Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning

Guides to Research Methods in Language and Linguistics

Series Editor: Li Wei, Birkbeck College, University of London

The science of language encompasses a truly interdisciplinary field of research, with a wide range of focuses, approaches, and objectives. While linguistics has its own traditional approaches, a variety of other intellectual disciplines have contributed methodological perspectives that enrich the field as a whole. As a result, linguistics now draws on state-of-the-art work from such fields as psychology, computer science, biology, neuroscience and cognitive science, sociology, music, philosophy, and anthropology.

The interdisciplinary nature of the field presents both challenges and opportunities to students who must understand a variety of evolving research skills and methods. The *Guides to Research Methods in Language and Linguistics* addresses these skills in a systematic way for advanced students and beginning researchers in language science. The books in this series focus especially on the relationships between theory, methods and data- the understanding of which is fundamental to the successful completion of research projects and the advancement of knowledge.

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Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning

A Practical Guide

Edited by Francis M. Hult and David Cassels Johnson

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Contents

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Foreword

In my book, *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (Ricento 2006b), I wrote "language policy and planning (LPP), as an interdisciplinary field, requires an understanding and use of multiple methods in exploring important questions about language status, language identity, language use, and other topics that fall within the purview of research" (Ricento 2006a, 129). I also agreed with James Paul Gee (1999, 5), who noted "any method always goes with a theory. Method and theory cannot be separated, despite the fact that methods are often taught as if they could stand alone." Furthermore, as LPP tends to focus on practical, "real world" issues that involve language, researchers approach their work with *strategic* goals in mind; for example, a goal of research might be to explain how high-stakes exams in US public schools are de facto language policies, and often lead to disproportionately negative outcomes for language minority students (Menken 2008). Researchers who choose to investigate this topic already have strong views, often influenced by their own experience, on matters such as the nature and purpose of schooling, theories of language acquisition and learning, ethical concerns about fairness and validity in assessment practices, and so on, that will influence the questions they ask and the particular research methods they employ to answer those questions. In short, researchers in LPP usually have strategic goals in mind when they formulate research questions, goals that are strongly influenced by their particular beliefs and (often unstated) theories on a range of phenomena. It follows that the methodological tools that a researcher uses will be strongly influenced – if not determined – by his or her theories on the "objects" that are to be investigated, to be scrutinized for particular "properties" and relationships that the researcher believes, a priori, are worthy of investigation because they believe these are the properties that matter most, because their theories and beliefs lead them to believe so. Furthermore, regardless of the research methods we select from our toolkit, in the end, all social science research is *always* interpretive: despite our best intentions and efforts to achieve "objectivity," or "neutrality," or "validity" through our carefully selected research methods, as social scientists we are always *interpreters* of complex phenomena that are beyond our ability to understand and characterize in any definitive way.

These observations are in no way meant to diminish the importance or usefulness of research in LPP. Rather, they point to the essential fact that good research, from the inception of hypothesis generation, to the gathering and analysis of data, to the discussion of the findings and implications for policy and future research, is

value-laden, and this is a good and necessary thing. Social science research that is worthwhile can never be a sterile exercise in gathering facts and reporting observations conducted in a social vacuum; the best research in LPP is overtly mindful of *why* we ask the questions we ask, in *whose interest* we conduct research, and how individuals and society will *benefit* from our research.

The object(s) of our research arise from the social contexts – including belief systems – in which we are socialized and educated, and especially through the epistemological lenses acquired through our particular disciplinary training, subject to ongoing questioning and revision. Because LPP is an *interdisciplinary* field, researchers must become knowledgeable in subject areas outside their disciplinary specialization(s), a daunting task given the difficulties of gaining such knowledge and incorporating it in research questions and methods in non-ad hoc ways. Given the inherent challenge to understanding complex social phenomena that involve language, society, and policymaking and evaluation, the task of characterizing what we study and why we study it leads to perpetual debate and controversy. It is not surprising that much effort is spent on defining what, exactly, the field of LPP is, and what it is not. John Petrovic (2015) suggests that a productive way to think about "language policy" is not as a singular construct but as "language" and "policy," each considered as a separate construct. This is because, according to Petrovic, different readings of "language" inform the shape that "policy" takes, while policy usually constructs language in particular ways. The implication from this formulation is that our theory of language *precedes* and *informs* our research questions that involve investigating *policies* on language in society. But, as Petrovic notes, if policy implies a theory of politics, then we cannot proceed very far in research unless we acknowledge "where we are coming from," politically. This means, for example, that we cannot simply declare ourselves to be "liberals" without considering what sort of liberalism we embrace and what that could mean for our analysis of a particular policy or policy approach in particular contexts or social domains. Petrovic's deconstruction of "language policy" is but one example to illustrate the challenges that obtain in the ongoing quest to develop a robust, coherent, and empirically informed field of intellectual inquiry under the heading "language policy and planning." In response to these challenges, a number of scholars (François Grin, Peter Ives, Stephen May, Yael Peled, John Petrovic, and myself, among others) are endeavoring to generate conversations and collaborations across disciplinary boundaries in an effort to develop better theoretical and explanatory models amenable to empirical validation or refutation.[1]

To summarize, there are no truly "naive" research questions in the social sciences; rather, the questions we ask and the methods we choose to investigate those questions are the products of deeply held beliefs on a broad range of phenomena, informed by theoretical constructs that claim to explain how and why things are "in the world," and, in the case of LPP, how the world might be improved by applying the knowledge gained through empirical research. David C. Johnson (2013, 95) notes that "While the field of language policy is theoretically rich, empirical data collection on language policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation has, historically, not matched the theoretical and conceptual robustness. In part, this is a natural result of the inchoate nature of the field." I would add that our empirical research findings will certainly lead to better theorizing and conceptualizing, and that will require not only the appropriate use of a variety of social science

research methods described in this volume, but, of equal importance, greater awareness and infusion of appropriate theories and conceptual frames from diverse disciplines, including political theory, political science, economics, social theory, and related policy sciences.

This volume is a very useful addition to the developing, if "inchoate," field of language policy and planning; but it seems to me that what is now required is an updated and expanded volume on theory[2] that would include coverage on the aforementioned disciplines in order to provide greater balance and coherence to a field that, historically, has paid more attention to sociolinguistics and ethnography than it has to politics, economics, or sociology.

Thomas Ricento
Calgary, Canada
September 2014

Notes

1 Examples of disciplinary boundary crossing can be found in a recent thematic issue of the journal *Language Policy*, 'Language Policy and Political Theory' (Ricento, Peled, and Ives 2014), and in Ricento 2015.
2 Ricento 2006b covers some of this territory, but more extensive treatment in a number of subject areas is warranted.

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1 Introduction: The Practice of Language Policy Research

Francis M. Hult and David Cassels Johnson

Applied linguistics is an intellectual space – a transdiscipline – where theories and methods from multiple fields intersect around language issues (Halliday 2001). Language policy, as Spolsky has pointed out, is a "paradigmatic example of applied linguistics in that it must draw on a range of academic fields to develop practical plans to modify language practices and beliefs" as well as to investigate policy processes empirically (Spolsky 2005, 31). Theories and methods are not merely imported from this range of academic fields, but refined and strategically combined in order to conduct research that is problem-centered, or issue-focused (Hult 2010a). Specialists in language policy and planning (LPP) have drawn upon a broad constellation of research methods that have roots in diverse disciplines such as anthropology, law, linguistics, political science, social psychology, and sociology (of language), among others, in order to conduct inquiry on problems or issues related to policy formation, interpretation, implementation, resistance, and evaluation.

Beginning in the 1960s, early language planning was primarily something that a handful of scholars *did*, and only later became an object of study (Spolsky 2005). These early scholars were called upon to develop strategies and frameworks for language-planning initiatives and produced many of the theoretical frameworks that we use today, very notably the distinction between status planning (focused on the functions of language) and corpus planning (focused on the forms of language), and, later, acquisition planning (focused on language learning) (see review in Hornberger 2006).

The 1980s and 1990s saw a growing group of critical scholars who explicitly engaged with language planning as a hegemonic mechanism potentially imbued with dominant and marginalizing discourses (e.g. Ruiz 1984; Tollefson 1991). Tollefson,

Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide, First Edition.
Edited by Francis M. Hult and David Cassels Johnson.

for example, proposed the historical-structural approach, which focuses on the historical and sociopolitical processes that lead to the development of language policies. Around the same time, sociolinguistic researchers who utilized ethnography began to take an interest in LPP. Hornberger's (1988) ethnographic investigation of language planning and bilingual education in Peru is one of the first to examine how language planning impacted language use in schools and communities.

Since the 1990s, and especially beginning in the 2000s, there has been a rapidly increasing number of researchers who utilize ethnographic and discourse-analytic methods to examine LPP processes "on the ground," so to speak, with a focus on how policy texts and discourses relate to language practices in schools and communities (e.g. Davis 1994; Freeman 1998; King 2001). While this line of LPP research is prominent, as evidenced by recent edited volumes (e.g. McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010), many other scholars have applied a broad spectrum of research methods from their respective fields to LPP studies, including economics (Grin 2003), political science (May 2001), and law (Leibowitz 1984; de Varennes 1996), among many others.

Over the last half-century of inquiry, then, research methods have been taken beyond their disciplinary foundations and honed specifically for LPP investigations. Thus, the field of LPP is maturing as scholars are paying more and more attention to diverse and critical ways of approaching LPP issues and, concomitantly, to research rigor (Johnson 2013; Menken and García 2010; Ricento 2006). As such, we believe the time is right for a volume that consolidates research approaches to LPP.

Our initial motivation for developing this book emerged from two distinct experiences: (1) during our dissertation fieldwork we felt a need for a resource like this book, and (2) our supervision of students leads us to believe that they, as well, would benefit from a book that helps them design and conduct language policy studies. Although students take qualitative and quantitative research methods courses during MA and PhD coursework, their application to studies of LPP is often left unexamined. It would, of course, be difficult for any college or department to offer advanced research methods courses in every domain in which students might do thesis or dissertation work. Indeed, part of the process of conducting independent work is to build on a general foundation of research methods to develop the details of a specific study. To this end, students in the early stages of developing a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation embark on substantial reading of methodological literature, in addition to other relevant topical and theoretical sources, to begin framing their own original studies.

In guiding our students, we have found it easy to recommend texts that address core principles and social theory related to language policy (e.g. Cooper 1989; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; Ricento 2006; Shohmay 2006; Spolsky 2004, 2009); however, suggesting foundational texts on research design in language policy is much more challenging. There are many excellent methods texts in general areas such as discourse analysis, ethnography, and sociolinguistics, and empirical studies of language policy abound in journals and edited volumes. Going from general research methods to designing one's own *language policy* study, though, can be a long conceptual leap for novice researchers – this book is intended as a springboard.

As Nancy Hornberger (2013; this volume) points out, in contrast to theoretically or disciplinary-driven research where methods follow more directly, researchers

engaging with problem-centered or issue-focused inquiry must rely on "methodological rich points." These are points of reflection at all stages of the research process where one considers whether or not one has access to the most appropriate method(s) in relation to one's research question(s). Such reflection requires a critical awareness of what methods are available, the kinds of research questions for which they are epistemologically appropriate, and the sorts of data and analysis they facilitate. Without such a methodological overview, there is a risk that a novice researcher will design a study using only the methods to which they were exposed in methods courses, forcing them to fit research questions for which the methods are less than ideal or, perhaps worse, altering the research questions to fit the methods instead of the issue or problem in need of investigation. Alternatively, students must invest considerable time and energy on their own to gain the scope of methodological perspective needed to select appropriate methods and extrapolate their potential applications to LPP issues.

Accordingly, we have designed the present volume as an attempt to offer readers a bird's eye view of a range of research methods as they can be applied to LPP. Inspired by our own students' needs, we have kept the novice reader in mind at all phases of developing the book. In selecting topics, we have considered both the fundamentals of approaching LPP as a domain of inquiry and specific methods for designing and implementing a study. All chapters, written by leading language policy researchers known for their attention to methodological rigor, are intended as entry points for readers with little or no familiarity with the topics. As such, the contributions in this volume are not meant to be comprehensive in their coverage, but rather to provide the reader with an overview of key methods and methodologies to consider thereby helping the reader make informed methodological decisions as they conceptualize LPP studies and continue to read more deeply about specific methods.

The first section includes five chapters that address fundamental considerations when embarking on a language policy study. These include issues that arise during the conceptualization and implementation stages of inquiry such as the deliberate critical thinking process of selecting research methods as well as reflexive issues related to researcher positionality and ethics when investigating sociopolitical issues around language policy. The first three chapters, thus, offer guidance on how to develop a language policy study and then how to carry it out in a responsible manner. The section also includes chapters that address, respectively, two fields of scholarship that have an especially salient connection to politics and policy: political theory and law. While these are by no means the only scholarly perspectives from which to approach language policy, political theory and law are two fields that place politics and policy as the focus of inquiry (and they are also fields in which politicians and legislators often have training), making them useful to understand, whether one chooses to embrace a political or legal orientation or to follow one of the many other traditions of inquiry.

The second section, in turn, comprises thirteen chapters, focusing on different methods for language policy investigation from a diverse range of epistemological and disciplinary traditions. The chapters in this section are written as basic how-to guides for planning and implementing studies. Each is organized with the same structure to facilitate comparison, helping readers easily determine what each method offers and how different methods might complement each other. As readers

will quickly notice, many of these methods can work together, and we have tried to illuminate these connections with cross-references throughout. Each chapter begins with a brief introduction that situates the method intellectually and explains its relevance to language policy. Next, the development of research questions is considered with special attention to the kinds of questions that align with the method. Methods for data collection and analysis are then discussed, emphasizing the practice of conducting research. Each chapter concludes with a brief case study that illustrates how the method has been applied in an LPP study along with a short list of sources for further reading about the method.

The final section of the volume is an appendix that offers advice about public engagement with language policy initiatives and debates. Language policy researchers often wish to make a positive social impact in addition to, or as part of, their inquiry. As scholars, we receive training in research but seldom in the professional skills needed for successful engagement with public policy. With this in mind, the four appendix contributors offer advice based on their own experience with engagement in sectors that are of special interest to LPP researchers: communities and schools, political debate, government, and media. Each contribution offers hands-on tips for how to get involved and how to interact productively with policy stakeholders.

As language policy continues to diversify as a field, its strength going forward lies in the methodological rigor of well-conceptualized and systematically conducted studies. It is in this way that the field will make its most meaningful social contributions through research that can inform the creation and sound implementation of equitable language policies. In all, it is our hope that the present volume will contribute to the rigor of the field by offering a practical methodological toolkit for students who are new to language policy and a reference for established LPP researchers.

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Part I Fundamental Considerations

2 Selecting Appropriate Research Methods in LPP Research: Methodological Rich Points

Nancy H. Hornberger

Introduction

LPP issues arise every day and everywhere. In the media and in day-to-day human encounters, concerns recurringly surface around literacy levels in the workplace; plain language in advertising and government; linguistic diversity and multilingual education in schools; English-only policies at school, city, state, and national levels; English as a global language; and Indigenous and immigrant groups' rights to use and teach their own languages and to maintain or revitalize them. Innovative (and failed) attempts to solve problems, enable equal access, and/or recognize minority rights through language policy are regularly launched and, more often than not, aborted too soon. Answers to the essential LPP question remain tantalizingly diverse and unpredictable:

> Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational? (Ricento 2000, 208)

All of this LPP researchers seek to study and illuminate. And they do so from widely interdisciplinary bases and in all social domains.

How then do LPP researchers select appropriate research methods to study these questions? Drawing from a data collection toolkit that includes survey questionnaire, census and demographic data, linguistic corpora, interviews, policy documents, participant observation and participatory action; and an analytical toolkit embracing

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statistical, experimental, ethnographic, linguistic, and discourse-analytic approaches and their many variations, there appears to be a dizzying array of choices confronting the would-be LPP researcher. The choices may appear all the more perplexing when we consider that our research methods and approaches are linked to the questions we are asking or the problem we are addressing.

The second half of this book takes up the particularities of specific methodological approaches and conceptual terrains; here, I attempt to raise more general methodological considerations to guide our selection of methods, drawing attention to what I have called methodological rich points, or

> those times when researchers learn that their assumptions about the way research works and the conceptual tools they have for doing research are inadequate to understand the worlds they are researching. Methodological rich points make salient the pressures and tensions between the practice of research and the changing scientific and social world in which researchers work. (Hornberger 2013, 101)

While my experience and examples draw mostly from ethnographic work in educational LPP, I believe the rich points they illustrate point to similar concerns for all LPP research. We begin with a brief look back at the evolution of LPP research and then take up methodological rich points organized under the heuristic for sociolinguistic analysis first offered by Fishman (1971, 219), adapted here as: who researches whom and what in LPP, where, how, and why?[1]

LPP as an Evolving Theoretical and Methodological Terrain

Ricento (2000) traces the evolution of LPP research since World War II in three phases with their respective sociopolitical, epistemological, strategic (and I will add methodological) concerns: an era of decolonization and state formation in the 1950s–1960s, when LPP research was conducted under a mainly structuralist paradigm and oriented toward problem-solving; widespread failure of modernization in the 1970s–1980s, accompanied by the rise of critical research paradigms, including critical LPP research focusing on inequalities of access to education and socioeconomic mobility; and beginning in the 1990s, the emergence of a new world order characterized by massive population migrations, the re-emergence of local ethnic identities, and the globalization of capitalism, along with the flowering of postmodern research paradigms and attention to linguistic human rights in LPP.

There is a methodological parallel to this trajectory, with LPP research methods moving generally over time from large-scale national census, demographic survey, and self-report language use/language attitude questionnaires directed toward informing language policy to solve problems at national or regional levels; to incorporation of economic, legal, and political analyses directed toward reforming structures of unequal access; to more ethnographic on-the-ground methods directed toward illuminating the complexities of enacting language policy in local

contexts. However, it is not the case that earlier methods have been discarded along the way; rather, the LPP field has embraced a steadily expanding methodological toolkit.

Joshua Fishman stands as a giant in the early period of cross-national comparative projects, international conferences with published proceedings, and the launch of LPP publications; but his genius also always lay in his profound commitment to linguistic human rights and what he affectionately called the "little languages" of the world, a commitment born of his own heritage as a Yiddish speaker and activist. The still vital *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* and the Contributions to the Sociology of Language book series (both of which Fishman founded) are emblematic of the field, with their encyclopedic documentation of multilingual national contexts and the fate of language policies therein; and methodologies in the early years favoring large-scale census, survey, and questionnaire studies. Fishman was also one of LPP's "Big Four" (J. Rubin, personal communication, October 6, 1988), along with Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Joan Rubin, and Björn Jernudd, who undertook the 1969–1972 Ford Foundation-funded International Research Project on Language Planning Processes in Israel, India, Indonesia, and Sweden, respectively (Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta 1968) and went on to provide leadership for the field for several decades, right up to the present. Also launched relatively early was the journal *Language Problems and Language Planning*, in 1977, whose title makes clear the problem-solving orientation in LPP research at the time – an orientation that is still with us, although the problems and their solutions are understood in arguably more nuanced and complex terms (see Lo Bianco, this volume). By the 1980s and 1990s, with the failure of the modernization development paradigm and the rise of critical research perspectives in the social sciences, there was a general sense that the LPP field was theoretically and methodologically adrift (Cooper 1989; Ricento 2000; Schiffman 1996; Tollefson 1991), but no real alternative emerged until the turn of the millennium.

The year 2000 saw the launch of three new LPP journals edited by well-known LPP researchers: *Language Policy*, edited first by Bernard Spolsky and then by Kendall King and Elana Shohamy; *Current Issues in Language Planning*, edited by Robert Kaplan and Richard Baldauf; and the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, edited by Thomas Ricento and Terry Wiley. These journals infused new intellectual energy into the field with increased theoretical attention to critical, postmodern, complexity, and globalization perspectives and increased methodological contributions from ethnographic and discourse-analytic approaches. Considerations of language ecology, language ideology, and language identity in relation to LPP offered new conceptual arenas in which to bring these theoretical and methodological insights to bear. Reflecting these developments, the present volume embraces a wide spectrum of methodological approaches emergent over the multi-decade trajectory of LPP research, from census/demographic and language attitude survey methods to legal, economic, historical-structural, ideological, and political analyses, to classroom ethnography, corpus linguistics, media analysis, and intertextual analysis. Given a field whose scholarly concerns and methodologies today are so varied, how then does a researcher know or select which methodological approach and which methods to use?

Methodological Rich Points

One way to think about that question is to frame it in terms of the paradigmatic heuristic for sociolinguistic analysis first offered by Fishman (1971, 219), and adapted here as: who researches whom and what in LPP, where, how, and why?

In what follows, I take up some methodological rich points that arise in relation to this heuristic, and which can, I think, serve to guide LPP researchers in our ongoing selection and revisiting of research methods.

Who researches whom in LPP?

At the most basic level, LPP researchers focus attention on language users – individuals and groups, teachers and students, community members and policymakers, among others. LPP is after all, as Cooper once wisely observed, centrally concerned with "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989, 45). Participants are central to LPP, and methodological rich points around our *collaborations with* and *representations of* our research participants are unavoidable.

In essence, the considerations for LPP researchers here revolve around respecting and being with research participants as fellow human beings while also "studying" them. Educational ethnographer Page writes that increasing recognition of limits to "the qualitative claim that researchers [can] document and explain, fully and accurately, another's life-world as it is" (Page 2000, 5) presents both a political challenge as to whose representations are the ones put forward and an aesthetic challenge as to how knowledge is represented in texts.

The slogan "research on, for, and with subjects," put forward by Cameron and colleagues (1992), captures some of the tensions around collaborating with and representing aspects of our research participants' lives and language use. After first discussing issues of power and of positivist, relativist, and realist paradigms of research, the authors introduce what could be considered a continuum from an ethics-based approach (research on subjects), which seeks to balance the needs of a discipline in pursuit of knowledge with the interests of the people on whom the research is conducted but in which subjects have no real role in setting the agenda; to an advocacy-based approach (research on and for subjects), which despite its commitment to participants nevertheless still tends toward a positivist notion that there is one true account; and finally to an empowerment-oriented approach (research on, for, and with subjects), which uses interactive, dialogic methods and seeks to take into account the subjects' research agenda, involve them in feedback and sharing of knowledge, consider representation and control in the reporting of findings, and take seriously the policymaking implications of the research.

