 | SG | Nee, da's nie de bedoeling | No, that's not the idea |
| 5 | BLA | Dus da's nie de bedoeling, (ik) probeer echt om zo weinig mogelijk Frans te praten | So that is not the idea, (I) really try to speak as little French as possible |
| 6 | SG | Hm | Hm |
| 7 | BLA | Echt als er een (woord is dat ze) echt nie begrijpen, dan probeer ik gewoon hetzelfde woord in euh Frans te geven | Really when there is a (word that they) really don't understand, then I just try to give the same word in er French |

Transcript 23: interview with Mr. Blanco (mathematics, science), November 5, 2017

So, while both of these teachers acknowledged that they used French in conversations with their pupils and considered this to be a quick and easy way to aid pupils' in their comprehension of course contents, both Mr. Blanco and Mr. Idrissi seemed to hedge their statements vis à vis their use of other languages, and expressed a desire to avoid using other languages themselves in class as much as they could. As such, they articulated a perceived language policy in which code-switches are allowed because they are strategic and beneficial to pupils' learning process, and at once disapproved of out of a concern that pupils need to be exposed to monolingual and, as such, high-quality language use.

7.3 Discussion

In this chapter, we have explored a number of different ideological stances articulated by class 2G's teachers, which caused them to waver between their investments in and their problematisations of multilingualism.

We have shown that teachers such as Mr. Blanco reported that they required their pupils to speak Dutch, especially, on the basis of concerns in regard to pupils' language learning. As such, Mr. Blanco claimed that he policed his pupils' use of languages other than Dutch by virtue of his belief that this use had a negative effect on pupils' possibilities to benefit from wild immersion. In other parts of the interview, however, Mr. Blanco said that he had no issue with pupils' use of these languages as long as it was brief, off-stage, and mostly on-topic and, as such, did not disrupt his class or (overtly) challenge his authority as a teacher. Mr. Blanco thus wavered between the competing concerns of maximising pupils' exposure to Dutch and exercising his authority in the classroom, which resulted in his problematisation of multilingualism, and enabling pupils' negotiation of the meaning of certain elements of his course in order to increase their comprehension of course contents, which led to his investment in multilingualism. Additionally, while he claimed that he limited his own use of languages other than Dutch in class on the basis of his belief that this came at the expense of pupils' exposure to monolingual and, as such, high-quality language input, he at once said that he engaged in it because he felt that translations were a quick and easy way to guarantee that his pupils, as learners of Dutch, comprehended the contents of his classes. We have shown that Mr. Idrissi articulated similar stances; while one of his concerns was ensuring that pupils have access to high quality, monolingual Dutch input, which caused him to problematise pupils' and his own use of hybrid language, another was enabling and guaranteeing pupils' access to the meaning of the contents of his class, which led to his investments in multilingualism. Mr. Blanco and Mr. Idrissi are, however, not the only teachers who articulated these kinds of competing concerns.

Ms. Dirckx, for instance, considered pupils' use of other languages to be a logical and innocuous result of their linguistic diversity and their status as multilinguals. As such, she based her allowing of pupils' use of different languages at school on her and her pupils' shared experiences as multilinguals. Additionally, she felt that allowing and encouraging pupils' use of other languages on-stage was acceptable because it

enabled pupils to express themselves in spite of their lack of Dutch skills. While she expressed the belief that her pupils' and own use of languages other than Dutch — and particularly French and English — was beneficial to pupils' comprehension of her course contents, and that it increased their possibilities to participate in class, she at once expressed a need to provide her pupils with normatively correct, monolingual Dutch language input and, furthermore, to limit pupils' use of languages other than Dutch both in class and in the hallways. Much like her colleagues', Ms. Dirckx's statements show that she balanced competing considerations; while her investments in multilingualism stemmed from her desire to teach her linguistically diverse class group effectively in the short term, her problematisations were based on her concerns in regard to pupils' access and exposure to normatively correct and monolingual Dutch input first and foremost, which she felt helped increase their opportunities to experience educational and professional success in the long term.

Mr. Verhelst expressed concerns which were similar to those articulated by his colleagues; while he believed that allowing pupils to use other languages increased their chances to comprehend course contents and to adequately express themselves in class and on written examinations, he said that he at once required his pupils to speak Dutch out of a concern that pupils otherwise would not be exposed to the language sufficiently. Like Ms. Malchair and Mr. Nollet, Mr. Verhelst furthermore reported that he did not see in pupils' use of languages other than Dutch a sign of their lack of discipline or unwillingness to cooperate with their teacher. At the same time, however, he said that he did not want pupils to speak languages such as Spanish in his classroom, on the basis of his consideration that including these languages would make matters too complex, and lead to his losing control of his classroom. Ms. Malchair, then, said that she separated Spanish-speaking pupils for that same reason. So, while teachers problematised multilingualism on the basis of their desire to remain in control over what happened in the classroom, as well as to provide pupils with ample opportunities to acquire Dutch through linguistic immersion, they at once invested in multilingualism by virtue of the belief that pupils can employ different parts of his linguistic repertoire in order to express themselves and to learn.

7.4 Conclusion

What emerges from the interview data is a perceived language policy in which (1) linguistic diversity and multilingualism have a place in the classrooms and hallways of TPS which goes beyond what is intended by the school's progressive, multilingual declared language policy — while the latter formally relegated pupils' use of other languages to spaces outside of the classroom (cf. chapter 6), the former provides spaces for both pupils and teachers to use languages other than Dutch in class, too. At the same time, however, this perceived policy also (2) delimits the space in which languages other than Dutch (or, in Ms. Malchair's and Mr. Nollet's case, French) are allowed inside the classroom and, in most cases, also in the hallways. We have shown that class 2G's teachers did not either strictly invest in or exclusively problematise multilingualism in favour of monolingualism, but, rather, they engaged in both and perpetually wavered between the two.

We want to argue, firstly, that the contradictions in these teachers' statements were not due to their loyalty to the school's declared language policy, nor their explicit resistance to it in favour of either monolingualism or a more extensive form of multilingualism. Instead, they stemmed from teachers' continuous addressing of the different and often competing beliefs and concerns which we have identified. We therefore argue that these teachers' articulations reveal that they 'strike a balance between competing pedagogical purposes and societal concerns' (Jaspers 2018b) in their perceived language policies. Secondly, we want to emphasise that these teachers did not communicate these contradictory sentiments because they were confused — on the contrary, these teachers articulated precisely which sentiments caused them to invest in multilingualism, and which led to their problematisation of multilingualism. As such, their oscillations were a result of the misalignments between the nature of the specific beliefs and concerns to which they oriented (cf. also Henderson 2017). Thirdly, then, we want to point out that our data show that such oscillations, while they take different forms in individual teachers' statements, do not appear to be a matter reserved for certain teachers; All of the teachers which we have interviewed have been shown to harbour contradictory concerns and beliefs, and all of them at once problematised and invested in multilingualism.

We want to highlight, in that regard, that there is one contradiction which appears to be shared by class 2G's teachers: while they felt that teaching linguistically diverse urban class groups enabled them to activate pupils' pre-existing linguistic skills and employ these within the classroom to increase pupils' comprehension of course contents and audacity to speak, they, as educators in a Dutch-medium school, considered it to be their responsibility to maximise their pupils' opportunities to not only speak and acquire Dutch, but to ensure that these pupils are sufficiently exposed to normatively correct, monolingual Dutch. This is a tension similar to the one explored in Puskás and Björk-Willén's (2017) research in a linguistically diverse Swedish preschool with a multilingual language policy. They reported that teachers believed in granting pupils their linguistic freedom but, at once, considered it to be their responsibility as educators to ensure that their pupils were sufficiently exposed to the main language of instruction. These teachers said that they did this out of a belief that their pupils, regardless of their current enrolment in a multilingual school, will nevertheless eventually need to acquire skills in Swedish, the main language of their society language in order to, later on, fare well both academically and professionally.

As we have mentioned earlier, this focus on normatively correct and monolingual language is often encountered in education due to its status as a social institution with the goal of preparing pupils for life in a society where monolingual skills in the standard language are considered a norm and a 'key to citizenship' (Heller 2013, 189, cf. section 2.2.1; 2.2.2). It is thus not unexpected that even teachers in a multilingual school setting would be observed to orient to the powerful monolingual structures which permeate both our society and our social institutions. In the context of *wild immersion* in Brussels Dutch-medium education specifically, it is precisely the juxtaposition between the role and aims of education and the linguistic diversity of modern classrooms which gives rise to such oscillations. While they lead to different concerns for different teachers, they all have their origins in the tensions which are present in modern-day, linguistically diverse, urban classrooms; teachers oscillate between allowing and valorising, and policing and problematising multilingualism, because there is no singular way to balance all of the competing concerns that they face as educators in monolingual institutional environments vis à vis linguistically diverse pupils (cf. also Jaspers and Rosiers 2019).

8 Practiced language policies at The Polyglot School

In the previous chapter, we have discussed and analysed the tensions encountered in class 2G's teachers' *perceived* language policies. We have demonstrated that there was much ambivalence in these teachers' stances vis à vis multilingualism, in the sense that they voiced perceptions and beliefs which informed both their investments in and problematisations of it. While this certainly illustrates that these teachers' perceptions with regard to language policy and linguistic diversity perpetually oscillated between inherently contradictory sentiments, it does not, however, tell us much about teachers' actual language practices in the classroom, nor about their responses to pupils' practices. Indeed, *perceived* language policies, much like *declared* language policies, only form part of what together constitutes a language policy, along with what is *practiced* (cf. Spolsky 2004; Bonacina-Pugh 2012).

Bonacina-Pugh argues that, while practices are often conceptualised as separate or antithetic to declared and perceived language policies, they form an integral part of policy nonetheless (2012). It is, however, necessary to stress that to study a *practiced* language policy does not mean to simply observe and analyse participants' practices in light of their (non)congruence with either what is perceived or what is declared. Rather, a *practiced* language policy is unearthed by investigating the systematicity evidenced by patterns in participants' practices, as well as by studying participants' orientations to the norms which are evidenced by those practices. In this chapter, we will therefore investigate teachers' *practiced* language policies ethnographically, by means of data gathered through long-term participant observation in 2G's classrooms and recorded in field notes, as well as analyses of transcripts of recorded classroom interactions. In those analyses, we will be focussing on participants' selection of languages in the sense of their code-switching practices, as well as participants' orientations to the selections of others. Code-switches are often (one of the) focus(es) in research of teachers' practices (cf. Heller 1995; Hélot 2010; Jaspers 2016 et cetera) as they reveal the ways in which teachers negotiate multilingualism in the classroom and, as such, practice language policy.

8.1 Teachers investing in multilingualism

In this part of the chapter, we will discuss field notes and transcriptions of classroom interaction which demonstrate class 2G's teachers' investments in multilingualism in their practiced language policies. These teachers embodied favourable stances vis à vis multilingualism on the basis of their practices vis à vis French in class, which ranged from their (non)responses to pupils' use of French, to their encouragements of pupils to use French, and their own use of French. In this regard, we want to clarify that this chapter will exhibit a focus on pupils' and teachers' use of and responses to French in particular, as neither the pupils of class 2G nor their teachers were observed to use other languages frequently or systematically. There are some exceptions, however.

For instance, Mr. Idrissi would use Arabic terms in his Islam classroom when they were related to the topic of the class. For example, in the field note below, he uses the terms 'makrooh' ('disliked') and 'haram' ('forbidden', from Islamic law) to discuss whether Muslims should or must avoid wearing perfume during Ramadan (cf. field note 27 below).

Jad [...] vraagt of het wel oké is om parfum te dragen. Meneer Idrissi moet hierom lachen, hij zegt: 'dat is makrooh , niet haram '. Er is zeer veel rumoer nu, de leerlingen zijn aan het discussiëren over verschillende soorten parfum	Jad [...] asks whether it is acceptable to wear perfume. Mr. Idrissi laughs at this, he says, 'that is makrooh , not haram '. There is much noise now, the pupils are arguing about different kinds of perfume
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Field note 27: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, Arabic in bold

English, in addition to serving as the main language of instruction in Ms. Dirckx' English language classes, was only sporadically used in other courses. In those cases, the language was used to clarify specific vocabulary items. In this function, teachers' use of English translations in class, moreover, often co-occurred with their or pupils' use of French. This is the case in the following field note in which a pupil asks Mr. Idrissi what 'aansluiten' ('join') means (cf. field note 28 on the next page).

<p>Nadat een leerling vraagt 'wa betekent aansluiten?' vraagt Meneer Idrissi: 'wie kan da uitleggen'? aan de klas. Hoewel iemand zegt: 'zich en, euh, <i>rejoin</i>, allez', duidt Meneer Idrissi Aya aan, die zegt: 'aansluiten, da betekent.... Iemand onderbreekt haar en zegt 'samengaan'. Meneer Idrissi besluit: 'zich voegen, join in Engels'</p>	<p>After a pupil asks, 'what does "join" mean?', Mr. Idrissi asks the class, 'who can explain that?'. While someone says, "themselves and, uh, <i>rejoin</i>, allez", Mr. Idrissi indicates that Aya has to answer, who says, 'to join, that means...' Someone interrupts her and says, 'go together'. Mr. Idrissi concludes, 'join, join in English'</p>
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Field note 28: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, March 13, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

In most cases, the use of English occurred alongside or following French and Dutch clarifications of the same word. So, while both teachers and pupils were, at times, observed to use and respond to English and Arabic, these instances were trumped by far by French, the default language among class 2G's pupils.

In terms of our exploration of teachers' investments in French, then, we will firstly discuss the ways in which they tolerated or allowed pupils' use of the language in class, both when it was off-stage and when it was public. While pupils' use of French was in some cases accepted by virtue of their function as non-Dutch clarifications of course contents and abstract concepts, in others, it was simply not responded to, or only implicitly responded to. Secondly, we will show that teachers furthermore encouraged their pupils' use of French, and that they frequently prompted pupils to either think of French in order to establish a link between pupils' pre-existent language skills and difficult (Dutch) terminology, or to provide French translations and clarifications in public, viz. in front of the whole class. Thirdly, we will show that teachers used French in class in similar ways, i.e. they either used French to activate pupils' prior (language) knowledge in order to clarify course contents, or they provided their pupils with quick one-word translations. Additionally, teachers used French for other, non-pedagogical purposes, too. On the whole, the examples which we discuss in this part of the chapter will allow us to argue that these teachers' practiced language policies provided ample space for French both in class in general, and in pedagogical interactions in particular, and that teachers' positive orientations to French in the classroom were not limited to their mere tolerance or passive acceptance of pupils' covert use of the language.

