From Madrid to Zhejiang: Globalization, Educational Communities and Second Language Teaching

De Madrid a Zhejiang: globalización, comunidades educativas y enseñanza de segundas lenguas

Miguel Pérez Milans
Univesridad Autónoma de Madrid

Abstract

This paper focuses on how culture is socially constructed within the institutional logic of the school, in relation to different socio-political and economic processes linked to economic globalization in urban areas. The study comes from an ethnography carried out both in the contexts of Madrid (Spain) and Zhejiang (China). Taking critical sociolinguistic ethnography as theoretical/analytical framework, this paper uses interactional and ethnographic data in order to study what cultural resources are being produced, distributed and valued within both institutional spaces according their historical and socio-political conditions (that is, new immigration trends in Spain and the "open doors" economic reforms in China). Particularly, attention is paid to second language teaching practices, so that analysis focuses on what legitimated linguistic competence is constructed, reproduced and resisted in language classrooms.

Key words: education, language ideologies, globalization, second language teaching practices, classroom interaction, language competence.

Resumen

Este artículo se centra en el estudio de los procesos sociales de construcción cultural en el marco de la lógica institución educativa y en relación con los procesos socio-políticos y económicos vinculados a la globalización económica en las áreas urbanas. En concreto, el estudio procede de una etnografía desarrollada en los contextos de Madrid (España) y Zhejiang (China). Partiendo de la etnografía sociolingüística crítica como marco teórico metodológico y analítico, se analizan datos interaccionales y etnográficos con el fin de estudiar qué recursos culturales son producidos, distribuidos y valorados dentro de lo espacios institucionales de ambos contextos de acuerdo con sus condiciones históricas y socio-políticas particulares (los nuevos procesos migratorios en España y las reformas de apertura económica en China). En especial, la atención se centra en las prácticas de enseñanza de segundas lenguas, de modo que el análisis focaliza en el estudio de qué competencia lingüística es construida, reproducida y contestada en las aulas.

Palabras clave: educación, ideologías lingüísticas, globalización, enseñanza de segundas lenguas, interacción de aula, competencia lingüística.

Although there seems to be a consensus that we are living in an increasingly globalized world, it is not so clear to what extent globalization should be regarded as a homogenizing process (see a detailed discussion on this issue in Block & Cameron 2002). While some social scientists claim that this process entails an extreme of standardization and uniformity (Gray 1998; Ritzer 1998), others talk about *hybridization* (Pieterse 1995) and *glocalization* (Robertson 1995) to highlight that globalization promotes complex relationships between the global and the local rather than just a simple dominance of the former over the latter.

Issues about power also raise from this discussion, so that intellectual positions range from those that view globalization as an extension of American imperialism (Ritzer 1998, Schiller 1985) to those that consider this process as much more dispersed and not just as a Western dominance over "the rest" (Friedman 1994, Robertson 1992).

As a consequence of this controversy, and following Martin-Jones (2007), critical interpretative work coming from the new social theory has become one of the most important research sources, as it enables us to link interactional and textual fine-grain of everyday life with an account of specific institutional regimes, the wider political economy and global process of cultural transformation in contemporary societies (Foucault 1975, Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984). Particularly, attention in this tradition has been paid to institutional spaces such as the educational one, as it is considered as a key social site for examining tensions between local, national and global orders (Heller 1999, Heller & Martin-Jones 2001, Rampton 2006, Martin-Jones 2007, Martín Rojo 2010). Research within this site has focused mainly on language-in-education practice, which is considered as a discursive space that gives us a window on shifting politics of identity and tensions between local, national and wider social processes of change under the emergence of the new globalized economy (Block & Cameron 2002, Lin & Martin 2005):

> *In some contexts attempts have been made, since the late 1980s, to forge new educational landscapes through educational reforms, in response to these changing political, economic and cultural conditions. This process has, inevitably, been characterized by tensions, by a shifting politics of identity and by the emergence of new discourses about language in education* (Martin-Jones 2007: 176).

In order to contribute to this general framework, this paper is based on a research project carried out between 2004 and 2006 into the educational space of two different socio-political contexts very much transformed by economic globalization. First, the study begun by looking at educational practices within the local space of Madrid (Spain) as part of a wider research project directed by professor Luisa Martín Rojo[1] (see results in Martín Rojo, 2010). In this region, immigration grew up from less than 300,000 to 1,005,381 in the last ten years (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2008), having this demographic change a huge impact on the educational context. Thus, the number of students with migrant background increased from 50,076 in 1993-94, to 124,368 in 2006-2007 (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte 2007) although most of them do not seem to have an equal access to post-compulsory education in comparison with their native peers (Martín Rojo 2003; García Parejo 2004; Alcalá 2007; Martín Rojo & Mijares 2007; Patiño 2008; Ambadiang et al. 2008)[2].

Attention within this context was paid to a new educational program ("bridge classroom") that is being implemented in Madrid compulsory education to teach Spanish to those students who do not speak it. According to this program, these students have to stay

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[1]All methodological and analytical tools used in this paper are part of the research project "Análisis socio-pragmático de la comunicación intercultural en las prácticas educativas: hacia la integración en las aulas" (BFF2003-04830), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and directed by Luisa Martín Rojo.

[2] See also Carbonell 1995; Terrén 2004; IOÉ 2005; Nussbaum y Unamuno 2006; Pujolar 2006; Carrasco 2008, for similar results in other Spanish regions.

about one academic year in special classrooms learning Spanish as a second language before fully incorporating into the mainstream classrooms. Particularly, research was conducted in the bridge classroom of one secondary school (IES *Violetas*)[3].