Paying more attention to collaboration and representation in LPP research may take a number of forms – it may be about working with multiple members of a research team including members of the community being researched; it may also be about researcher-researched relationships; and may range from consultative to fully

participatory methods and relationships. It may be about collecting and analyzing data; it may also be about writing up and reporting findings. It is without doubt about reflecting critically on all of these, on the ethics of our relationships with those we research (see Canagarajah, this volume) and on our own positionality as researcher (see Lin, this volume).

What do LPP researchers study?

LPP researchers are concerned with the creation, interpretation, and appropriation of policy on language status, corpus, or acquisition in particular contexts – we seek to understand, illuminate, and influence policy-shaped/policy-shaping texts, discourses, and practices. We concern ourselves not only with overt and explicit policy, but also with policies that are covert or implicit—i.e. hidden agendas (Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006); not only with state- or institutional-level policies, but also local classroom, family, or community policies (King and Mackey 2007; McCarty 2011; Ricento and Hornberger 1996); not only with top-down dictums but also bottom-up processes and interactions (Canagarajah 2005; Hornberger 1996); not only with languages per se but with communicative practices, repertoires, and even "bits of language" (Blommaert 2010). Perhaps we have become especially interested over time in uncovering the indistinct voices, covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances, or unintended consequences of language policy emergent in context (Hornberger and Johnson 2011); and methodological rich points are likely to arise precisely around the adequacy of our *contextualization* of policy and our *authority* to interpret the hidden voices, ideologies, and consequences of policy (Hornberger 2013).

Contextualization is about taking seriously the common-sense notion that "context matters." LPP researchers often take up the "what" of language policy as it plays out in education – focusing on policy and planning around language teaching and learning, or language *in* learning and teaching. We may investigate, for example, policies on language learning and instructional practices in classrooms at elementary, secondary, or tertiary levels; on language acquisition and use in classroom interaction; or on methods of assessing what a language learner knows and can do. In every instance and whatever the context, context is crucial to analyzing, interpreting, and generalizing findings.

Authority refers to the researcher's authority over the interpretation of the data – the right to claim that he or she has "got it right" in reporting findings. On what basis does the researcher have (or not have) authority to speak for the participants? This question is part of "a complex dialectic between the researcher, the research process, and the research outcome(s)" (May 1997, 200), that entails engaging reflectively not only with one's research constructs and data, and with informants' constructs, but also with one's own ideological biases as well as the sociohistorical structures shaping the research setting.

Increasingly, LPP ethnographers take a social constructivist view that "human reality is extensively reproduced and *created anew* in the socially and historically specific activities of everyday life" (Rampton 2000, 10); this has implications for how we study context and how we interpret policy in context. Multilingual classrooms and communities have been particularly rich sites for studying local appropriation and interpretation of language education policy; many of these studies

document patterns of language use and social relations that sometimes serve to maintain and at other times to challenge the status quo in societal power relations (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2010; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Hornberger 2003; Jaffe 1999).

Issues of contextualization and authority may arise around LPP researchers' encounter with and rendering of practices going beyond those envisioned in their own research questions or the explicit intentions of the language policy or educational reform. Researchers' categories may undergo redefinition as their research experience in classrooms makes salient the difference between their concepts, based perhaps on their prior experience or on the policy's definitions, and the teachers' practices they set out to describe in context. In-depth attention to contextualization and to the authority of local actors and voices enables LPP ethnographers to document locally constructed challenges to historically unequal statuses of languages in schools, policy realities that would otherwise remain hidden (Canagarajah 2005; Hornberger 1996, 2013).

Where do LPP researchers carry out their research?

Workplaces and classrooms at all levels, national, district, and state ministries and administrative offices, professional development settings, sites of formal and nonformal education, and institutional, family, and community settings more generally are the usual venues for LPP research. There is increasingly explicit attention to the multilingual, multicultural, multiliterate workplace, classroom, and community contexts in which language learning, teaching, and use take place, and methodological rich points here have to do with *typicality* and *heterogeneity* of sites or cases.

While typicality is often a concern for those seeking to generalize from their research, it may not always be the aim; atypical, unique, resilient, or extreme cases or instances may purposely be sought out for the potential insight they offer. Here, the methodological rich points lie in researchers' choice of setting and their interpretation of its typicality and atypicality. For a language policy case study or ethnography, a case might be atypical in its particular constellation of factors, yet also be considered "typical" precisely because of the complexity of tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes in linguistic, sociolinguistic, sociohistorical, and sociocultural identities and affiliations that bear on the uptake – or not – of the policy.

The heterogeneity of any particular site of language policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation is another locus of methodological rich points. For LPP ethnographers, the crux here is the changing nature – or perhaps more accurately, deepening understanding – of the *speech community* as research setting for the ethnographic study of language policy, language use, and language learning. In keeping with a longtime emphasis on holistic understanding of communicative resources at play, and in response to intensifying globalizing flows of capital, goods, people, images, and discourses, ethnographic analysis of the speech community has moved toward ever greater recognition of a new "sociolinguistics of mobile linguistic resources" – wherein linguistic resources are seen as moving across scales, with shifts in function, structure, and meaning, and through different orders of indexicality, layered in polycentric systems (Blommaert 2010, 22). Since the 1990s, there has been a shift from an exclusive

focus on speech communities to a complementary focus on communities of practice and communicative practices, yielding "fine-grained and complex account[s] of imposition, collusion and struggle" (Rampton 2000, 12), where randomness and disorder are more important than system and coherence, and anomalous social difference is treated as central rather than peripheral (Rampton 2000, 9, 18).

Methodological rich points arise around the heterogeneous, mobile, multilingual nature of any one language policy site, and also around the diverse range of sites in which (educational) LPP ethnography is undertaken and which it is suited to illuminate. Largely through the contributions of ethnographic research in such sites, there is growing recognition that language planning and policymaking happen as much at the micro-level of the workplace or classroom as at the macro-level of government (Martin-Jones, this volume; Hult 2010; Ricento and Hornberger 1996). There is also greater acknowledgment of the tensions in language policies and practices, especially in postcolonial contexts undergoing simultaneous and contradictory processes of decolonization and globalization (Lin and Martin 2005).

In confronting methodological rich points arising from the heterogeneity, mobility, diversity, scale-layering, indexicality, and polycentricity of research sites, the ethnography of language policy is moving toward a more localized orientation that takes seriously the tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes of language allegiances and sociolinguistic identities in order to understand (and construct) policies from the ground up (Canagarajah 2005; see also Hornberger 1996). Ecological approaches, in particular, have been proposed as a way to do this (Canagarajah 2005; Hornberger 2003). These evolving trends in LPP ethnography – and arguably in LPP research more generally – have come in direct response to the salient differences researchers have encountered between their own perspectives and modes of research and the worlds they set out to describe.

How do LPP researchers collect, analyze, and interpret data?

For LPP researchers, data collected are in the form of survey questionnaire responses, census and demographic data, linguistic databases, interview transcripts, policy documents, field notes, audio- and video-recordings, photographs, and more.

In many cases, our primary data are bits or stretches of spoken or written language that make up the texts, discourses, and practices of language policy. These data are gathered primarily by observation, recording, elicitation, and document collection; analyzed usually in some way for form, function, and meaning; and interpreted within a variety of conceptual frameworks ranging from highly specified to more loosely configured.

Whatever the data-collection and analysis methods or conceptual frameworks employed, methodological rich points regularly arise around *sufficiency of data* as a basis for inference and around the *inferential relation between theory and data* – central issues in all research. How much data does one need to draw a credible inference? And how, exactly, does one infer from theory to data and back? The bases and processes of inference are an enduring locus of methodological rich points in LPP research.

For LPP ethnographic research, by definition interpretive and inductive in its search for patterns and understandings, one set of responses to these questions lies

in ethnography's emic and holistic approach. The approach is emic in that the ethnographer attempts to infer the local point of view: to describe the ways of being, knowing, and doing, and situations and events, as members understand and participate in them, i.e. as they make sense of them. It is holistic in that the ethnographer seeks to create a whole picture, one that leaves nothing unaccounted for and that reveals the interrelatedness of all the component parts. Crucial to ethnography is the subjective involvement of the ethnographer in mediating between theory and data; and crucial to achieving a holistic and emic view are the processes of inference, interpretation, and induction.

In an essay on the development of conceptual categories in ethnographic research, Sipe and Ghiso emphasize the paradoxical nature of the interpretive process wherein "theoretical frameworks are essential to structuring a study and interpreting data, yet the more perspectives we read about, the greater the danger of overdetermining conceptual categories and the ways in which we see the data" (Sipe and Ghiso 2004, 473). Demonstrating and demystifying a process in which "induction and deduction are in constant dialogue" (Erickson 1986, 121), Sipe and Ghiso provide a detailed example of a breakthrough in Sipe's development of categories for his classroom data that came precisely from his reading Bakhtin at the time. In a commentary on their essay, Erickson underlines this point, noting that if Sipe had been reading someone else, e.g. Fish, Foucault, or Habermas, the analysis might have gone in a different direction (Erickson 2004, 489).

Part of what drove Sipe to look for a further category in the first place was the existence of data that didn't fit the categories he had used up to that point – outlier data that he became increasingly uncomfortable categorizing as simply "off-task" (Sipe and Ghiso 2004, 480). It was a question of sufficiency not so much in the *amount* of data as the *kinds* of data that posed an inferential challenge for Sipe. Erickson comments on this, too, noting that whereas *quantitas* is always first about "what amounts?" *qualitas* is about "what kinds?" (Erickson 2004, 487). Grappling with the data that didn't fit the discrepant cases, Sipe achieved an interpretive breakthrough when he realized that these off-task sequences were actually instances of the "carnivalesque," in Bakhtinian terms. Erickson reinforces this point, emphasizing that Sipe's example demonstrates that neither ethnographic data themselves nor interpretive themes and patterns simply emerge, but rather must be found by the researcher (Erickson 2004, 486). The example also demystifies one researcher's grappling with methodological rich points around sufficiency of data and the inferential relation between theory and data.

Erickson applauds this demystification and takes the process one step further by considering alternative approaches to the "exhaustive analysis of qualitative data," contrasting Sipe's bottom-up approach with a top-down approach that would "parse analytically from whole to part and then down again and again, successively identifying subsequent next levels and their constituents at that level of contrast [rather than] start by trying to identify parts first and then work up analytically from there" (Erickson 2004, 491). He prefers the top-down approach himself in part because he thinks that is what social actors do, and in part because it invites "parsing all the way down on both sides of [the] analytic divide" (Erickson 2004, 491). Whether bottom-up or top-down, the quest is for holism. It is, ultimately, the holistic and emic quality of the ethnographer's account that grounds the interpretation and affords it generalizability. This brings us to the last part of our heuristic question.

Why do LPP research?

The goal of LPP research is, at its most fundamental, to understand, inform, and transform policies and practices of language (in) use, learning and teaching. As in all research, generalizability is an important consideration, one that some research traditions approach by using large sample size, random or representative sampling, or tight statistical controls. LPP ethnographers tend instead to grapple with generalizability in terms of *transferability* and *particularity*. Transferability assigns responsibility to readers to determine whether findings apply to another context (Duff 2006, 75); variability across contexts is taken for granted, but if the ethnographer provides enough rich and detailed description and analysis of one local context, it should be possible for the reader familiar with another local context to sort out what findings might or might not transfer. In that regard, the greater the particularity of description and interpretation, the more likely it is that a reader will be able to determine whether these particular findings apply to another context. The goal is not generalization or prediction but rather a search for particularity – what Geertz famously called "thick description" (Geertz 1973). Yet methodological rich points arise around how much and what kinds of particularity and transferability are desired or needed.

So, for example, one LPP ethnographer studying incorporation of Mapuche knowledge in a local school explains that her purpose in describing the particularity of teachers' perhaps unconscious tendency to systematize Mapuche knowledge in non-Mapuche categories, or even to transgress Mapuche cultural practices, is not to suggest that this happens in all Mapuche schools, but that it *could* happen and that it behooves educators to be vigilant that our policies and practices actually transform curriculum as we intend (Sepúlveda 2006). Another LPP ethnographer studying how and to what degree a school and community in northern Argentina construct Indigenous identities where the Indigenous language is no longer spoken but where Indigenous traces, roots, traditions, and practices stretch back for generations, points out that the specifics of the case may not occur elsewhere, but the resources and strategies they use do (Machaca 2006). The transferability and generalizability of these authors' ethnographies lie, not perhaps in the representativeness or randomness of their cases, but in their providing particular, "thickly described" accounts informed by and contributing to the wider research literature on processes of minoritization – and revitalization – of Indigenous languages and identities through school practice.

Conclusion

We have considered methodological rich points arising around collaboration and representation in relation to research participants, contextualization and authority in relation to research topics, typicality and heterogeneity in relation to research settings, sufficiency and inference in relation to analysis, and transferability and particularity in relation to implications. Underpinning all these are critical concerns that go beyond analyzing and interpreting findings to transforming the realities

they describe; there is increasingly explicit attention in LPP research to power and inequality and the role of research and of the researcher in interrogating those. As language research increasingly locates communicative practices as parts of larger systems of social inequality, it becomes natural to ask what we, as LPP researchers, can do about transforming those practices and those inequalities.

As we set about that task in our multiple and varied studies of language policy and planning, there are two more methodological rich points which to me seem basic for novice and expert LPP researcher alike – *humility* and *respect*: humility before the rich diversity of language use, learning, and teaching practices and contexts we have the privilege to observe and seek to understand, and respect for the language users, teachers, learners, and policymakers, both individuals and communities, who untiringly and insightfully ply their language (and pedagogical) knowledge and skills, day in and day out the world over. If we keep humility of self and respect for fellow human beings foremost as we select and continually revisit our research topics, settings, analysis, and implications in this ever-evolving global community, our LPP research can only be the stronger for it.

Notes

1 Fishman's original question for a descriptive sociology of language was: "who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end?" (1971, 219).

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3 Researcher Positionality

Angel M.Y. Lin

Introduction

Language policy and planning (LPP) as a field of studies emerging in the 1950s and 1960s has largely been "problem-oriented" and responded to the needs of the newly established states; many of them had just gained independence from their former colonial powers (Spolsky 2008, 137). The early LPP researchers were technical in their orientations, seeing their task as one of planning, standardizing, regulating, containing, or managing linguistic diversity for the national development agendas of building national cohesion (e.g. planning for spreading a standardized national language) and modern economic development (e.g. planning for producing a workforce with the required kinds of linguistic proficiencies for the economy). LPP researchers saw their work consisting of status planning, corpus planning (Kloss 1969), and acquisition planning/language education planning (Cooper 1989). The technical orientations of these early approaches have been critiqued in the historical-structural approach to LPP (Tollefson 1991), which seeks to unmask the ideologies behind language policies. Current developments in LPP further focus on the agency of local social actors in the policy implementational spaces (Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Hult 2010; Johnson 2010). Each of these theoretical developments carries with it different methodological and epistemological stances.

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As new researchers being apprenticed into the LPP field, students are usually confronted with a diversity of approaches and epistemological stances and need a roadmap to make sense of this diversity. In this chapter, I shall first discuss researcher positionality with reference to three kinds of knowledge-constitutive interest. These will be illustrated with LPP studies in the case of Hong Kong. Then I shall outline some suggestions about how a researcher can think about issues of researcher positionality when they are planning their research study.

Knowledge-Constitutive Interests, Disciplines of Inquiry, and Researcher Positionality

Before embarking on the question of researcher positionality, I would like to invite you to first ask yourself the following important questions:

- Why (do you do) research? What kinds of interest motivate you?
- What kind of knowledge will you produce?
- What is the possible impact of your research (or the knowledge that you will produce), and for whom?
- Is there any value-free or interest-free research? Why/Why not?

How one answers the above questions will in a large part reflect one's (implicit) interest in doing research. The critical theorist Jurgen Habermas (1979, 1987) differentiates between three primary kinds of human interest that drive research and generate knowledge. He calls these *knowledge-constitutive* interests because they provide the categories and criteria (or ontological and epistemological assumptions) to formulate answers to questions like: What counts as knowledge? How can knowledge claims be warranted? How is the researcher positioned in relation to the researched? Researchers who are trained in their own discipline's methodological tradition can be unaware of the presuppositions of their discipline's methodology without having gone through a critical reflection process or being exposed to alternative paradigms and their assumptions.

Having a reflexive understanding of the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying one's research tradition helps reveal where one stands in relation to other research traditions and why one chooses such a position in a research project. To achieve such self-understanding, we can draw on the analytical resources offered by Habermas (1979, 1987) in his critical project of reflecting on the relationship between knowledge and human interests.

Habermas proposes that there are three different kinds of human interest that underlie the processes of research and shape/constitute the kind of knowledge produced in three different kinds of research traditions or paradigms (Table 3.1). He uses three different sets of words to describe these three different kinds of knowledge-constitutive human interest – technical (work), practical (communicative), and critical (emancipatory) – and argues that these three different kinds of (implicit) interest are intimately related to three different fundamental aspects of human social existence – *work*, *language*, and *power*. These are explained below.

Table 3.1 Human interest, knowledge, and research paradigms.*

Types of human interest	*Kinds of knowledge*	*Research paradigm*
Technical (work)	Instrumental / Descriptive (cause-effect regularities)	Positivist e.g. natural sciences, experimental psychology, cognitive science
Practical (communicative)	Practical / Descriptive (sociocultural understanding)	Interpretive e.g. ethnography of communication, interactive sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, discourse analysis
Critical (emancipatory)	Emancipatory / Reflexive / Transformative (self-knowledge, transformed consciousness/ practice, ideological critique)	Critical e.g. critical ethnography, critical sociolinguistics, critical literacies, critical pedagogy

*Summary based on Habermas, 1979, 1987. Adapted from MacIsaac 1996.

The technical (work) interest

This deep-seated interest is related to the human need to find the most effective tools to solve problems arising from daily necessities. From tightly controlled experiments, laws can be inferred that predict and control the physical environment in order for one to survive and build a safe and materially comfortable life. This technical interest shapes modes of inquiry and knowledge production in the empirical-analytic sciences, which aim at producing generalizable, universal laws.

The practical (communicative) interest

The practical interest arises from a fundamental aspect of human social existence: the human capacity to use language to communicate and make meaning, both to self and others. The unique human capacity to make meaning and communicate meaning through linguistic symbols marks humans' cultural break with nature – a human child is born simultaneously into a physical world and a cultural world that is saturated with cultural meanings and social norms into which the child is socialized. The key to understanding these sociohistorical meanings, norms, values, beliefs, dispositions – or ways of being in the world – lies in the practical interest in understanding how humans make meaning and achieve intersubjectivity (i.e. understanding each other's meanings) through semiotic (i.e. meaning-making) resources such as those provided by language. The human practical interest thus drives inquiry into social interaction or communicative action in order to achieve understanding of *how* (different sociocultural groups of) people are doing *what* they are doing and

also *why* (but answering "why" in terms of human meanings, reasons, and not in terms of physical causation). The historical-hermeneutic tradition of inquiry (e.g. the interpretive cultural sciences, ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and discourse analysis) is related to this practical interest.

The critical (emancipatory) interest

In making the different knowledge-constitutive interests explicit, a researcher can engage in a kind of critical methodological reflection that aims to bring to consciousness the different kinds of ideological assumptions and power relationships underlying their discipline's research paradigm. Such reflection exemplifies the third knowledge-constitutive interest – the critical or emancipatory interest in overcoming dogmatism, compulsion, and domination. The critical interest thus places emphasis on *self-knowledge* or self-reflection. This involves interest in the way one's history has shaped one's worldviews, values, and beliefs, which are often taken for granted as "common sense." Insights gained through critical self-reflection are emancipatory in the sense that researchers can be aware of the sources of their current values, taken-for-granted worldviews, or ways of being, which position them (with their tacit consent) in established societal or institutional hierarchies.

Disciplines of Inquiry and Researcher Positionality

The three kinds of knowledge-constitutive interests correspond to three different kinds of disciplines of inquiry known as research paradigms: the positivist research paradigm, the interpretive research paradigm, and the critical research paradigm. A research paradigm is a set of beliefs, theories, empirical methodologies, and communication practices shared by a community of researchers that provides the standards and norms for inquiry within that paradigm. Below I discuss each paradigm and how it positions the researcher in relation to the researched.

The positivist research paradigm

The technical interest underlies the positivist (or physicalist) research paradigm, which sees social phenomena as no different from physical phenomena – i.e. analyzable into objectified, constituent entities (known as "variables"), which act on one another with law-like regularity. The purpose of inquiry is to discover and identify these law-like causal relationships between variables with experimental methods (with matched experimental and control groups) or by induction from statistical analyses (e.g. correlational analysis, regression analysis, path analysis). These laws,

once discovered, can be used to predict future social occurrences irrespective of sociocultural or historical contexts. The technical interest thus aims at increasing human control over nature via natural scientific research, and over society via social scientific research. The positivist paradigm asserts that the only valid knowledge is that which allows positive verification of empirical data through the experimental method (or by inference through inferential statistical analyses). The positivist research paradigm positions the researcher as the *subject* of knowing external to the researched – i.e. the object to be studied.

The interpretive research paradigm

The practical interest to understand underlies the interpretive research paradigm (also known as the symbolic or hermeneutic paradigm), which has developed in part from questions that cannot be answered by the positivist paradigm. In human practices of ascribing understanding, there is an enormous variety of considerations that can enter, and there is a dependence on context impossible to subsume under general rules. While positivist approaches focus on establishing cause-and-effect relationships between different variables, the interpretive approaches focus on understanding the purpose and meaning of social actors and social actions. Social interaction/social practice is co-constructed by social actors actively engaged in the interpretation and negotiation of meaning, and drawing on their (partially) shared cultural and linguistic (or symbolic) resources. These symbolic, communicative resources include the sociocultural norms, expectations, and meanings associated with the use of different semiotic (i.e. meaning-making) resources (e.g. registers, styles, varieties of language or other meaning-making systems such as gestures and visuals). The practical interest underlying the interpretive approaches aims to produce knowledge that enriches our understanding of how people are doing what they are doing, and why, from the perspectives of the participants, i.e. the meanings they give to their actions. The researcher aims at uncovering and describing those meanings and methods of arriving at mutual understanding through interpretive analysis, drawing on the same set of sociocultural interpretive resources shared by the researcher and the researched (i.e. member-analysis). The researcher usually positions him- or herself as a participant-observer in relation to the researched. While the researcher does not objectify the researched as an entity as in the positivist paradigm, the researched is still often positioned as the object of description and analysis without the agency of talking back to the researcher, although this is often practiced as a continuum with the line between interpretive and critical approaches increasingly blurred.