8.1.1 Tolerating, allowing and accepting pupils' use of French

We have established that French was, apart from Dutch, the language used most often by class 2G's pupils. Pupils often used French words, expressions and sentences in front of the whole class and held entire conversations with their classmates in French. While some of these interactions were on the public floor, most of them occurred in off-stage activity. In either case, teachers often did not respond. While it is difficult to determine whether that was the case because they had failed to notice pupils' use of French, there are instances in which it was quite probable that teachers had noticed that their pupils were using French, but did not respond and, as such, did not forbid it.

This was the case in the example below. This conversation took place during an Islam class in which Jad was being recorded for this research. He had noticed that the recording device had stopped working and walked up to me with the microphone to ask me if I could restart it for him. The transcript shows the interaction between Jad and Mr. Idrissi which took place in front of the whole class following Jad's brief exchange with me (cf. transcript 24 below).

1	IDR	Ja dank u (.) wat is da?	Yes thank you (.) what is that?
2	Jad	Da's <i>enregistrement</i> (.)	That's <i>recording</i> (.) <i>recording</i> <i>enregistrement</i>
3	Mehdi	Hij wordt opgenomen	He is being recorded
4	Vjosa	Want hij- hij heeft een <i>((onverstaanbaar))</i> (seksistische woorden)	Because he- he has a <i>((inaudible))</i> (sexist words)
5	Nabil	Halal	Halal
6	Jad	<i>((lacht sarcastisch))</i> da's grappig	<i>((laughs sarcastically))</i> that's funny
7	Mehdi	Alles wordt opgenomen	Everything is being recorded
8	Jad	Nee da's voor O-UL C of zoiets	No that's for O-UL C or something
9	IDR	Dus huh	So huh
10	Omar	ULC?	ULC?
11	Jad	ULG of voor m- voor de univer- <i>((lacht))</i>	ULG or for m- for the univer- <i>((laughs))</i>
12	Pupils	<i>((lachen))</i>	<i>((laugh))</i>
13	IDR	Dus, rust van de maag	So, rest of the stomach

Transcript 24: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics, Arabic in bold

There is no explicit response to Jad's use of the word 'enregistrement' ('recording', line 2) by the teacher, while it is evident that the other pupils heard what Jad said, because they did respond. Firstly, Mehdi clarifies what Jad was saying in Dutch (line 3). Secondly, then, Vjosa jokes that Jad is being recorded because of his frequent use of sexist language (line 4). When Jad tries to explain that he is being recorded for the 'ULC' (line 8), Omar repeats the abbreviation 'ULC' with a questioning intonation (line 10) — possibly because he knows that the university Jad is looking for (line 11) is actually called 'ULB'. While the pupils laugh at this interaction (line 12), Mr. Idrissi resumes talking about the benefits of Ramadan, which is the main topic of the class (line 13). Examples such as this one show that pupils' use of French in class was not only tolerated when it was off-stage and covert, but also, at times, when it was public.

In addition to ignoring or tolerating pupils' use of French in class, there were many situations in which teachers more clearly accepted it. In some cases, they did so implicitly, and, rather than responding to pupils' use of French per se, they responded to the contents of what their pupils were saying.

This, for instance, happened during a Dutch language class in which the pupils had to deliver a book presentation. The instructions were to fill out a fake Facebook-profile for one of the book's characters. During the presentation, pupils needed to account for the decisions which they made in terms of their fake profile. Prior to the events recorded below, Ms. Dirckx had noticed that one pupils' choice for the character's cover photo was quite generic. She reiterated the instructions for the task and asked the pupil what they would change about the profile (cf. field note 29 below).

<p>De omslagfoto, legt mevrouw Dirckx uit, moest iets zijn dat het personage op zijn op haar Facebook zou plaatsen. Ze vraagt: 'nu je dit weet, wat voor foto zou je dan kiezen'. De leerling antwoordt: 'een meisje met een *bel of een wapen'. Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt: 'een bel of een wapen? Een bijl'. Wanneer een van de leerlingen vraagt 'wa's een bijl', zegt iemand '<i>hache</i>'. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt 'ja'</p>	<p>The cover photo, Ms. Dirckx explains, had to be something that the character would put on his or her Facebook. She asks: 'now that you know this, what kind of photo would you pick?'. The pupil responds: 'a girl with an *axe or a weapon'. Ms. Dirckx asks: 'an *axe or a weapon? An axe'. When one of the pupils asks, 'what is an axe?', someone says 'axe'. Ms. Dirckx says 'yes'</p>
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Field note 29: Dutch class with Ms. Dirckx, March 13, 2017, French in italics

The pupil says that they would try to find a picture of a girl holding an axe, but they pronounce the Dutch word 'bijl' ('axe') as 'bel'. Ms. Dirckx recasts the pupil's pronunciation and says 'bijl', upon which someone asks what 'bijl' means. When another pupil mentions the French translation, 'hache', Ms. Dirckx simply says 'yes' and continues to provide feedback on the presentation, rather than repeating the Dutch translation or responding to the first pupils' use of French. As such, she implicitly accepts this pupils' use of French, rather than denouncing it. During the rest of this class, however, Ms. Dirckx would tell her pupils to translate what they were saying in French into Dutch, asking them 'what is that?' or 'can you say it in nice Dutch?' (cf. section 8.2.2 below). So, while pupils' use of French in interactions with the whole class was not always accepted, it was, at times, considered to be legitimate when they served as French clarifications of words in other languages, such as Dutch.

The next field note illustrates a situation in which such French contributions to class were considered to be helpful to the class' comprehension of a Latin word. When the teacher, an intern teaching under Ms. Peers's supervision, asks what the pupils think the Latin word 'populares' means, both Nina and Omar reply using related French words. Although the intern provides the pupils with a Dutch recast ('populatie'), it is evident that he also accepts pupils' French contributions, insofar as they could serve to help clarify the meaning of the Latin word. Moreover, he provided the class with the French translation ('peuple') himself (cf. field note 30 below).

<p>Adrian mag iets lezen. De stagiair zegt 'en ik ga u stoppen: "populares", wat zou dit woord kunnen betekenen? Nina zegt "<i>populaire</i>", en Omar "<i>population</i>". De stagiair antwoordt: 'populatie, goed, denk aan "<i>peuple</i>", inderdaad</p>	<p>It is Adrian's time to read. The intern says, 'and I'm going to stop you: "populares", what do you think this word means? Nina says "<i>popular</i>", and Omar "<i>population</i>". The intern replies: 'population, good, think about "<i>people</i>", indeed</p>
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Field note 30: history class with an intern, April 26, 2017, French in italics

There were many instances in which teachers, while they accepted pupils' use of French words to clarify vocabulary items or concepts in other languages, nevertheless also provided additional Dutch translations and recasts. This was the case in the following example from Islam class, in which Mehdi asks what 'tiran' ('tyrant') means (line 1) (cf. transcript 25 on the next page).

1	Mehdi	Meneer wat betekent dit tiran	Sir what does this mean tyrant
2	IDR	Tiran is euh ieman die, euh, weet iemand wat is da een tiran	Tyrant is er, someone who, er, does anyone know what is that a tyrant
3	Pupil	Wa?	What?
4	IDR	Tiran	Tyrant
5	Aya	<i>Un tiran?</i>	<i>A tyrant?</i>
6	Omar	<i>Tiran</i>	<i>Tyrant</i>
7	IDR	Ja	Yes
8	Aya	Euh da's euh	Er that's er
9	IDR	Zoals in het Frans <i>hein</i> dus iemand die	Like in French <i>right</i> so someone who
10	Aya	Die dat euh	Who that er
11	Adil	Een dictator, een dictator meneer	A dictator, a dictator sir
12	IDR	Hoe?	How?
13	Adil	Een dictator (.) een dictator	A dictator (.) dictator
14	IDR	Ja iemand die, euh de macht in zijn handen die laat geen vrijheid voor de andere die laat de andere niet, ja? Jullie mening zeggen bijvoorbeeld of, hun, euh rechten uitoefenen of zo hij (.) hij is gewoon dictator he °dat is een tiran°	Yes someone who, er, has the power in his hands that leaves no freedom for the others that does not let the others, yes? Say your opinion for example or, their, er exercise their rights or something right (.) he is just a dictator isn't he °that is a tyrant°

Transcript 25: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics

Mr. Idrissi starts to respond to Mehdi's question, but hesitates and redirects the question to the whole class, initiating an IRF-sequence (Initiation-Response-Feedback) (line 2-4). Aya (line 5) and Omar (line 6) reply by means of a French translation, which Mr. Idrissi seemingly accepts (line 7). He legitimises Aya's use of French by pointing out that Dutch 'tiran' is, indeed, like the French word (line 9).

Such examples show that French translations and Dutch synonyms were both accepted as equally adequate clarifications of infrequent or difficult (Dutch) words and concepts. Moreover, we have demonstrated that there were many instances in which class 2G's teachers did not provide their pupils with additional Dutch translations and, instead, plainly accepted pupils' French contributions to class. Such responses reveal a practiced language policy in which pupils' use of French in class was frequently accepted when it was helpful to the larger teaching activity.

8.1.2 Prompting and encouraging pupils' use of their French skills

In addition to accepting pupils' use of other languages in class, teachers, at times, invited pupils to make connections between French and other languages in order to increase their possibilities of comprehending certain words. As such, teachers not only valorised pupils' French language skills, but, indeed, communicated that the entirety of their linguistic repertoire was available for pupils to employ. For instance, during a history class about the Romans' conquest of the region surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, Ms. Peers told her pupils 'you are Francophone, you think in French, you certainly recognise the French word in there?' (from a field note collected March 15, 2017) in order to aid in pupils' comprehension of the Latin proper noun 'Mare Nostrum'. Similarly, she encouraged her pupils to use their French skills to make an educated guess in regard to the responsibilities of the Roman goddess of agriculture and grains, Ceres (cf. field note 31 below).

Het gaat op een bepaald moment over de naam van deze bepaalde godin. Mevrouw Peers vraagt de klas: 'en welk Frans woord is daarvan afgeleid? En wat eten jullie als ontbijt?'. Iemand roept: ' <i>céréal</i> '	At one point they are talking about the name of a certain goddess. Ms. Peers asks the class: 'and which French word is derived from that? And what do you eat for breakfast?' Someone yells, ' <i>cereal</i> '
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Field note 31: history class with Ms. Peers, May 31, 2017, French in italics

Ms. Peers not only activated pupils' prior knowledge by relating her course contents to their daily lives ('what do you eat for breakfast'), but, additionally, she invokes pupils' French proficiency specifically; she was probably not looking for the Dutch equivalent ('ontbijtgranen' or 'cornflakes'), as these words are not at derived from the same word stem as 'Ceres' and the French '*céréal*'. Ms. Peers thus saw in her pupils' French proficiency a scaffold for the comprehension of the contents of her class.

Ms. Dirckx also invited her pupils to make connections between the Dutch words that they did not yet know and the French skills which they had already acquired. For instance, in a Dutch language class in which the pupils had to read a text about packaging, sustainability and globalisation, Ms. Dirckx introduced the topic of globalisation by asking her pupils what the word 'globalisering' ('globalisation') means (cf. transcript 26 on the next page).

1	DIR	Wat hoor je daarin welk woord herken je daarin	What do hear in there which word do you recognise in there
2	Pupil	(<i>global</i>)	(<i>global</i>)
3	DIR	Globaal? En op z'n Frans?	Global? And in French?
4	Nabil	(xxx) <i>globale</i>	(xxx) <i>global</i>
5	Omar	<i>Globale</i>	<i>Global</i>
6	DIR	Ja (.) en da komt van <i>globe</i> en wat is de <i>globe</i>	Yes (.) and that comes from <i>globe</i> and what is the <i>globe</i>
7	Pupils	((<i>praten door elkaar</i>))	((<i>talking at once</i>))
8	Pupil	Da's euh	That's er
9	Pupil	De wer-	The glo-
10	DIR	De wereldbol (.) dus globalisering wilt zeggen dat je (.) de- alles wat op de wereld gemaakt wordt (.) de wereld wordt voor iedereen toegankelijk, ja? Alle producten van overal worden ook overal verhandeld oké?	The globe (.) so globalisation means that you (.) the- everything which is made in the world (.) the world becomes accessible to everyone, yes? All products from everywhere are also sold everywhere okay?

Transcript 26: Dutch class with Ms. Dirckx, May 16, 2017, French in italics

Firstly, she asks the pupils if there is something in the form of the word which they recognise (line 1). One pupil responds saying something that is in-between Dutch 'globaal' and French 'global' ('global') (line 2), and Ms. Dirckx provides a Dutch recast ('globaal'), followed by an explicit encouragement of her pupils to think of the French equivalent in a bilingual label quest (line 3) (cf. Arthur and Martin 2006, 189; cf. also Creese and Blackledge 2010; Bonacina-Pugh 2013). A few pupils respond in French (line 4; 5). Ms. Dirckx then provides the French word 'globe' herself and asks the pupils 'what is the globe?' (line 6). While this can be interpreted as a display question, it is more likely an implicit request for her pupils to translate the word to Dutch; after the pupils hesitate (line 8; 9), Ms. Dirckx translates the French 'globe' to Dutch herself and feeds back to the word 'globalisering' ('globalisation') (line 10).

Later in that same class, she would ask the pupils for a synonym of the Dutch word 'delicaat' ('delicate') other than 'broos' ('brittle') (line 21). In this instance, she also explicitly tells her pupils to 'actually think of French for a minute' (line 23), and, as such, performs a direct translation request. When someone says 'fragile' (line 24), she responds that that is 'also possible' (cf. transcript 27 on the next page).

21	DIR	Dus (.) een ander woord voor broos? Behalve delicaat Adil?	So (.) another word for brittle? Except delicate Adil?
22	Adil	Euh (.) (<i>lacht</i>)	Er (.) (<i>laughs</i>)
23	DIR	Breekbaar zou ook kunnen, <u>nog</u> een synoniem maar dan moet je eigenlijk (even) aan het Frans gaan denken?	Fragile would also be possible, <u>another</u> synonym but then you actually have to think of French (for a bit)?
24	Pupil	Fragiel	Fragile
25	DIR	Fragiel (kan ook) ja	Fragile (is also possible) yes

Transcript 27: Dutch class with Ms. Dirckx, May 16, 2017, French in italics

So, while class 2G's teachers not only accepted pupils' use of other languages in class when they were helpful to pupils' comprehension of terms and concepts which were central to a certain class, they also specifically encouraged pupils to explore connections between their French language knowledge and Dutch words and concepts. For some of these teachers, pupils' fluency in French was thus prior knowledge which they could activate in the classroom and valorise through bilingual labels quests and translation requests. Such encouragements of pupils' employment of their French skills reveal a practiced language policy in which pupils' skills in languages other than Dutch are considered to be an asset which can scaffold pupils' comprehension of course contents and, as such, are conducive to learning.