Second, a complementary study took place in three schools in Zhejiang province (China). These schools turned out to be institutionally considered as "experimental schools" (实验学校), which means in the Chinese context that they are in charge of implementing in first place (and before the rest of the public schools in the country) all the educational reforms related to the national policies that have been implemented since Deng Xiaoping's call for a "Chinese modernization" after the "open doors" economic reforms in the 80's. This national principle of modernization is being specifically implemented in the educational field through the "Patriotic Education" campaign (爱国主义教育) (Ministry of Education 1994), a main guideline that was first outlined by Jiang Zemin after the pro-democratic demands in the Tiananmen events in 1989 and that has been kept by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as a reaction to its lost of legitimacy in the context of the new globalized economy. That is, these educational reforms being experimentally implemented are circumscribed within the contemporary Chinese nationalist strategies developed by the CCP for political legitimization (for an in-depth anlysis of the Chinese political context, see Fitzgerald 1995; Guo 2004, 2007; Nieto 2007; Wang 1998; Zhao 2004; Esteban 2007; Gries 2004; Hughes 2006).

In fact, this current educational reform being conducted under the process of "modernization" in China is embraced by the wider national objective of implementing a "quality education" (教育教学质量) or "character education" (品格教育), which is characterized by the official combination of educational values referred to Chinese cultural traditions, scientific development, patriotism, State-Party identification, communist revolutionary tradition, and international competition (Li, L. 2004: 318, Zhao 2005: 12). Fieldwork in these three Chinese schools was mainly conducted in two different cities. On the one hand, two educational centres were studied in the northern city of Hangzhou, one of them being a primary school (*Hangzhou fushu xiaoxue*) and the other a secondary education centre (*Hangzhou shiyan xuexiao*). On the other hand, a high school was observed in the southern city of Wenzhou (*Longgang zhong xuexiao*). In all of them, research focused on the study of second language teaching practices, so that an English language classroom was selected in each school for an in-deep analysis.

Thus, the exploration of what happens "on the ground" of these different educational contexts both in the Spanish and the Chinese context will offer some insights on how everyday practices in the educational systems of individual nation-states affect (and are affected) by global processes. Particularly, analysis in the following sections will pay attention to the social and cultural consequences that these processes had for the participants in the fieldwork. Section 2 will begin by introducing the main theoretical-methodological principles that guided this research. Then, section 3 will conduct an ethnographically oriented analysis of some of the most relevant off-classroom spaces in those schools' everyday life. Later, section 4 will focus on second language teaching-learning practices in

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[3] Names provided for high schools, teachers and students are pseudonyms.

the Spanish bridge-classroom as well as in one of the Chinese English language classes. Finally, discussion will be offered in section 5.

Language, culture and ideologies through educational practices

Research is based on the theoretical/methodological framework of critical sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller 1999, 2002; Martín Rojo 2010), which comes from the field of interactional sociolinguists firstly built up in the 70's by Gumperz and Hymes (1972) and developed particularly by Gumperz during the 90's. Particularly, this framework emerged as a consequence of a joint interest in language, culture and social interaction within the fields of Linguistics, Anthropology and Sociology. Thus, such an approach has several implications for the investigation process, involving important decisions regarding three main aspects: a) how language, culture, identity or school are conceptualized; b) what research questions are considered as relevant; c) what research tools are most suitable for data collection/analysis.

With regard to the nature of language, culture and identity, these concepts need to be understood as related to issues such as practice, ideology and political economy (Bourdieu 1982, Giddens 1984, Gal 1989, Heller 2007). Besides, school is considered as a State institution in which the regulation of activity is crucial for the process of social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Specially, educational settings contribute to this process by producing social categories (and therefore social identities) and by defining what counts as legitimate knowledge (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001). Thus, central educational categories such as the "good student" or "bad student" are framed within social processes of production, distribution and valuation of symbolic resources connected to economic and political interests (Bourdieu 1990).

Concerning the relevant phenomena, attention is focused on the links between local, institutional and wider socio-cultural processes related to the economic and socio-political conditions that have been mentioned above regarding the Spanish and the Chinese contexts. The main research question is therefore as follows: what cultural resources are being produced, distributed and valued within those schools' everyday life in relation to their particular historical, economic and political conditions? This question is divided up in more specific enquires: who is considered as "normal" or "legitimate participant" in each school's everyday activities? What is defined as legitimate knowledge? What kind of linguistic competence is being institutionally legitimated through second language teaching? What the spaces are for teachers and students in constructing, reproducing and resisting this legitimated competence?

As to data collection and analysis, ethnographic and interactional perspectives are articulated. This entails the use of participant observation, field-notes, interviews with all participants in schools (students, teachers, and heads of schools), and video-recordings in- and off- classrooms. Furthermore, data are analyzed by paying attention to how participants built social and cultural meanings in everyday interaction and discourses. In this paper, analysis will focus particularly on how participation frameworks (Goffman 1981) were interactionally constructed through second language practices, so that attention will be paid to some of the main conventions of language ritualization (Heller 2001) that have been explored by the classical studies on classroom interaction (see Mehan 1979, Cazden 1988,

Tsui 1995, Seedhouse 2004), such as participation management, interactional sequences, structures of participation, speech acts, participation turns and eye-gaze.

Cultural resources in Off-Classroom spaces

Off-classroom spaces within the schools both in the Spanish and in the Chinese contexts showed from the very beginning a different construction of cultural difference according to their historical and political circumstances, which in fact had an impact on how the "good" student was institutionally categorized in each context. In the case of the school in Madrid, the observation of those spaces un-covered a discursive construction of cultural difference characterized by a fixed cultural diversity in which students where differently categorized according to ethnic background. In the case of the schools in Zhejiang province, emphasis was placed on cultural homogeneity within schools as well as on a discursive polarization between the categories of "China" and "West".