The critical research paradigm

Unlike the positivist and interpretive paradigms, which share a common feature of having as their purpose the development of a descriptive theory of the social world, the critical research paradigm asks the researcher to address the important

questions of "How will your research findings affect those studied?" and "In what ways will your research findings be used?" The purpose of research is not just one of describing the world, but also changing the world (Popkewitz 1984). From the critical perspective, a researcher needs to think about "what it means to do empirical research in an unjust world" (Lather 1986, 256). The critical (or emancipatory) interest thus drives research that can lead to the empowerment of the subordinated groups in society through demystifying educational institutions, practices, and policies that produce and reproduce the domination of certain groups in society (Soltis 1984). In the critical research paradigm, both the researcher and the researched are subjects of knowing and enter into a dialogue on equal footings. In the situation where the researcher is also the researched (e.g. when conducting a critical self-reflection) the researcher enters into a dialogue with him- or herself.

An Example: The Case of Hong Kong

In this section I shall outline the background of Hong Kong and draw on three studies conducted there to illustrate the three different kinds of methodological orientations and researcher positionality outlined above.

In the early 1980s, Britain, preparing for its retreat from Hong Kong, began introducing some democratizing elements into its political system and expanding a largely English-medium higher education system, from a formerly elitist two-university system to eight publicly funded universities. Given the long-term English-medium higher education policy in most of the universities in Hong Kong, a symbolic market formed in which literacy in English became a key to socio-economic advancement (Lin and Man 2011). These forces have significantly shaped the socio-economic contexts of language-in-education policies and practices in Hong Kong. On July 1, 1997, the sovereignty of Hong Kong was formally handed over by Britain to China as a Special Administrative Region (SAR). The status of the English language in Hong Kong has remained as important, if not more, as in the pre-1997 years, and there are recurrent public discussions on "declining English standards."

Public official discourse has emphasized that code-mixing and switching constitute the main cause for "declining language standards" and that those students who do not reach the threshold level of English proficiency should not be allowed to study in the English medium. Thus, in September 1998 the postcolonial Hong Kong government issued "mandatory" guidelines for the medium of instruction (MOI) for secondary schools and streamed all publicly funded secondary schools into English-medium schools (114 schools) and Chinese-medium schools (over 300 schools). Schools not classified as English-medium schools were asked to switch their teaching medium from English to "Chinese" (taken to mean Standard Modern Chinese as the written MOI and Cantonese as the oral MOI) starting from their Secondary 1 classes in September 1998; schools can, however, decide on their own MOI for Senior Secondary classes (i.e. after Secondary 3 onwards).

Study One. Measuring the effect of the medium of instruction (MOI) streaming policy on the academic scores and psychosocial indicators of English medium instruction (EMI) and Chinese medium instruction (CMI) students

To evaluate the 1998 linguistic streaming policy, the government commissioned a study (Tsang et al. 2002) of the effect of the streaming policy on different academic and psychosocial indicators of the EMI and CMI students respectively, using a sample of two cohorts of students from 100 secondary schools, in which students were regularly administered academic tests and questionnaires on self-image and language attitudes.

The study's statistical findings speak to the pros and cons of EMI and CMI respectively: CMI produces better achievement in science and social studies, while EMI produces better achievement in English. However, if EMI students are assessed with bilingual exams, their lag behind the CMI students in science and social studies is reduced. The results in general support the rationale behind the government's 1998 MOI streaming policy: that mother-tongue education produces better content learning results than EMI. However, the content learning benefits were not able to counter the negative labeling and self-fulfilling prophecy effect on the self-image of CMI students, as it was also found that CMI students reported very negative attitudes toward learning English (e.g. showing phobia, and lack of interest and confidence) and negative self-image (e.g. reporting that they would want to switch to an EMI school if given a chance).

In this study, the positivist research paradigm was used and the researchers adopted an external outsider position as subjects of knowing examining the effects of MOI on the academic results and self-reported attitudes and self-image of students. Inferential statistical analyses were used to yield comparison findings, based on which knowledge claims about the respective effects of EMI and CMI on students' scores in different subjects and self-image were made. The main focus is on measuring the effect size of the independent variable of MOI (i.e. EMI or CMI) on two major sets of dependent variables: (1) students' test scores in academic subjects; (2) students' responses to questionnaire items intended to measure their self-image and attitudes toward learning English. These results are presented as abstract probabilistic regularities and intended as objective scientific findings: e.g. CMI education produces better results in academic subjects than EMI education; EMI education produces better results in English; CMI education produces a negative self-image among students. In this paradigm there is no place or position from which to consider the agency and the transformative potential of social actors located in the reified categories of CMI and EMI variables, and the possibilities of local social agents (e.g. students, teachers) in transforming these deterministic laws.

Study Two. Ethnography of a class changing from CMI to EMI

The second example is seen in Lee's (2002) ethnographic study in a CMI secondary school (where she worked as a teacher), which started to convert some formerly CMI classes into a total English immersion mode starting in Secondary 4 (grade 10)

in September 2001. Through interviews with the students and their content teachers and through observations of their lessons, Lee concluded that many of the students were struggling with total English immersion due to their limited English proficiency. In Lee's words:

> It is a cruel fact that the students do not have a good foundation of English. From the interviews with the subject teachers, it is found that teachers' expectations are not well matched with students' expectations (and abilities). Teachers expect that those who are in S.4 class should be highly motivated. They should learn with self-initiations. However, with limited abilities (both English and academic), the students just cannot meet the requirements set by their teachers. Such a mismatch only leads to more frustration – both teachers and students are frustrated.
>
> The new school policy can have a "Labelling Effect" of its own. All the school members expect that the students in S.4D are "the elites of the elites" – it is a tradition in my school that those who have better academic results choose the Science Stream classes. In order to reach that expectation, students are working under a great pressure – from teachers, other students and their families. The whole process is a painful experience.
>
> As expressed by the students themselves, they become quieter during the lessons due to two main reasons. First, they pay more attention in class as the subject content is delivered in English. They will miss some important points if they do not concentrate. Second, students do not have the courage to say anything or respond in English. They are afraid of making mistakes and being teased by others…
>
> More involvement and attentiveness in class does not necessarily mean more participation. From the interviews, the students themselves can point out this problem. I have to admit that we are already teaching a group of kids who lack self-confidence and self-assurance. With the new school policy, cumulative failures (in tests and examinations), and pressure … from the people around them, their remaining self-esteem seems to be almost destroyed. (Lee 2002, 67–68; cited in Lin and Man 2009, 98)

In this study, the researcher worked within the interpretive research paradigm and sought to describe the actions of the school participants (teachers, students) and the meanings given to these actions from their own perspectives (i.e. the ethnographic emic perspective). The school participants were described as being trapped in the institutional arrangements – the school's policy of selecting one best class to immerse them in EMI. The teachers' actions (e.g. having high expectations of the students in this class) and the students' actions (e.g. becoming quiet for fear of making mistakes and being teased by others) were described with sympathy. However, the school participants remained positioned as objects of descriptive analysis by the researcher rather than also as subjects of knowing themselves. The knowledge produced largely reflects the voice of the researcher.

Study Three. Both an interpretive and critical ethnographic study in an "international division" of a former CMI secondary school

In 2010 the Hong Kong government released the fine-tuning of the MOI policy as a response to strong societal pressure to destabilize the boundary between EMI and CMI secondary schools. Now, all secondary schools can opt to teach in English for

up to 25% of the curriculum time or up to two subjects in the junior secondary curriculum, and many former CMI schools are becoming "EMI schools." Some schools are also starting an EMI "international division" targeting ethnic minority students. This provides the context of the third study outlined below.

In this collaborative critical ethnography (Perez-Milans and Soto, 2014), a university researcher (Dr. M) and a school teacher-researcher (Mr. C) engaged in a dialogue about the critical pedagogy curriculum that Mr. C was trying out with ethnic minority students in the "International Section" of a secondary school in Hong Kong. In this study, Dr. M conducted regular classroom observations, lesson audiotaping, and analysis of lesson discourse in Mr. C's classroom. For instance, Dr. M provided an analysis in fine interactional detail of how a student, Zareef, ambiguously positioned himself between his classmates and his teacher. While not showing interest in the vocabulary-learning task, Zareef is, however, simultaneously expressing some concern with Mr. C's difficulties in getting students to participate in the activity (for the detailed lesson transcript analysis, see Perez-Milans and Sotos, 2014). If just the descriptive lesson analysis is done, then it should be no different from research work conducted in the interpretive research paradigm with the researcher positioned as the subject of knowing and the researched positioned as the object of analysis/description. However, Dr. M and Mr. C carried on a dialogue (both in recorded conversations and in written email exchanges) in which both had a chance to express their critical reflections on what was transpiring in the study. This dialogue was provided in the knowledge they co-produced (Perez-Milans and Sotos, 2014) based on the study. Reflecting on this collaborative research, Dr. M. and Mr. C. wrote the following:

> we also conceptualize this chapter as a discursive process of dialogue and self-reflection which has enabled us to engage in further conversation regarding (1) what we have learnt from this research collaboration, and (2) to what extent this experience could go beyond grand academic narratives which only advance our professional careers and lead to some impact on other people's lives. (Perez-Milans and Soto, 2014, 230)

Mr. C, the teacher-researcher, was not positioned merely as the researched but also as an equal partner with Dr. M in this collaborative research study. Reflecting on this research process, Mr. C wrote the following:

> Understanding another's subjectivity is always challenging, maybe even more so as the multi-lingual and multi-cultural nature of an environment intensifies. In my classes, students employ a wide range, of registers, cultural references, and other linguistic repertoires that may not be intelligible to the teacher or other participants or observers. So if we are to enter into critical dialogue with students, to make and re-make reality, then how do we read their meaning-making practices in order to situate our learning? As a teacher, how do I recognize the "transformative tensions" that emerge? How do I separate them from classroom acts that don't offer possibility for critical reflection or change? Answering these questions is crucial if we are to "open up access to genres, especially those controlled by mainstream groups" (Martin, 1999: 124) and move students from disengagement with academics to proficiency in creating the types of texts necessary for school success. Overcoming this internal struggle requires attention to everyday classroom and social life. Both Dr. M and I make an appeal to others to listen more carefully … So instead of merely hearing classroom disturbances in the previous classroom interaction, we reposition

> student behavior as part of a negotiated collusion in a space fraught with tensions. (Perez-Milans and Soto 2014, 224–254)

In this reflection, written as part of the dialogue between Mr. C and Dr. M, we see how Dr. M and Mr. C positioned each other as subjects of knowing and research partners in the collaborative study. In the knowledge thus produced, we see multivoicedness and multiple perspectives and how these were interwoven into the heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981) piece of knowledge about how local school participants crafted a space for empowerment of minority students even under a language policy which did not favor these students.

On the Necessity of Becoming a Reflexive "Tweener"

In the above review of the different kinds of interest underlying different research paradigms and different kinds of researcher positionality under these paradigms, I might seem to be privileging the critical paradigm. However, the critical paradigm can have its limitations too. For instance, in influencing public language and education policies, positivist studies still usually figure more prominently than critical studies. However, this is not deterministic and one needs to adopt multiple positions in constructing a dialogue with different parties in each situated context in LPP analysis and advocacy work. While the technicalizing of social life is worrying, a commitment to methodological pluralism and heteroglossia (despite/amidst tensions and multi-voicedness) is necessary, however difficult it seems. What is a pitfall is the failure to recognize the inherent partial and positioned nature of every research study (and researcher) that is inevitably located in a certain sociohistorical and epistemological position. Rather than just negatively critiquing individual studies and their positions, however, one can more productively argue for the need to become a reflexive "tweener" (Luke 2002), readily traveling between different epistemological positions and explicitly acknowledging the necessarily partial or limited nature of any single position/study/perspective. One first step can be revisiting some of the questions this chapter started with:

- Why (do you do) research? What kinds of interest motivate you?
- What kind of knowledge will you produce?
- What is the possible impact of your research (or the knowledge that you will produce), and for whom?
- Is there any value-free or interest-free research? Why/Why not?

The above are just some possible questions to ask and there are no universal practical guides, as each LPP research context confronts the researcher with its own complex specificities. I would, however, argue that along with the commitment to being explicit and reflexive about issues of researcher positionality, adopting a critical stance is very important if LPP research is to contribute to promoting social justice and challenging unequal relations of power often found in LPP contexts.

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4 Ethical Considerations in Language Policy Research

Suresh Canagarajah and Phiona Stanley

Introduction

If language planning and policy (LPP) is about "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocations of their language codes" (Cooper 1989, 45), ethical considerations become very significant. Researchers have to consider the ethics relating to the *why* and *how* of influencing other people's behavior. LPP has to navigate often tense inter-community relations and conflicting points of view about preferred language policies in a nation. The ethics of reconciling these tensions are especially important in policies relating to minority populations.

However, the dominant *rational or positivist tradition* in LPP (see Ricento and Hornberger 1996), which assumes that policies should be based on objective assessments of the needs, processes, and outcomes of language relationships, might prevent one from addressing the ethics of LPP research. Considerations of language identity, attitudes, and allegiance are not always rational, pragmatic, or objective. They are deeply ideological. As such, language policies are difficult to predict or manage. Furthermore, community needs and attitudes may be ambivalent, the processes of implementing policy can be multifarious, and the outcomes of policy unpredictable. It is not uncommon to find ambiguities, tensions, and paradoxes in policy–practice relationship. When LPP researchers address these issues and promote alternatives, there will be a need to address ethical considerations.

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Ethics is becoming important in research as well as in policy as we witness a *critical* turn in LPP and other domains of scholarly inquiry (see Canagarajah 1996; Tollefson, this volume). While the positivistic tradition adopted the stance of objectivity, neutrality, and disinterestedness, the critical tradition engages with issues of power inequality, value differences, and subject positions as they influence the representation of knowledge, researchers, and participants. Even in cases of textual analysis that many LPP researchers undertake, one has to be wary of interpreting the "absent" voices of the original authors, stakeholders, and communities addressed.

Background

That all research activity has to be sensitive to ethics was strikingly conveyed by some early studies with minority populations. From 1932 to 1972, the US Public Health Service conducted a study of the progression of untreated syphilis in Tuskegee, Alabama, among 412 African American men. This study is remembered today for its highly unethical nature – its marginalized, minority participants were not informed they had the disease, were not told the true nature of the study, and were prevented from seeking treatment, even after penicillin became available in the late 1940s. Many others in the community were infected and many died from what, by the end of the study, was a curable condition. Another example conveyed the unethical use of power. In Yale psychologist Stanley Milgram's experiments in the early 1960s, volunteers were placed in the role of "teacher." They were told that their task was to teach words to a volunteer "learner," whose incorrect answers would result in electric shocks of increasing severity. The learner, actually a co-researcher, was placed in an adjacent room. The study's true purpose was to understand obedience to authority. Volunteer "teachers" were told to administer the shocks to which, in response, they heard shouts, screams, banging on the wall, and then silence. These responses were, in fact, pre-recorded and no electric shocks were actually administered. Although many of the volunteers questioned the experiment on hearing the apparent "learner" responses, and although most displayed a great deal of tension and stress, the vast majority continued administering the supposed electric shocks because they were told to do so by a person in authority. Again, the research was ethically highly problematic: participants were deceived as to the true nature of the study and severe emotional abuse was inflicted.

As a result of these and other ethical abuses in research, since the 1970s it has been necessary to have all academic research involving human subjects reviewed by institutional review boards or ethics committees (Blee and Currier 2011; Gil and Bob 1999; Haggerty 2004). Such boards consider detailed research proposals against core criteria of ethical research practice: i.e. informed consent, minimization of the potential for harm, confidentiality, the implications for participants of dissemination of findings, and protection of vulnerable populations and individuals (Ryan n.d.).

But this is not to say that ethics is simply a question of filling out the necessary paperwork to satisfy an ethics review board's checklist. A number of academics have

critiqued existing ethics review processes as insufficient or otherwise unfit for purpose (Barton 2011; Blee and Currier 2011; Haggerty 2004; Thomas and Byford 2003). While ethics review boards help ensure ethical research, this alone is not enough. Rather than "doing ethics" being about filling out a form and getting committee approval, we see "doing ethics" as an iterative, intellectual, and, above all, integral part of research. So while it is necessary to have a research project approved by a committee, it is also essential to engage with and manage ethical issues arising at all stages of research – i.e. from deciding what to study, through data-gathering and its attendant tensions and compromises, to the ethical re-presentation of the participants' stories in texts.

Rather than providing an ethics *checklist*, as many review committees do, our aim is to equip researchers with the necessary *principles* with which to consider the ethics of their research from the ground up. What follows are not, therefore, rules. Instead, we suggest that all discussions of aims, research questions, data production, data analysis, writing up, and the like are infused with big, important questions of ethics right from the beginning. Framed like this, we believe, ethics is rather more exciting than a series of institutional hoops to jump through. We explore these issues in three broad areas: assessing the interests motivating research; managing researcher identity; and representing the "researched." These three issues, relevant to all research but particularly salient to research among linguistic minorities in LPP, are discussed in the hope that they will guide researchers in their practice.

Whose Interests?

The core ethical question in all research is a simple but large one: what is the purpose of doing the study? While the honest (and practical) answer may be selfish – i.e. to get a PhD or to get published – it is hoped that researchers also have some greater benefit in mind. This may mean, ideally, benefit to the study participants themselves. As an example, while Phiona Stanley's (2013) study of Western English-language teachers' roles and identities in China got her a PhD and, subsequently, a book publication, it also produced benefits of different types for study participants. In the final chapter of the book, Stanley includes excerpts from interviews with the participants in which they reflect on the process of participating in the research, for example:

> The process allowed me to speak about what I had been noticing and see if it actually made sense. … These were pretty formative times for me … my life was changing. … And when I talk things out I figure things out. … So our interviews have been useful, to talk some of these things out, to figure out what I think about things and what I'm doing with my life. (Beth "interview" 18/01/2011, in Stanley 2013, 248–249)

This participant's benefits from participating in and reading the study include her own professional and intellectual development and the chance to talk over, figure out, and think about bigger issues.

Evaluating the purpose and benefits of a research project allows for a harm-benefit analysis to be undertaken, and this is one of the philosophical cornerstones of "doing ethics." However, some research proposals are nevertheless tricky to get through ethics committees. Alarm bells may ring for review panel members at the mention of participant children, or minorities, or people whose legal status in the country of research is uncertain. Researching across languages and research that may re-traumatize participants may also cause consternation. An example of such a "perfect storm" in research ethics might be researching unaccompanied minors seeking asylum as refugees. Yet Thomas and Byford write that "[r]esearch into the needs of children seeking asylum is essential to improve their care" (2003, 1400). The cost-benefit analysis in this case is such that, even though there are many potential ethical issues, there is a pressing need to understand, and improve the care of, such children. Therefore, research is justified.

This may not mean interviewing the children themselves, however, and this is a good example of where ethics intersects with research methodology. Interviewing may be ineffective in such a context because refugee children, particularly those who have had negative experiences of being interviewed by authorities including police, may be "bewildered and frightened" by interviewers and may be unable to articulate their needs or experiences (Thomas and Byford 2003, 1401). In addition, informed consent is problematic if participants do not fully understand the purpose of the research or if they feel coerced into participating, perhaps in the belief that doing so will improve their chances of gaining asylum. It may therefore be as effective as well as more ethical to consult refugee organizations, social workers, and/or health-care workers, rather than focusing directly on interviewing refugee children themselves. However, other methods such as member-check or brief participant observation should be adopted to ensure that the perspectives of the children themselves are not marginalized.

Furthermore, what is considered ethically appropriate by the scholarly community may not be what is preferred by the community studied. In cases where researchers have gone to the field with the assumption that maintaining the vernacular is the ethical position, they have been surprised to find the community arguing for other alternatives that are important for their social and geographical mobility. For instance, Canagarajah found that Tamil migrants in the UK, USA, and Canada wanted to learn English rather than maintain their heritage language (Canagarajah 2011b).

It is often difficult to decide what is good for the community studied and the community's preference can never be easily predicted. There could be conflicting values at play in a community's preference for languages. This is what Hornberger (1988) finds of Quechua maintenance in Puno, Peru. She finds that the country's new bilingual education policy is successful in developing bilingualism in Spanish and Quechua (enabling indigenous children to maintain their language, become educationally successful, and develop pride in their identity). However, Quechua parents are not supportive of this project. They are influenced by the assumption that Quechua should be reserved for local domains of use (which can, therefore, be learnt at home) and Spanish for public domains (which should be learnt in schools). They misunderstand bilingual education as focusing only on the teaching of the indigenous language, rather than being committed to both dominant and minority languages. Hornberger finds that it is important to work from within the community in

promoting positive language ideologies, so that parents participate in educational changes, making their own contributions to the direction and implementation of the policy.

The interests of certain development agencies can also deviate from what might be good for the community. In some cases, LPP researchers have not been happy about being commissioned to carry out their research to directly serve the interests of policymakers. Robinson-Pant (2001), asked by a Western NGO to develop a literacy policy that would help in the development of health among women in Nepal, discusses many ways in which her work does not fit the interests of external agencies. She concludes, "*Designing and conducting* ethnographic research in a literacy policy context is far more problematic than *making use of* ethnographic findings from academic research projects for informing policy" (2001, 168; emphasis in original). She finds that the policy imperatives dictate a structure for questions that straitjackets the researcher, and that flexibility to pursue emerging hypotheses during the course of the research is preferred. There is also less space for reflexive exploration, which would enable researchers to critique and revise their own assumptions. In terms of literacy, Robinson-Pant finds that she was expected to focus more on easily quantifiable *literacy events* rather than the more interpretive *literacy practices*. In other words, the researcher was expected to objectively analyze measurable data and not the more nebulous meanings and orientations of the community. This expectation derives from the rational/positivistic tradition which treats objectivity and quantification as leading to more valid findings. In this case, she found that the interests of the policy group came with its own values and agenda that restricted the ability of the researcher to address the needs and preferences of the community in a meaningful way.