8.1.3 Teachers' use of French in pedagogical interactions

In addition to accepting and inviting their pupils' use of French, class 2G's teachers often spontaneously used French themselves. They mainly did this to quickly clarify key words using one-word translations, or to activate pupils' French language skills in order to help them to explore links between different languages and, as such, to clarify Dutch words and abstract terminology.

For instance, Ms. Dirckx used French at the start of a Dutch language class to clarify 'voegwoorden' (the grammatical concept of 'conjunctions') — the main topic of the class. Vjosa and Scott relate the plural noun 'voegen' to the related verbs 'toevoegen' ('to add') and 'vervoegen' ('to conjugate'). Ms. Dirckx then introduces the term 'voegwoorden' (cf. field note 32 on the next page).

Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt of de leerlingen weten wat “voegen” zijn. Vjosa zegt: ‘is da nie iets erbij doen?’, en mevrouw Dirckx zegt dat dat ‘toevoegen’ is. Scott zegt nog enkele dingen over tegenwoordige tijd en verleden tijd, en mevrouw Dirckx zegt dat dat “vervoegen” is. Ze vraagt of de leerlingen ooit van “voegwoorden” gehoord hebben. [...] ze zegt dat het zal gaan over “zinnen samenvoegen”. Ze vraagt het verschil tussen enkelvoudige en samengestelde zinnen [...] Mevrouw Dirckx zegt dat het woord “voegen” eigenlijk logisch is. Ze gaat dat aantonen door het Frans te gebruiken, zo kondigt ze aan. Ze zegt: ‘en ik bedoel niet het hallucinerende middel... (.) *joints?*’. Iemand raadt: ‘de maand?’, en Mevrouw Dirckx zegt: ‘nee, niet de maand (...) (als in) *ci-joint, vous trouvez...*’. Mevrouw Dirckx tekent een muur op het bord en vraagt ‘wat is dat tussen de bakstenen?’. Noah zegt enkele keren ‘*ciment, ciment*’. Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt: ‘de...?’ en Scott zegt: ‘*joints*’. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt: ‘en op z’n Nederlands?’. Scott raadt ‘voeg... sel’, en mevrouw Dirckx zegt ‘de voegen’

Ms. Dirckx asks whether the pupils know what “grouting” is. Vjosa says, ‘isn’t that adding something?’ and Ms. Dirckx says that that is ‘adding’. Scott says some things about the present tense and the past tense, and Ms. Dirckx says that that is ‘to conjugate’. She asks if the pupils have ever heard of “conjunctions” [...] she says that it will be about “conjoining sentences”. She asks about the difference between single and compound sentences [...] Ms Dirckx says that the word “joints” actually makes sense. She will demonstrate that by using French, she announces. She says, ‘and I don’t mean the hallucinogenic ... (.) *joints?*’. Someone guesses, ‘the month?’, And Ms. Dirckx says, ‘no, not the month (...) (as in) *attached, you will find ...*’. Ms. Dirckx draws a wall on the blackboard and asks, ‘what’s that between the bricks?’ Noah says “*cement, cement*” a few times. Ms. Dirckx asks, ‘the ...?’ and Scott says, ‘*joints*.’ Ms Dirckx says: ‘and in Dutch?’. Scott guesses ‘grout ... er, and Ms. Dirckx says ‘grouting’

Field note 32: Dutch class with Ms. Dirckx, May 8, 2017, French in italics

She feeds back to ‘voegen’ (‘grouting’) and says that she will use French to prove that the word ‘voegwoorden’, while abstract in meaning, is rather transparent in form. She uses ‘joints’ (‘grouting’, ‘seams’) and asks her pupils to connect what they know about the meaning of that word to the Dutch translation, ‘voegen’. Because the pronunciation of the French noun ‘joints’ and the month ‘juin’ (‘June’) are identical, pupils are not immediately on the right track, and Ms. Dirckx provides them with an additional example in French, namely ‘*ci-joint, vous trouvez*’ (‘attached, you will find’). She furthermore visualises the meaning of ‘voegen’, by drawing a brick wall on the blackboard.

Additionally, Ms. Dirckx provided Dutch examples of compound sentences and asked her pupils to join together sentences themselves. She also used the French word ‘lien’ (‘connection’, ‘relation’) in a one-word translation to talk about the specific type of relation between two sample sentences (cf. field note 33 below).

<p>De leerlingen moeten van enkelvoudige zinnen samengestelde zinnen maken, bijvoorbeeld met “en”. Mevrouw Dirckx geeft een voorbeeld: ‘Sue heeft blond haar, ik heb bruin haar’. Mehdi roept luid: ‘maar!’ en maakt er een volzin van: ‘Sue heeft blond haar, maar ik heb bruin haar’. Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt wat je hebt als je “en, en, en” hebt: ‘een opsommend verband, <i>un lien</i>’. Ze zegt: “maar” is een tegenstellend verband’</p>	<p>The pupils need to turn single sentences into compound sentences, for example using “and”. Ms. Dirckx gives an example: ‘Sue has blond hair, I have brown hair.’ Mehdi loudly yells ‘but!’ and forms a full sentence: “Sue has blond hair, but I have brown hair.” Ms Dirckx asks what you have if you have ‘and, and, and’: “an enumerating relation, <i>a relation</i>”. She says, ““but” is an antithetical relation’</p>
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Field note 33: Dutch class with Ms. Dirckx, May 8, 2017, French in italics

In these examples, Ms. Dirckx used French translations of single words and activated pupils’ French language skills as a scaffold for their comprehension of Dutch words and abstract concepts. She thus legitimised the use of French in pedagogical interactions during her language classes — especially as it, at times, co-occurred with other clarification strategies, such as providing visual support. Ms. Dirckx was the only teacher who used French in this way, however, nor were language classes the only courses in which such strategies were observed.

The following interaction is from a history class on the form and function of art in Ancient Rome. After Michel has just read a text in which the word ‘esthetisch’ (‘aesthetic’) was used (line 1), Ms. Peers asks the class what it means (line 1;4), initiating an IRF sequence (cf. transcript 28 below).

<p>1 Michel ((leest)) (xxx) hebben ze vooral een esthetische functie (xxx)</p> <p>2 PEE Ja, esthetisch wil zeggen?</p> <p>3 Nina Wablieft?</p> <p>4 PEE Esthetisch</p> <p>5 Scott Euh, da’s euh (als er) (.) euh allez (.) zoals</p> <p>6 Chloë ((onverstaanbaar))</p>	<p>((reads)) (xxx) they mostly have an aesthetic function (xxx)</p> <p>Yes, aesthetic means?</p> <p>Excuse me?</p> <p>Aesthetic</p> <p>Er, that’s er (when there) (.) er well (.) like</p> <p>((inaudible))</p>
--	---

7	Scott	(bijvoorbeeld) dus euh (.) zoals een euh (.) taart maakt	(for example) so er (.) like a er (.) make a cake
8	Loubna	Da's geen voorbeeld	That's not an example
9	Scott	Je- je- je- wilt da's mooi	You- you- you want it's beautiful
10	PEE	Taart versieren, he	Decorate a cake, right
11	Scott	Ja	Yes
12	PEE	Ja, jouw voorbeeld is goed, he, als je een taart maakt (da's eenvoudig) want je versiert, euh om het esthetisch (te maken om het) mooi te maken. Dus een esthetische functie (mooima-) een <i>esthéticienne</i> , een schoonheidsspecialiste, dat is, daar zie je het woord esthetiek ook in	Yes, your example is good, isn't it, when you make a cake (that's simple) because you decorate, er, in order (to make it) aesthetic (to) make it beautiful. So, an aesthetic function (to make beau-) an <i>aesthétician</i> , a beautician, that is, you can also see the word aesthetic in there

Transcript 28: history class with Ms. Peers, May 24, 2017, French in italics

While Scott tries to explain the meaning of the word using the activity of decorating a cake as an example (line 7-9) — which Loubna does not consider to be a good example (line 8) — Ms. Peers recapitulates what he said (line 10-11) and uses the French word ‘*esthéticienne*’ (‘*aesthetician*’) to further clarify the meaning of the word, explicitly adding that ‘you can see the word “aesthetic” in there’. In this case, French was likewise used by Ms. Peers to establish a link between what pupils might not know yet, i.e. the meaning of the word ‘*esthetisch*’, and their prior knowledge in the form of their French proficiency.

While the previous examples involved teachers’ activation of pupils’ knowledge of French in order to help them to make connections, and as such, teachers using French as a scaffold for pupils’ comprehension of Dutch or English words and abstract concepts, there were many instances in which teachers simply provided one-word translations to quickly clarify the meaning of words, often as part of the final step in an IRF sequence. For instance, in the same class on English vocabulary related to food items which we have discussed earlier, Ms. Dirckx clarified ‘black pudding’ by providing her pupil with a French translation (cf. field note 34 on the next page).

Dan mag uitleggen wat black pudding is: **'it's a kind of sausage'**. Hij zegt dat het een **'it's a kind of sausage'**. He says that it forms part of an English breakfast. Ms. Dirckx says: Dirckx zegt: 'zwarte pens, *en français?* 'black pudding, *in French? Black pudding* 'Boudin noir'

Field note 25: English class with Ms. Dirckx, April 27, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

In the following transcript, then, Mr. Idrissi uses the French translation 'compagnon' (line 2) to clarify the Dutch word 'metgezel' (line 1) ('companion') in a similar manner, also as part of the feedback step in an IRF-sequence (cf. transcript 29 below).

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|--|--|
| 1 | IDR | De deugdzame, iemand die deugdzaam is, da's zoals vroom. Deugdzaam wil zeggen, euh, iemand die, ver is van, slechte daden, en slechte handelingen. Iemand deugdzaam van deugdzame karakter ja? Een metgezel, wat betekent iemand vergezellen? Jouw metgezel? | The virtuous, someone who is virtuous, that is like pious. Virtuous means, er, someone who is far from, bad deeds and bad actions. Someone virtuous of virtuous character yes? A companion, what does accompanying someone mean? Your companion? |
| 2 | Vjosa | M- je vriend | M- your friend |
| 3 | IDR | Jouw vriend, iemand die, euh, in het Frans we zeggen, <i>un compagnon</i> . He? Iemand die jou vergezelt euh gedurende euh tijd, he | Your friend, someone who, er, in French we say, <i>a companion</i> . Right? Someone who accompanies you er for some er time, right |

Transcript 34: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics

It is evident that most of these French translations happened in pedagogical interactions oriented precisely towards gauging pupils' comprehension of words and concepts, as they often followed display questions and were the final part of an IRF-sequence (cf. also the 'populares' example, field note 36 in section 8.2.1).

Alternatively, teachers used French translations following an IRF sequence after which pupils asked questions, or otherwise (implicitly) communicated that not everything was clear. This happened in the following interaction, which took place during an English language class on the formation and use of the simple past tense (cf. transcript 30 on the next page).

1	DIR	Oh, what does bury mean? Who knows what it means? Mehdi?	Oh, what does bury mean? Who knows what it means? Mehdi?
2	Mehdi	Wanneer je iemand dood is en d- je zet hem in een koffer en dan (je zet hem) onder grond	When you someone is dead and th- you put him in a suitcase and then (you put him) underground
3	Pupil	(nie een koffer)	(not a suitcase)
4	DIR	Wacht, welke van die handelingen precies, welke van die handelingen-	Wait, which of those actions precisely, which of those actions-
5	Mehdi	Euh wanneer je de kof- koffer, op de grond zet, je begraaft die	Er when you put the suit- suitcase, on the ground, you bury it
6	Omar	Een doodskist?	A coffin?
7	DIR	Ja, dat is een doodskist	Yes, that is a coffin
8	Nabil?	Nie een koffer, he	Not a suitcase, right
9	DIR	Da's gene koffer, he, ja?	That's not a suitcase, is it, yes?
10	Aya	((onverstaanbaar))	((inaudible))
11	DIR	Oké, maar, het is to bury betekent begraven. Dat is nie alleen met dode mensen, he, als ik een schat heb en ik wil die verbergen dan kan ik die ook begraven, he, ja?	Okay, but, it is to bury means to bury. That is not just with dead people, right, when I have a treasure and I want to hide it, then I can bury it, too, can't I, yes?
12	Aya	Maar, mevrouw	But miss
13	DIR	Ja	Yes
14	Aya	Euh bij de (dingen) de (xxx) begraven (xxx) alleen (xxx)?	Er among the (things) the (xxx) bury (xxx) just (xxx)?
15	DIR	Ik zeg (ook begraven)	I say (bury too)
16	Aya	Ah, oké	Ah, okay
17	DIR	Enterrer	<i>To bury</i>
18	Nina	(graven is zelfde)	(bury is the same)
19	DIR	Graven da ((onverstaanbaar)) als je iets begraaft dan stop je het onder de grond	Bury that ((inaudible)) when you bury something you put it in the ground
20	Nina	Ah	Ah
21	DIR	Ja, oké?	Yes, okay?

Transcript 29: English class with Ms. Dirckx, May 18, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

When Ms. Dirckx asks the class what the word means (line 1), Mehdi provides an explanation in Dutch (line 2). Ms. Dirckx asks him to further clarify his response (line 4). After a short discussion on Mehdi's use of the word 'koffer' ('suitcase') instead of 'doodsist' ('coffin') (line 2-10), Ms. Dirckx feeds back to her initial question and explains the meaning of 'to bury' in Dutch, saying that it does not only apply to deceased individuals, but to other situations as well (line 11). She furthermore uses the French 'enterrer' ('to bury the dead') to clarify the difference between Dutch 'graven' ('to bury') and 'begraven' ('to bury the dead', line 17).

Examples such as this one reveal a practiced language policy in which it was not just pupils' French contributions to class which were accepted and encouraged, but in which teachers themselves used clarification strategies which were actively oriented towards pupils' pre-existing French language skills. As such, these teachers legitimised the use of French at the school, not just as a language which can sporadically be tolerated of pupils, but which can furthermore be used by teachers to teach in a context in which many pupils are fluent in French.

Teachers' use of French in class was not merely limited to pedagogical interactions in front of the whole class, however. In the transcript below, for instance, Mr. Blanco uses French in a face-to-face conversation with Jad, who was looking at an English website where he encountered the word hydrogen (cf. transcript 31 below).