Building a fixed cultural diversity in a Madrid multicultural school

Fieldwork in the Madrid secondary school took place during the 2004-2006 academic course in Fuenlabrada, a large town, in the South of Madrid, with a total population of 187.963 in 2003 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2004). Fuenlabrada is the Spanish town which has experienced the highest population growth, over the last 20 years, as a result of migration (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2004). This migration context, thus, is now becoming a visible phenomenon in schools within this town. For instance, 15% of the students in IES *Violetas* were considered "immigrant students[4]" by the "Departamento de Orientación" (Guidance Department). As a result, cultural diversity was taken as one of the new particularities of the school, which was reflected in different ways. First, this social change was reflected in the school's physical spaces, as shown by figures 1, 2 and 3:

Figures 1, 2, 3. Celebrating cultural diversity in Madrid schools

Figure 1 shows how languages different than Spanish were becoming part of the signs and panels on the walls in the school, however still in a superficial level as Spanish is the

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[4] "Immigrant students" in Spanish high schools refers to students who are born in a foreign country.

only language displayed in the official format. Besides, figures 2 and 3 illustrate to what extent cultural diversity was celebrated by building fixed and bounded cultural groups according to nationalities, since the students were supposed to represent their nations' folklore no matter what their beliefs really are. Figure 3, for instance, shows one of the cultural events that used to take place every year in which the students coming from other countries had to introduce their "nations' main meals" to the rest of the students in the school.

Second, and apart from the schools' physical spaces, this social change in the school population also affected the way both their teachers and school staff re-defined their roles and their positions. Fragment 1 is extracted from an interview with the head of the school and it is an example of this kind of re-definition under the new circumstances (see Appendix 1 for an explanation of the basic symbols used in the transcripts):

Fragment 1. Making schools to survive while decreasing standards

> *... as this school's principal / and taking into account the local context in this town / I have to appreciate the presence of immigrants since they are the only way to balance the low birth rate and therefore for the survival of the school // we should not forget that we are working here because there are clients // apart from this / other teachers are motivated and so forth / from the point of view of the teachers [this immigration phenomenon] is an added problem // while in the past main problems were related to differences among students from different family backgrounds / currently we face the new issue of the lack of the Spanish language // this is a new phenomenon for us // we were usually concerned with the curricular contents / that is / maths / etc. / but not with the lack of the Spanish language / thus now you are forced to forget the common issues when this kind of difficulties are found from the beginning in a classroom // I do not get worried any more when students do not know how to complete syntactic analysis // for this reason it is difficult to avoid anxiety // but apart from this we also can talk about the positive side of this immigration matter / the cultural contribution // this new context provides you with new experiences / but it is long-term.*

<div align="right">(Interview with the head of the school in IES Violetas. Recording code: 2a_V010604E.
Fragment translated from Spanish)</div>

Migration is represented in an ambivalent way. On the one hand, it is argued to be the cause of the survival of the school as the birth rate in Spain is very low. On the other hand, it is linked to a process in which the educational standards are being decreased. Particularly, the educational site is discursively constructed as a customer relationship that justifies the decrease of the standards on the basis of migrant students' lack of Spanish language proficiency. As traditional practices do not work under the new circumstances, teachers seem to react by representing migrant students as the cause of the difficulties rather than questioning the whole educational organization. In fact, those representations are constructed in a way which results in the (re)production of those bounded and stereotyped cultural groups that were previously mentioned:

Fragment 2. Cultural groups and obstacles

> *... the immigrant community which is the most problematic is the Moroccan one // while in other schools people talk about students from South America we cannot confirm that / here*

there are only Moroccan students who behave very badly (...) concerning the integration [of immigrant students] into the Spanish educational system I think that the Chinese community is the one that takes more time to decide that it is necessary to talk to their classmates (...) besides / we have observed that black females / particularly from Guinea / tend to be grouped during break-time avoiding interaction with the rest of the students.

<div align="right">(Interview with the head of school in IES *Violetas*. Recording code: 2a_V010604E.
Fragment translated from Spanish)</div>

Cultural groups are constructed by means of social categories that highlight nationalities. However, what is particular significant is how all these discursive categories are constructed as obstacles by linking all groups different than the Spanish to negative attributes. In this way, a discursive polarization is implicitly constructed between the Spanish students and the rest (see Martín Rojo & van Dijk 1997, for a detailed discussion about the construction of discursive polarization). Apart from this polarization, a hierarchy is also defined in relation to those non-Spanish cultural groups, so that different representations of each group are built up depending on the cultural distance that is perceived, which in turn is related to the social and historical position of the different immigrant communities in Spain (see Terrén 2004, for a detailed discussion about perceived cultural distance and immigration in Spain).

These practices and discourses therefore contributed to naturalize a particular institutional logic in which the production, distribution and valuation of the cultural resources of the school legitimated a Spanish-ethnicity centred social order. In doing so, the new situation in the school seemed to be faced by linking the category of the "good student" to a Spanish ethnicity that is opposed to others.