How do we resolve such tensions between the positions of the researchers and the researched? LPP researchers have felt motivated to engage in a conversation that is clarifying for both parties (see Jaffe 1999). For example, though language maintenance in the interest of preserving linguistic ecology is a deeply held view of many linguists, the Rabari nomads in India (Dyer and Choksi 2001) and Quechua in Peru (Hornberger 1988) are not necessarily committed to preserving their language. They prefer to move out of their marginalization by mastering the dominant codes. The research encounter can then become a conversation between different points of view. The researcher can help the community think critically about their linguistic future, rights, and statuses. Rather than remaining detached in the name of objectivity, LPP researchers can help community members interrogate conflicting viewpoints on language relationships and clarify their interests. There are many ways in which this might happen. Some scholars design their study as *action research*, whereby the research questions and data elicitation methods are collaboratively constructed, helping both the researcher and the participants to dialogue on the questions and findings that are locally relevant. In other cases, researchers find that the very process of research encourages their participants to reflect on their planning options and formulate new policies. For example, during interviews, participants are not simply articulating past or pre-constructed beliefs, but articulating new possibilities influenced by the questions of the researcher. While the informant thus engages with the knowledge constructs of the interviewer, the latter should also be open to reconfigure his/her knowledge based on the dialogue.

Researcher Identity

Another important ethical question that pertains to research among linguistic minorities is researcher identity: Who are you to your respondents, and what are the effects of your identity on the research? These are questions researchers must constantly negotiate. In answering these questions, it is necessary to return to the notion of identity as intersectional (Graham et al. 2009). While both the researcher and the respondents may be, for example, Bangladeshi women or Sri Lankan Tamil transnationals, there may nevertheless be other important identity markers that create social and relational barriers. Is the researcher, for example, highly educated, American-resident, short-haired, and wearing what appear to be "men's shoes" while the research participants appear more "feminine," are poorly educated, and have rarely left their Bangladeshi villages (Sultana 2007)? Or is the interlocutor a newly arrived Tamil carwash attendant proudly speaking Canadian English while the researcher, a suburban-resident university professor, tries to engage him in Tamil about the washing of his SUV (Canagarajah 2011a)?

Canagarajah (2011a) describes the nuanced identity markers and complex status performances among heterogeneous Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora communities. There are, he shows, status differences between those who migrated at different times and situational identities marked by the varieties of English spoken. These intersectionalities are layered onto employment, class, and other differences, resulting in a constellation of associated communities among which a researcher might "shuttle," forming and performing identities rather than assuming that some shared identity labels make for shared identities. So instead of taking commonality for granted, it is necessary for researchers to consider their own positionality relative to that of their research participants along as many axes of intersectional identity as are relevant.

Positionality and relative power are ethical as well as validity issues in research because they determine the extent to which researchers can access participants' own "truths" (see Lin, this volume). Depending on who we are, or who we appear to be, we necessarily elicit different versions of participants' truths. These are what we then work with to analyze participants' data and re-present their narratives. Holliday (2002, 3–4), citing his own 1994 publication, gives an example of how researcher identity may affect data integrity:

> I was sitting in an Egyptian university faculty common room listening to a lecturer answering survey questions. … The American interviewer was going through the questions with her. … Later on the lecturer "confided in me that what she had told him bore little relation to reality, but she had not wished to disappoint him by telling him that she could not answer most of his questions". … I do not think that the lecturer felt that she was "lying". I feel that she was sincere in her response to what she considered a social commitment to being polite which outweighed the fact that she did not have all the information the researcher wanted. … [S]he probably did not wish to reveal to this outsider that the official course timetable could never be maintained because lecturers spent all their time travelling by bus from the capital.

This is, perhaps, an extreme example, rendering the resultant "data" all but useless. But it illustrates a serious ethical and methodological consideration: researcher identity may influence, in unknowable ways, the data produced.

In many communities, local teachers and students who practice code-mixing and switching in local classes hide this fact from outside researchers because they fear that such practices go against the monolingual and standard language assumptions of linguists, especially those from the West (see Canagarajah 2012 for examples). Similarly, the local community might pay lip service to popular teaching methods in elite learning institutions, hiding the locally evolved teaching traditions in their community, fearing that experts may look down on their pedagogies. Canagarajah (2012) reviews such tensions between the claims for communicative language teaching and the local realities of resistant traditions. Such divergence leads to skewed data and the imposition of dominant models of language and language teaching on the local community, on the assumption that these are models the community values.

To avoid such problems, researchers try to fit into the local community in an attempt to become insiders. Hornberger (1988, 4–11) provides a glimpse into the challenges for an LPP ethnographer in entering a culturally alien community to fit into its way of life, giving up her comfort zone, correcting her biases, and "discovering" the people's values and thinking in the highland villages of Puno in Peru. Similarly, in a completely different setting, researchers sought to "fit in" to a community of cage fighters by:

> immers[ing] ourselves in the physical, cultural, and sensorial lifeworld of our subjects by actually "getting into the ring". During our study, we became amateur cage-fighters, secured positions as insiders in the … community[.] …We experienced the various injuries that often plague combat athletes, such as broken noses, fingers, and toes; injured joints; cracked ribs; strained ligaments; and general fatigue. By subjecting ourselves to the daily trials of training we were able to become part of the fight world. (Abramson and Modzelewski 2011, 147–148)

Though these are well-meaning efforts, we also have to ask at one point does "fitting in" become condescending, deceptive, or even coercive? We have to ethically negotiate the tensions between "going native" and being transparent about our interests and identities.

The insider/outsider dilemma doesn't have to be paralyzing. In fact, those positions are rarely dichotomous. Our relative positionality provides us avenues for insider understanding as well as scholarly detachment. For example, in the research among diaspora Tamils cited above, Canagarajah is an insider in many ways, as he is himself a Tamil migrant. However, besides this ethnic identity, his class status (as an educated professional) makes him an outsider to the community members in unskilled labor. His Christianity also sometimes sets him apart from the majority Hindus in his community. These diverse subject positions can be a resource for research. While Canagarajah has enough insider cultural savvy to pose meaningful questions and interpret the answers insightfully, his outsider status provides him an analytical detachment and estrangement that can help interpret the data from fresh points of view. Rather than treating insider status as the only valid standpoint (as typical of some traditional versions of ethnography),

researchers should acknowledge their diverse subject positions and negotiate them for deeper analytical insight.

Representation of Knowledge

There are myriad specific concerns when researchers work across languages and cultures, collecting data in original languages and presenting in a different language, for instance, or comparing data across different-language cohorts. One's primary language and discourses shape the way the researched community is understood and represented in the report. As well, as someone writes about their research in scholarly media, the dominant conventions relating to publishing shape the identity, views, and positions of the community researched. In this section, we discuss ethical issues raised by representation of what is studied.

Often disciplinary discourses and social ideologies influence us to represent communities in specific ways. A particular area in which the ethics relating to representation affects LPP is corpus planning. What constitutes the language of the community? It is now well known that all languages are ideological constructs (Kroskrity 2000). While this is true of English and other powerful languages, the definition of minority languages is often established by linguists, colonial rulers, development agencies, and missionaries who visit the community. For example, the definition of 11 languages as "official" in South Africa is based on language labels constructed by powerful outsiders according to their own assumptions (Makoni 2002). The local people understand many of these as related languages. In this case, language policies have been based on a one-sided representation of the corpus.

Diverse values also enter into the stage of publishing one's research. We must realize that writing/reporting research findings is no insignificant appendage to the research process. It is the written document that embodies, reflects, and often constitutes the whole research activity for the scholarly community. Since the reams of field notes, audiotapes, transcripts, and statistical printouts are never conveniently available to the scholarly community, and the lengthy research process across many sites is rarely accessible for readers, it is understandable that the report is treated as proxy for the study. It is of some concern, therefore, that the genre conventions of research reporting can shape the reported data. Ethnographers George Marcus and Michael Fischer confess that "given the sort of heightened critical self-consciousness with which fieldwork is undertaken and conducted, the usual dissonance between what is known from fieldwork and what is constrained to report according to genre conventions can grow intolerable" (1986, 37). Natural scientists have also come to a position of acknowledging that genre conventions can have a predictive function and actively shape the research process. Peter Dear has noted the "ways in which literary forms can direct the cognitive content of science through constraining problem-choice or through requiring … particular kinds of theoretical and experimental formulation" (1991, 5). This insight is enabled by the radical awareness of contemporary scholars that "science is indeed fundamentally rhetorical, drenched as it is in language" (Selzer 1993, 13). The genres of academic writing are thus much more integral to research practice than we have traditionally assumed. If the written

document holds such importance, it is necessary to understand the values it embodies and the ways in which it would mediate the research process.

Let us consider therefore the shaping of research knowledge by the values behind reporting conventions. The need for coherence in the report – achieved by the closure, the tight structure, and seamless writing – can hide the false starts, wrong moves, misleading tracks, and interpretive gambles that usually characterize the research process. There is a similar suppression of the gaps, contradictions, and conflicts in the data for the sake of textual coherence. The report thus gets considerably removed from the existential conditions of research. In LPP research specifically, we must recall the example above from Robinson-Pant (2011) on how the expectation of quantitative and impersonal presentation in the project reports for the NGOs suppressed the voices of the community.

Such abstraction and detachment have profound implications for the representation of the knower/researcher in the report. In some genres, the researcher is absent from the report, looming behind the text as an omniscient, transcendental, all knowing God-figure. This convention hides the manner in which the subjectivity of the researcher – with his/her complex values, ideologies, and experiences – shapes the research activity and findings. In the case of LPP, a researcher's own language ideologies and language politics might be particularly salient issues to attend to. In turn, how the research activity shapes the researcher's subjectivity is not explored – though we know from personal experience and anecdotal evidence that research activity can sometimes profoundly affect the researchers' sense of the world and of themselves. Furthermore, the shifting/conflicting interests of the researcher – professional, personal, ideological – in carrying out the study are not acknowledged. Realizing the significant place of the "personal" in the construction of knowledge (see Rich 1989 for the politics of location), recent feminist scholarship has called for a complex reflexivity from the researcher to interrogate how he/she influences and is influenced by the research process (Harding 1991). However, such concerns do not enjoy adequate space in the traditional report genre.

The scope for adequately representing the voices of one's subjects is similarly limited. Since the subjects exist in the report only through the voice of the researcher, there is a tendency for their complexity to be suppressed and their identity to be generalized (or essentialized) to fit the dominant assumptions and theoretical constructs of the researcher and the disciplinary community. The power relationships between the researcher and the subjects also get concealed in the objective report. If any production of knowledge demanding codification, systematization, and categorization involves a measure of control and colonization (as poststructuralists argue), studying and analyzing powerless groups like minority groups or students becomes highly political. Giving voice and agency to minority communities becomes a challenge in academic research reporting. However, there is an urgency in giving voice to minority communities in LPP research, as their aspirations are often ignored or suppressed by the dominant policies and discourses constructed by the more powerful communities.

There are vigorous attempts at constructing new genres of research reporting in order to draw subjects into the representation of their community knowledge in more collaborative ways. Researchers are also moving away from the traditional scientific/objective genres to adopt autoethnography, narrative, and other creative formats to represent the research experiences with all its complexity (see Canagarajah 1996 for a review of emergent genres of writing).

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to raise and explore the types of questions that we hope researchers ask themselves about the ethics of their work, and model some of the negotiations undertaken by experienced researchers in looking for answers, or, at least, ways of resolving the dilemmas.

The research cited in this chapter provides substantial descriptions of how the researchers managed ethical issues, including the risk-benefit analyses described in the first section of this chapter, the knotty negotiations of positionality that we discussed in the second part, and ways of representing the knowledge of and about minority communities in the third. We have provided examples from a wide range of studies in the hope that interested readers might investigate further, through these papers and beyond, as we believe that one of the best ways of becoming good at research, and good at research ethics in particular, is by reading and evaluating existing research with these questions and discussions in mind. Note, however, that many of the publications cited in this chapter come from fields outside LPP. This partly reflects the long dominance of the rational/positivistic tradition that treated LPP as an objective enterprise. There is now a realization that such rational policies for postcolonial communities, for example, have failed to resolve the concerns of diverse language groups there. The unabated ethnic conflicts in many of these countries point to the failure in finding fair and satisfactory policies for multilingual communities. The developed communities in the western hemisphere are also facing a crisis in dealing with diverse language groups within their national borders after experiences such as migration and transnational relations. Such experiences point to the need for more negotiated, ethical, and ideologically informed methods for studying LPP questions. Hopefully, we will develop a better corpus of LPP studies that exemplify the treatment of ethics by researchers and policymakers.

However, as we believe that "doing ethics" is an integral part of doing research, we feel that one of the most important ways of learning about this area is to *do* it. This means having the discussions that arise from one's particular research and keeping a personal journal of all the inevitable tensions and compromises that arise in the name of methodology, methods, and ethics. The problems and discussions raised in this chapter are aimed at beginning this conversation. It is our hope that researchers will be inspired to carry on that conversation among themselves and with their subjects.

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5 Language Policy and Political Theory

Stephen May

Introduction

The relationship between language policy and political theory is an important, if underdeveloped, one. It is important because political theory provides a crucial lens for the examination of the wider sociohistorical and sociopolitical contexts within which language policy is inevitably situated. Language policy is never developed and implemented in a historical, social, or political vacuum – it is always situated in relation to particular histories, identities, conceptions of citizenship, and language ideologies (Blommaert 1999; Lo Bianco 2008; May 2012). What political theory potentially has to offer to language policy then is its primary concern with the rights and entitlements of citizens. The principal focus of political theory has been on rights attributable to citizens, particularly within modern nation-states (see e.g. Dworkin 1978; Rawls 1971; Taylor 1994). However, in recent years, these debates have also extended to conceptions of what it means to be a "citizen of the world" (Nussbaum 1997), given the rapid expansion of globalization and related processes of transmigration, both of which transcend national borders. In both contexts, however, the key question is always: on what basis can citizenship rights (such as language rights) be attributed?

Asking this question also makes it impossible to view language policy synchronically, existing only in a particular point in time, and/or as politically neutral. Indeed, a key weakness of early accounts of language policy was precisely this tendency toward an ahistorical view of language policy, along with the naive and misplaced belief that it

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was essentially a non-political, non-ideological, pragmatic, even technicist exercise (May 2011a; Ricento 2000; see below). Nothing could be further from the truth. Language policy is always imbricated with questions of history, power, politics and (in)equality. The relationship between language policy and political theory highlights this clearly.

And yet the relationship between language policy and political theory still remains relatively underdeveloped. This is so in two ways. Political theorists have only recently begun to address language policy directly – most notably, issues to do with language rights for linguistic minority groups within nation-states (Kymlicka and Patten 2003; Patten 2009), as well as, even more recently, access to English as a "necessary" element of global citizenship (Archibugi 2005; Van Parjis 2011). A key reason for this late engagement with language in political theory is the dominance, post-World War II, of orthodox liberalism, or liberal egalitarianism as it is also termed (see e.g. Rawls 1971). In orthodox liberal accounts, individual and universal "citizenship" rights are championed over collective or group-based rights. In other words, both citizenship and human rights are viewed only as *individual* rights, and thus one's particular cultural and linguistic (group) background, and its *significance*, is deemed irrelevant. Indeed, claiming group-based rights – on the basis of ethnicity or language, for example – is constructed by orthodox liberals as specifically problematic because, for them, it unnecessarily emphasizes our differences rather than what "unites" us as individual citizens (see e.g. Barry 2001; Huntington 2005). In contrast, debates on language rights, and language policy generally, presuppose a view of language as a *collective* or communally shared good of a particular linguistic community (after all, a language dies if and when you have no one else with whom to speak it).

The ascendancy of orthodox liberalism thus means that most political theorists are skeptical about, and at times outright hostile toward, any notion of language rights, which are deemed to be group-based rather than individual rights. For example, the right of freedom of speech is a clearly defensible individual right (applicable to everyone, and thus also universal), but the right to an education in one's first language (L1), when this is not the language of the state, is seen as a group-based right, and is thus far more contested (May 2011b). Similarly, access to English as a global language is often viewed as an individual asset that can (or even should) override the maintenance of local, regional, or even national languages (Archibugi 2005; Van Parijs 2011). There are some exceptions within political theory to this broad position, the most notable of these being the seminal contributions of Will Kymlicka (1995, 2001; see below). Overall, however, the primacy of individual human rights in orthodox liberalism means that language rights, if discussed at all, are more often than not simply dismissed as group-based rights, rather than engaged with in a serious and sustained interdisciplinary way.

In contrast, within language policy, the sociology of language, and sociolinguistics more broadly, there is emerging a greater degree of interdisciplinary engagement with political theory. This growing interdisciplinary engagement is most clearly evident in two key areas. The first addresses the question of language rights for linguistic minorities (see e.g. May 2012; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The second, more recent, focus is on the idea of linguistic cosmopolitanism and, in particular, the links

between globalization, English as the current world language, identity, and mobility (see e.g. Brutt Griffler 2006; de Swaan 2001; Ives 2010; May, 2014a, 2015). I return to both these areas of enquiry in more detail below in order to illustrate how this interdisciplinary engagement might provide a template for new scholars interested in this kind of work.

Addressing Key Issues

The interconnections between language policy and political theory thus provide the basis for examining the role of the state, notions of citizenship, language ideologies, and language rights, as well as the implications of an increasingly globalized world dominated by English. Particular research issues that can be explored in this regard might be:

1 The relationship between state-mandated or national language(s) and minority languages within a state (May 2012; Wright 2000). What is the history of this relationship and how has it changed (or not) over time? What language groups are affected by it within that state – both historically and currently – and how are they placed in relation to each other?
2 How language is linked in policy discussions to conceptions of state citizenship and the related degree to which citizenship and language are constructed in monolingual or multilingual terms. This is particularly important, given the ongoing dominance of public monolingualism as a key feature of modern nation-state organization – the product, in turn, of the political nationalism of the last few centuries (Bauman and Briggs 2003; May 2012). In contrast, rapidly increasing transmigration and the emergence of "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007) in this current era of globalization have resulted in far more multilingual state populations the world over – highlighting the widening disparity between an often monolingual, or delimited bilingual, public policy, and actual (multilingual) language use (Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2010).
3 The links between language and globalization and related issues of language, cosmopolitan identities, and social mobility. This includes addressing the key role/influence of English as the current world language and what access to it can (or cannot) achieve for those whose L1 is not English (Blommaert 2010: Brutt-Griffler 2006; May, 2014a, 2015).

Given these broad issues, engaging in political theory as part of language policy research will appeal to those researchers who are interested in the "bigger picture" – the political and often highly contested nature of language policy, language rights, and the ideologies underpinning them. This necessarily goes beyond descriptive analyses of language policy, including its development and implementation in specific contexts, not least because development and implementation are also always deeply political, if one cares to look. As highlighted earlier, this tendency toward description was perhaps most evident in the early accounts of language policy and

planning (LPP), particularly when it was first developed in the 1960s. In these early days, the emphasis of LPP was on "solving" the immediate language problems of newly emergent postcolonial states in as pragmatic and technicist a way as possible. This usually involved trying to establish stable diglossic language contexts in which majority languages (usually, ex-colonial languages, and most often English and French) were promoted as public languages of wider communication, while "local languages" – minority languages, in effect – were seen as being limited to private, familial language domains. In other words, the principal emphasis of LPP at this time was on the establishment and promotion of "unifying" national languages, along the lines of those in Western, developed contexts.

However, this pragmatic/technicist approach to LPP failed to question or critique the very specific historical processes that had led to the hierarchizing of majority and minority languages in the first place, leaving the latter increasingly marginalized and facing language shift. This, in turn, problematized the notion of linguistic complementarity, so central to early language planning attempts at establishing "stable diglossia." Linguistic complementarity, as understood by early language planners, implied at least some degree of mutuality and reciprocity, along with a certain demarcation and boundedness between the majority and minority languages involved. Situations of so-called stable diglossia, however, are precisely *not* complementary in these respects. Rather, the normative ascendancy of national languages – and by extension, international languages such as English – specifically *militates against* the ongoing use, and even existence, of minority languages over time. As Dua observes of the influence of English in India, for example, "the complementarity of English with indigenous languages tends to go up in favour of English partly because it is dynamic and cumulative in nature and scope, partly because it is sustained by socio-economic and market forces and partly because the educational system reproduces and legitimatizes the relations of power and knowledge implicated with English" (1994, 132). Thus, with a few notable exceptions (see e.g. Heath 1972), these early LPP studies managed to studiously avoid the wider historical, social, and political issues attendant upon these processes, and the particular ideologies underpinning them. As Luke, McHoul, and Mey conclude, while maintaining a "veneer of scientific objectivity" (something of great concern to early language planners), language policy "tended to avoid directly addressing social and political matters within which language change, use and development, and indeed language planning itself, are embedded" (1990, 26–27).

While what might be termed this "descriptive tendency" is not wholly absent in more recent language policy accounts, the shift to a more situated, critical perspective in language policy is now far more readily apparent, as is the more nuanced sociolinguistic theoretical base underpinning it (see e.g. Johnson 2013; McCarty 2010; Ricento 2006). Also apparent, at least within sociolinguistics more broadly, is a growing cross-disciplinary engagement with political theory, which I will discuss in more detail shortly. Unfortunately, the same level of reciprocity is not yet as evident among political theorists, who either tend to ignore questions of language altogether or, when they do address language directly (see e.g. Kymlicka 2001; Kymlicka and Patten 2003; Van Parijs 2011), tend to remain within their own academic disciplinary boundaries. Again, I will expand on why this is so later in the chapter. Political theorists also remain bound by the accepted norms of their disciplinary field. This includes, for example, the use of hypothetical examples as the basis for illustrating

their normative arguments, rather than addressing the inevitably more complex attributes of real cases (see e.g. Archibugi 2005).

Addressing Key Topics

The nature of the interdisciplinary intersections between political theory and language policy does not lend itself to easy, step-by-step methodologies, since the academic work that crosses these two areas is primarily theoretical – a contest of ideas. However, two topic examples, already signaled earlier in the chapter, might help to illustrate the type of academic discussion and analysis undertaken in these areas. The first topic focuses on the question of language rights for minorities; the second, on the links between globalization, cosmopolitan identities, and the supposed role of English as a world language in fostering both. Let me look at each in turn.