1	Jad	Meneer wa:is <i>hydrogène</i> ?	Sir wha:t is <i>hydrogen</i>
2	Omar	Hydrogeen	Hydrogen
3	BLA	Wat?	What?
4	Jad	Wais <i>hydrogène</i>	What is <i>hydrogen</i>
5	BLA	(.) <i>peroxyde c'est du peroxyde, d'hydrogène</i>	(.) <i>peroxide, that is peroxide, hydrogen</i>
6	Jad	Ja	Yes
7	BLA	Da moet jij opzoeken gewoon traductie	You have to look that up just *traduction
8	Jad	Ma ze gaan (me) gewoon schrijven in Frans <i>hydrogène-peroxide</i>	But they will simply write (me) in French <i>hydrogen peroxide</i>
9	BLA	Ma da's Frans he	But that is French isn't it
10	Jad	Ah, ma nee (things we'll need) dish soap (food) colouring (.) ah, <i>bon</i>	Ah, but no (things we'll need) dish soap (food) colouring (.) ah, <i>well</i>
11	BLA	Da's gewoon in het Engels	That is just in English

12	Jad	Ja	Yes
13	BLA	Ge gaat gewoon op Google en ge gaat kijken welke afbeelding da is	You are just going on Google and you are going to look what image that is
14	Jad	Oké	Okay
	[...]	[...]	[...]
21	Jad	Is da een medicament?	Is that medicine?
22	BLA	'k Weet het ook nie he (.) <i>mais</i> vaak kunt ge de meeste van die producten bij de [store name] kopen	I don't know either, do I (.) <i>but</i> often you can buy most of these products at [store name]

Transcript 30: science class with Mr. Blanco, May 18, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

When he asks Mr. Blanco what hydrogen means, Jad uses the French equivalent ('hydrogène') (line 1;4). While Mr. Blanco initially replies in French (line 5), he tells Jad that he should translate the word (line 7), implying that he should translate it to a language other than French (line 9). He additionally tells Jad to look up visual support (line 13) and admits that he does not know what exactly hydrogen is, either (line 22). While this interaction could lead us to assume that Mr. Blanco's use of French was unconscious due to the misalignment between his own use of French and his response to Jad that writing 'hydrogène' would not suffice because it is French, it is as likely that he simply provided Jad with 'peroxide', which he reckoned was a synonym for hydrogen, because he did not know what 'hydrogène' is. In that case, his use of French is possibly based on a concern to quickly clarify something to a pupil, despite his not really knowing how.

This interaction with Jad was not the only occasion in which Mr. Blanco quickly and briefly explained something in French in an aside. In the field note below, for instance, he used French and Dutch interchangeably in a face-to-face interaction with Noah and Chloë to help them solve a mathematics exercise (cf. field note 35 below).

Tegen Noah en Chloë zegt meneer Blanco	To Noah and Chloë, Mr. Blanco says
iets van ' <i>du moins (...) est été en bas</i> ' en dan	something like ' <i>at least (...) has been down</i> '
en min vier? Plus, oké'	and then minus four? Plus, okay'

Field note 35: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, May 31, 2017, French in italics

Such examples show that teachers, apart from using French in quick, one-word translations to clarify course contents, used slightly longer stretches of French speech in pedagogical interactions in asides, too.

8.1.4 Teachers' use of French in non-pedagogical interactions

French was, moreover, also used in asides for purposes which were not pedagogical in nature. In the transcript below, for instance, Mr. Idrissi asks Jad about the recording device after it had stopped working and Jad had walked up to me to restart it (cf. also transcript 24, section 8.1.1) (cf. transcript 32 below).

1	IDR	En wat wat is dat in de (xxx) euh	And what what is that in the (xxx) er
2	Jad	<i>ça enregistre tout</i>	<i>That records everything</i>
3	IDR	<i>Oui et pourquoi</i>	<i>Yes and why</i>
4	Jad	<i>Tout ce que (xxx) en classe je crois (xxx) c'est pour euh un truc à l'université (elle travaille) pour la langue</i>	<i>Everything which (xxx) in class I believe (xxx) it's for er for a thing at university she works for the language</i>
5	IDR	<i>Ouais</i>	<i>Yes</i>
6	Jad	<i>Je crois</i>	<i>I believe</i>
7	IDR	<i>Et vous faites (ça) aussi avec vos autres profs?</i>	<i>And you do (that) also with your other teachers?</i>
8	Jad	<i>Oui euh mais si euh (on est la) seule classe qui- qui fait ça</i>	<i>Yes er but yes er (we are the) only class wh- who does that</i>
9	IDR	<i>Ja</i>	<i>Yes</i>
10	Jad	<i>On est la seule classe</i>	<i>We are the only class</i>
11	IDR	<i>(xxx) fait tout ça (dans) les autres classes euh en anglais euh en (.) vous enregistrez tout</i>	<i>(xxx) do all that (in) the other classes er in English er in (.) you record everything</i>
12	Jad	<i>Ouais</i>	<i>Yes</i>

Transcript 31: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics

While he initiates the conversation in Dutch (line 1), Mr. Idrissi aligns with Jad's use of French in his reply (line 2) for the remainder of their conversation. In this interaction, Mr. Idrissi asks Jad a number of questions in relation to the recordings, such as why (line 3) and where (line 7) they took place, in order to verify that he was not the only teacher whose classes were being recorded (line 11)¹². Such examples point toward

¹² Although teachers' informed consent was evidently collected prior to fieldwork (cf. section 3.2), they did not know beforehand which classes would be recorded. In the week preceding this interaction, newspapers reported on state schools' efforts to organise additional training for Islam teachers to counter and prevent radicalisation (cf. Vermeylen 2017). So, although Mr. Idrissi allowed for eight of his Islam classes to be observed, he might have been apprehensive as to the exact purposes for which

a practiced policy in which longer stretches of talk, and indeed, whole conversations in French were accepted and engaged in by class 2G's teachers in the classroom insofar as they happened in asides and were, as such, subordinate to the larger interaction of teaching. French was then used to quickly relay and gather information.

In other cases, teachers' use of French in class was not only difficult to characterise as pedagogical, but it moreover occurred in communication which was not directly related to pupils' (perceived) lack of comprehension. For instance, Ms. Dirckx laughingly repeated a pupil's wish that the class would get '*congé-payé*' ('paid leave') on account of the internet being down the next day (cf. field note 36 below).

<p>Mevrouw Dirckx zegt '...en voor de laatste vijf minuten heb ik internetverbinding'. De leerlingen lachen. Iemand zegt, 'morgen gaat iemand de kabel kapotmaken', waarop iemand anders '<i>congé-payé!</i>' roept. Mevrouw Dirckx lacht, '<i>congé-payé</i>, da zou goed zijn'</p>	<p>Ms. Dirckx says: '... and for the final five minutes there is an internet connection'. The pupils laugh. Someone says, 'tomorrow someone is going to destroy the cable', following which someone else shouts '<i>paid leave!</i>'. Ms. Dirckx laughs, '<i>paid leave</i>, that would be good'</p>
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Field note 36: Dutch language class with Ms. Dirckx, March 6, 2017, French in italics

In another instance, Mr. Blanco briefly addressed his pupils in French to reassure them in regard to their end-of-the-year mathematics exam (cf. field note 37 below).

<p>Meneer Blanco legt nog eens uit dat het niet gaat om concrete, maar onbepaalde getallen. Het is wiskundetaal. Het maakt niet uit wat precies voor of na een gelijkheidsteken staat, soms, zegt hij 'als je da omkeert op het examen, <i>c'est pas grave</i>'</p>	<p>Mr. Blanco explains once more that it is not about concrete, but indefinite numbers. It is mathematical language. It sometimes does not matter what is precisely in front of or following an equality sign, he says, 'if you turn it around on the exam, <i>it's not a problem</i>'</p>
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Field note 37: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, May 31, 2017, French in italics

So, teachers did not only engage in pedagogical interactions in French, nor were such uses of French restricted to asides. Teachers would speak French with their pupils on the public floor, too, in moments of comic relief and reassurance alike.

these recordings would be used in actuality and might have suspected that it was only his classes which were targeted.

8.2 Teachers problematising multilingualism

The first part of this chapter explored the ways in which class 2G's teachers invested in multilingualism in their practiced language policies. Their practices revealed that French was a legitimate language for pedagogical interactions by virtue of its functionality as a scaffold for pupils' comprehension of course contents, and, moreover, that the use of that language was tolerated and allowed by these teachers in other types of interactions, too. This part, conversely, will show that class 2G's teachers, while they certainly invested in multilingualism, at once problematised it in their classroom practices. They then oriented towards pupils' use of French as a deficiency to be remedied or corrected, or as a sign of pupils' lack of motivation and discipline. As was the case in the first part of the chapter, our discussion of relevant field notes and transcriptions of classroom interaction will be oriented to teachers' responses to (French) code-switches in particular due to the ubiquity of that language in class 2G. Indeed, there was only one example in which a teacher responded negatively — or, rather, not unequivocally positively — to a pupil's use of another language in our data (cf. field note 14 in section 5.1.2 above).

Teachers' negative responses to pupils' use of French often took the form of teachers' flagging of such utterances as undesirable or illegitimate, as they often formulated corrective feedback in response to them (cf. also Lyster 1998). In this regard, we will show that teachers would frequently recast their pupils' French contributions or would more explicitly translate them. In some cases, teachers prompted their pupils to correct themselves, or they would provide their pupils with metalinguistic commentary. On other occasions, teachers repeated pupils' French utterances in order to criticise their use of them, and/or to indirectly prompt pupils to rephrase in Dutch or to translate their utterances. Sometimes, moreover, pupils' use of French led to conflicts. The forms of teachers' negative responses to French were, as we will show, myriad. On the basis of our discussion of relevant examples of each of these strategies, we will argue that this frequent problematisation of French is proof of class 2G's teachers' orientation to different (pedagogical) goals than the ones which led to their investments in French and multilingualism, such as investing in Dutch.

8.2.1 Recasting, translating, and otherwise flagging pupils' French contributions

In the previous part of the chapter, we have mentioned that teachers would, at times, accept pupils' French contributions to class and would respond to the contents of pupils' messages, rather than the language used to convey them. There were, inversely, also many instances in which teachers did correct pupils' use of French in situations similar to the ones in which they otherwise accepted it. As such, their formulation of corrective feedback or their initiation of repair-sequences implicitly communicated that pupils' French contributions in class were not quite accepted. For instance, in the following field note from the beginning of a history class, the intern teaching the class recasts Noah's response which, while it was correct in terms of its content, was uttered in French rather than Dutch (cf. field note 38 below).

Ze herhalen even enkele dingen uit de vorige les. Nina vraagt wie er boos was op Caesar. De stagiair vraagt of de leerlingen nog weten wie Caesar was. Noah zegt ' <i>un général</i> ' en de stagiair recapituleert: 'een generaal'	They are quickly repeating some things from the previous class. Nina asks who was angry at Caesar. The intern asks if the pupils remember who Caesar was. Noah says, ' <i>a general</i> ' and the intern replies: 'a general'
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Field note 38: history class with an intern, May 3, 2017, French in italics

While such corrections of pupils' use of French were rather implicit, teachers also, at times, drew pupils' attention to their use of French more extensively and explicitly, by repeating their French utterance before correcting it, and/or by adding stress. This was the case in the following field note from an Islam religion class. In it, Mr. Idrissi initiates a label quest by asking the pupils what 'to boycott' means (cf. field note 39 below).

Een leerling zegt: 'de koning hij was de vriend van Mohammed en hij vraag help'. Meneer Idrissi verbetert, 'hij vroeg' en vraagt: 'wat betekent "boycot"?'. Omar zegt: 'iemand *boycotteren'. Een andere leerling zegt iets over 'zoals Coca-Cola' en ' <i>des produits</i> '. Meneer Idrissi herhaalt: ' <i>produit?</i> Product'. Iemand zegt 'in de cas' en meneer Idrissi herneemt, 'in het <u>geval</u> '	One pupil says: 'the king he was the friend of Mohammed and he asks for help'. Mr. Idrissi corrects, 'he asked' and asks: 'what does "boycott" mean?'. Omar says: 'to *boycott someone'. Another pupil says something about 'like Coca-Cola' and ' <i>products</i> '. Mr. Idrissi repeats: ' <i>product?</i> Product'. Someone says, 'in case' and Mr. Idrissi replies, 'in <u>case</u> '
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Field note 39: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, March 13, 2017, French in italics

When the pupils answer, it appears that some of them use French words, which Mr. Idrissi responds to by providing Dutch recasts. For example, he corrects a pupil's use of the Dutch-French hybrid expression 'in de cas' ('in the case') by providing a recast and adding stress to the word 'geval' ('case'). In his correction of 'produits' ('products'), he furthermore repeats the French word prior to translating it to Dutch.

In the interaction shown below, Mr. Blanco responds to a mixed French-Dutch utterance in a similar way. When Vjosa uses the French 'est' ('is') instead of the Dutch 'is' (line 4) Mr. Blanco draws Vjosa's attention to it by calling out his name and recasting his utterance with an emphasis on the verb (line 5) (cf. transcript 32 below).

1	Mehdi	Allez (xxx)	Well (xxx)
2	Nina	((onverstaanbaar))	((inaudible))
3	Pupil	Ah, jij weet da	Ah, you know that
4	Vjosa	Mineraal <i>est</i> water	Mineral <i>is</i> water
5	BLA	Vjosa? Mineraal <u>is</u> water	Vjosa? Mineral <u>is</u> water
6	Vjosa	(geen water)	(no water)
7	BLA	Nee, mineraal is ook (andere dinges) ma <u>in</u> mineraal is sowieso water	No, Mineral is also (other stuff) but <u>in</u> mineral there is water anyway
8	Jad	((neuriet))	((hums))
9	Pupils	((praten door elkaar))	((talking at once))
10	BLA	Nina, Nederlands praten (.) <i>vois un film, nee. Non tu vois pas le film</i> in 't Nederlands	Nina, speak Dutch (.) <i>watch a movie, no. No you don't watch the movie</i> in Dutch

Transcript 32: natural science class with Mr. Blanco, May 18, 2017, French in italics

Following that interaction, Mr. Blanco furthermore responds to Nina's apparent use of French by calling out her name, telling her to speak French, repeating her French utterance *and* providing meta-commentary in both French and Dutch (line 10), which incorporates several other strategies used by class 2G's teachers to police their pupils' language use, on which we will go into detail further below.

Such responses show that French contributions, while they were at times tolerated and even encouraged in class, were not so plainly accepted by class 2G's teachers at other times. As such, these teachers' practiced policies reveal that the contents of a message did not always trump their linguistic form, and that teachers also considered it important to provide their pupils with monolingual Dutch input.

8.2.2 Eliciting corrections and otherwise prompting pupils to reformulate

In addition to reformulating and recasting pupils' French utterances in Dutch, there were also instances in which teachers either explicitly or implicitly prompted their pupils to reformulate their French or hybrid language use themselves. In the field note below, for example, Mr. Idrissi elicits a correction from Lisa, a girl from another class group¹³. Prior to the events recorded in the note, the pupils were talking about the importance of friendship. They were asked to compile a list of characteristics which they thought a good friend ought to have. After going over some of the lists, Mr. Idrissi mentions that many pupils appear to have written down similar things, and he asks Lisa if she has come up with anything else (cf. field note 40 below).