Building a Chinese cultural homogeneity in Zhejiang schools

Fieldwork in the three Zhejiang schools took place in 2006. All the educational reforms for modernization headed by them as public "experimental schools" (实验学校) and officially linked to the "Patriotic Education" campaign (爱国主义教育) were included within a main national guideline so-called "quality education" (教育教学质量), whose social meanings are well explained in the following fragment taken from an interview with the head of one of the schools:

Fragment 3. Quality education, globalization and the China-West contrast

Miguel: *what is your opinion about the current situation of Chinese education?*
Wang: *we have now too much pressure on teachers / students and school's principals in China and the one-child policy is one of the reasons // parents want the best for their children // the new context of globalization and the new technologies such as Internet is making children to receive many inputs even though they are still immature // the West is opened but the East was closed before // Spain is a developed country and this is why the birthrate there is already low but here in China not yet because China is still a developing country / and this is why we are facing now many challenges in education (...) you are now facing in the West some problems concerning student's behavior / right? this is why*

we are trying here to focus on quality education / that is / not just a proper psychic education but also moral and physical in order to fulfill Chinese parents' expectations about education

(Interview with the head of school in *Hangzhou fushu xiaoxue*)

Wang justifies the implementation of a "quality education" by constructing a cause-consequence argumentation schema in which the "China-West" contrast plays a central role. Based on a discursive polarization between these two homogeneous cultural categories, "China" is represented as a developing country as well as a patient who, as a result of the current context of globalization, receives negative influences while the "West" is categorized as a developed influential with moral problems from the part of the students. Therefore, "quality education" is justified as a Chinese national response to provide Chinese students with a proper moral education in order to avoid these problems. In other words, "quality education" seems to refer to a specific Chinese model of education which is needed for China to participate in the new international arena.

However, "moral education" (德教育) was not only a topic of conversation in the schools' everyday discourses. This educational category was also fully institutionalized by incorporating particular off-classroom rituals in which students' performance was morally evaluated with regard to cultural values concerned with patriotism, communism and cultural traditions. In fact, the evaluation in these rituals had consequences for the students' records at the end of compulsory education. Thus, the marks obtained in such practices were added as part of a moral educational dimension to their results in the national examinations celebrated at the end of each educational stage, therefore affecting their final academic achievements and their possibilities to choose the best universities for higher education. The figures below show to what extent these values were part of the schools' practices and physical spaces:

Figures 4, 5, 6. Patriotism, cultural traditions and communism in Zhejiang schools

On the one hand, figure 4 shows the so-called "Monday meeting" (周一开会), one of the most important off-classroom rituals which is concerned with the raising of the Chinese national flag (升起). However, participation in it did not only require staring at the flag but also a very complex participation framework that involved verbal and non-verbal interactional rules around the principles of collectivist synchrony and socio-hierarchical responsibility. On the other hand, figures 5 and 6 show how patriotism was spread out in the

schools' signs as one of the moral rules to follow together with Confucian sculptures and slogans about loving the CCP (热爱祖国), effort (努力学习), discipline (遵守法律法规，增强法律意识。遵守校规校纪，遵守社会公德), collectivism (积极参加社会实践和有益的活动), and solidarity (热爱集体，团结同学，互相帮助，关心他人), all of them discursively justified by the institutional documents as grounded in Chinese communist and traditional values and regulations.

Therefore, the institutionalized combination of all those values within the logic of the schools resulted in the production, distribution and valuation of certain cultural resources that legitimated a (collectivist) definition of the Chineseness which is opposed to a dangerous (individualistic) "West" and which is linked to communism and to the Chinese cultural traditions (see Pérez Milans 2009, for a in-depth analysis).

Cultural resources in second language teaching practices

The production, distribution and valuation of the cultural resources of the school in each one of the two studied contexts were not only naturalized in the off-classroom symbolic spaces. Furthermore, practices and discourses within the classrooms were also part of such institutional logic. Particularly, the practices in second language teaching contributed to the legitimization of the social order that was built up in each case. In this sense, the legitimated language competence in Spanish as a second language teaching (in Spain) made difficult for students with migrant background to have access to compulsory education while the legitimated language competence in English as a second language class (in China) was based on such definition of the Chineseness that has been highlighted above.

Make it easy for immigrants in Madrid: Spanish word by word

The analysis of Spanish as a second language (SSL) teaching in IES *Violetas* reveals how the "bridge classroom" program, far from reaching its goal at ensuring the access to ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education), ended up by grouping non Spanish-speaking students and by limiting the necessary linguistic resources needed by them to join mainstream classes. In fact, the type of linguistic knowledge and the forms of legitimate participation in the classroom practice reinforced this process of linguistic de-capitalization. The following fragment of an interview with one of the SSL teachers offers us some clues to understand such process:

> **Fragment 4.** "Too difficult for all these people"
>
> **Miguel**: *doesn't it come (( )) in an official curriculum where / you're told / what the targets are?*
>
> **Candela:** *not at all / it doesn't come / it doesn't come (...) [what does come] is very // general / such as if you understand pe- what you are communicating to him / if he is able to express himself -> (...) our program (...) we have done this with / every possible book (...) we are all at beginner level (...) they are all beginner level // and ALL the beginner levels // are too extensive and difficult for all these people / very difficult / eh?*
>
> (Interview with one of the "bridge class" teachers in IES *Violetas*. Recording code: 1a_V250304E. Fragment translated from Spanish)

As it can be surmised from this fragment, the ambiguity in the definition of objectives and minimum contents for the "bridge classroom" led the teachers to face the difficult task of programming and designing the activities by themselves for the entire academic year. As there was no official curriculum to teach, they were free to design their own syllabus by leaning on their "intuitions" about second language teaching rather than on well-defined academic criteria. This was reflected in the interactional activities that were observed in IES *Violetas* "bridge class" during a whole school year, a period of time that corresponded to the longest possible amount of time that students could be kept in this class. In fact, the activities that teachers demanded from their students during such period hinged around programmed contents whose selection and sequencing were not related to the academic underpinning required in the mainstream classrooms (ESO) in which the students were to be sent after one year. Particularly, the unit contents studied during the observation period in the "bridge class" covered the following themes: greetings, requests and basic instructions, parts of the body, city maps, medical services, public transport, the market, and jobs. Therefore, Spanish language teaching in such classroom seemed to be geared towards everyday life rather towards academic purposes.