Do linguistic minorities deserve to have their first languages protected and fostered by states as part of their wider rights as citizens? This is a question that is fiercely contested in debates that traverse political theory and language policy. Most political theorists are skeptical of, or even outright opposed to, such language rights – believing that one's language(s) and cultures are excluded from the more generalist human rights attributable to *individuals* (see e.g. Barry 2001; Laitin and Reich 2003; Pogge 2003; Waldron 1995). And the individual conception of human rights is crucial here – a product of a post-World War II consensus on human rights that has resolutely distanced itself from any recognition of minority group-based rights because of the excesses of the Nazi regime, which used it as a pretext for starting the war (see Claude 1955). This individualist approach to human rights is thus reflected in the development of international law since that time – most notably, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) – which for the most part has studiously ignored the question of language rights (see May 2011b). This might also explain why the few developments in international law that have since addressed language rights, such as the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), have had relatively little impact. This is because the overarching notions of universal and individual citizenship rights remain dominant, particularly among nation-states – and it is nation-states, in the end, who are responsible for their implementation. (On the limits of ECRML, see e.g. Grin 2003; Nic Craith 2006.)

This individualist approach to human rights is also significantly bolstered by the dominant paradigm within political theory of orthodox liberalism – most notably associated with the work of John Rawls (1971, 1999) and, more recently, with prominent advocates such as Brian Barry (2001). As discussed earlier, orthodox liberalism or liberal egalitarianism stresses a comparable individualist conception of citizenship rights to that in international human rights law. In this conception, individuals are seen *only* as political beings with rights and duties attached to their status as *citizens*. Their *private* identities, including their group-based identities and memberships, are thus deemed irrelevant to questions of citizenship. As a consequence, orthodox liberal/liberal egalitarian theorists have little or no sympathy with claims from linguistic minorities for the recognition, protection, and support of their

languages outside of the private (family/community) domain, as these are seen, and dismissed, as cultural, group-based, identity rights.

Most orthodox liberal/liberal egalitarian arguments against first language (L1) maintenance and associated language rights are thus directed in the first instance toward migrant groups and the wider politics of multiculturalism, since it is here that group recognition and rights are most clearly articulated (Arzoz 2008; Kymlicka 2007; May 2009). However, these liberal egalitarian arguments implicitly, and at times explicitly, encompass national minority groups as well. The term "national minority" was first developed in the work of the political philosopher Will Kymlicka (1989, 1995; see also below). It includes the likes of the Welsh, Catalan, and Quebecois, as well as indigenous peoples worldwide, who have always been associated with particular territories but who are now in the numerical and political minority as a result of conquest, confederation, and/or colonization (or a combination of all three). The ECRML, discussed above, is an example of a law that tries to address the language rights of national or regional minorities on the basis of their historical and political status.

And yet, even for national minorities, language rights are deemed by orthodox liberal commentators as unhelpful, as simply entrenching social, economic, and cultural isolation, while delimiting the possibilities for minorities of greater civic participation and inclusion. Brian Barry's *Culture and Equality* (2001) is perhaps the most prominent recent example of such an argument. He focuses, in particular, on Latino minorities in the United States but also includes discussion of national minorities elsewhere, notably the Welsh. Other influential recent examples include a number of contributions in Kymlicka and Patten's (2003) important collection on political theory and language rights (one of the few to date; see above). These include Thomas Pogge's (2003) and David Laitin and Rob Reich's (2003) contributions, which likewise dismiss language rights for minorities, while linking minority language maintenance explicitly to ongoing (willful) ghettoization. Interestingly, all these political theory accounts focus on the role of education, particularly bilingual education, as a potential (unhelpful, in their view) bulwark for minority language maintenance. Indeed, education policy is often at the "front line" of these debates in political theory, despite political theorists often not knowing much (if anything) about educational theory or practice (see May 2003, 2014b).

The broad orthodox liberal/liberal egalitarian position adopted here I have elsewhere termed "untrammelled public monolingualism" (May, 2014a, 2015), and it is a particular feature of Anglo-American political theory – that is, the political theory discussed in predominantly English-speaking contexts. The focus of these Anglo-American debates is on appropriate citizenship rights in modern nation-states. But there is a parallel debate in political theory, led by multilingual European political theorists, that focuses on "linguistic cosmopolitanism" – and, especially, the wider role of English as a necessary language for *all* those who speak another language as an L1. The most important contribution here, to date, is Philippe Van Parijs's (2011) recent book on *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World* (see also Archibugi 2005). I say a parallel debate deliberately here because, while it might seem on the surface that such an approach encourages ongoing bi/multilingualism rather than the untrammeled monolingualism of Anglo-American political theory, the underlying precepts are broadly the same, at least to a point. For example, the central premise remains – i.e. that the maintenance of linguistic diversity is

a fundamental problem that needs resolving, both for effective communication and in relation to the mobility of minority speakers. Similarly, access to powerful, majority languages, and especially English as the dominant world language, is constructed as the "answer" to wider access and opportunity for all in a globalized world. The proffered solution is a form of diglossia, where "local" languages (read: minority L1s) can be retained for private and familial contexts, but where national languages retain their ascendancy and English functions as the "global" (highest prestige) language. In other words, much like the early LPP work discussed above, existing linguistic "hierarchies of prestige" (Liddicoat 2013) remain largely untouched, despite ostensibly accommodating ongoing bi/multilingualism.

But the critical responses to these two broad normative positions within political theory are equally significant for language policy scholars – not least, those who are committed to minority language maintenance and linguistic justice. There are three broad positions here worth discussing. The first, communitarianism, rejects *tout court* the individualist emphasis of liberal egalitarianism, arguing for the legitimacy and, in some cases, primacy of group rights – including, centrally, one's cultural and linguistic membership. Perhaps the most prominent example of communitarianism and the clearest defense of language rights from a communitarian perspective is that of the political philosopher Charles Taylor (1994). This is so because many of his arguments are directed specifically toward the defense of the public promotion of French in Quebec, within a wider anglophone Canada.

Communitarianism thus provides an important counterweight to liberal egalitarianism within political theory but, in turn, has itself been found to be highly problematic. Its key weakness is its tendency toward essentialism – that is, seeing particular cultural characteristics (including language use) as ineluctably linked to particular groups. And yet we know this is not the case – the increasing evidence of language shift among minority groups, for example, clearly suggests otherwise (Nettle and Romaine 2000). Moreover, within sociology and anthropology over the last 40-odd years, there has been a growing consensus around a "social constructionist" understanding of identity, first articulated in the work of the anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969). In this view, particular cultural characteristics are not intrinsic to particular individual and group identities and may well vary in salience, as well as change over time (hence, by implication, a particular group can shift over time to speaking another language). Social constructionism has in turn been heavily influenced by postmodernist understandings of multiple, fluid identity formation – that individuals are never delimited by and/or to just one form of identity (see e.g. Bhabha 1994; Gilroy 2000).

In response to the limitations of communitarianism, the most influential contribution to the wider debates on minority group rights is found in the work of another political philosopher, Will Kymlicka (1989, 1995, 2001, 2007). Kymlicka's seminal thesis involves arguing from within liberal political theory for the ongoing importance of individual rights while, at the same time, arguing for an understanding of the importance of wider cultural (and linguistic) membership to such rights. This position allows for the possibility of what he terms "group-differentiated" rights, including, potentially, language rights. In *Language and Minority Rights* (May 2012), I have used Kymlicka's theoretical framework to explore directly the issue of language rights for linguistic minorities, an issue that he does address (Kymlicka 2001) but only from within political theory. In my own work, I take an explicitly

interdisciplinary approach to outline a non-essentialist understanding of language identity (thus answering/addressing social constructionist understandings of identity and related critiques of communitarianism) alongside an ongoing defense of language rights (see also May 2003, 2004). With respect to the latter, I conclude that the retention of one's L1, and related support from the state for the ongoing use of those languages, can be seen as a basic human right – i.e. that speakers should be allowed to continue to use these languages, if they so choose, as part of the exercise of their individual rights as citizens (see also May 2011b).

What we see here then, if we think of the methodological implications of this kind of work, is the absolute necessity of *interdisciplinary* engagement if we are ever to address adequately these complex, contentious, and often contested issues around the politics of language. At the bare minimum, we need to traverse both sociolinguistics and political theory – that goes without saying. Other useful disciplinary perspectives include education, economics (see Grin, this volume), law (see Kochenov and de Varennes, this volume), and sociology. Interestingly, as indicated earlier, those working in language policy and sociolinguistics more broadly are far more likely to engage seriously in this kind of interdisciplinarity than political theorists – at least to date. In addition to my own contributions, these include the likes of François Grin (2005; see also Arcand and Grin 2013) Thomas Ricento (2006), Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), and Ronald Schmidt Sr. (2000), among others.

In contrast, political theorists are generally less open to such interdisciplinary engagement, although it does not stop them pronouncing on issues beyond their disciplinary expertise! In the area of language rights/linguistic justice, for example, both proponents and opponents regularly do this. Kymlicka's most important contribution on language, *Politics in the Vernacular* (2001), nonetheless does not address any other relevant literature on language beyond his own previous work. Pogge (2003) and Laitin and Reich (2003), along with Barry (2001), all discussed earlier, engage directly with the role of bilingual education in relation to minority language maintenance but never refer to relevant educational literature about its efficacy. The result is that most of their pronouncements on bilingual education, dismissing it as educationally ineffective and socially ghettoizing, are simply wrong (May 2003, 2012). Similarly, in his discussion of linguistic cosmopolitanism, Van Parijs (2011) does draw on his interdisciplinary background in economics but fails to address any relevant sociolinguistic literature in the development of his normative political theory arguments.

That said, there are a few important political theorists who do not fit this hermetic disciplinary profile – engaging seriously with questions of language, and linguistic justice, in (more) sociolinguistically informed ways. In relation to questions of language rights and linguistic justice, particularly concerning (but not limited to) Quebec, the work of Linda Cardinal (1999, 2005, 2007) traverses political theory, law, and sociolinguistics. With respect to the links between globalization, cosmopolitanism, and English, Peter Ives (2004, 2010) and Selma Sonntag (2003, 2009) provide strong interdisciplinary analyses that incorporate sociology, political theory, and sociolinguistics. This recent work is particularly important and interesting for language policy scholars, not least because it problematizes and disaggregates the notion of a monolithic English as global lingua franca that underpins linguistic cosmopolitan accounts from within political theory, such as Van Parijs's. In so doing, it also problematizes the assumed links between knowledge of English and individual and collective mobility (what kinds of English language varieties, in what

contexts, to what ends?) – drawing directly on important scholarship in critical sociolinguistics over the last decade (see e.g. Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2010).

The potential for greater interdisciplinary engagement between language policy and political theory, while still uneven, is thus an ongoing intellectual project and one that all language policy scholars should consider seriously. An example of where it might lead, and the kinds of questions and collaborations it allows for, can be seen in a special issue of *Language Policy* (Ricento, Ives, and Peled 2014) specifically devoted to developing further these links between political theory and language policy. Such ongoing work in language policy, addressing directly issues of language politics, power, and inequality, stands in sharp contrast to its beginnings in the 1960s as an apolitical technicist paradigm and is all the more welcome because of it. Moreover it also increasingly provides an interdisciplinary model that political theorists, in particular, might take closer note of in return.

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6 Language and Law

Dimitry Kochenov and Fernand de Varennes

Introduction

Law is an *a priori* biased system: really neutral constitutionalism, as Tully has demonstrated, is impossible (1995). A state and its laws often – though not universally – operate on the basis that a country's population must be united by a common and exclusive language. The task of the institutions and procedures, both at the national *and* international level, is to tame this innate bias. This is done through approaching law through rights as opposed to duties and restating the need for justification as opposed to unquestionable authority. The study of the law, then, in the contemporary understanding at least, is the scrutiny of the ways in which the law interacts with the world through protecting and empowering individuals and groups and taming powerful interests. The evolution of the approaches to language across the national legal orders around the world; in international law operating between states and international organizations; and also in supranational law of regional organizations, like the European Union, is becoming more and more tolerant vis-à-vis the idea of linguistic diversity and the protection of the speakers of the languages not designated as official or "correct" (Salamun 2009). This chapter will outline the most crucial international and regional legal documents in force, dealing with linguistic rights, and documenting the core features of "international language law" landscape.

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Justification and Rights

In the past the persuasive power of the law was usually sought in its sheer authority, explained through the figure of a mythical (or real) lawgiver (Tilly 1992), coupled with the ideology of total obedience and a presumption of an existing *prima facie* obligation to obey. The developments of the last half-century brought a gradual shift from such a "culture of authority" to a "culture of justification" (Cohen-Eliya and Porat 2013): law is only sound as long as it is justified by reason, necessity, common sense, or other considerations accepted as legitimate – not just by raw power alone. Besides, the general context of the global legal-political developments over the last century has been a gradual move toward rights, as meta-legal-historical research demonstrates (Kennedy 2006).

Given that the picture is not static, however, different legal principles and approaches regularly come to replace each other. The idea of the law's malleability is attuned to the nature of the legal text in the contemporary environment of justification and understanding the law through rights: since justification then ultimately means weighing one interest or right against another, the outcome of such weighing depends as much on the entitlement in question, as stated in the legal text, as on the level of the potential infringement of some other value your concrete entitlement is weighed against (Tsakyrakis 2015). Any such weighing, although following, at least on paper, some clear rules and stages (Alexy 2010), is ultimately nothing more than a purely rhetorical exercise. To be clear, its rhetorical nature is the key consideration behind its appeal (Neyer 2015). Importantly, the text stating your rights is almost always contextualized with far-reaching consequences for the claimants of rights: a right can be interpreted away when someone else's right, interest, or entitlement in a given situation prevails as a result of the application of a balancing exercise (Tsakyrakis 2009). Law is thus not always a high-precision instrument. Its main tool is language.

Studying the law thus implies at least two things. First of all, an academic lawyer describes and interprets the law in force, thereby building a coherent and workable system of rules governing societal relations and interactions, also evaluating it against a normative ideal of justice, which usually focuses on coherence (Vick 2004, 179). Secondly, an academic lawyer suggests improvements to the current system in terms of proposals to the law-giver, novel interpretation of existing provisions, distillation of commonly accepted principles, and other suggestions to improve how the society is run.

Law Against Linguistic Diversity

Until the emergence of international human rights law after World War II, the philosophical position in legal theory and legal practice around the world was clearly that the treatment of a state's own citizens in relation to language was a matter that was determined by the state, and the state alone: the essence of the

culture of authority. Although this is a generalization, since there are obviously always a number of exceptions, it remains true that many governments in recent centuries tended to simply impose an official language with little regard to the language actually used on the ground in different parts of the world. European colonial powers such as the British, the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese, particularly since the sixteenth century, have adopted legislation and policies where indigenous and minority languages – even if these languages were spoken by a sizeable proportion of the population (and in a number of rare but not unheard of cases even the language of the majority[1]) – were to be extinguished or at least relegated to the home. So the languages of indigenous peoples in the Americas – but also of minorities such as the Basque and Catalan in Spain – were at times portrayed as obstacles to the emergence of a modern, centralized state, or as threats to national unity, and therefore had to be removed, as eighteenth-century legislation from Carlos III of Spain makes clear (Real Cédula 1770). Contrary to the view of law as a neutral discipline, and thus not interested in language, these examples show how it was perceived to be necessary to use the law to eliminate indigenous and other languages and impose Castilian as the language for all subjects. As the monarch's legislation of 1770 makes clear, this was necessary so that Castilian would become the only language of the realm – law was deployed as a means to an end.

Even in the last century it was not uncommon to punish indigenous or minority children in school if they did not speak the official language: Aboriginal children in Canada, in Australia, in the United States, in Taiwan, and in Finland were at times punished, humiliated, and even beaten for talking in their own language. In Turkey, it was forbidden to teach the Kurdish language, and until relatively recently to broadcast Kurdish songs, publish in Kurdish, or even have a Kurdish name. In Bulgaria in the 1980s, a law made speaking Turkish in public an offense: there was a joke in Bulgaria that Turkish was the most expensive language in the world because if you used it in the street you could be fined hundreds of *leva*, the Bulgarian currency. Also in the 1980s, some local authorities in Florida went so far as to attempt to ban the official use of all languages except English – even the Latin used to identify animal species in public zoos – as well as forbidding translation into Spanish or other languages in public health-care contexts such as treating pregnant women, because English was to be the exclusive official language for local authorities.

It should not be thought that such incidents are "accidental" nor that state authorities and the law are neutral simply because, as it is sometimes argued, everyone is subjected to the same official language. In different parts of the world there is a variety of ideological support for the position that the state must be monolingual – that is, it should not only have a common language, but if necessary impose an exclusive language on everyone living in a country by force. These methods vary from, following Patten, the opportunity to work in a modern economy being portrayed as only possible in the official, national language; to facilitating deliberative democracy and societal dialogue but only through one language to the exclusion of all others; to fostering efficiency of the state in its service provision – including medical care and education – even though not everyone will be able to access these if they are only provided in a

language they are not fluent in; and finally the argument that "a common language could, in turn, become one of the defining bonds of a common identity" (2009, 105–6).

Yet the above reference to a common language is misleading, since what it actually refers to is an *exclusive* language: there can be only one language, so obviously it is theoretically common, even if in reality it is not shared to the same degree by all. What is crucial is that a common language need not be exclusive: and it is only "democratic" if you ignore the interests and views of those who do not share the majority language or are not as fluent in it as members of the linguistic majority. Democracy, when used to justify an exclusive common language, is only democratic if you disregard a segment of the population – and deny them a variety of rights or interests in the area of language.

The number of falsehoods, which justifications of an exclusive language akin to Patten's usually contain is quite disturbing: the claim that state institutions are "more efficient when they operate in a single language only" (Patten 2009, 105) is actually only true if everyone in a country is completely fluent in the official language, something which is almost an impossibility in most countries of the world. On the contrary, state institutions are "more efficient" when they operate in the language(s) actually understood or mastered by the population of a country, which in many cases is not a single language.

Should the State Speak the Language of the Population?

While there are certainly many who consider state monolingualism as an ideal state of affairs for various reasons, there remains the question as to whether or not human rights and international law may be used to affect a state's language preferences and policies; put in another way, is it for the people to speak the language of the state, or are there situations where the state must actually speak the language of its population?

Before World War II, in part because of the absence of any real protection of human rights in international law, the situation was very clear: the population of a state had in international law no "language rights or freedoms" and therefore had, at least in the eyes of international law, to comply with the exercise of a state's sovereignty in matters of language and domestic law. As an analogy, the population in many countries of Europe had before the seventeenth century to follow a state's official religion, sometimes also in the name of unity or of the principle of a "common religion," or *cuius regio, eius religio*: the religion of the state or ruler had to be the religion of the population. The religious wars of the period led to a series of treaties that, at least in Europe, contributed to the emergence of an embryonic right to freedom of religion that limited – slightly – the impact of the state in this area. This, however, did not extend beyond religion to encompass the relationship between law and language: freedom of expression and non-discrimination on the grounds of language among other human rights relevant to linguistic preferences

would have to wait a few more centuries before they would become part of international law.

States were therefore allowed to treat their own population in matters of law and language in any way they wanted, even so far as forcing their assimilation, beating children if they did not learn the official language, forcibly changing their names, and denying them access to healthcare, or even sometimes the right to vote, on the grounds of language. Not all countries did this of course, and historically there are many examples of countries where the state sought to speak the language of its populations, with Switzerland one of the most long-established ones, but there were also others, notably India and Singapore. But there is no denying that in many parts of Europe and the world, ideologically both from the left and the right, minority languages were considered undesirable, backward, or uncivilized.

Thus, for John Stuart Mill, one of the fathers of Western liberalism, the linguistic assimilation of minorities such as the Breton and the Basque was not only desirable, but also necessary for the sake of modernity:

> Experience proves it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed in another: and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose that it is not beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilized and cultivated people – to be a member of the French nationality … than to sulk on his own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times. (Mill 1861)

Friedrich Engels, his ideological "opposite" on the left, resonated intellectually with this view of the need to replace linguistic diversity in a state by state monolingualism, though based on what he considered the forces of historical revolution and development:

> There is no country in Europe which does not have in some corner or other one or more fragments of peoples, the remnants of a former population that was suppressed and held in bondage by the nation which later became the main vehicle for historical development. These relics of nations … this ethnic trash always became the fanatical bearers of counterrevolution and remain so until their complete extirpation or loss of national character, just as their whole existence in general is itself a protest against a great historical revolution. (Engels 1849)

These views, which were also reflected in the prevalent attitude toward law and language, remained largely untouchable until after World War II, when the gradual turn from the ethos of duties (to the state) to the ethos of rights commenced. Initial treaties which were developed after the creation of the United Nations to recognize and protect human rights in international law were still largely silent on issues of language: discrimination on the grounds of language was prohibited generally, but beyond that there was almost no actual mention of language except for one provision that referred, in Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966, in force 1976), repeated in a few other treaties), to members of a linguistic minority not being denied the right to use their own language among themselves.

Contemporary International Law: Some Positive Developments

It took quite a long time to clarify whether international law could affect a state's representation of language and law, though this only occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. The United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC), the European Commission on Human Rights (ECHR), and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), in the 1970s and 1980s, dealt with a number of claims involving "language rights," and in all of these the international bodies refused requests where it was argued that under linguistic freedom public authorities in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, or Ireland also had to use other languages. For the Committee, Commission, and Court, the main reason for rejecting all of these cases was either that linguistic freedom as such did not exist in international law, or that the use of a particular language by public authorities had nothing to do with freedom of expression.[2]

Yet these cases in a certain way only indicated in a very narrow area that a particular right – linguistic freedom – was not part of international law. None of these cases actually overruled any possible use of international law to restrict a state's sovereignty in relation to language preferences and policies, even if these involved a state's official language. This was indeed to occur for the very first time in 1993, when an international body ruled that legislation involving an official language could be affected by international law (UNHRC 1993, *Ballantyne, Davidson, McIntyre v. Canada*). After decades of uncertainty at the international level, it was enunciated that freedom of expression, while not enshrining "linguistic freedom" as such, does include language as a form of expression in relation to private activities, including in business, and that this therefore includes the freedom to express oneself in one's own language of choice in private activities. The argument of an exclusive, official language cannot be invoked to simply set aside this basic right:

> 11.4 … The Committee believes that it is not necessary, in order to protect the vulnerable position in Canada of the francophone group, to prohibit commercial advertising in English. This protection may be achieved in other ways that do not preclude the freedom of expression, in a language of their choice, of those engaged in such fields as trade. For example, the law could have required that advertising be in both French and English. A State may choose one or more official languages, but it may not exclude, outside the spheres of public life, the freedom to express oneself in a language of one's choice. The Committee accordingly concludes that there has been a violation of article 19, paragraph 2. (UNHRC 1993)

As surprising as it may sound, it is only in the last few decades that it is now clear that a state's language choices in law must still comply with international human rights law, and that freedom of expression includes language preferences in private activities: the culture of justification, described above, commands states around the world to do their best in justifying their policies against international human rights standards.