Wanneer het over de kenmerken van goede vrienden en vriendschappen gaat, besluit de leerkracht: 'er zijn dingen die constant terugkeren bij iedereen (...) heb je nog iets nieuws, of dezelfde?'. Lisa zegt: ' <i>confiance</i> '. Meneer Idrissi vraagt, '*hoe zeggen wij in het Nederlands?', en Lisa oppert, 'betrouwen? Betrouwing?'. Meneer Idrissi zegt 'betrouwbaar'. Lisa zegt dat dat 'de <i>base</i> ' is. Meneer Idrissi vraagt, ' <i>base</i> ? De basis?'	When they are talking about the characteristics of good friends and friendships, the teacher concludes, 'there are things that constantly keep coming back with everyone (...) do you have anything new, or the same [ones]?'. Lisa says, ' <i>trust</i> '. Mr. Idrissi asks, '*how do we say in Dutch?' and Lisa suggests, '*trust? *Trust?'. Mr. Idrissi says, 'trustworthy'. Lisa says that that is 'the <i>base</i> '. Mr. Idrissi asks, ' <i>base</i> ? The base?'
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Field note 40: Islam class on friendship with Mr. Idrissi, March 20, 2017, French in italics

When she says '*confiance*' ('trust', 'faith'), Mr. Idrissi prompts her to reformulate her response in Dutch by asking '*how do we say [it] in Dutch?'. Additionally, when she uses the French '*base*' ('base'), Mr. Idrissi repeats and recasts the word.

The interaction below shows a similar situation from another Islam class, namely a class from which we have shown examples in part 8.1 and in which there were instances where Mr. Idrissi accepted pupils' French contributions and used French himself — albeit with the addition of Dutch recasts and translations. In this interaction, Mr. Idrissi asks the pupils to clarify what a diet is, initiating an IRF sequence (cf. transcript 34 on the next page).

¹³ For their religion classes, the pupils from class 2G were grouped together with their peers from TPS' other second-year class group.

1	IDR	Dieet, wat is da, dieet	Diet, what is that, diet
2	Pupils	((<i>praten door elkaar</i>))	((<i>talking at once</i>))
3	Jad	Dieet? <i>C'est regime</i>	Diet? <i>It's diet</i>
4	Vjosa	Ma nee, nee, nee	But no, no, no
5	Mehdi	Ma nee	<i>But no</i>
6	Pupil	(Chinees)	(Chinese)
7	IDR	((<i>onverstaanbaar</i>))	((<i>incomprehensible</i>))
8	Pupils	((<i>praten door elkaar</i>))	((<i>are talking at once</i>))
9	IDR	Dieet leg da uit in het Nederlands dieet	Diet explain it in Dutch diet
10	Mehdi	Da's wanneer je nie (veel eet)	That's when you do not (eat much)
11	Nabil	Je hebt een, euh, euh	You have a, er, er
12	Pupils	((<i>praten door elkaar</i>))	((<i>are talking at once</i>))
13	IDR	((<i>sh</i>)) ja	((<i>sh</i>)) yes
14	Nabil	Je hebt een plan	You have a plan
15	IDR	Ja	Yes
16	Nabil	(en je doet da) (xxx)	(and you do that) (xxx)
17	IDR	Dus je hebt euh een plan van eten	So you have er a plan of eating
18	Nabil	Ja	Yes

Transcript 33: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics

When Jad translates the word to French (line 3), Mr. Idrissi explicitly tells him to 'explain it in Dutch' (line 9). Nabil and Mr. Idrissi then negotiate the meaning of the word 'dieet' collaboratively in Dutch (line 11-18). So, while pupils' French translations were, at times, accepted, teachers nevertheless required pupils to use Dutch in class at other times, perhaps due to their doubts that pupils' one-word translations could on their own be considered to be proof of pupils' comprehension, or because they were attentive to pupils' Dutch language acquisition regardless of their proving that they comprehended course contents, terminology or vocabulary items.

Furthermore, teachers' elicitation of Dutch translations of pupils' French utterances were, at times, accompanied by statements indicating that Dutch responses and/or translations were better, nicer or otherwise more adequate than French ones. For instance, in the field note below, Mr. Blanco asks a pupil to rephrase their French utterance and adds that they should say it 'in nice Dutch' (cf. field note 41 on the next page).

<p>Iemand antwoordt iets dat vaag klinkt als “*vaparise”. De leerkracht herhaalt het woord, maar ik kan het moeilijk verstaan. Meneer Blanco zegt ‘in mooi Nederlands, hoe zeggen we dat? Verdampen’</p>	<p>Someone replies saying something that sounds like “*vaparise”. The teacher repeats the word, but I have difficulties understanding it. Mr. Blanco says, ‘in nice Dutch, how do we say that? Vaporise’</p>
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Field note 41: natural science class with Mr. Blanco, April 26, 2017, French in italics

It was, however, not the case that teachers always told their pupils to rephrase what they were saying in Dutch verbatim; alternatively, they simply asked their pupils to reformulate their responses, merely implying that they should do so using Dutch. This is the case in the transcript below, which was recorded during an English language class in which the pupils were learning about vocabulary items related to baking, cooking, and food. The pupils had just watched a video in which someone was baking a cake and they were going over the different steps involved in the cake recipe. They are talking about the activity of separating egg whites and yolks, and Ms. Dirckx is looking for the Dutch word ‘delen’ (‘to divide’) (cf. transcript 35 below).

1	DIR	Then you whisk (.) whisking is usually with the egg whites (met jullie) eiwitten he die ga je (gaan) opkloppen he	Then you whisk (.) whisking is usually with the egg whites (with your) egg whites right you are going to (go and) whisk those aren't you
2	Mehdi	Leave out	Leave out
3	Pupils	((geroezemoes))	((murmur))
4	Pupil	<i>Diviser</i>	<i>Divide</i>
5	DIR	Dus?	So?
6	Nina	Euh, uitscheiden	Er, separate
7	Pupils	((praten))	((talking))
8	DIR	Delen (.) he?	Divide (.) right?
9	Mehdi	Delen	Divide
10	DIR	Ja divide is opdelen (.) dus huh?	Yes divide is divide (.) so huh?
		[...]	
11	DIR	So we had to add to whisk	So we had to add to whisk

Transcript 34: English class with Ms. Dirckx, May 11, 2017, French in italics, English in bold

In this interaction, Ms. Dirckx simply asks her pupils ‘dus?’ (‘so?’) (line 10), rather than telling them to reformulate their correct answer in French (‘diviser’, ‘divide’) in Dutch (line 4). When the pupils do not seem to know the Dutch translation, Ms. Dirckx

provides the Dutch translation herself (line 8), before moving on with the next vocabulary item, ‘to whisk’ (line 11). These kinds of (implicit) clarifications and translation requests show that teachers expected their pupils to be aware of the fact that Dutch was sometimes a requirement even in foreign language classes, and, moreover, that teachers occasionally verified whether their pupils knew the specific Dutch words which they needed to prove that they comprehended relevant contents.

8.2.3 Providing metalinguistic commentary

In other instances, teachers’ responses to pupils’ use of French, rather than taking the form of requests for pupils to start speaking Dutch or stop speaking French or mixing languages, took the form of brief, metalinguistic commentary. For instance, in the field note below, Ms. Peers is checking pupils’ comprehension of the Latin ‘Forum Romanum’. When Scott replies using French, she merely replies that his response is in French (cf. field note 42 below).

<p>Ze leren nu over het Forum Romanum. Mevrouw Peers vraagt, ‘hoe noemden we dat bij de Grieken?’. Scott zegt, ‘<i>marché</i>’ en mevrouw Peers zegt ‘dat is in het Frans’</p>	<p>They are now learning about the Forum Romanum. Ms. Peers asks, ‘what did we call that with the Greeks?’ Scott says, ‘<i>market place</i>’ and Ms. Peers says, ‘that is in French’</p>
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Field note 42: history class with Ms. Peers, May 30, 2017, French in italics

Teachers would often simply tell pupils that something was ‘in French’, which was usually accompanied by them repeating their initial comprehension check and, as such, not accepting pupils’ contributions unless they translated them and replied again in Dutch. For instance, in one Islam religion class, Mr. Idrissi asked the pupils what ‘constitutie’ (‘constitution’) meant. When a pupil replied using the French ‘constitution’, Mr. Idrissi said that ‘that is French’ and repeated his initial comprehension check, ‘constitution, what is that?’ (recorded in a field note, collected March 13, 2017). So, when pupils’ comprehension did not seem to be an issue — as evidenced by their use of a correct French equivalent — class 2G’s teachers would (additionally) focus on increasing pupils’ Dutch proficiency.

Alternatively, rather than simply stating that something is in French, teachers would respond to their pupils' use of French by saying that such an utterance is simply not something that one would say when speaking Dutch. In the field note below, Scott mixes French and Dutch when he says something about '*biodégradable* verpakking' (French for 'biodegradable' and Dutch for 'packaging'), and Ms. Dirckx tells him that that is not 'the way we say that in Dutch' (cf. field note 43 below).

<p>Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt: 'is deze informatie voor iedereen zinvol?'. Iemand vraagt: 'wat betekent dat?'. Scott antwoordt: 'die moeten <i>biodégradable</i> verpakking maken'. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt dat we dat in het Nederlands niet zo zeggen</p>	<p>Ms. Dirckx asks: 'is this information useful for everyone?'. Someone asks, 'what does that mean?'. Scott replies, 'they need to make <i>biodegradable</i> packaging. Ms. Dirckx says that that is not the way we say that in Dutch</p>
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Field note 43: Dutch language class with Ms. Dirckx, May 15, 2017, French in italics

Such responses problematised pupils' non-Dutch contributions to class more overtly, as they explicitly included a value judgement in which Dutch was characterised as better or more desirable than French in the classroom, rather than characterising pupils' French contributions as simply different from or equal to Dutch — as was the case in teachers' encouragements of pupils' use of French.

By providing meta-linguistic commentary in general, class 2G's teachers communicated to their pupils that French contributions did not suffice or could not be accepted on the basis of their French or non-Dutch nature, specifically. So, while pupils' pre-existing French skills were, at times, activated and considered to be useful tools to scaffold pupils' comprehension of course contents, teachers at once delimited the occasions in which this was possible, and established linguistic boundaries in their classrooms. As such, teachers' practiced language policies show that French was often accepted, but nevertheless not allowed to be the languages of *all* of pupils' contributions to class. It furthermore seems that French could be used and allowed inside the classroom either to solve issues related to comprehension or in more general communication (e.g. in moments of comic relief, cf. above), but, inversely, that it could be rejected when there were no evident comprehension issues, i.e. when pupils quickly and correctly used French equivalents.

While teachers would respond to pupils' one-word or short French contributions in this way, they also often provided pupils with metalinguistic cues to flag their use of Dutch-French hybrids, which is the case in the following interaction. Prior to the events recorded in the transcript below, Mr. Idrissi was explaining to the class what 'een lafaard' ('a coward') is, after Mehdi had asked him to clarify the meaning of that word. In the transcript, Mr. Idrissi elicits a clarification from the pupils in order to answer Mehdi's question (line 1), initiating an IRF-sequence (cf. transcript 36 below).

1	IDR	Maar, wat (betekent het) een moedige persoon of een lafaard? Lafaard, wie kennen da lafaard	But, what (does it mean) a courageous person or a coward? Coward, who know that coward
2	Adil	Ja da's	Yes that's
3	IDR	Ja	Yes
4	Adil	Iemand die, *assumeert niet	Someone who, does not *take responsibility
5	Jad	<i>C'est un la-fard quoi</i>	<i>That's a la-fard what</i>
6	IDR	Ja euh bij- bij- bijvoorbeeld ja iemand die, euh, *assumeert niet	Yes er for- for example yes someone who, er, *does not take responsibility
7	Jad	Hij gaat euh <i>il va donner il va donner tous les trucs</i>	He will er, <i>he is going to give he is going to give all the stuff</i>
8	IDR	Die neemt niet, die: die neemt zijn verantwoordelijkheid niet he assumeren niet, *niet assumeren in het Nederlands (bestaat niet) he	They do not take, the:y they do not take their responsibility, do they, not *taking responsibility, *not taking responsibility in Dutch (does not exist) does it
9	Pupil	Meneer	Sir
10	IDR	Euh, euh, iemand die, die: weglloopt van- bepaalde situatie die heeft geen moed, he	Er, er, someone who, who: runs from- certain situation they have no courage do they

Transcript 35: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, May 22, 2017, French in italics, Arabic in bold

Adil replies that a coward is someone '*die assumeert niet', i.e. 'who does not *take responsibility' (line 2-4). Although 'assumer' is a French verb, it is not used in Dutch, and Adil's use of the verb '*assumeren' in Dutch is thus an idiomatic calque of the French in which he applies Dutch morphology to a French word stem. While Mr. Idrissi initially repeats Adil reply (line 6), he recasts it and explicitly tells the class that '*assumeren' does not exist in Dutch (line 8), before clarifying the word (line 10).

On another occasion, Mr. Idrissi responded in a similar way to a pupil's use of the French-Dutch hybrid '*tortureren' ('to torture'). He firstly corrected the pupil, saying 'mishandelen' ('to abuse'). Secondly, he repeated the pupils' use of 'tortureren' and asked the class 'can we say that?'. Lastly, he provided a number of other Dutch (near)synonyms and elicits pupils' repetition of the word 'folteren' ('to torture') (cf. field note 44 below).

<p>Meneer Idrissi zegt: 'ze gaan een andere tactiek proberen, een andere methode, moslims afschrikken'. Een leerling zegt: '*tortureren', en meneer Idrissi antwoordt: 'mishandelen. *Tortureren, mogen we da zeggen? Martelen, mishandelen, of een andere woord: fol? Te?'</p>	<p>Mr. Idrissi says, 'they are going to try another tactic, another method, scare muslims. A pupil says, '*torture', and Mr. Idrissi responds: 'abuse. *Torture, can we say that? Torture, abuse, or another word: tor? Tu?</p>
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Field note 44: Islam class with Mr. Idrissi, March 13, 2017

So, even if pupils showed that they comprehended course contents and, moreover, did so in Dutch, their utterances were still be eligible for correction and commentary. This was, for instance, the case when their use of Dutch too closely resembled French (e.g. in the case of calques). Teachers thus not only expected their pupils to speak Dutch in class, but required them to speak normatively correct, standard Dutch. As such, they established boundaries in terms of what could be considered to form part of Dutch and excluded and/or problematised pupils' hybrid contributions, which points to their problematisation of multilingualism not from a Dutch-only, but, from a purist, language separate standpoint (Blackledge and Creese 2010).

8.2.4 Language learner-oriented feedback

The following examples can help us to understand why these teachers at once rejected and allowed French in class. They are all from a Dutch class in which the pupils had to deliver a book presentation. During this class, we have observed that Ms. Dirckx, the Dutch language teacher, framed such problematisation of French more explicitly as a *challenge* for her pupils to speak and learn (correct) Dutch. In the field note below, for example, Ms. Dirckx asks Adrian whether he often reads Dutch after she has finished listening to his presentation (cf. field note 45 on the next page).