The example below focuses on the activity of the teacher and three students in such classroom: Gaosheng, from China; Aisha, from Morocco; and Rodrigo, from Brazil. The activity consisted of 21 words that had to be classified under "shop," "job" and "place of work." The words were listed on photocopies that all the students had. The students had to identify each category with a different color (red, black or blue). A recurring basic sequence was used for each one of the words on the list. The sequence started with the teacher asking for the word in question. After this, there would be a reply from the students. Then, the teacher would ask another question, this time referring to the color that had to be matched to the word according to which of the three mentioned categories the word was placed in. Finally, the students would respond by circling the word in the corresponding color on their photocopies:

Fragment 5. "RED BLUE OR-OR BLACK!"

Teacher: *SCIENTIST* {looking at her sheet}
Aisha: {looks at her sheet and then at the teacher} *(scientist)°*
Teacher: {to Aisha} there's one whose name is Ramón y Cajal / name / {looks down at her sheet} isn't there?
{Rodrigo takes a marker and seems to circle on his paper}
Aisha: {looking at her sheet} yes
Teacher: {to Aisha} what is a scientist? / is it a shop?
Aisha: {looking at the teacher} no
Teacher: {shakes her head looking at the sheet} what is it?
Aisha: {looking at her sheet} it is
{Gaosheng, in the meantime, is staring at his sheet, and Rodrigo, leaning back on his chair, looks at Victoria and at Aisha}
Teacher: {to Gaosheng} what is a scientist? {she takes the Chinese. Spanish dictionary in the classroom and starts looking it up}
{Gaosheng looks at his sheet but does not look at the teacher}
Rodrigo: ((( )) °

Teacher: tell me {she continues to look it up in the dictionary} // {she stops looking it up and looks at Gaosheng, who is still looking at her} what is it out of these three? {her tone is impatient} / let's see / you only have to- RED BLUE OR- OR BLACK!

Gaosheng: {to the teacher} (like this)

Teacher: well come on! / of course! (10") {she continues to look it up in the Chinese-Spanish dictionary}

{Gaosheng and Aisha circle their sheets; Rodrigo is still leaning back on his chair playing with his pen}

Teacher: (let's see / look) {she finds the word in the dictionary and shows it to Gaosheng}(8") [OK?]

Aisha: [the pain / ter Goia]

Teacher: {looking at the dictionary}= scientist / yes?

{Gaosheng nods his head while looking at the dictionary}

Teacher: let's go on

Aisha: {to the teacher} the pain / ter Goia

Teacher: {to Aisha} GOYA

(Recording taken from the "bridge classroom" in IES *Violetas*. Code: U1_2-3v_V200404A_b. Fragment translated from Spanish)

In this fragment, the students are working on the word "scientist", and it is interesting how the previously mentioned basic sequence expands. In fact, this expansion clearly shows what is understood to be knowledge and what the legitimate forms of participation in interaction are. The sequence starts with the teacher reading the word "scientific," thereby indicating the beginning of the eliciting sequence of knowledge (line 1)**.** However, it is relevant how this beginning is followed very quickly and spontaneously by the verbal intervention of Aisha, who in this way manages to get asked the first question on structure in the following turn (line 7)**.** Even so, Gaosheng's participation pattern (line 11)**,** (staring at his paper, as opposed to Rodrigo and Aisha) is followed by a sudden reallocation of the question by the teacher, who redirects the question initially intended for Aisha to Gaosheng.

At the same time, and as a one-off incident during interaction throughout the 21 words of the list, there is a search for the word in the Chinese-Spanish dictionary (line 13)**.** Gaosheng, who still does not answer and does not look elsewhere (line 15), does not answer the question that requires the definition of the word. This makes the teacher insist, leaving out Rodrigo's intervention in a very soft voice. She persists angrily and once again she asks the question in order for Gaosheng to answer by simply stating the category of the word (line 17). Finally, she manages to get an answer from the student in a very low voice (line 21), and follows him with a confirmation. This confirmation is also accompanied by an order, which although spoken loudly and directed at Gaosheng, requires closing the structure by making a circle according to the color indicated by the student (lines 22 and 24). It is only afterwards that the teacher shows him the definition in the dictionary, which she only does with this student through a command spoken softly "let's see/look." This action places the task of defining words in a secondary place, while categorizing and circling becomes the main task. The sequence ends with Aisha forcing transition to the next

word through her reading aloud twice (lines 28 and 32), although this transition does not take place until the teacher does it in line 33.