No one really denies any longer today that the private use of a language is protected by freedom of expression and that what a state can do in the name of its

official language is restricted in relation to private activities. Additionally, the ECtHR also concurred with the UNHRC that "provided it respects the rights protected by the Convention, each Contracting State is at liberty to impose and to regulate the use of its official language or languages in identity papers and other official documents" (ECtHR 2004, *Mentzen v. Latvia*). Beyond these matters, it is less clear how international law affects the use of an official language by public authorities themselves, and what power the state has to adjudicate on the relationship between language and law.

On the one hand, there are some who have looked at these cases and at this approach and concluded that international human rights law has nothing to do with the use of a state's official language by public authorities.[3] The only language rights, according to this viewpoint, that are covered by international human rights law relate to the private use of language under freedom of expression, and perhaps also under Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which provides for the right of linguistic minorities to use a language among themselves.

On the other hand, however, it seems that without affecting the choice of an official language, more recent decisions have admitted – though perhaps not consciously against a state's official monolingualism – that authorities must in some situations use other languages to comply with international human rights standards. Language and law can thus not be disassociated from a range of "linguistic" human rights. This has been the almost unnoticed consequence of a number of even more recent decisions emanating from the ECtHR, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and the UNHRC. For example, in 2000 the UNHRC in effect (even if it was not stated directly) was of the opinion that a non-official language, Afrikaans, had to be used to some degree by public authorities in addition to English, the only official language under the Constitution, in order to comply with non-discrimination on the grounds of language, since there was no explanation of why it was reasonable and justified for state authorities in a part of the country with a large proportion of Afrikaans-speaking people to be obliged to use only English in certain circumstances:

> 10.10 … The Committee notes that the authors have shown that the State party has instructed civil servants not to reply to the authors' written or oral communications with the authorities in the Afrikaans language, even when they are perfectly capable of doing so. These instructions barring the use of Afrikaans do not relate merely to the issuing of public documents but even to telephone conversations. In the absence of any response from the State party the Committee must give due weight to the allegation of the authors that the circular in question is intentionally targeted against the possibility to use Afrikaans when dealing with public authorities. Consequently, the Committee finds that the authors, as Afrikaans speakers, are victims of a violation of article 26 of the Covenant. (UNHRC 2000, *J.G.A. Diergaardt et al. v. Namibia*)

The following year, the ECtHR concluded that the official language policies in Northern Cyprus breached the right to education, in combination with the right to private and family life, in such a way that the government had to have in place high school education in the Greek language; only offering public education in Turkish and English was not sufficient to comply with the Greek-speaking population's rights, even though Turkish was the official language of Northern Cyprus (ECtHR 2001, *Cyprus v. Turkey*). In a number of other cases, the ECJ did not hesitate to rule against a state's exclusive official language policy if it interfered

with the basic tenets of the European Union, such as freedom of movement and non-discrimination.[4] These cases are relatively recent and fairly controversial because they directly contradict the assumption of many that it is not possible for international law to affect issues around the choice of what languages public authorities must use.

If there is one certainty from all of the above rulings emanating from these different courts and international bodies, it is that, with regard to the private use of a language or the use of a language by public authorities, there is no immunity against international human rights legislation, whether one is dealing with an official language, a national language, a state language, or a language with some other kind of status. Instead of being a neutral matter falling completely within the exercise of a state's sovereignty, issues of language and law reflect fundamental choices which might affect individuals – and in particular minorities and indigenous peoples – in very basic ways that may be inconsistent with the universal moral values enshrined in international human rights legislation.

The Law's Crucial Role in Ensuring Linguistic Rights and Freedom

As a means to an end the law has played a crucial role in limiting the linguistic rights of individuals for hundreds of years, as monolingualism has more often than not been regarded as an indispensable element of a nation-state. It is because of the law, accurately and mercilessly serving the nation-building end, that numerous languages all over the world have been lost. Notwithstanding the fact that nationalism does not necessarily entail the growth of intolerance toward linguistic diversity (Anderson 1982), we have been witnessing a resurgence of newly proclaimed languages around the world, which only exist in the nationalist minds of the powers that be – Montenegrin is the latest example, to join Moldovan, Croatian, and a virtually infinite list of others.

Researchers should take the current legal trend – as well as the orthodox contribution of the law to the suppression and elimination of countless languages – fully into account. Even if now that the general trend in the law's approach to language seems to be reversing, the pattern of the past is still clearly decipherable and many vestiges of the culture of sustained violence vis-à-vis linguistic heritage still persist today. Even worse than agreeing to rename a language at the whim of a new ruler is to speak a language which is different from those approved by the state. All the numerous international legal documents to the contrary notwithstanding, this often leads to persecution. Moreover, states often decide for the parents in which language their children will learn (ECtHR 1968, *Belgian linguistics case*; see, contra, ECtHR 2012, *Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia* and ECtHR 2001, *Cyprus v. Turkey*); use particular languages, even with no connection to their actual position in society, as a pretext for discrimination in the job market (Kochenov, Poleshchuk, and Dimitrov 2013); and tie naturalization rituals to language tests (Kochenov 2011), even if the language tested is not the one spoken in the region where the new citizen will be

residing. There is nothing new in the remarkable clumsiness demonstrated by the authorities. As Scott (1999) demonstrated with clarity, "to think like a state" often means to be wrong – and the field of language law and regulation bears out this dictum.

Notes

1 In a number of colonial contexts, the language of the majority has, and even continues to be today, largely cast aside in favor of minority languages such as English, French, or Spanish. English is in fact a minority language in South Africa, yet it is increasingly being used to the exclusion of Zulu (and other languages such as Afrikaans). In Burkina Faso, French is the only language to be used by the state authorities, even though less than 30% of the population is fluent in it.

2 ECHR (1986) *Fryske Nasjonale Partij v. Netherlands*, 45 DR 240; ECtHR (1970) *X. v. Ireland*, 13 Yearbook of the European Convention on Human Rights 792; ECtHR (1965) *Inhabitants of Leeuw-St. Pierre v. Belgium*, 8 Yearbook of the European Convention on Human Rights 338; UNHRC (1990) *M.K. v. France*, Communication 222/1987, UN Doc. A/45/40, Vol. II, 127; and UNHRC (1991) *Yves Cadoret and Hervé Le Bihan v. France*, Communication 333/1988, UN Doc. CCPR/C/41/D/323/1988.

3 The dissident views of a handful of members of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, in UNHRC (2000) *J.G.A. Diergaardt (late Captain of the Rehoboth Baster Community) et al. v. Namibia*, Communication 760/1997, UN Doc. CCPR/C/69/D/760/1997, are illustrative of this position: "So far as the administration is concerned, English being the official language of the State party, it is obvious that no other language could be allowed to be used in the administration or in the Courts or in public life. The authors could not legitimately contend that they should be allowed to use their mother tongue in administration or in the Courts or in public life, and the insistence of the State party that only the official language shall be used cannot be regarded as violation of their right …"

4 ECJ (1989) *Anita Groener v. Minister for Education*, C-379/87 [1989] ECR 3967; ECJ (1985) *Ministère Public v. Robert Heinrich Maria Mutsch*, C-137/84 [1985] ECR 2681; ECJ (2010) *Malgožata Runevič-Vardyn, Łukasz Wardyn v. Vilniaus miesto savivaldybės administracija, Lietuvos Respublikos teisingumo ministerija, Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija, Vilniaus miesto savivaldybės administracijos Teisės departamento Civilinės metrikacijos skyrius*, C-391/09 [2011] ECR I-3787.

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Part II Methodological Approaches to Language Planning and Policy Research

7 Exploring Language Problems through Q-Sorting

Joseph Lo Bianco

Introduction

This chapter discusses a method for researching LPP, Q-sorting (Watts and Stenner 2012), which in my work I link to deliberation conferencing (Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013). Q is highly adaptable to the different circumstances, settings, and needs of agencies commissioning policy advice, and also illuminating when applied to research. For novice researchers, PhD students, and early career language planners, Q offers the prospect of a sharp focus on key questions in LPP, especially the centrally important question of exploring, defining, and analyzing language problems. While not all language policymaking is a search for solutions to communication problems, much of it is, and the character and determination of what counts as a language problem and how it will be treated is a central and ongoing challenge for the discipline.

The main focus of this discussion is the novice researcher, the PhD student, or the experienced researcher wishing to explore the possibilities that Q offers LPP. I should stress that addition of deliberation conferences, or facilitated dialogues, linking the findings of Q method to solution-seeking discussions, moves beyond academic analysis of LPP into the realm of assisting various authorities to devise, implement, and evaluate language policies. The key aim here is to foster a participatory, democratic, and dialogue-based means for agreeing which language

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problems will be selected for policy treatment (Lo Bianco 2010), how to conduct the policy writing and planning work that addressing these language problems requires, and how to study and document the processes and outcomes (see also Canagarajah, this volume).

It is commonly the case that researchers develop research proposals and topics to pursue questions important to them for reasons of personal background or prior experience, or which link to their professional activities, or in response to questions of political engagement. Q-sorting offers a systematic and empirical basis for the selection of topics, for making precise the limits and scope of a research question, for exploring its links to related fields, for elucidating dimensions, ideologies, and histories hidden within the way the problem is typically debated or presented in the public sphere. As a result of utilizing Q, researchers, both novices and experienced and established scholars, can map out the field of arguments, positions, and the underlying discourses in debate about problematic questions linked to language in a highly focused way allowing research to pursue coherent lines of investigation on even quite complex language problems.

Ethnographic and text-based LPP research approaches are typically less systematic and structured in their selection of research focus and their mapping of arguments that comprise an issue being disputed and prepared for policy attention. However, as already mentioned, Q-sorting is important as a method for engaging in actual problem-solving, i.e. for participation in projects of real-world language policy-writing. As such, novice researchers, and even experienced language-planning scholars, can link their academic and scholarly work on language planning much more closely to engagement with concrete language policymaking.

Developing Research Questions

Beyond assisting in topic selection for dissertation-writing, Q-sorting is valuable in LPP research in defining the nature and complexity of communication problems that lie at the heart of practical language planning, a process commonly known as "problem definition."

The archetypal method of LPP generated from within the language sciences of the 1960s and 1970s, and especially from within the academic categories and research practices of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, is the sociolinguistic survey (Lo Bianco 2010). Key early theoreticians of LPP then engaged with the formal policy sciences to devise a general language-planning matrix analogous to the dominant paradigm of general policy analysis, especially its attachment to notions of "rational choice," a central idea in the contemporary policy sciences (Rubin and Jernudd 1971; Lo Bianco 2010). The LPP meta-method that resulted shadows the formal procedures of public administration and human resource management, broadly involving the following sequence of activities:

1 Identification of problem (gathering facts).
2 Specification of goals (policy writing).
3 Cost-benefit analysis (rational demonstration of alternatives, return on investment).

4 Implementation (enactment of policy).
5 Evaluation (comparing predicted to actual outcomes).

This sequence of formalized procedures for the conduct and understanding of LPP was subjected to relentless criticism (Ricento 2000) as part of a critical turn in LPP scholarship, influenced by neo-Marxist, poststructural, and postmodern reasoning. Critics alleged that such procedures masquerade as neutral information-collecting, or open consideration of alternatives, when in fact they involve intrusion into private language worlds, produce the means for bureaucratic and technocratic management of the lives of minority communities, and privilege the interests and agendas of a class of professional language planners more than ordinary citizens (see Lo Bianco 2004 for a discussion of criticisms).

In other branches of LPP, theorizing the nature of interests, and the character of language problems, was approached in a radically different way. Writing about language policy in India, Hans R. Dua claimed in 1985 that the "characterization and systematic account of language problems of a speech community is a prerequisite to an adequate theory of policy formulation, language planning and language treatment" (1985, 3). There are many ways to characterize and understand language or communication problems, and some scholars (Nahir 1984), and Dua himself in later reflections (2008a and 2008b), prefer to speak of language goals, language management (Spolsky 2009), or social change (Cooper 1989), as the motivating force and conceptual paradigm for language-planning activity.

In an elaborate typology of language problems, reflecting the multi-lingual and multi-script sociolinguistics of India, Dua (1985) focuses on the *definers* of language problems, whether they are insiders or outsiders, politicians or bureaucrats, researchers or professionals and "the people." These perspectives are in turn linked to four social needs, which Dua identifies as *normative* (needs in which professionals or experts dominate); *felt* (in which affected groups or individuals prevail in the process of defining); *expressed* (referring to those felt needs that are converted into action); and, finally, *comparative* (which are social needs in language established through contrast with other needs faced by the community). Dua's scheme is further elaborated as a series of oppositions in relation to how language problems are ultimately handled in policy: *broadly or narrowly*; *deeply or superficially*; *precisely or vaguely*; *rationally or irrationally.*

Another pioneer of modern LPP theory, Joan Rubin (1986), drew on general public policy concepts to distinguish between "tame" and "wicked" problems, with language problems invariably classified as wicked, invested with symbolic and material interests for different speaker groups. This is of course a crucial fact about the character of language problems, which requires LPP theory and policymaking, and its analysis, to be distinguished from less wicked policy problems. In democratic states the ideological preferences of social groups involve struggle about which problems, or rather "whose" problems, will be allocated resources and become the focus of policy attention. This is evident in the struggle in the United States to produce constitutional amendments granting English the official status it currently lacks. The precise problem involved in political struggles about the status of English in the United States cannot be quarantined from a wide range of material questions about employment, immigration, citizenship, and education and symbolic questions about belonging, representation, and nation-making (Lo Bianco 2007).

It follows from this that the idea that language problems pre-exist LPP, or that they are objectively discernible and uncontentious, much less "scientific" problems, defined prior to the activity of language planning, is an untenable basis for LPP activity, either its analysis or its practice. Definitions of language problems, as suggested by Dua, is a key part of the process of language planning itself and the question of how language problems are defined and addressed poses deep conceptual challenges for analysis. Q-methodology is a practical research instrument for emerging scholars developing research questions, and for established scholars conducting analysis of longstanding, intractable issues of language policy dispute.

Choosing Contexts

The research methods proposed here vary in relation to their demands regarding access to research participants, time required of participants, materials, and other resources. Much of the process of assembling a Q-study involves desk and library research; Q-method is highly flexible, as described below, and can be conducted with small N-sizes and great intensity or with larger N-sizes while retaining its level of intensity.

Contexts for Q-research are also highly variable, though deliberation practices of various kinds generally require access to personnel involved in a dispute or contest around a language-planning question, and for novice researchers and PhD research projects such might not always be feasible.

Various kinds of facilitated dialogue, and especially deliberation conferences, emerge from theories of deliberative democracy which have become an important feature on the agenda of research into collective problem-solving and democratic practice in several social science disciplines. As a result there has in recent years been a surge in theory of deliberation and interest in its practice as "discursive" democracy.

Approaches to practical problem-solving inspired by communicative theory and argument-mapping techniques have expanded exponentially to encompass insights from activity theory, communicative theory, argument mapping, critical thinking, applied epistemology, intelligence augmentation, collective wisdom, hive minds, and so on (Blackler 2011; Engeström 2011). This surge in activity is part of an effort to devise new modes of discursive policymaking, concerned about the barriers between professionalized managerialism, which prevails in formal policy, and the world of citizen democracy.

In Australia this work is now widespread, influenced by ideas of political philosopher John Dryzek, whose 1990 volume, *Discursive Democracy*, led to expanded interest and possibly the definitive work, John Uhr's *Deliberative Democracy in Australia* (1998).

A unique dimension of the use of these two methods in LPP involves addressing what counts as language planning. Both Q and deliberation ask language scholars to immerse themselves in the phase of problem definition, producing accounts of the dynamic processes of contestation, compromise, and agreement that characterize public discussion of policymaking. These processes of language planning precede

formalized procedures for determining what policy goals will be supported within a particular context and therefore involve multiple contexts, actors, and claims. In this approach we will be required to discard the notion that language policy is the enactment of technical procedures to bring about solutions to problems that *pre-exist* language planning itself, and the related assumption that language planners can be thought of as neutral technicians capable of entering a context in which, through some process independent of their presence, they are presented with a remit for solving a problem. Language planners are of course a professional class of skilled people, and novice researchers are engaged in the process of gaining and polishing such skills, but from their entry into the field as novices, PhD candidates, or initiate scholars, all the way through to a mature professional presence as analysts, they are also individuals with interests, ideological inclinations, and theoretical predispositions.

The role of research, and of researchers, and ultimately of course of research knowledge, in the dynamic, iterated processes of language planning and the more formalized activity of language policymaking, needs to be conceptualized and include actors and agents with influence, rather than outside technicians. However, the inclination of some critical scholars to reject language policymaking altogether because some of its practices are deficient, or politically naive, and some of the purposes of language policy are contestable, leaves officials, community members, and authorities of various kinds without the guidance of professional language planning, with its body of concepts, experiences, and reflections over many decades. The accumulated knowledge of the discipline of language planning and policy is in response to a vast expansion in examples of real-world language policymaking in the wake of globalization and population mobility in the contemporary world. It is likely that there will be rapid growth in the application of LPP concepts and methods, and recognition of the distinctive subdiscipline of language-planning expertise, and of its potentially powerful contribution to and support of agencies attempting to solve real-world language problems with knowledge generated through LPP-informed research.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

The method of Q-sorting, commonly called Q-methodology, consists of scrutiny of attitudes, studied via the mathematical process of inverted factor analysis. The inaugurator of Q was the British physicist and psychologist William Stephenson (1902–1989). Rejecting dualist notions of mind and behavior, in 1953 Stephenson argued against any distinction between internal and external frames of reference. These insights underlie his design of Q as a "dynamic psychology" aiming to elucidate links between knowledge and action. Stephenson was interested in an approach to the study of subjectivity that was practicable for researchers. His understanding of subjectivity was also straightforward: "what one can converse about, to others, or to oneself" (1968, 501), and he proposed that subjectivity should be studied empirically by accepting a respondent's construction of their world, rather than imposing researcher-defined categories onto it.

Ultimately, as a researcher, Stephenson wanted to see subjectivity studied "operantly," i.e. behaviorally, and to achieve this he set aside the process of defining consciousness and self which had preoccupied his professional discipline and opted for a method of practical investigation that required researchers to accept the frames of reference provided by their respondents. Always motivated by this preference for gaining knowledge rather than engaging in philosophical speculation about phenomena, Stephenson devoted almost 20 years to refining what ultimately emerged as Q-sorting, laying the foundation for what is today a steadily expanding method of reliable, easily implementable, and richly productive investigations.

Unlike most attitude testing or opinion sampling, Q-sorting explores the subjective disposition of actors (deep attitudes) and the identity and sense of self of respondents. Many studies have shown Q to be a reliable method (Watts and Stenner 2012), an approach which provides a "systematic and rigorously quantitative means for examining human subjectivity" (McKeown and Thomas 2013, 7) where subjectivity is simply accepted as "a person's communication of his or her point of view" (1986, 12).

I have used Q-methodology for more than 20 years, supervised several PhD projects which have relied on Q, and have adapted it for practical language policy advising in Australia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Scotland, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor Leste, and the United States. I have always found it to be highly reliable and convincing to participants, especially to those actively involved in public debate about the language problem being addressed in specific cases. I selected Q because it minimizes outsider characterization of an actor's experience, an especially risky endeavor in relation to people's language and communication practices. That Q retains empirical/scientific form (inverted factor analysis with an individual's understanding of their world the key variable) aids acceptance of its results in policymaking circles (Brown 1986, 1996).

Broadly speaking there are four phases in a Q-study:

- First, public argument around language problems is extensively sampled.
- Second, the sample is culled.
- Third, participants are invited to rank and evaluate the collected sample.
- Fourth, these evaluations are statistically analyzed.

Sampling involves collecting critical and emblematic statements made on the language problem or issue being debated. Statements vary in length from a slogan of a few words, sourced from radio debates or campaign stickers, through advocacy material and excerpts from newspaper commentary, to policy reports. Statements are selected because they distil or capture claims and points that encapsulate the particular problem (e.g. "Native children should be taught in their mother tongue" or "Australian schools should prioritize Asian languages"). In Q-sorting methodology the totality of what is said about the issue being researched is called a "concourse" and its sampling involves immersion in public debate. Topics include arguments for making English the official language in the United States, disputes in Australian public policy circles about the role of indigenous languages in the education of Aboriginal children in public schools, or, say, parental demands for

the introduction of Chinese into a British Columbia school offering French immersion. A key aim and outcome of Q is to identify the powerful "discourses" within a concourse that give the particular argument its distinctive contours, alliances, and differences.

Collecting a rich and representative body of statements that captures the range of positions taken by various participants in a concourse is the critically important first phase of Q-sorting. A representative and accurate sampling provides enhanced credibility through the entire process of analysis. The researcher continues collecting statements until there is repetition in the sample, indicating that the concourse is being exhausted. In my experience such redundancy is usually reached after 80–100 statements; occasionally it has been necessary to collect as many as 250 (Lo Bianco 2001) to gain confidence that the breadth of claims/arguments on the disputed issue has been sampled.

However, this large number is beyond what is needed for the third phase, when participants rank and evaluate the statements, so a second step involves culling the initial sample to reduce it. A popular Q-set size is 40–50 statements, the precise number influenced by how controversial the issue being researched is, and the inverted factor calculations (Watts and Stenner 2012), using a quasi-normal distribution ranking explained in this video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=0AejeH6jw2c.

There are diverse approaches to culling, some formal and some informal, depending on the resources available to the researcher, the physical setting in which the research is taking place, and the particular problem involved. Essentially, culling involves studying each statement individually with great attention and discarding repetitious, marginal, idiosyncratic, or ephemeral statements. This process can be aided by the application of analytical tools; one which I have used involves deciding what are the argumentative and rhetorical features of statements, specifically a "political discourse analytic matrix" (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993). This matrix is an extension of the Toulmin method, a form of reasoning devised by Cambridge University political philosopher Stephen Toulmin (2003), in which data, claim, and warrant are sequences in the construction of arguments. My preference for using this is influenced by its link to deliberation conferencing (Dryzek 1990; Uhr 1998; Dryzek and Niemeyer 2006), which aims to resolve or ameliorate language problems, i.e. to move from language-planning analysis to language policy writing, which is assisted if the Q-analysis is already informed by knowledge of the rhetorical features of the argument. Many novice researchers, PhD students, or experienced researchers under pressure of time, do simpler culling, removing repetition and opting for statements that are emblematic of positions in the debate or which crystallize key points. If sophisticated culling is used, the statements are classified according to their rhetorical features. Whether a sophisticated or a straightforward culling is used the final set of statements is then placed on individual printed cards or a computer program.