<p>De leerkracht vraagt: 'leest ge anders ook Nederlands?', en ze vraagt in welke taal hij leest. Adrian zegt: 'Nederlands en Frans', maar hij geeft toe dat hij thuis Frans spreekt en eigenlijk niet graag leest. Hij kijkt liever films en cartoons. Mevrouw Dirckx vraagt: 'is da dan ook altijd in het Frans', en Adrian zegt: 'ja'. Mevrouw Dirckx zegt: 'je hoort het in je Nederlands, woordenschat, zinsconstructie... we begrijpen je wel, maar je hoort het (...) je mist woordjes'. Ze zegt ook dat zijn fouten tegen zijn/haar te maken hebben met 'eigenlijk een gebrek aan Nederlands'. Ze raadt Adrian aan om te lezen, eender wat hem interesseert. 'Je moet jezelf pushen om meer gewend te raken aan Nederlands'</p>	<p>The teacher asks, 'do you otherwise also read Dutch?' and she asks him which language he reads in. Adrian says, 'Dutch and French', but he admits that he speaks French at home and actually does not enjoy reading. He prefers to watch films and cartoons. Ms. Dirckx asks, 'is that then also always in French', and Adrian says, 'yes'. Ms. Dirckx says, 'you can hear it in your Dutch, vocabulary, sentence construction... we can understand you, but you can hear it (...) you're missing words'. She also says that his mistakes with his/her are related to 'actually a lack of Dutch'. She recommends Adrian to read, whatever interests him. 'You need to push yourself to get used to Dutch more'</p>
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Field note 45: Dutch language class with Ms. Dirckx, March 13, 2017

While Adrian initially replies that he does read Dutch, he immediately nuances this and says that he does not often read, and usually consumes Francophone media. Ms. Dirckx tells him that his familiarity with French rather than Dutch is evident from his language use, and, in addition to implying that his Dutch language skills are truncated, says that his vocabulary is limited — telling Adrian that he 'misses words'. Rather than ascribing his apparent lack of Dutch proficiency to the influence of his French fluency, she explicitly tells him that he is 'lacking' where Dutch is concerned and should maximise his exposure to Dutch language input. So, in this interaction, Ms. Dirckx does not consider Adrian's French proficiency to serve as a scaffold for his acquisition of Dutch, but, rather, she frames it as if it were a hindrance to it.

A similar situation occurred in the field note below, where Ms. Dirckx tells another pupil that he needs to be attentive to the differences between French and Dutch in regard to the pronouns 'zijn en haar' ('his and her'). While the form of the possessive pronoun is determined by the gender of the possessor in Dutch, French has grammatical gender, which entails that the form of the possessive pronoun is determined by the noun which is possessed (cf. field note 46 on the next page).

[...] aan het einde van de presentatie zegt mevrouw Dirckx: 'wat ik fijn vind aan jou is dat je blijft zoeken naar woorden'. Ze geeft hem wel enkele tips, namelijk dat hij moet letten op zijn/haar. Ze zegt: 'dat is een probleem voor veel Franstaligen, dat komt natuurlijk uit het Frans want (...)'. Ze zegt hem ook dat ze graag zou hebben dat hij 'loperwoorden' zou vervangen door betere woorden

[...] at the end of the presentation, Ms. Dirckx says, 'what I like about you is that you keep searching for words'. She does give him some tips, namely that he needs to pay attention to his/her. She says, 'that is a problem for many Francophones, that of course stems from French because (...)'. She also tells him that she would like it if he would replace 'passkey words' with better words

Field note 46: Dutch language class with Ms. Dirckx, March 13, 2017

Ms. Dirckx explicitly mentions that this is 'a problem' for 'many Francophones', implying that this feedback is relevant for most of her pupils. Such practices reveal a policy in which pupils' French fluency is oriented to both as a negative influence or a hurdle to be overcome in pupils' acquisition of Dutch language skills, and as useful tool which is beneficial to language learning and raising linguistic awareness through the exploration of intralinguistic (dis)similarities. While both perceptions are based on considerations vis à vis pupils' opportunities to learn Dutch, the latter specifically stems from a concern that pupils are insufficiently exposed to (standard) Dutch input.

While it is not unexpected that Ms. Dirckx, as a Dutch language teacher, would implore her pupils to maximise their exposure to Dutch, and to help them to avoid frequently made mistakes, her comments were not limited to her Dutch language class. For instance, in an English language class, she told Nabil that he should 'push himself a little bit' and not translate what he wants to say in English word for word from French (cf. field note 47 below).

De leerkracht spreekt Dan en Nabil aan: 'Nabil, **push yourself a little bit** (...) niet altijd vertalen van het Frans (...)'. Ze zegt ook dat Dan goed Engels kan, maar dat hij Nabil fouten moet laten maken zodat Nabil daarvan kan leren. Daarna wandelt de leerkracht nog veel rond. Ze beantwoordt vragen van de leerlingen

The teacher is talking to Dan and Nabil: 'Nabil, **push yourself a little bit** (...) don't always translate from French'. She also says that Dan is good at English, but that he has to let Nabil make mistakes so that Nabil can learn from them. After that, the teacher is walking around a lot. She is answering pupils' questions

Field note 47: English language class with Ms. Dirckx, March 23, 2017

Examples such as these ones show us that, where Ms. Dirckx is concerned, such problematisations of French are more explicitly framed as a matter of her ‘pushing [her] pupils a little bit’. It is evident from such interactions that teachers, when they noticed that pupils comprehended terminology, vocabulary and course contents, took the time to ‘push’ their pupils to use and learn (normatively correct) Dutch.

Ms. Dirckx’ feedback in relation to ‘passkey words’ (cf. field note 52 above), incidentally, points towards the fact that it was Ms. Dirckx’ view that many of class 2G’s pupils often used the same generic Dutch verbs in class, rather than more specified or infrequent words, or new vocabulary items. At a later point in the field work, she told me she had noticed a positive evolution in this regard, adding that pupils would often look up synonyms and use many different words (recorded in a field note collected on April 20, 2017). As such, we see in Ms. Dirckx’ practices an orientation to a concern for pupils’ lack of effort and commitment to using and learning Dutch.

8.2.5 Repetitions, modifications and responding less amicably to French

Rather than correcting pupils’ use of French, teachers responded in less amicable way at times, too. Pupils’ use of French was then oriented to as sanctionable not out of pedagogical, but out of disciplinary concerns. For instance, in the field note below, Mr. Blanco modifies Chloë’s message to the pupil sitting next to her so that it applies to him, to criticise her use of French. He then adds that he would like the whole class to be quiet and pay attention (cf. field note 48 below).

<p>Chloë zegt iets tegen haar burens van ‘...j’ai rien fait’. Meneer Blanco antwoordt: ‘moi, j’ai rien fait non plus (...) ik zou graag hebben dat jullie zwijgen en meevolgen’</p>	<p>Chloë tells her neighbours something like ‘I haven’t done anything’. Mr. Blanco responds: ‘me, I haven’t done anything either (...) I would like it if you keep quiet and follow along’</p>
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Field note 48: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, May 30, 2017, French in italics

Mr. Blanco often repeated his pupils’ French utterances in this way (cf. ‘non tu vois pas le film’, transcript 33 in section 8.2.1). Such responses were often accompanied by additional commentary, such as ‘French, again’ (recorded in a field note collected on May 31, 2017). In the field note below, he repeats a number of pupils’ French utterances, such as Jad’s question to a classmate regarding what time it is, and Loubna’s asking someone whether they are Italian (cf. field note 49 on the next page).

Jad zegt iets in het Frans tegen Adil en Nabil.	Jad says something in French to Adil and Nabil.
Meneer Blanco merkt het op: " <i>il est quel heure</i> ", Jad? Ten eerste: in het Nederlands,	Mr. Blanco notices it: " <i>what time it is, Jad?</i> " First of all: in Dutch, second of all: keep
ten tweede: werk verder' Zijn geduld is	working'. He has clearly run out of patience.
duidelijk op. Loubna vraagt ' <i>t'es italien?</i> ' en	Loubna asks ' <i>are you Italian?</i> ' and Mr. Blanco
meneer Blanco zegt: " <i>t'es italien</i> ", kan me niet	says, " <i>are you Italian</i> ", I don't care: speak
schelen: spreek Nederlands!'	Dutch!'

Field note 49: mathematics class with Mr. Blanco, June 6, 2017, French in italics

These interactions took place in the second part of a two-hour mathematics class which was quite noisy, with many of the pupils talking to each other in French, and Mr. Blanco's patience evidently wearing thin. Such situations did not just lead to Mr. Blanco's repeating pupils' French utterances, but also to his raising his voice and sanctioning pupils (cf. also transcript 8 in section 5.1.4). It is evident that, in Mr. Blanco's case, pupils' use of French at times led to disputes, in which he oriented to their language use as part of behaviour that is "undisciplined", for example because it shows that pupils are not paying attention to what the teacher is saying and are instead chatting to each other. The previous examples show that commenting on French then serves to criticise both the form and contents of pupils' utterances — 'first of all: in Dutch, second of all: keep working' (cf. above).

Mr. Blanco was not the only teacher who raised his voice in response to pupils' use of French, however, nor were all of TPS' teachers' less amicable responses to French oriented to pupils' lack of attention in class. The following example shows that teachers, at times, saw in pupils' use of French a disciplinary issue not because it showed that they were not paying attention, but rather, pupils' use of French was characterised as "undisciplined" because it communicated that pupils erroneously considered French rather than Dutch to be the default language in certain situations. This interaction took place during a free period in which class 2G was supervised by Ms. Meeus, a third-year French teacher. The pupils of class 2G are sat in the cafeteria, along with a number of third-year pupils who had earlier addressed Ms. Meeus in French (cf. transcript 37 on the next page).

1	Jad	<i>Madame, après que on a fini ça on peut-</i>	<i>Miss, after we have finished that can we-</i>
2	MEE	't Is hier Nederlands, voor jou dus jij praat Nederlands	It is Dutch here, for you so you speak Dutch
3	Jad	Ma waarom? Ze mochten met u Frans praten	But why? They could speak French to you
4	MEE	Zij zijn, <u>IK</u> ben hun leerkracht Frans en jij als, <u>JONGE</u> , leerling van het tweede jaar gaat MIJ nie zeggen wa jij mag en wa niet, oké?	They are, <u>I</u> am their French teacher and you as, <u>YOUNG</u> , pupil from the second year is not going to tell ME what you can and cannot do, okay?
5	Pupils	((geroezemoes))	((murmur))
6	Tim	((zucht))	((sighs))
7	MEE	(Da kies) ik hier en niemand anders	(I choose) that here and no one else
8	Jad	Oké, maar als we nu (klaar met deze)=	Okay but if we now (done with this one)=
9	MEE	=nee, da's nie voor niks da je die extra taallessen krijgt	=No, it is not for nothing that you get those extra language classes

Transcript 36: free period with Ms. Meeus, May 24, 2017, French in italics

Jad attempts to ask Ms. Meeus what the pupils should do once they have finished their task for this free period (line 1). Ms. Meeus interrupts him to tell him to speak Dutch, as that is what Jad is required to do (line 2). Jad, then, points out that the third-year pupils were able to address Ms. Meeus in French (line 3), and Ms. Meeus raises her voice to tell him that he has no say in the matter (line 4). When Jad starts to rephrase his question in Dutch, then, (line 8) Ms. Meeus interrupts him once more and tells him that it is obvious that he is in need of 'language support' classes (line 9). In this case, Jad's use of the "wrong" language at the "wrong" time led to a conflict, which ended with Ms. Meeus' criticism of his Dutch language skills in addition to his addressing of her in French. As such, Jad's use of French was treated as a sign of his non-compliance with the school's declared language policy and Ms. Meeus' authority, and his Dutch skills as truncated.

8.3 Discussion

In this chapter, we have discussed different facets of class 2G's teachers' practiced language policies as they were observed in the classroom. On the one hand, we have shown that these teachers' practices revealed that they invested in multilingualism in ways which went beyond what was included in the school's declared language policy, in the sense that they frequently tolerated and allowed pupils' use of French in the classroom and that they, moreover, often used French themselves.

In terms of their acceptance of pupils' use of French in class, these teachers would often acknowledge and accept the contents of pupils' utterances, despite the fact that pupils' contributions were not in Dutch. While they would, at times, additionally provide the whole class with recasts and translations, such interactions nevertheless show that both Dutch translations or synonyms *and* French contributions were accepted as conducive and beneficial to the larger activity of teaching. As such, these teachers oriented to the belief that, at times, the contents of their classes trumped the language in which they were delivered in pedagogical interactions. To reprise Mr. Blanco's words: 'whether they've understood in French or in Dutch does not matter to me, but the idea is that they try to speak Dutch. As long as they understand I am happy'. In addition to merely accepting pupils' use of French, teachers strategically involved pupils' pre-existent French language skills in their pedagogical interactions to explore and establish links between new or difficult terms and concepts. They did so by encouraging pupils to think about French to activate their prior knowledge in silence, as well as by prompting them to use their French language skills in public by issuing translation requests and bilingual label quests. As such, these teachers valorised pupils' French skills by orienting to them as something which supported their teaching in their function as a linguistic scaffold.

Teachers often used French for such purposes themselves, too, as they would frequently provide their pupils with one-word translations and short sentences in order to clarify their course contents. As Mr. Verhelst said, 'we indeed need to approach things differently, and translate [elements] to French'. Class 2G's teachers' practices were thus based on their belief that teaching linguistically diverse pupils allowed and, at times, required them to include different languages in the classroom.

Teachers' use of French was not limited to pedagogical interactions, however. We have furthermore discussed examples of teachers' more extensive use of French

in face-to-face interactions with their pupils in asides. French was then used to quickly gather and relay information, as well as in discussions of matters which were not central to the main teaching activity. Such uses of French were likely based on teachers' and pupils' shared experiences as bi- and multilinguals, and/or they stemmed from a desire to build rapport through friendly, off-topic and spontaneous interactions. While this use of French certainly points to the fact that French was not merely included in the classroom by class 2G's teachers on the basis of its capacity to complement Dutch in the main teaching activity, the relative infrequency and off-topic nature of those examples does, we want to argue, reveal an implicit norm in which such non-pedagogical uses of French were not as commonplace, nor accepted as pedagogical uses. They therefore do not unequivocally exemplify the inclusion of French as a language which is as legitimate in the classroom as Dutch.

This, then, brings us to our exploration of the ways in which class 2G's teachers' practices revealed that, while they invested in multilingualism, they inadvertently at once problematised it in their classroom interactions. In that regard, we have discussed the ways in which class 2G's teachers often implicitly or explicitly corrected pupils' French contributions to class and asked pupils to translate their non-Dutch and hybrid utterances to (monolingual) Dutch. We have illustrated the ways in which pupils' use of French was, moreover, at times a cause for conflicts between teachers and pupils.