This analysis shows a participation framework heavily controlled by the teacher. Here, the action is geared towards work with vocabulary that must be grouped into three categories by the students through circling with colored markers. The students' participation space in the activity is limited, on the one hand, to responding individually when required by the teacher to closed questions about the category of each word, and, on the other hand, to circle each word with the appropriate color. Furthermore, a pattern of non-verbal participation (eye-gaze aimed at expressing oral comprehension) is required. Nevertheless, this participation framework was very well reflected in the interviews with the teachers when they defined the main purpose of this class:

> **Fragment 6.** "Especially through oral language"
>
> *this [Bridge Class] is more specific to the language / lack of knowledge of the language (...) the most important thing here is that the children communicate / I don't care how / but they need to understand us // especially through oral language / of course*
>
> (Interview with one of the "bridge class" teachers in IES *Violetas*. Recording code: 1a_V240304E. Fragment translated from Spanish)

The purpose of these classes seems to be communication, but this communication is represented in terms of oral comprehension. In fact, the analysis of the distribution of turns in fragment 5 describes how the students are considered legitimate or illegitimate participants according to the possibilities offered by this established participation framework. Gaosheng, with his physical positioning, lack of eye contact and oral participation, is de-legitimized by the teacher. She places him at the center of the interaction, chooses him for all of the participation turns, questions him and looks at him insistently. This pattern allows us to understand the positioning of Aisha, who makes use of the available spaces and resources, including eye-gaze, repetitions of some of the teacher's turns, answers to questions not directed at any specific participant, and jumping ahead to the next words on the list, in order to constantly tip the interaction balance in her favor. Finally, the use that Rodrigo makes of available verbal and non-verbal resources places him in the position of the advanced student, who does not need any attention from the teacher. His body posture on the scene (leaning back on the chair and playing with his pen) contrasts with some other participation forms based on eye contact and verbal answers given in a low voice, even when questions in classroom are not asked to him.

However, legitimizing this type of linguistic and interactional knowledge through the "bridge class" activity did not seem to produce good results. One year later, both the academic records and the interviews with mainstream teachers and with those students who had been previously in the "bridge class" stated that the type of linguistic skills associated with this knowledge was insufficient for students to perform work in the ordinary ESO classes. In fact, this led nearly all the students to be re-directed from the mainstream classes to Compensatory Education and Curricular Tracking Programs. Such relocation in programs that were parallel to mainstream education accentuated the process of unequal distribution of cultural capital in IES *Violetas*. A social and educational order was therefore naturalized in the school so that the students who came from "bridge classes" were in the

lowest position. Nevertheless, this social position was contested by these students, whose only way to resist seemed to be dropping out:

> **Fragment 7**. "I do not want to keep studying"

> **Shiqing**: *I do not* want *to keep studying // I do not understand teachers / I cannot speak to my classmates apart from those from the bridge classroom / I do not know the specific vocabulary in each subject*
> **Miguel**: *so what do you want to do?*
> **Shiqing**: *at the beginning I wanted to work / but now I do not want (...) I just want to stay at home watching TV // after I am 18 years old I will drop out the school in order to get my driving license and then to help my mother carrying her to the places to buy stuff for our shop*

> (Fieldnotes taken from the interview with one of the "bridge classroom's" students in IES *Violetas*)

Teaching English in a Chinese way

The analysis of those English classes studied in the Chinese context reveals a particular ritualization of the activity that was interactionally and discursively constructed as a Chinese way of teaching English. In contrast to what happened in the Spanish "bridge classroom", those English classes studied in the Chinese context were characterized by a very structured teaching-learning practice. Teachers and students in each classroom coordinated their actions by following a recurrent set of educational activities very much interconnected between them and all those activities had in common a particular interactional structure however their variety. The following excerpt shows the participation framework that every day classroom educational activity was built upon:

> **Fragment 8.** "Let's read together"

> **Teacher**: *ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*
> **Students**: *Ī'M GŌING TŌ BŪY Ā NĒW CD ĀND SŌME STŌRYBŌOKS*
> **Teacher**: *ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*
> **Students**: *Ī'M GŌING TŌ BŪY Ā NĒW CD ĀND SŌME STŌRYBŌOKS*
> **Teacher**: *买重话书* / Shaonan {calling a student's name}
> {Translation: *to buy storybooks*}
> **Shaonan**: ((( )))º
> **Teacher**: yes / next
> **Meiyi**: (*ī'm gōing tōo*)º
> **Teacher**: *būy āa* ↑
> **Haoyun**: (*būy ā / nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
> **Teacher**: yes / next
> **Caicai**: (*ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
> **Teacher**: very good
> **Zongjie**: (*ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
> **Teacher**: good
> **Shiping**: (*ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
> **Teacher**: very good

Gungwu: (*ī'm gōing tō būy - ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
Teacher: yes // (( ))
Shenzhi: (*ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*)º
Teacher: good / *来一起读这句话* / *ī'm gōing tō būy ā nēw cd ānd sōme stōrybōoks*
{Translation: *let's read together this sentence*}
Students: *Ī'M GŌING TŌ BŪY Ā NĒW CD ĀND SŌME STŌRYBŌOKS*
(…)
Teacher: ok / now boys read on saturday / and girls read on sunday // ok?
Some students: ok
Teacher: *来第一个是男孩子的* / *后面是女孩子* // *男孩子准备* // *hī* / *thīs īs līu yūn* / ready? Go
{Translation: *first boys read / and then girls // boys ready*}
Boys: *Hī / THĪS ĪS LĪU YŪN / Ī'M GŌING TŌ HĀVE Ā BŪSY WĒEKĒND // ŌN SĀTURDĀY / Ī'M GŌING TŌ THĒ BŌOKSTŌRE BY SŪBWĀY // Ī'M GŌING TŌ BŪY Ā NĒW CD ĀND SŌME STŌRYBŌOKS // THĒN / Ī'M GŌING TŌ GŌ HŌME ĀND RĒAD THĒ NĒW BŌOKS*
Teacher: girls / *ōn sūndāy*
Girls: *ŌN SŪNDĀY / Ī'M GŌING TŌ THĒ SŪPĒRMĀRKĒT WĪTH MY MŌTHĒR // WĒ'RE GŌING ĀFTĒR LŪNCH // THĒN / ĪN THĒ ĒVĒNĪNG / Ī'M GŌING TŌ VĪSĪT MY ĀUNT // WĒ'RE GŌING TŌ WĀTCH TV TŌGĒTHĒR // THĀT WĪLL BĒ FŪN // WHĀT ĀBŌUT YŌU? WHĀT ĀRE YŌU GŌING TŌ DŌ ŌN THĒ WĒEKĒND?*