Participants are drawn from the constituency debating the issue, by purposeful rather than random selection. In some cases participants will be the authors of the statements being ranked, the key criterion being that individual's relevance to the question, usually in the form of recent and active participation in debate, research, or policymaking on the particular language problem. This third part of the process

can appear time-consuming and is sometimes delicate, requiring considerable negotiation, partly because administration of a 40–50-statement Q-sort takes more than 60 minutes. However, Q has the advantage of being entirely valid with small or large respondent numbers, making it feasible for PhD projects and novice researchers. The number of participants can range from a single critical individual, a sufficient size when the focus of the research involves deep understanding of a critical informant's point of view; however, it is typical to have 20–30 respondents drawn from a speech community, advocacy groups, civil service organizations, policymakers or political party nominees, professional organizations, media representatives, and school, university, and researcher interests.

Researchers can complement Q-method with interviews or focus groups with the participants. These can precede the Q-sorting (to generate statements) or follow it (to assist in interpreting the discourses embedded within the overall concourse), and can be done with some or all participants. These forms of supplementation are not essential because Q-sorting generates extensive and rich data.

Each participant is asked to evaluate every statement, ranking them on a distribution scale from –5 to +5 (i.e. 4 ranks of +5 and –5 votes; 5 ranks of +3 and –3 votes; 6 ranks of +2 and –2 votes; 7 ranks of +1 and –1 votes; and 8 ranks of 0, or neutral/no view votes). These "votes" or scores are in response to a prompt question (e.g. *Rank these statements according to your level of agreement/disagreement*; or *Rank these according to your view of Prime Minister Mahathir's proposal that Malaysia should teach science, technology, and mathematics subjects in English*).

After recording each individual's ranking the resulting sorts (i.e. the ranks) are analyzed statistically using specialist Q-software, seeking overall correlations, individual statement weights, and scores for groups of statements and for groups of respondents. Most often a concourse contains between three and five structuring "discourses"; usually two or three are particularly strong. After analysis of the sorts I have found it useful to prepare a plain-language "Issue Brief" for the particular area. The Issue Brief reports findings, and assists in moving to organize facilitation intervention on the language problem. It is also useful to ask participants to contribute to writing the Issue Brief as a kind of narrative exercise fostering greater understanding of rivals' positions and a deepening of one's own.

Q-analysis yields reliable data about ideological and action-oriented views of key participants, and using the political discourse matrix as the basis for culling statements allows the researcher to do very fine-grained analysis of the underlying features of the total argument and of its component discourses. With this preparation the researcher might then be well informed for analysis of the language-planning context. The two are therefore a sequence of fact-finding, a mainly scholarly or academic orientation in language planning, linked to problem-solving, a mainly practitioner-based orientation in language policy determination.

Introduction of new methods into language policy and planning such as Q-methodology aims to redress the field's historic overreliance on self-report attitude surveys.

It is useful to keep in mind that in real-world language policymaking, applied linguistics in general, trained professional language planners, and even the body of knowledge that might be called language-planning theory, are rarely included. As Joshua Fishman noted in 1994, in an observation which broadly remains true today: "very little language planning practice has actually been informed by language planning theory" (1994: 97).

Technically oriented views of the role of LPP analysis, from the beginning of PhD research, through novice engagement with the field, all the way to expert practitioner, are all involved in generating knowledge about language policy, which is never an apolitical act. A possible extreme expression of this can be gleaned from Calvet (1998), who poses the problem in a very forthright way describing the "complicity" of linguists in "language wars" he studied in Africa and elsewhere. His definition of the field foregrounds the politics of language planning, which he sees as *in vitro* manipulation of language away from the *in vivo* context within which languages compete for space and power:

> All planning presupposes a policy, the policy of those in power … by intervening in languages, [the linguist] becomes part of the power game … usually the linguist is to be found on … the side of power, even if he only considers himself as a technician or adviser. (Calvet 1998: 203)

Calvet goes on to locate the "social responsibility" of the linguist as language planner in the obligations of common citizenship and not in any professional or scholarly inheritance. Q-method, and dialogues which follow the generation of data with the interested parties, whether or not they adhere to formal deliberation principles, provide a well-studied approach to citizen-centered action on language problems which can serve a professional role and provide input for the conceptual preparation and investigations of linguists, sociolinguists, language educators, and language planners.

Case Study

Q-methodology was used over a period of five years in four schools in the suburbs of Melbourne, Australia (described in Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013). Students in these high-immigrant, high-refugee, low-SES schools were compelled to study Italian and Japanese, the former a language traditionally present in the particular localities, the latter a foreign language, but a beneficiary of national and state-level language education policies. The research was commissioned by the state education ministry with the express aim of understanding better the high attrition rate for students taught the two languages. Fifty students in junior high school, Years 8 and 9 in Australian terminology, were nominated by their teachers according to whether they were "waverers" or "committed" to continuing with language study in the post-compulsory Year 10, with 20 from the Italian course and 28 taking Japanese eventually participating in the full Q-sorting of statements, with extended time allowed for discussion, and even repeat sorting.

The Q-statements were drawn from a prior and extended period of focus group discussions with students, a process that yielded some 65 potentially usable statements, culled to a selection of 25 for each language. The topics, or concourse, covered teaching, learning the language, "relevance" of the curriculum, the value of learning the language, classroom control, and organizational aspects of language provision. The 25 statements were transcribed onto cards, preserving the original form of expression of the students, and the 48 participants made choices about how

strongly they agreed or disagreed with each one. To facilitate the activity, they were given a blank grid with a predetermined pattern on which they placed their cards as follows: three cards in the +3 column (most like their point of view), three in the –3 column (least like their point of view), the same number of cards in the +2 and –2 columns; four cards each in the +1 and –1 columns and five cards in the central 0 column. The researchers were present at all times during the exercise. The sorts were analyzed using PCQ, a dedicated Q-method software, seeking correlation, computation, and factor analysis. The main points of view and shared belief were reliably identified.

Results were organized into overall "discourses," three for each language, valency of particular statements, or groups of statements, and the kinds of argument or issue these represent, differences and similarities between the discourses within each and across both languages. The results for the first Italian and first Japanese discourse are reproduced in Tables 7.1 and 7.2, using the paradigmatic form of a Q-sort result, then discussed in depth for each statement, discourse, and cluster of discourses or statements.

The results have been highly informative of the main causes of attrition, which, it transpires, are mostly within the ability of the individual schools to address, and are only partly attributable to the wider context of policy. However, the research also provided considerable critique of the unrealistic expectations of policy not informed by the actual experience of learners. Deliberation activities with schools and teachers followed the research process, and teachers and students were active participants in all phases of the research. The outcomes of the study focused all policymakers, school-, district-, and department-based, on the need to explore the underlying language problems exposed by the study.

Table 7.1 Italian - Perspective 1: Fix it, but ask us!

–3	*–2*	*–1*	*0*	*+1*	*+2*	*+3*	*Consensus and distinguishing statements*
4	8	7	3	1	6	17	3 consensus statements # 1, 2, 3
15	13	12	5	2	16	18	0 distinguishing statements
24	25	19	10	9	23	20	No items distinguish Factor 1
		22	11	14			
			21				

Source: Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013, table 4.4 (p. 101).

Table 7.2 Japanese - Perspective 1: Let's use it much more!

–3	*–2*	*–1*	*0*	*+1*	*+2*	*+3*	*Consensus and distinguishing statements*
12	9	3	2	4	5	1	6 consensus statements # 2; 15; 17; 19;
14	11	15	7	8	6	16	22; 25
23	13	20	17	10	19	22	2 distinguishing statements # 14; 23
		24	21	18			
			25				

Source: Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013, table 4.10 (p. 112).

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8 Ethnography in Language Planning and Policy Research

Teresa L. McCarty

Introduction

We can think of ethnography in two senses: as a *process* of conducting research framed within a particular disciplinary tradition, and as a *product* – an account derived from that process. As process and product, ethnography has its roots in anthropology. This means that the premises that inform ethnographic research are based on anthropological ways of knowing and gathering and assessing evidence, described by the educational anthropologist Harry Wolcott (2008) as a "way of seeing" through the lens of human culture, and a "way of looking" based on long-term, first-hand fieldwork. The ethnographer of communication Dell Hymes (1980) argues further that ethnography contains within it a moral stance toward social inquiry that is humanizing, democratizing, and anti-hegemonic – what we might call a "way of being" a researcher. This chapter explores all three facets of ethnography – seeing, looking, and being – applied to research in language planning and policy (LPP).

As a way of seeing, ethnography finds its orienting purpose in a "concern with cultural interpretation" (Wolcott 2008, 72) – the meanings people construct in social practice (Anderson-Levitt 2006, 281). For ethnographers of LPP, this entails a view of policy as a situated sociocultural process: the practices, ideologies, attitudes, and mechanisms that influence people's language choices in pervasive everyday ways (McCarty 2011, xii). Sometimes these processes involve cultural artifacts conventionally associated with policy – declarations, regulations, and

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laws – but ethnographers are equally concerned with implicit policy processes – the ways in which people accommodate, resist, and "make" policy in everyday social practice. Ethnographic studies of LPP seek to describe and understand these complex processes and in particular, the power relations through which they are constructed.

It follows that ethnographic investigations are holistic and deeply contextualized, examining LPP as part of an integrated (if often messy and contested) sociocultural system. Ethnographers are also acutely attuned to participants' point of view. This is often called the "emic" perspective, a reference to an analogy proposed by the linguist Kenneth Pike (1967), which contrasted phon*emics* – the tacit knowledge of a language's sound system possessed by native speakers – with phon*etics* – the study of sound systems. The terms emic and etic are commonly understood to refer to insider and outsider knowledge, respectively. As we will see, this is not such a simple proposition, as relationships in ethnographic fieldwork, like all human relationships, crisscross multiple intersecting fields of identification and affiliation.

Developing (Good) Research Questions

Like all research approaches, ethnography is good for answering some questions but not others. What ethnography is especially "good for" is illuminating the details of language in organizing human social life – what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) famously called the "complex specificness" and "circumstantiality" of discourses, interactions, activity, and behaviors – working out from these details to more general theorizations. But how do we get at the details? How do we develop good ethnographic research questions?

LeCompte and Schensul (2010, 130–133) state that research questions may arise from collaborative brainstorming among groups with specific interests, the tasks in which researchers engage at their workplace, and scholarly and personal commitments. For instance, in my long-term work with Navajo bilingual teachers, our common interests in understanding Navajo children's biliteracy development, and our commitment to countering deficit views of bilingual learners based on English standardized tests, led us to form a long-term study group. Initially we focused on an immediate problem of practice faced by the teachers: What literacy assessments are most appropriate for learners with varied abilities in Navajo and English? As our investigation unfolded, new questions arose: How are children's home- and community-based sociolinguistic resources manifested in their writing? What can we learn about their English writing by studying the content, form, and process of their writing in Navajo? Insights from extended observations of children as they participated in literacy learning inside and outside of school, and from our recorded dialogue sessions about those observations, including teachers' critical reflections on their own English-only schooling, became the basis for language planning and teachers' development of innovative language assessments grounded in Navajo ways of knowing (McCarty and Dick 2003).

We see in this example several dimensions of ethnographic problem-posing. First, research questions are open-ended, designed to describe and understand complexity, not reduce it to a yes-no response or to measure cause and effect. Second, research questions are subject to change as our understandings evolve in the field. This does not mean that ethnographic research questions are arbitrary or haphazard. Rather, they emerge from careful decision-making informed by disciplinary knowledge, ethical imperatives, and face-to-face interactions in the field (see Canagarajah, this volume). Third, ethnographic problem-posing has the potential to incite praxis – the transformation of ethnographic insights into knowledge for use by, and of benefit to, research participants – while democratizing the research process through the co-participation of university- and site-based researchers.

Although the answers to ethnographic research questions are context-specific, they should have transferable lessons. Note the contrast here with "generalizable," which refers to large quantitative data sets based on random or representative samples; generalizability is not a goal of ethnography, although that does not preclude the broader applicability of ethnographic studies beyond a single context or site. Let us take another example. In 1988 Nancy Hornberger published the first full-blown LPP ethnography, a case study carried out in rural and mostly Indigenous Puno, Peru. With the goal of understanding the relationship between official policy and local practice, Hornberger asked: Can language maintenance be planned? And, can schools be effective agents for language maintenance? Examining home- and school-based language ideologies and practices within the nexus of government policy, Hornberger's analysis showed that top-down language policies are likely to fail if they lack understanding of local conditions and bottom-up support. This work has had far-reaching ramifications for understanding schools as sites for language planning and policymaking, including a new wave of classroom- and school-based ethnographic studies that expand notions of top-down and bottom-up by repositioning education practitioners at the "epicenter" of LPP (Menken and García 2010, 1).

As "chronicles of complexity" (Blommaert 2013), ethnographies of LPP continue to yield new insights even as they raise more questions. New questions ripe for ethnographic inquiry include the twenty-first-century paradox of escalating "superdiversity" resulting from globalization (Blommaert 2013) and the simultaneous diminishment of Indigenous and other minoritized mother tongues on an unprecedented global scale. How are ideologies about language formed and transformed in diverse sociolinguistic ecologies, and how do these processes relate to official and unofficial language policies? What can language policy researchers and practitioners learn from the many grassroots language revitalization efforts underway? In what ways can education inside and outside of schools be reimagined to promote plurilingualism (García, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Torres-Guzmán 2006)? How do youth experience dynamic contexts of superdiversity and language endangerment (Wyman, McCarty, and Nicholas 2014)? How do youth appropriate particular linguistic forms, for what purposes, and with what effects (Paris 2011)? How might research into these processes inform language planning and policy?

Addressing "ethnographically ripe" research questions such as these requires focus. Rossman and Rallis (2003, 114–117) offer three helpful meta-questions to achieve

this. First, are the questions and the research plan "doable" given time, access, and available resources? Second, are they "want-to-doable" – are they questions in which you have a deep and abiding interest? Third, are the questions "should-doable" – is the study worthwhile, ethical, and likely to yield significant new knowledge? For whom – who benefits? The answers to these meta-questions depend on the researcher's prior experiences, disciplinary preparation, and the larger social context in which the research occurs. Beginning with clear, meaningful, and doable research questions anchors ethnographic investigations while opening the door to new discoveries.

Choosing Contexts

There is no such thing as context-less ethnography; understanding multiple intersecting layers of context is what ethnography is designed to do. In choosing contexts, then, we are really talking about identifying a research setting and participants. This involves weighing the entailments of our research questions – what do I need to understand to answer those questions and what setting(s) are most likely to yield that information? – alongside feasibility, access, and ethics. The logistics of access can sometimes take precedence over other factors; obviously research is only possible where it is allowed, or better, desired. And, while we may choose research settings based on a rational weighing of these factors, it is equally true that contexts sometimes choose us based on local needs and the qualities and experiences we bring to the research project. It is worth repeating that sometimes the best research context is not faraway or "exotic," but is one we already know something about.

Proper preparation, including critically reviewing relevant literature, developing a research plan, and negotiating access and reciprocity, is essential. It is not uncommon for ethnographers to have an official or unofficial role in the setting in which they work. Wolcott, for example, was a teacher in the Kwakiutl village school that was the focus of his classic educational ethnography (2003 [1967]). To take more recent examples, Sheilah Nicholas (2014) is both a tribal citizen and the leader of a bilingual teacher professional development institute in the Hopi community in which she has conducted extensive ethnographic LPP research. LPP researcher Leisy Wyman (2012) began her work as a teacher in the Yup'ik village in which she subsequently completed an ethnography of youth language practices. With recent research placing educators at the center of LPP, teachers are often co-participants in ethnographic research within their own local settings (Menken and García 2010).

All of this blurs the lines of emic-etic and insider-outsider negotiations of research settings. As Ramanathan (2011) notes, even cultural insiders may be viewed as outsiders by virtue of the power relations attending their researcher role (see also Hult's [2014] exploration of the strategic language choices he made as an "insider researcher" in Swedish speech settings). This raises issues of ethics and responsibility in choosing research contexts. In their research with Māori communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, for example, Richard Hill and Stephen May, both non-Indigenous researchers, stress the need for addressing the power asymmetries in research with Indigenous and minoritized communities, and a research ethic that "provides clear lines of accountability and control" over data access, collection, and use (2013,

47–48). Lumbee ethnographer Bryan Brayboy and his associates argue for "research as service" to those who are the subjects (2012, 435). This requires close attention to the "four Rs": building *relationships* based on *respect* and *reciprocity*, and taking seriously our *responsibility* for how the research affects those about whom we write (Brayboy et al. 2012, 436–440; Canagarajah, this volume; Lin, this volume; May, this volume).

Thus, choosing contexts is not a simple decision; the very choice must be placed in context. Wyman et al. refer to this as "triple vision" in which ethnographers recognize and advance "academic, [participant], and broader community projects" (2014, 18). This positions ethnography as a "way of being" a researcher that forefronts its decolonizing, use-driven, and social justice possibilities.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

The English word ethnography derives from the Greek *ethnos* (people) and *grapho* (to write). Ethnography is literally "writing about people." Wolcott (2008) refers to the methods used to accomplish this as a "way of looking." A central tenet is that the researcher is the primary research instrument, not in the sense of an antiseptic tool, but by being there in person, over time, as a learner and an interpreter of people's experiences.

As a way of looking, ethnography involves *experiencing* through participant and nonparticipant observation, *enquiring* through formal and informal interviews, and *examining* through the analysis of documents and cultural artifacts (Wolcott 2008, 48–50). Participant observation is the "method of choice" in ethnographic inquiry (Canagarajah 2006, 156), and involves engaging appropriately in the day-to-day activities of participants, observing the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation, and systematically recording those observations. Ethnographers often have multiple participant observer roles, as illustrated in Meek's (2010) study of language revitalization in a Yukon Kaska community. Working as an educator and child development specialist in the local Aboriginal Head Start program, a teaching assistant in Kaska language workshops, and a student of the Kaska language, her ethnographic research "emerged from these multiple positions, in dialogue with bureaucrats, language professionals, local individuals, and families" (Meek 2010, xviii).

How do we document such complex and dynamic human activity? Field notes are "the heart of the ethnographic enterprise," say Schensul and LeCompte (2013, 48). As inscriptions of social life and discourse *in situ*, field notes include a rich description of the setting, participants, and activities (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011, 12). They also include verbatim quotes of naturally occurring speech, taking note of body language and nonverbal communication. Clear adjectives, action verbs, and noninferential language are the staples of good field notes. Observations recorded in field notes are often supplemented by a research journal and by photographs and audio- and/or video-recordings (Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 83).

Managing this kind of description while also participating in the social scene is no simple task, and inevitably what we inscribe reduces enormous complexity to what is

observable and recordable in writing. For the ethnography of communication, Hymes (1974) proposed this SPEAKING mnemonic to guide what is recorded in field notes:

- Scene or setting (psychological and physical).
- Ends or goals of the communicative act.
- Act sequence or order.
- Key or tone.
- Instrumentalities or forms and styles of speech.
- Norms governing communicative interaction.
- Genre or category of communication (e.g., oration, lecture, joking, etc.).

Writing good field notes requires a high degree of *reflexivity* – the ability to critically reflect upon our assumptions and subject position, and the impact of those assumptions and our very presence on what we are observing and how we are interpreting it. Reflexivity is enhanced by including observer reflections (often called observer commentary) – "the researcher's feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculations, and working hypotheses" (Merriam 2009, 131) – set off from the main text by brackets, or placed in marginal notes.

Field notes may begin as jottings, a "brief written record of events and impressions captured in key words and phrases" (Emerson et al. 2011, 29). I have found the format shown in Figure 8.1 useful for keeping a running record in the field. It is essential that jottings and running records be elaborated in a field report as soon as possible after leaving the field site. Figure 8.2 provides a modified sample of elaborated field notes taken as part of a qualitative case study I conducted on Indigenous heritage-language education. The report begins with the basics – the date, time, purpose, setting, and participants – followed by a narrative account that begins at the moment of entry into the field site. Elaborated field notes provide the evidentiary foundation upon which analysis proceeds. In this case, verbatim quotes of naturally occurring speech, when analyzed in comparison with other data (e.g. interviews, additional observations), illuminated the ways in which education practitioners at this school constructed an unofficial strengths-based language policy to counter dominant policies that seek to restrict and repress Indigenous and minoritized languages. Note too elements in Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING mnemonic present in the notes.

The second "way of looking" – interviewing – is more direct (Wolcott 2008, 49). Ethnographic interviews often include casual conversations recorded in the course of participant observation; these unstructured interviews may be used to "formulate questions for later interviews" (Merriam 2009, 89). Interviews may also be structured, using predetermined, nonvariant questions. More common, however, are semi-structured interviews with a mix of "more and less structured questions," carried out one-on-one with key participants or in small groups (Merriam 2009, 89). These types of interviews use open-ended questions, allowing for dialogue, follow-up, and the possibility of unexpected findings. The choice of interview format depends on the research questions, goals, and logistical constraints. Interview data are recorded in field notes and by audiotaping and/or videotaping, and are transcribed in written form. Interviews should be transcribed in the language(s) in which they are conducted, then translated as needed.