We have shown examples of teachers' formulations of corrective feedback on their pupils' use of French, as well as their elicitations of pupils' self-corrections. Both of these types of feedback to pupils' French utterances occurred in situations similar to those in which teachers were otherwise shown to accept pupils' French contributions to class. In some cases, it was evident that these teachers did not consider their pupils' one-word French utterances to unambiguously form proof of their comprehension of course contents, while in others they merely required pupils to rephrase their contributions in Dutch because they wanted their pupils to make the effort to do so. Such practices show that the contents of a message did not always trump its linguistic form, and that class 2G's teachers, at times, did consider it important that their pupils spoke and were exposed to Dutch in class. They did so out of a concern for their chances of (educational) success in a Dutch-medium setting; to reiterate Ms. Dirckx' and Mr. Blanco's statements, respectively; 'make sure that you

practice enough in this language, in which you are basically going to continue to study', and '[if] you will only speak French later on and a very small amount of Dutch, what are you going to do later on, only work in Francophone companies?'.

Alternatively, teachers required Dutch out of the consideration that pupils' frequent use of French was a sign of their lack of discipline and, conversely, teachers' lack of classroom authority. In that regard, teachers often provided their pupils with metalinguistic commentary which more explicitly flagged their use of French as undesirable — regardless of the fact that the contents of their French messages were at once oriented to as being correct. Class 2G's teachers thus firmly established language boundaries for their pupils and exercised their authority to control the languages which were publicly and overtly represented in the classroom. They did so either as part of broader classroom management, or because they did not want the balance to gradually tilt in favour of French. As Ms. Dirckx explained, teachers, then, do not problematise French 'because you still hope or think that everyone will one day spontaneously, from the moment they cross the threshold with one toe, all speak Dutch. I think that that is too naïve. But maybe especially to make sure that it doesn't become worse'. Teachers' classroom practices furthermore showed that, in addition to a lack of commitment to speaking and learning Dutch, pupils' frequent use of French was oriented to as their lack of cooperation in class, and as their (overt) resistance of classroom authority. In those case, teachers repeated pupils' French utterances in a stern tone, or they raised their voices and explicitly criticised pupils' Dutch language skills. On such occasions, it is evident that teachers problematised pupils' use of French on the basis of their desire to remain in charge of the types of interactions which they allowed in their classrooms, or, in Ms. Meeus' case, under their supervision. This, then, is in stark contrast with teachers' acceptance of French because it was a harmless and automatic result of their pupils' linguistic diversity and multilingualism.

Lastly, teachers' practices showed that they based their responses to French, in part, on their concerns regarding the negative effects of pupils' French fluency on their motivation and, indeed, lack of commitment to acquiring Dutch. In those instances, they construed pupils' pre-existing French skills not as an asset which could be used as a scaffold for pupils' comprehension and learning of course contents, but, rather, as a hindrance which stood in the way of their Dutch-language acquisition. In the same vain, teachers problematised pupils' hybrid utterances, especially, as they

saw in them a sign of pupils' lack of effort to speak and acquire normatively correct, standard Dutch — as well as a linguistic deficit to be remedied. As Mr. Blanco said, it was teachers' view that pupils' hybrid language use showed that their 'vocabulary is simply not extensive enough'. As such, teachers invested in (standard) Dutch monolingualism out of a concern for pupils' possibilities to acquire accurate language.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown that class 2G's teachers both invested in and problematised multilingualism in their practiced language policies. We argue this on the basis of our discussion and analysis of their classroom interaction and, more specifically, their (responses) to (pupils') code-switching practices. We have demonstrated that individual teachers did not consistently enforce or resist either a radically monolingual or a multilingual policy, but that they did both and, moreover, that they wavered between the two. These teachers did not display such contradictory behaviour because they did not know how to manage and teach their linguistically diverse pupils, or because they were, for instance, avid proponents of Dutch monolingualism. Rather, these teachers' practiced language policies showed that they oscillated between the imposition of monolingualism and the acceptance of French and multilingualism because they continually addressed the concerns which they were faced with as educators in a classroom in a Dutch-medium secondary school with a vastly linguistically diverse class group — concerns which all vastly different in nature (cf. chapter 7) and which each led to different practical responses from them.

Our analyses of teachers' contradictory behaviour reveal a practiced language policy in which teachers problematised pupils' frequent use of French and hybrid utterances and strived for monolingualism and language separation, yet, at once, engaged in and allowed pupils' code-switches. As Creese and Blackledge write, while 'codeswitching is rarely institutionally endorsed or pedagogically underpinned [...] when it is used, it becomes a pragmatic response to the local classroom context' (2010:105). However, although we have certainly demonstrated that class 2G's teachers' inclusion of languages other than Dutch — and particularly, French — in their classroom was based on their belief in the importance of scaffolding their pupils' emerging Dutch proficiency in practice (cf. Heller 1995; Hélot 2010), this does not account for all of the similar situations in which such use of French was problematised. In that regard, their negative stances vis à vis French-Dutch hybrids and French code-switches were based on teachers' concurrent concerns in regard to the importance of monolingualism in modern societies in general (cf. Heller 1995, 1996; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Martín Rojo 2010) and in the Brussels' context in particular. Class 2G's teachers, much like those observed in Codó and Patiño-Santos' (2014) study in Catalonia and in Puskás and Björk-Willén's (2017) study in Sweden, continually

switched between engaging in code-switches and enforcing monolingualism, out of their considerations that their pupils needed to be exposed to and aided in acquiring monolingual, standard forms of the (symbolic) majority language to adequately prepare them for a future in an environment in which Dutch monolingualism is a requirement. In that sense, moreover, it was not just important that pupils had a 'reasonable grasp' (cf. Willoughby 2007, 7.5) of Dutch, but, rather, (access to) knowledge of and skills in normatively correct, standard, purist forms of the language. Teachers' practiced language policies furthermore showed that, while French was accepted on the basis of teachers' shared experiences with their pupils through their use of the language in non-pedagogical interactions (cf. also Henderson 2017), there was a concurrent orientation towards pupils' use of French as an overt challenging of teachers' classroom authority, and a lack of motivation to learn (cf. also Heller 1995). Not all of teachers' restrictions and inclusions of French in their classrooms stemmed from a concern for pupils' language learning trajectory and opportunities for future success, as some of them were oriented to different personal and professional concerns yet.

We want to conclude that class 2G's teachers balanced their investments in multilingualism with the requirements of a society which values monolingualism for its members, and their investments in monolingualism with the (language) learning needs of their emergent multilingual pupils. As educators of linguistically diverse pupils employed by a multilingual Dutch-medium school in the context of wild immersion, the tensions between monolingualism and multilingualism are vast, and they evidently pose different interpersonal and professional concerns for these teachers. Such concerns caused them to oscillate in their practices, because these teachers were perpetually negotiating solutions to the juxtaposition of society's and education's monolingual requirements on the one hand, and their and their pupils' linguistically diverse lived experiences on the other. So, rather than to conceptualise this kind of teacher behaviour as simply inherently contradictory, we can better reframe it as teachers' attempts to find compromises and to 'stri[k]e a balance between competing pedagogical purposes and societal concerns' (cf. Jaspers 2018, 1).

9 Conclusion

In this thesis, we have analysed language policy at The Polyglot School, a linguistically diverse Dutch-medium school in the urban context of Brussels, Belgium's officially bilingual Capital Region. In this chapter, we will formulate our conclusions on the basis of what was discussed in the previous chapters, and we will specify the limitations of this research. In the first part of the chapter, we will reiterate some of the insights from the literary, methodological and contextual chapters of this dissertation, as they have informed the analyses and conclusions of the entirety of this research. What is especially relevant, in this regard, is our conclusion that the field of LPP — and, indeed, sociolinguistics in general — has evolved throughout the years, and has become more critical of hegemonic structures such as monolingualism and language separateness. Meanwhile, however, individual language policies in education did not follow suit, as many schools, and those in Brussels in particular, implement strict monolingual language policies in spite of and, moreover, in response to increasing urban linguistic diversity in their pupil compositions.

The second part, then, will reiterate the main insights from our analyses of The Polyglot School's language policy. We will firstly discuss some of our findings in regard to The Polyglot School's dual focus on (Dutch) monolingualism and multilingualism in its declared language policy. We will emphasise that the school, while it certainly made an effort to formally embrace multilingualism, nevertheless problematised it in terms of the languages and types of language use which were included at the school, as well as the prioritisation of Dutch over the curricular languages and pupils' home languages. Secondly, then, we will contrast what we have discussed in terms of teachers' perceived language policies with what we have concluded vis à vis their practiced language policies. We will show that these teachers voiced beliefs and displayed behaviour which were both quite contradictory. It appeared that they problematised multilingualism as often as they invested in it, and that they perpetually wavered between imposing monolingualism and valorising their pupils' linguistic diversity.

9.1 Literary, methodological, and contextual backdrop

9.1.1 Monolingualism, linguistic diversity, policy in education

In our literature review, we have provided a detailed discussion of the tensions between modern, urban multilingual classrooms, and the older powerful hegemonic structures which persist both in society in general, and in (language policy in) education in particular. In that regard, the field of LPP has evolved to become quite critical of the hegemonic ideologies which influence both the field itself and policy (research). Concurrently, modern (socio)linguistics has increasingly criticised the concept of, for instance, language separation in favour of theories which emphasise the interrelatedness of language skills in speakers' linguistic repertoires, such as such as *translanguaging* (cf. García 2009; Li Wei 2011), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), and *polylingualism* (Jørgensen 2008). Although such evolutions have shaped our academic understanding of policy and linguistic diversity, these and similar reconceptualisations of language do not appear to be widely represented in either educational language policies, nor in teachers' perceptions and practices. Where Belgian Dutch-medium education is concerned, we have discussed the ways in which meso-level policies endeavour to strictly impose monolingual policies, which teachers have frequently been reported to agree with at the micro-level (cf. section 4.1.3).

In that regard, there is much research either frames teachers' counterhegemonic beliefs and practices as examples of educators defying the odds and resisting monolingualism, or, alternatively, which considers their beliefs and practices in terms of restricting multilingual spaces in the classroom, keeping languages separate, and requiring monolingual language use to be proof of their displaying a 'monolingual habitus' (cf. also Jaspers 2018, 2). In regard to their stances vis à vis monolingual educational policies, then, teachers are considered to either resist it or execute it loyally — the latter of which is often considered to be a result of teachers' lack of awareness, and their need to be educated and aided in using and allowing more flexible use of language (cf. Martínez, Hikida, and Durán 2015). We have pointed out, however, that such conclusions do not seem to acknowledge the fact that teachers are, at times, shown to do both, and to waver between different standpoints vis à vis monolingualism and multilingualism. Moreover, we have

demonstrated that such contradictory behaviour does not stem from the fact that teachers are not yet adequately educated, nor is it the result of the fact that schools are, as of yet, monolingual spaces. Rather, such ambivalent perceptions and practices are chronic, as they are a result inherent in teachers' responsibilities as educators in an environment which requires them to continually orient towards different competing concerns, in which they have to balance educating linguistically diverse pupils with the demands of a society which values monolingualism for its members.

9.1.2 Studying language policy ethnographically

It was, thus, this thesis' aim to explore and analyse the contradictory ways in which teachers 'do policy' at The Polyglot School. We wanted to gauge the ways in which teachers of one specific class group, namely class 2G, policed, allowed, tolerated and encouraged linguistic diversity both in their articulations and in their embodiments. We furthermore aimed to investigate which concerns and perceptions could be considered to lie at the basis of teachers' practices, and, as such, how their practices related to their perceptions.

In that regard, it is important to emphasise that we consider language policy to be a multi-faceted phenomenon which not only operates at the level of over-arching governments, such as the Flemish Government, but also at the meso-level of individual schools, and the micro-level of face-to-face interactions within the classroom. We have, moreover, established that policy unites different components. Firstly, a policy text can comprise a detailed account of what a school or institution intends to be done, i.e. a declared language policy. Secondly, policy agents and actors can harbour certain beliefs and ideologies which communicate not what is formally intended, but what people think should be done in terms of language planning, which is their perceived language policy. Lastly, people's practices can reveal a systematicity which can help us to unearth the interactional norms to which they orient in the classroom. This, then, teaches us about these people's practiced language policies. We have argued, furthermore, that to study a policy does not mean to simply contrast what is intended with what is desired and what is done, but to gauge each of these components separately, so that they each form part of one holistic study.

Investigating each of these components requires different types of data, and different kinds of methods to gather them. This research used (socio)linguistic ethnographic methodology to unite the methods and analytical angles which we

needed to study language policy in this way. Much of our research was based on the fruits of our lengthy participant observation at TPS, which allowed us to determine which participants to interview, whose classroom practices to observe and record, and how to analyse what we observed and recorded. It furthermore informed our collection of additional materials, such as photographs, and our analysis of various facets which, while they did not immediately appear to form part of TPS' language policy, were eventually considered to be closely related to it. This was especially the case where the school's Linguistic Landscape was concerned. In all, our case study approach to investigating language policy enabled us to gain an in-depth understanding of all the different phenomena related to language policy at TPS.

9.1.3 Language policy in context

In addition to focussing on the three components of language policy, we needed to investigate and take into account the setting and context in which the school and its policy were situated. In that regard, we have demonstrated that Brussels is sociolinguistically interesting for a number of reasons. While it is not surprising that the city, like a number of its urban counterparts in other countries, has known an increasing amount of linguistic diversity throughout the last few decades, it is important to note that the Brussels Capital Region has additionally been the subject of much dispute. In this regard, we have briefly discussed Brussel' history as the backdrop against which a large part of Belgium's language struggle took place. This struggle has led, on the one hand, to Brussels being granted officially bilingual French-Dutch status and, on the other, to its present institutional configuration in which two separate educational structures, namely Dutch and French-medium education, operate in parallel. We have furthermore argued that Dutch-medium education, as a result of various practical and ideological tensions, has welcomed an increasing amount of non-Dutch-speaking and Francophone pupils, who enrol in these schools on the basis of their desire to acquire Dutch through 'wild immersion'.

What the influx of such pupils has entailed, then, is that many schools endeavour to implement a strict Dutch-only policy in response to the large relative presence of Francophone and otherwise linguistically diverse pupils. This, however, is not the case where The Polyglot School is concerned. We have shown that the school, while it is like its counterparts in terms of its linguistically diverse pupil composition and large relative number of French-speaking pupils, was unlike other

Dutch-medium schools in the Brussels Capital Region on account of its unique and explicitly pro-multilingual profiling. As such, this school endeavoured to respond to the increasing linguistic diversity of both its pupils and the broader Brussels context by valorising multilingualism in various different ways; for instance, in their organisation of a CLIL programme, as well as the formal inclusion of the school's curricular languages in its declared policy.