(Recording taken in *Hangzhou fushu xiaoxue*. Recording Code: 5dp_Zh_P24102006I)

As illustrated in fragment 8, activity seems to be interactionally ritualized in a way that a main participation framework is constructed around chorus interactional structures. These structures therefore build up participants' positioning around the different topics through classroom activity, therefore signaling the repetition and the reading of fixed English sentences in chorus as the legitimate knowledge. In fact, different linguistic resources function as conventions of ritualization, such as the tone or code-switching. On the one hand, the teacher uses a singing-like tone that guides students' forms of participation at the beginning of each exchange (see exchanges in lines 1-2, 3-4, 22-23, 29-30 and 36-37). On the other hand, code-switching between Chinese and English by the teacher helps to construct this participation framework, so that Chinese is used in relation to activity management and meaning while English is used as the target of the chorus repetition (see lines 5, 22 and 29).

Concerning the chorus interactional structures, they have not a single form. Far from it, they can be carried out by different participation structures, such as "teacher-all students choruses" (see lines 1-4), "teacher-rows of students choruses" (see lines 5-22), and "teacher-male/female students choruses" (see lines 27-41). Thus, "chorus-like" interactional activity seems to organize teachers and students' participation throughout every educational activity within each unit lesson. Actually, this kind of participation framework was institutionally legitimated in the schools by referring to it as an adaptation of the communicative method to the Chinese context and circumstances. Particularly, this way of

arranging activity was discursively legitimated by grouping together discourses on communicative language teaching theories, Chinese traditions in second language teaching, Chinese socialism, and philosophical values and phrases. The following fragment is extracted from the Chinese English National Curriculum for Compulsory Education and it is an example of this kind of discourse:

Fragment 9. "The missions of the English curriculum"

一、课程性质
基础教育阶段英语课程的任务是:激发和培养学生学习英语的兴趣，使学生树立自信心，养成良好的学习习惯和形成有效的学习策略，发展自主学习的能力和合作精 神;使学生掌握一定的英语基础知识和听、说、读、写技能，形成一定的综合语言运用能力;培养学生的观察、记忆、思维、想像能力和创新精神;帮助学生了解世 界和中西方文化的差异，拓展视野，培养爱国主义精神，形成健康的人生观，为他们的终身学习和发展打下良好的基础。
(…)
3、思想性原则
英语教材应渗透思想品德教育，应有利于学生形成正确的人生观和价值观。语言是文化的载体。外国文化对学生的人生观、世界观和价值观都会产生一定的影响。因此，教材既要反映中国的传统文化，又要有利于学生了解外国文化的精华，同时也应该引导学生提高鉴别能力。

1. Curriculum Properties.

The missions of the English curriculum for basic education are: inspire and foster students' interests in learning English, build up confidence, form good learning habits and effective learning strategies, develop independent learning competency and collaborative spirit; acquire a certain level of basic knowledge and listening, speaking, reading and writing capability in English, form a certain level of comprehensive language application competency; foster students' observation, memorization, thinking, imagination capacity and innovative spirit; help students understand the world and cross-cultural differences, broaden their views, nurture patriotism, shape health philosophy of life, and build up a good foundation for their life-long learning and development.
(…)
3. Ideological principles
English language course books should also involve moral education. They should help students form a correct view on life and values. Language is the carrier of culture, and foreign cultures will exert influence on students' view of life and the world. Therefore the course books should reflect traditional Chinese culture, and help students understand the essence of foreign culture.

(Ministry of Education 2002: 2, 49)

The first part of the fragment combine the principles of independent learning competency, imagination and innovative spirit (which used to be discursively linked to the communicative learning theory) with those about memorization, repetition, collaborative spirit, patriotism, and health philosophy of life (which used to be regarded in the schools as the main foundations of CCP's revolutionary tradition, the traditional philosophy and the Chinese cultural traditions of teaching) (see Wu Z. 1995, 2005; Wu X. 1998, 1999, 2005;

Wang Q. 2002, 2007). In fact, such combination is justified in the second part of the fragment by means of a cultural polarization between "Chinese culture" and "foreign culture" that, as in fragment 3, emphasizes the need for a Chinese cultural adaptation (of the English language teaching, in this case).

However, these institutional practices and discourses related to the English language teaching also found some resistances coming from the teachers and students, as it was in the case of the IES *Violetas*. The following fragment is extracted from one of the surveys that were conducted with different English teachers working in Zhejiang primary and secondary schools:

Fragment 10. "Spoken English should be improved"

Question:	*What would you like to improve in relation to the teaching and learning of English? Do you think is there any concrete aspect that should be changed to get better results?*
Answer:	*My spoken English should be improved. Yes, the testing style from the depart of the country. What the students learn can not be properly checked and tested nowadays, so we need reforming*

(Survey conducted with Luke, a *secondary* teacher in Wenzhou city)

All the interviews and surveys conducted with the teachers in the three schools studied in Zheijiang province, as well as with teachers from other schools in the same province, focused on the difficulties that all students and teachers used to have when speaking English in spontaneous way. Interviews and emails with students also highlighted those difficulties. In fact, they were the most critic participants concerning English language teaching in the Chinese institutional space, as they have now new opportunities opened up by the new system communication technologies and by the new globalized world. Fragment 11 shows how this resistance is discursively materialized by one of these students (Tingting) who constructs a constant opposition between what the Chinese school institution requires students to learn English for and what her own opinion is about her needs:

Fragment 11. "For me, future is to prepare myself to go abroad"

Miguel:	学习英语什么地方喜欢什么地方不喜欢？为什么？
	What do you like and what you do not about studying English?
Tingting:	学英语,喜欢听 (英文歌 有趣的对话 等) 不喜欢拖拖拉拉的集体朗读.也喜欢写.不喜欢抄
	I like listening (English songs, interesting dialogues, etc.), I do not like collective readings. I also like writing, but I do not like copying.
Miguel:	对你来说，为什么中国教育需要英语课？
	why do you think Chinese education needs English classes?
Tingting:	中国教育需要英语是为了接上世界的轨道.也为中国人铺好一条可发展的道路.而对我,则是为了将来的出国等做准备.
	China's education needs English to connect with the world track, so that the Chinese can pave a developed road. For me, future is to prepare myself to go abroad.

(Email communication with one student from 8th grade in *Hangzhou shiyan xuexiao*)

Discussion

Data analyzed in this paper do not support those positions claiming that economic globalization lead to uniformity and patterns of standardization across the world. Rather, these data show complex relationships between local and global orders that are nationally shaped in a different way according to the resources that are at stake in each context. Particularly, a close look at language-in-education practices within the Spanish and the Chinese context sheds some light in relation to how the socio-economic challenges posted by globalization are solved out by building up a particular institutional logic of practice which results in the production, distribution and valuation of different interested cultural resources. In fact, those cultural resources (re)produced, distributed and valued that have been ethnographically and interactionally analyzed contribute to construct a different ideological framework by legitimating the *status quo* or the established socio-political order in each case.

With respect to the migration phenomenon in Spain, the study carried out in IES Violetas shows how the resulting new multicultural context is institutionally faced by emphasizing fixed cultural differences between students. Thus, academic performance and behavior in this school are explained in relation to the students' ethnic background. In doing so, an opposition is always reconstructed between Spanish students and students from other nationalities, being the first ones those categorized as the ideal or the "good". Also a hierarchy is reproduced among those non-Spanish students, so that the more cultural distance is perceived the less educational expectations are about the students. According to this hierarchy, the Chinese and Moroccan students occupy the lowest position, as they are respectively considered as "conflictive" and "asocial" while other groups, such as Ucranian or Brazilian students, are represented as adaptable.

These cultural ideologies affect Spanish as a second language teaching in a way that classroom practices legitimate a linguistic competence based on the mastering of basic skills rather than on academic purposes. In other words, the "bridge classroom" provides students with skills to "survive on the streets" rather than to have access to ordinary classes in compulsory education. Besides, a social order in this classroom is interactionally (re)produced according to that cultural hierarchy explained above, so that Chinese students are constructed as the poorest learners according the their learning styles even when they complete the tasks better that other students.

Concerning the challenges posted by the introduction of a capitalist economy in the Chinese context, the study conducted in the three Zhejiang schools shows how the loss of political legitimacy of the CCP is institutionally faced by (re)producing a cultural homogeneity both in and out of the Chinese context, so that a main opposition is constantly reproduced between China and the so-called "West". The emphasis on the polarization between these two cultural categories, while highlighting the international context of change and globalization, is used to legitimate the institutionalization of new school practices and rituals that construct a Chinese national identity based on non-liberal democratic values in which the CCP occupies a central position. Hence, these new rituals are linked to a discourse of morality which involves values about patriotism, communism and cultural (mainly Confucian) traditions that blur the boundaries between the CCP, the Chinese State

and the Chinese cultural heritage and that, therefore, position the former as the representative of the China's past and future.

The symbolic space of English language teaching is also affected by this ideological framework. Thus, the articulation of those cultural values is being institutionalized through many curricula reforms (see Wu X. 2005, for a revision of these reforms) that, apart from incorporating international discourses and methodologies about second language teaching, legitimate particular teaching-learning rituals that are interactionally constructed as a "show-talk" and represented as a Chinese way of teaching English. By doing so, the classroom practices legitimate a linguistic competence that combines international language ideologies for economic competition and national strategies for political legitimization. Therefore, the international representation of the English language as a neutral or technical skill for economic development is adapted to the officially legitimated cultural values by representing a "chorus-like" participation framework in relation to values concerned with Confucian collectivism, Chinese patriotism and CCP's revolutionary traditions and laws.

However, data in this paper also show how these complex relationships between local, institucional, national and global orders under a period of social changes are (re)constructed through a dialogical interaction between social structure and agentivity. In fact, cultural resources being legitimated by institutional practices in each one of the two studied contexts do not seem to be just imposed in the field without any response from the part of individual participants. Rather, those practices ideologically loaded are in some way resisted both by students and teachers. In this sense, these resistances or contestations are an interesting site for exploring tensions between social ideologies and individual choices/decisions, even though they do not imply always an immediate transformation.

Appendix 1: Symbols used in the transcripts.

AA (Capital letters) loud talking
AA (italics letters) reading
/ short pause (0'5seconds)
// long pause (0'5 – 1'5 seconds)
[ ] turn overlapping with similarly marked turn
(( )) non-understandable fragment
( )º low talking
{ } researcher's comments
↑ rising intonation
↓ falling intonation
Ā high intonation

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Acknowledgements

Contact with author

Miguel Pérez Milans.
Depto. de Lingüística General, Lenguas Modernas, Lógica y Filosofía de la Ciencia, Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura Comparada.
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
Ciudad Universitaria de Cantoblanco, 28049 Madrid.
Teléfono: +34 91 497 66 94
Email: mperezmil@uoc.edu