9.2 Language policy at The Polyglot School

9.2.1 Declared language policy

We have discussed The Polyglot School's declared language policy to conclude that, while the school certainly made a formal investment in multilingualism, this investment did not preclude that (certain forms of) multilingualism was/were nevertheless problematised. For instance, while the school's curricular languages were represented in both the school's policy text and in its hallways, pupils' home languages were not. In practice, this resulted in an exclusive focus on languages with high social and economic esteem, rather than languages associated with pupils' migrant backgrounds (cf. Blommaert 2011; cf. also Martín Rojo 2010).

Furthermore, although the use of the curricular languages by pupils inside the building was certainly not strictly forbidden at the school, it was not the case that any language could be spoken by any pupil at any time. Indeed, pupils' language choices were contingent on their location (inside the building versus the playground), interlocutor (with their CLIL and language teachers versus other teachers and classmates), and occasion (during class versus during breaks). This was not the case where Dutch was concerned; Dutch could be spoken by anyone at any time. This prioritisation of Dutch was reflected in the signs found in TPS' hallways, in which Dutch was reserved for the communication of important information, while the other languages were solely used for decorative and expressive functions.

Moreover, the school's focus on including linguistic diversity co-occurred with an emphasis on monolingualism and the importance of normatively correct and standard forms of Dutch. We have argued this on the basis of our observation that there was a focus on correctness and academic language proficiency and that this focus was connected to pupils' language learning goals in terms of Dutch specifically, as evidenced by the school's organisation of language support classes. Concurrently, pupils were merely required to attain receptive language skills in the other curricular languages where CLIL immersion was concerned. Moreover, flexible language use was simply not topicalised in the school's policy text at all.

9.2.2 Perceived and practiced language policies

Where teachers' perceived and practiced language policies were concerned, then, their investments in multilingualism, both in their beliefs and in their practices, did not preclude their problematisations of it in favour of Dutch monolingualism, language separation, and purism and normative correctness.

We have shown, in this regard, that the Polyglot School was a site for contradictory behaviour. For instance, while class 2G's teachers invested in multilingualism because they saw in pupils' linguistic diversity a scaffold to support their teaching, they problematised it on the basis of their responsibility as educators to prepare their pupils for life and future success in a context in which Dutch language skills in general, and normatively correct Dutch language skills in particular, were considered to be indispensable. As such, they used code-switches and bilingual label quests as often as they corrected their pupils' flexible, non-Dutch language use. Moreover, they refrained from accepting pupils' use of languages which they did not know. Teachers felt that allowing too many languages and, particularly, pupils' home languages, to enter the classroom would make matters too complex, and result in a loss of control. At once, however, teachers said that they did not mind it if pupils, for instance, negotiated the meaning of difficult words in other languages, such as Spanish. Furthermore, while teachers legitimised pupils' use of French in informal interactions through, on the one hand, their tolerance of many of pupils' off-stage conversations and, on the other, their own use of French in asides, they also frequently told pupils to stop speaking French in general, thus criticising pupils' language use as a proxy for their behaviour. As such, establishing linguistic boundaries co-occurred with teachers' exercising their authority, while teachers' alignment with their pupils' use of French was at once considered to be harmless and to build rapport.

We have shown that individual teachers displayed vastly different stances vis à vis multilingualism and monolingualism, both in their articulations and in their embodiments. This was not the case because these teachers did not know any better. Rather, these teachers displayed such ambivalent behaviour on the basis of their (mis)alignments with beliefs and concerns which were by itself inherently contradictory.

9.3 Final thoughts

What we see in these teachers' perceptions and beliefs, as well as in their practical responses to the events in their classrooms, is their continuous balancing and addressing of competing concerns. It was rather difficult for these teachers to impose a monolingual regime and to consistently police class 2G's language use, as they felt that their pupils often experienced much difficulty expressing themselves in Dutch and comprehending course contents conveyed through Dutch, and that it was their responsibility to remedy this. Furthermore, they were concerned about the effects of pupils' struggles with Dutch on their access to curricular contents and, subsequently, future educational and professional opportunities. As we have demonstrated, such concerns and considerations undermined, at times, teachers' firm belief in the personal and educational benefits of multilingualism. It resulted in perceptions and practices which resembled those of teachers in schools which were far less inclusive of multilingualism than The Polyglot School (cf. Jaspers 2018a; Jaspers and Rosiers 2019). Moreover, similar competing ideological orientations were found to underlie both The Polyglot School's declared policy. We have argued that the school's investment in multilingualism coincided with its problematisation in that regard, too. Our analysis of The Polyglot School's language policy shows that, even if a school makes an effort to embrace multilingualism, and even if teachers are convinced that multilingualism is a source of richness in a modern society where so many of its members bring different linguistic resources to the table, school teams and teachers still have to reconcile such investments in multilingualism with the demands and pressure of a society which, as of yet, requires (separate) monolingual competence of its members.

This brings us back to our argument that the organisation of society in general, and education in particular, is still based on underlying hegemonic structures which are ubiquitous in our modern society — despite our efforts to critically study and dismantle them. The idea that we, as scholars, have only recently accepted the idea that language is a social construct (cf. Makoni and Pennycook 2007) and have increasingly realised that the concept of language policy itself 'involved the construction of standardized languages and their supposedly native speakers, providing lots of work for linguists, grammarians, and language educators over the years' (Heller 2013, 189) is a testament to the fact that hegemonic ideologies of

monolingualism and language separation are pervasive, innocuous, and difficult to dismantle entirely. It is, in that regard, not strange that individual teachers in monolingual and multilingual school settings alike can never entirely lose sight of such a tenacious tradition of monolingualism. While it is perhaps undesirable, it is as of yet represented in many facets of society, and therefore difficult to ignore for those who feel that the responsibility to prepare the newer generations for life and success in our society lies in their hands.

We thus do not consider such ambivalent teacher practices to be a temporary result of the possibility that, perhaps, The Polyglot School has not yet gone far enough in its inclusion of multilingualism, or that teachers need to be told ‘that promoting and sustaining [a minority language] need not require them to proscribe or otherwise discourage translanguaging [and other flexible ways of using language]’ (Martínez, Hikida, and Durán 2015, 40). We have shown that teachers, while they at times restricted the inclusion of other languages in the classroom, at once invested in multilingualism in a manner which went far beyond what was intended by the school’s already progressive declared language policy. Teachers understand and believe that pupils’ linguistic diversity is valuable, and they know how to practically valorise it, yet they do not do so exclusively in practice as they have to negotiate their local responses in the classroom to the competing concerns which we have discussed. Therefore, we argue, such contradictory behaviour is better conceptualised as a chronic result of the competing ideological structures of monolingualism and multilingualism. Such behaviour can be expected occur in any school setting in which societal ideologies of monolingualism come into contact with linguistically diverse pupils and teachers, and vice versa, because of the fact that the notion of monolingualism is purposefully constructed to clash with linguistic diversity (cf. also section 2.2.2).

9.4 Limitations and avenues of extension

We have based our analyses on a specific and unique case study within the broader context of Dutch-medium education in Brussels. While we do consider this case study to be a valuable and interesting addition to the larger body of research on teachers' contradictory perceptions and practices (which is, at present, rather limited), we are aware that not all of our findings are equally generalisable and cannot easily be extrapolated to other contexts and settings. Certain elements of the case study, such as The Polyglot School's unique explicitly multilingual language policy and extensive multilingual curriculum, are quite evidently context-specific. This school creates more spaces for multilingualism than other Dutch-medium schools in Flanders and Brussels alike, and it provides its pupils with ample opportunities to speak languages other than Dutch beyond what is usually encountered in Dutch-medium education.

Inversely, we want to argue, there are some elements which The Polyglot School shares with its peers in Brussels and Flanders. For instance, although the school clearly invests in and promotes multilingualism, monolingualism and multilingualism certainly do not only clash in pro-multilingual settings (cf. *infra*). The ideological and conflicts which the contradistinction of monolingualism and multilingualism engenders are encountered in a multitude of school settings, seemingly regardless of their (lack of emphasis) on multilingualism. Furthermore, The Polyglot School is not the only Dutch-medium school housing a relatively large amount of French fluent and otherwise linguistically diverse pupils (cf. chapter 4), nor is it the only environment in which language separation is valued over hybrid language use (cf. chapter 2, cf. also Sánchez et al. 2018; Palmer et al. 2014). Such observations point to there being a high possibility that some of the perceptions and practices which we observed at The Polyglot School are, in fact, generalisable, meaning that there is a high chance that similar perceptions and practices can be observed in other schools. We thus want to advocate for more similar studies into language policy in Dutch-medium education in Brussels or, indeed, education elsewhere, as this research could then function as one piece in the broader language political puzzle.

Additionally, it would have been quite interesting if we had analysed pupils' perceived and practiced language policies in a similar manner as we have their teachers'. While we have endeavoured to provide some insight into pupils' practices and perceptions (cf. chapter 5), this could have been researched in a more systematic

and extensive manner. However limited, though, our discussion of these pupils' interviews and our observations of their language practices did show that these pupils, while they were evidently learners of Dutch, could express themselves relatively well, and did not always speak French out of an inability to adequately express themselves in Dutch — although they certainly considered their Dutch language proficiency to be rather low. It would have been fascinating to investigate whether these pupils' perceptions and practiced displayed contradictions similar to which were observed in their teachers, and to which language political norms they oriented in their practices.

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Appendix A: E-mail to schools

Dear,

As part of a research conducted by the ULB, we are interested in your school. Our research is about language policy in Brussels education, specifically. At present, a large number of Brussels schools are confronted with an ever-increasing amount of linguistic diversity (as well as of French-speakers) and we suspect that this is not different at your school. Linguistic diversity, of course, brings about challenges for pupils and teachers, but also for parents and school management.

That is the backdrop for this research. We assume that, before we can assess and address these challenges, more information is needed about the ways in which pupils try to deal with both language policy and linguistic diversity at school, as well as the potential opportunities and difficulties that there are in daily classroom practice. The voice of the pupils and teachers involved cannot and, indeed, should not be absent.

Before you click away, we would like to stress that we are more than aware that schools, and school management in particular, already have more than enough on their mind, and that our research does not entail any type of burden on top of that. That is because this research is ethnographic: a researcher observes inside and outside the classroom, talks to pupils and teachers during breaks, and possibly — if the people involved agree to this — records their language use. There are, thus, no questionnaires involved, and no paperwork: the research ‘saves itself’ without you, your teachers, or your pupils having to invest any time in it. The only important thing is that the school has an open attitude towards the research. Conversely, we as researchers are willing to provide feedback during and after the research.

This approach, of course, also implies that the researcher is not present to provide evaluations, or to teach educators a lesson. The focus is on gaining insight on the concrete ways in which your school deals with language-related complexities.

Hopefully there is a possibility that we can visit you to explain the research further. Of course, you are not bound to anything after such a conversation.

We are eager to hear from you.

With kind regards,

Sue Goossens, doctoral researcher

Jürgen Jaspers, supervisor

[university address]

Appendix B: Information for teachers



UNIVERSITÉ LIBRE DE BRUXELLES

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUALISM IN DUTCH-MEDIUM EDUCATION IN BRUSSELS

SHORT EXPLANATION OF THE RESEARCH

As part of a project at the ULB, I am interested in a school which faces increasing multilingualism and [large numbers of] French-speakers, and which, subsequently, is faced with contradictions and challenges at the level of pupils and teachers, as well as of parents and school management. We assume that, before we can assess and address these challenges, more information is needed about the ways in which pupils try to deal with both language policy and linguistic diversity at school, as well as the potential opportunities and difficulties that there are in daily classroom practice. The voice of the pupils and teachers involved cannot be absent.

PRACTICAL

This research is ethnographic. This means that there is no burden involved for the teachers, nor of school management. There will be no questionnaires; a researcher will merely be present in the classroom to observe classroom practices.

- One class group (from the first two years) will be followed for three months (around the end of February-June)
 - Not all the time: a few hours per day, a few days per week
- As I'm following that class group, I will observe the different teachers with whom these pupils have class
- I will, at times, during class or breaks, talk to pupils and teachers
- I will take notes, and it is possible that recordings will be made later on

The duration of three months has been chosen, on the one hand, to "disappear" in the class group (the longer I am present, the less my presence is noticeable, which leads to qualitative data), and, on the other hand, to get a nuanced and well-detailed picture of classroom practice in different situations. The intention is not to evaluate or to express a value judgment about the lessons or the school, but to gain insight into the complexity associated with multilingualism. It is possible to receive feedback during and after the investigation.

Thanks in advance for your time!

Sue Goossens, doctoral researcher under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Jürgen Jaspers

[e-mail address]

Appendix C: Teachers' informed consent

ETNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUALISM IN DUTCH-MEDIUM EDUCATION IN BRUSSELS

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

I, _____ hereby declare to consent to the research carried out by Sue Goossens, doctoral researcher, at [school name] in [municipality name] in the period March-June 2017.

I understand that some classes will be recorded, and that some pupils wore a microphone now and then.

I understand that these recordings will be transcribed and researched scientifically, but also that all primary materials (field notes, audio recordings) will be not spread without my approval or be made available to others.

I hereby declare that I want to remain anonymous in all results arising from this fieldwork. I understand that all possible measures will be taken to guarantee this anonymity. Taking into account this anonymity, I agree that the researcher may use the results of the fieldwork research for scientific research and publications.

I wish to **be informed** / **not be informed** before data collected here are used for a different scientific purpose than for which they were initially intended.

Date: _____

Name: _____

Signature:

Researcher

Sue Goossens [e-mail address]

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Jürgen Jaspers [e-mail address]

Appendix D: Class 2G's daily schedule

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
1 08:20 – 09:10	Science Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	Dutch Ms. Dirckx	Geography Mr. Nollet	French Ms. Malchair	Economy Ms. Degelin
2 09:10 – 10:00	Mathematics Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	English Ms. Dirckx	Language support Ms. Dreesen	Natural sciences Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	Arts Mr. Lauwrijssen
3 10:00 – 10:50	Religion	Dutch Ms. Dirckx	Mathematics Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	Science Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	Chinese Mr. Li
4 11:00 – 11:50		History Ms. Peers		Dutch Ms. Dirckx	Language support/economy
5 11:50 -12:40	Dutch Ms. Dirckx	Mathematics Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco	History Ms. Peers	English Ms. Dirckx	Dutch Ms. Dirckx
6 13:30 -14:20	French Ms. Malchair	Natural sciences Ms. Kerkhofs/Mr. Blanco		Technology Mr. Verhelst	Physical education Mr. Vanhellemont
7 14:20 -15:10	Language support Ms. Dreesen	French Ms. Malchair			