Seidman (2013) offers a useful three-part format for in-depth phenomenological interviewing that lends itself well to ethnographic research. Informed by phenomenology (the study of human experience from a first-person perspective), the goal is

Sample Ethnographic Observation Protocol
Study Title: _____

Observer: _____ Location/Site: _____

Date: _____ Participants: _____

Activity: _____ Language(s): _____

Other Contextual Information: _____

Visual Map:

Running Record:

Time	Observation	Observer Comments

(Continue on additional pages)

Figure 8.1 Sample ethnographic observation protocol.

for participants to reconstruct their experiences with the study topic (Seidman 2013, 14). Part 1, "focused life history," places the participant's experience in context by asking her/him to describe her/his personal history in light of the topic (Seidman 2013, 21). Part 2, "details of experience," concentrates on the "concrete details of the

SAMPLE FIELD REPORT EXCERPT: INDIGENOUS HERITAGE LANGUAGE CASE STUDY

Observer: T.L. McCarty Location/Site: Native American School 1 (NAS1)

Date: January 12, 2012 Setting: Teachers' Resource Room

Purpose of visit: To observe Indigenous teacher work group and conduct interviews with teachers

Participants: Program director (PD), 1st grade teacher (T1), 2nd grade teacher (T2), 5th grade teacher (T3)

Languages: Indigenous language (IL), English

It was a bright, sunny winter day when I arrived at NAS1 at 9:45 am, and checked in at the front office. This was the first visit of the second year of the study, and by this time, the teachers, principal, program director, and I had established a comfortable and trusting working relationship. Hearing my voice, the principal emerged from an interior office and greeted me warmly. After chatting for a few moments about what each of us had done over winter break, I picked up my bag containing a computer, assorted recording equipment, and the school file and headed for the resource room where the Native American teachers were in the midst of a monthly curriculum development meeting with the heritage-language program director.

The large classroom had been converted to a work area and was set up with 4 commodious tables facing a white board at the front of the room. PD sat on the window ledge lining the outer wall, in animated conversation with teachers about a first grade lesson plan projected on the white board. The largely English conversation was punctuated with Indigenous terms. Each of the three Native American teachers –all women –sat at one of the tables with books, papers, and curriculum materials spread out in front of them. After quick greetings (they had been expecting me), I sat down at one of the tables, opened my laptop, and, with everyone's permission, began jotting notes on the laptop as PD and the teachers talked.

Pointing to the white board, PD explained that the teachers had developed a new IL writing curriculum. "Instead of teaching writing in the IL separately," T2 said, "we're integrating it with social studies and the [Indigenous] cultural component."

"For example," said T1, "in first grade students write a personal narrative about their clans. They research it with their parents and grandparents, and present it orally and in written form."

"With the fifth graders," T3 added, "they're learning the research process and to how to write up their research on a computer in the IL."

T2 pointed out, "We have to tell the parents, this is a different kind of curriculum than they experienced when they went to school, where students were punished for speaking their heritage language. Here, the HL has *academic* standing."

"We consider these students the elites because they're learning to speak, read, and write two languages," PD said.

"Yes," T1 nodded. "Here, learning more than one language is a *plus*. We try to communicate this to the students and the parents. This is our goal."

….

Figure 8.2 Example of elaborated field notes (modified from original notes to protect participants' anonymity).

participants' present lived experience in the topic area" (2013, 21). Part 3, "reflection on meaning," asks participants to reflect on their experiences vis-à-vis the topic and draw out deeper meanings (2013, 22). Although Seidman advocates for three separate 90-minute interviews, time and limited resources often constrain such a lengthy process, and I have found that collapsing the three parts into a single 90- to 120-minute sequence can yield quite a rich ethnographic database.

The third "way of looking" – examining – involves the collection of documents or archival data. For school-based studies, this might include school mission statements, teachers' lesson plans, curricula, student writing samples, and school-community demographic records. It is important to remember that what "counts" as a language policy text can vary according to the participants and setting, and that spoken as well as written texts can have the effect of policy. Together, documents, interview transcripts, and field notes create a triangulated database, adding depth, breadth, and credibility to research findings.

Experiencing, enquiring, and examining may be supplemented by surveys or questionnaires, censusing, social mapping, quantitative measures such as student achievement data, and elicitation techniques. In a study of Welsh vocational college students' biliteracy practices, for instance, Martin-Jones (2011) asked the students to compile diaries of their literacy practices and to take photographs of literacy events in the college and their workplace. Using these artifacts as prompts, participants were then interviewed about their reading and writing practices in the different settings.

What do we do with these data to render them amenable to analysis? Analysis is recursive, and involves a close reading and re-reading of the database "as it has evolved over time" (Emerson et al. 2011, 172). Although several good software programs are available for organizing and managing ethnographic data, no software can do the analysis for us, and there is no substitute for line-by-line reading of the data corpus. Ethnographic analysis can be done entirely manually, and indeed, such has been accepted practice since the first ethnographers ventured into the field more than a century ago. Line-by-line reading, scanning, and re-reading are the basis for open coding – deriving "a word or short phrase that … assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña 2013, 3). Open coding is typically followed by more focused coding of topics identified as particularly important (Emerson et al. 2011, 172). Coding strategies should be carefully selected in alignment with research questions and goals. Saldaña (2013), for example, describes 32 coding strategies, each of which has distinct properties and implications for data analysis and interpretation.

Once codes are generated they can be clustered into categories according to similarity and regularity. These categorical groupings are then systematically compared and contrasted to generate broader concepts or themes. A theme is "an *outcome* of coding, categorization, or analytic reflection" – a higher level of abstraction – "not something that is, in itself, coded" (Saldaña 2013, 14). Thematic constructs rooted in empirical data constitute the evidentiary foundation for interpretations, assertions, and theoretical propositions.

Narrative analysis, discourse analysis, and portraiture are also common in ethnographic research (for excellent step-by-step guides to multiple approaches to qualitative/ethnographic data analysis, see Bazeley 2013; LeCompte and Schensul 2013; and Saldaña 2013). Regardless of the strategy employed, the goal is to situate

LPP processes within the larger sociocultural contexts of which they are part. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) use an onion metaphor to describe these multilayered processes: the outer layers of the onion represent broader language policy processes, and the inner layers represent local policy accommodations, resistances, and transformations as they occur in everyday practice. By "slicing the onion ethnographically" (Hornberger and Johnson 2007), researchers can attend to the fine-grained detail of each layer and its position within an organic whole.

Any ethnographic account, no matter how rich in description, is by necessity partial and perspectival. Not only can we not attend to every single detail in fieldwork (nor is this desirable), what we choose to focus on and what we edit out are steeped in our disciplinary training, subject position, and the questions we ask. Throughout the data collection and analysis process it is helpful to keep these key questions in mind:

- How did you arrive at your interpretation?
- What did you decide to include and exclude?
- How did you decide?
- From the universe of information available to you, what did you monitor, and why?
- How did you determine the participants' point of view?

Case Study: The Native Language Shift and Retention Study

In 2001, with Ofelia Zepeda and Mary Eunice Romero-Little, I embarked on a multiyear, multisite study of the impact of Native-language loss and revitalization on American Indian students' language learning and academic achievement (McCarty, Romero-Little, and Zepeda 2006). The overall project goals were to support Native communities' language and culture retention efforts, and to inform local, state, and national language education policies. We therefore did not "recruit" participants in the conventional sense, but rather worked with Indigenous communities with whom we had long-standing relationships and who were actively involved in efforts to revitalize and maintain their heritage languages. Seven school-community sites participated in the study, representing diverse languages, geographic locales, and school organizational structures. At each site we worked closely with voluntary teams of educators we called community research collaborators (CRCs), who helped validate the research protocols and assist with data collection and analysis. The CRCs would be the change agents positioned to apply the study's findings when the project ended.

Across the sites we conducted extended participant and nonparticipant observation of students' language practices and language teaching inside and outside of school. Using a modified version of Seidman's three-part interview sequence (2006; 4th edition, 2013), we conducted one- to three-hour audiotaped interviews with 168 adults and 62 children and youth. We administered 500 sociolinguistic surveys to elicit information on participants' language practices and attitudes, and we collected documents such as lesson plans, school mission statements, demographic data, and student achievement data. The qualitative database produced more than 3,300 pages of single-spaced text, of which the interviews constitute the largest corpus.

Interview transcripts and field notes were coded using NVivo 7, a software tool for organizing, retrieving, and analyzing text data. In whole-day team meetings,

we generated codes, grouping them into more inclusive categories. This became the basis for deriving recurring themes. Over the course of the study we shared emerging findings with the CRCs, a process called *member checking* or *respondent validation* aimed at ruling out inaccuracies and misinterpretations. As Merriam writes, member checks involve taking "your preliminary analysis back to some of the participants and ask[ing] whether your interpretation 'rings true' … participants should be able to recognize their experience in your interpretation" (2009, 217). From this analysis we crafted narrative case studies for each site, focusing on youth language practices, ideologies, and communicative repertoires.

Toward the middle of the study period, a perplexing pattern began to emerge. While adults tended to characterize youth's linguistic repertoires and interest in learning their heritage language as limited, the youth described complex home-community sociolinguistic environments, expressed a sincere desire to learn their heritage language, and exhibited latent and overt heritage-language proficiencies. What might explain these divergent perceptions of young people's language practices, competencies, and beliefs? After consulting with the CRCs, we began to ask that question directly in interviews. This led to some very compelling findings.

For the youth, knowing their heritage language was clearly associated with being a "full" member of their cultural community. Yet youth also expressed feelings of linguistic uncertainty, embarrassment, and shame. They explicitly framed these language ideologies within a history of linguistic and cultural oppression and ongoing racial discrimination. As one high school senior told us, "A lot of [youth] … try to make teachers believe that they speak primarily [English because] they're judged [negatively] by other people that speak English more clear than they do, and … that's why they put on the fake" (interview, May 2004). Another teen said: "Many of these kids know how to speak [the Indigenous language], but … they might be ashamed … It's being told [the Indigenous language] is stupid … to speak Indian is the way of the devil" (interview, May 2004).

As the research continued, we came to understand these language practices and ideologies as part of a complex discursive process which, on the one hand, valorized Indigenous languages as integrally tied to community identities, and on the other hand linked English to Whiteness, opportunity, and modernity. This was complicated by the pressures of high-stakes testing regimes, which disproportionately penalized the schools the youth attended. Approaching language policy from an ethnographic, sociocultural perspective, we interpreted these processes as constructing a de facto language policy that tacitly governed young people's language use inside and outside of school. The net effect was to discourage use by young people of the Native/heritage language, constrain local language reclamation efforts, and limit the development of students' multilingualism (for a full discussion, see McCarty et al. 2006, 2014).

Concluding Thoughts

I close with two final observations. First is the power of ethnography to illuminate fraught sociolinguistic processes such as those in the study just described. Second is ethnography's potential for facilitating the transformation of those processes. As Johnson writes, a major contribution of ethnographies of LPP is their ability to balance "a critical understanding of the hegemony of policy [with] an … understanding

of the power of language policy actors" to interpret, appropriate, and transform repressive language policies (2013, 2). In the study above, the CRCs used ethnographic knowledge and their roles as co-researchers to reconfigure classroom and community spaces in ways that supported local language reclamation efforts. As the ethnography of LPP continues to grow, this way of seeing, looking, and being promises to open new possibilities such as these for contesting linguistic inequities and decolonizing the research process itself.

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9 Classroom Discourse Analysis as a Lens on Language-in-Education Policy Processes

Marilyn Martin-Jones

Introduction

Since the 1990s, a distinct tradition of critical research on multilingual classroom discourse has been established. Over almost three decades, researchers working within this tradition (e.g. Arthur 1996; Canagarajah 2001; Heller 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Jaffe 1999; Lin 2001; Lin and Martin 2005; Martin Rojo 2010; Martin-Jones and Heller 1996) have contributed to the reimagining of research into language-in-education policy and to the redefinition of the nature and scope of research in multilingual classrooms.

Combining detailed description and analysis of discourse practices in such classrooms with ethnography, they have provided fine-grained insights into the ways in which students and teachers, in diverse multilingual settings, interpret, respond to, or take a particular stance on language-in-education policies and on the ways in which policy "on paper" gets translated into communicative practice in the daily rounds of classroom life. This research has also enabled us to identify specific ways in which students and teachers draw on the linguistic and semiotic resources available to them, as they engage in meaning-making in different kinds of classroom activities, with different kinds of participant structures and classroom conditions, as they appropriate, conform to, skillfully navigate, ignore, or openly contest language-in-education policy prescriptions.

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A brief genealogy of this field of inquiry

To understand the thinking behind the goals and methods that are characteristic of research in this field, we need to take a brief glimpse at its history and at some of the conceptual compasses that have guided its development. (For a more detailed genealogical account, see Lin 2008 or Saxena and Martin-Jones 2013.)

Research on multilingual classroom interaction first emerged in the 1980s. It was developed by researchers in the field of linguistic anthropology in North America. It grew out of a groundswell of concern in the 1970s and 1980s about the education of children from linguistic minority groups and from Indigenous communities. The research reflected the broad epistemological shift taking place in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology at the time toward viewing language as a form of social action and toward research of a qualitative and interpretive nature. (See the chapter by Angel Lin, this volume, for further details on the paradigmatic shift from positivism to interpretivism in research on language in social life).

The research built on conceptual and methodological foundations laid by scholars working in several distinct, though interrelated, strands of interpretive work on language. These included: ethnomethodology (Mehan 1981); micro-ethnography (Erickson 1975); ethnography of communication (Hymes 1964); interactional sociolinguistics, especially the work of Gumperz (1982) on contextualization and on code-switching in conversation; and Goffman's (1981) sociology of face-to-face interaction. Building on these robust foundations, new analytic lenses for the close study of the texture of multilingual classroom interaction were developed. By the end of the 1980s, researchers had at their disposal a range of fine-tuned analytic tools for the study of multilingual practices in the schools and classrooms with which they were concerned.

By the early 1990s, a second epistemological shift was taking place within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology toward the incorporation of critical ethnographic research perspectives on language in social life. There was a new concern with the way in which research could be designed so as to take account of the ways in which language and literacy practices (multilingual or monolingual), in different political and historical contexts and in different social and institutional worlds, are bound up with the construction of asymmetries of power between social groups with differing linguistic and cultural resources. As Pennycook (2001, 6) points out, this shift toward critical social inquiry was part of a broader critique of social relations that was taking place across the social sciences and it entailed a new commitment to building a "historical understanding of how social relations came to be the way they are."

Researchers working in multilingual classroom contexts began to design research projects of a multi-layered nature, with a view to linking their detailed accounts of the interactional order of particular classrooms with analyses of the wider social and ideological processes at work in particular political and historical contexts. Some examples of studies that were developed in this vein are included in a collection that I edited with Monica Heller entitled *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference* (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001). Most of the work that was developed within this new strand of critical interpretive

research in multilingual classrooms was carried out in postcolonial settings (in Africa and Asia) or in minority language contexts in Canada and in Europe (e.g. French Canada, Corsica, Catalonia). Researchers in these settings were keenly aware of the fact that language policymaking – at the level of national or regional policies – was embedded in asymmetrical relations of power between social groups and was underpinned by different discourses about education in the context of linguistic and cultural diversity. They began to focus on the ways in which the routine discourse practices (monolingual or multilingual) in local schools and classrooms contribute to the reproduction of asymmetrical social relations, and on the ways in which local discourse practices are indexically oriented to wider language ideologies and policy processes. They thus sought ways of providing more explanatory accounts of the communicative patterns and regularities that they were observing in the cycles of multilingual life in particular classrooms.

Some researchers (e.g. Arthur 1996; Canagarajah 2001; Heller 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Jaffe 1999; Lin 2001; Martin Rojo 2010; Martin-Jones and Heller 1996) developed a critical ethnographic approach by engaging explicitly with social theory, either postcolonial theory (see Canagarajah 2001) or the work of French social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1991). For example, over 10 years of ethnographic and discourse-analytic research in French-language minority schools in Ontario, Canada, Heller (1999) pioneered an approach to theory-building which took the work of Bourdieu (1991) as a starting point. Her main theory-building strategy was to focus on two main ways in which schools operate as institutions linked to the state: firstly, the ways in which schools serve as spaces within which specific language varieties (e.g. those designated as national, official languages) and specific linguistic practices (ways of speaking, reading, and writing) come to be inculcated with legitimacy and authority, as "legitimate language" (Bourdieu 1991); secondly, the ways in which schools function as spaces for selecting and categorizing students and the ways in which schools function in assessing student performance (including linguistic performance) and providing credentials that are ultimately tied to positioning within the world of work.

More recent work in this vein by Martin Rojo (2010), in Spain, has drawn attention to the role that schools play in regulating access to different kinds of language-in-education programs (e.g. prestigious Spanish–English bilingual programs versus remedial, compensatory programs in Spanish as a second language for newcomers to Spain), thereby regulating access to different forms of symbolic capital. Drawing on detailed ethnographic and discourse-analytic work in different schools and classrooms in Madrid, and focusing on the mundane routines of school and classroom life, Martin Rojo has shown how opportunities to gain access to prestigious bilingual education programs are curtailed for young people on the margins of contemporary Spanish society who are acquiring Spanish as a second language.

The work of Bourdieu (1991) has proved to be of particular relevance in pursuing these lines of theory-building, particularly his notions of "symbolic capital" and "legitimate language." Bourdieu has provided us with one of the most comprehensively theorized accounts of the processes involved in the (re)production of legitimate language and of the role of schooling in these processes.

Nevertheless, there are some weaknesses in Bourdieu's model of cultural reproduction. These lie in his focus on symbolic domination and in the bleakness of his vision. For Bourdieu, symbolic power saturates consciousness and remains uncontested. However, as researchers doing critical ethnographic and discourse-analytic research in multilingual classrooms have argued, the imposition of language-in-education policies in the classroom is primarily accomplished in and through interaction. The institutional order is always indeterminate, since it is interactionally constructed. There are always possibilities for exercising agency and for challenging and even modifying the institutional and social order. At the same time, it is clearly not possible to argue that the practices of teachers and learners in schools are completely unconstrained. It is necessary to see teachers and learners as being socially positioned and, at the same time, showing agency, in navigating the constraints of language policies in particular school and classroom sites.

Choosing Contexts

As I briefly indicated in the section above, critical discourse-analytic research in multilingual classrooms has been carried out in diverse political and historical contexts. It has also been based in a wide range of institutional contexts. Thus far, schools have been the most favored research sites (including public and private schools), but there has also been some research in other sectors of education (e.g. in university programs or in vocational education courses). In addition, research has been based in local community contexts (e.g. in heritage language classes and complementary schools). Since the dynamics of classroom interaction in these other learning environments tend to be rather different from those encountered in the context of formal schooling, choosing one of these "other" contexts involves opening up new windows on the ways in which language policies are appropriated, navigated, or contested by teachers and students in their classroom conversations.

Discourse-analytic research in classrooms has also focused attention on the diverse ways in which particular language-in-education program "models" (e.g. dual language immersion, transitional bilingual education) are actually "translated" into everyday communicative practices. Research in this area has contributed to the unpacking of discourses about uniformity in the appropriation of particular "models." Thus, for example, a study by de Mejía (1998) was one of the first to focus on bilingual talk in the context of immersion education. From the time when immersion programs were first introduced in Canada in the mid-twentieth century, the dominant discourse about such programs had been one about sole use of the "target language." De Mejía's study focused on an English immersion program at primary level in Colombia. Her detailed account of the subtle and nuanced ways in which the teachers in this program used Spanish and English in different classroom activities finally lifted the veil on communicative practices in immersion settings.

Developing Research Questions: Designing a Research Project

The starting point for any study of language policy processes which includes close analysis of multilingual interactional practices in classrooms is thus with a particular policy context, with a particular policy issue being debated (in the press or online) in that context and/or with a particular language-in-education program. In designing and conducting the research, the aim is to provide an in-depth account of the policy processes at work in classrooms in that context. The research can take the form of a single case study (e.g. of one class) or, alternatively, an element of contrast can be built into the research design. If more than one class is included (or more than one teacher within the same class), then similarities and differences in the multilingual discourse practices can be explored. Comparison and contrast can throw particular practices into sharp relief. However, it is also important to note that each time a new class is added to the design of a research project, the potential for building in-depth understanding is reduced.

Following on from the brief genealogy of this field of inquiry presented above, I am assuming that any contemporary project involving the close study of multilingual classroom discourse will be multi-layered in nature and will therefore combine analysis of classroom discourse with ethnography. In designing a multi-layered project of this nature and in developing research questions, Johnson's (2009, 141) proposal for reconceptualizing language policy "implementation" as three interlinked processes – policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation – provides useful pointers. The research design and research questions would need to encompass each of these processes: the questions about policy creation would focus on the actual production of a policy text, the social actors involved, the discourses drawn upon in the processes of text production and the institutional context in which the process unfolds. The questions about policy interpretation and appropriation would relate to the research to be conducted in the local educational sites selected for the study – either at the meso-level of research with local educational practitioners, teacher educators, and program administrators or at the micro-level of research with teachers and students in local classrooms.

What teachers do in classrooms in particular policy contexts – how they draw on the linguistic resources in their communicative repertoires as they interact with students in the daily cycles of classroom life – depends on their understanding of the policy (or program "model"), their views of it, and their broader ideologies of language (as well as on classroom conditions, pedagogical considerations, the nature and content of the texts being talked about, and so on). So, research questions relating to teachers' and students' understanding, views, and language values need to be incorporated into the design of any classroom-based research, along with research questions about the nature and significance of the actual interactional practices.

Research questions about the multilingual discourse practices of teachers and students will, in the first instance, be questions of a descriptive nature (e.g. "how" questions). They will focus on the specific ways in which different participants draw on the linguistic and semiotic resources in their communicative repertoires in the ebb and flow of classroom communication. Where comparison and contrast is

built in to the research design, there will also be a question about similarities and differences (e.g. across classes, across different types of classroom-based activities, across different areas of the curriculum) and about the extent to which such similarities and differences occur. In research of a critical nature, there will always be a "why" question as well: one that anticipates the building of an explanatory account and one that signals the researcher's intention to probe the wider social and ideological significance of the classroom-based practices observed, interpreted, and analyzed.

In all contemporary research of a qualitative and ethnographic nature, research questions have become the essential building blocks of a research design. Yet, once formulated, they are not fixed or "set in stone." As Sunderland (2010, 10) points out, they chart out "an initial direction" and function "like a compass point whose needle is swinging." As the research proceeds, the questions can be refined and new ones can also be added, as new insights emerge.

Researchers have different reasons for undertaking empirical work. Some researchers start out from the research literature and, with a view to making an original contribution to language policy research, they identify particular gaps in the research or particular questions that remain unanswered. Others replicate a particular line of investigation into multilingual classroom discourse in a new policy context. Yet other researchers take particular local policy issues or local circumstances (e.g. the launch of a new policy or educational program) as their starting point. Researchers may be educational practitioners who have some familiarity with and/or prior engagement with local policy issues. They are positioned in different ways vis-à-vis these issues, particularly if they are known to the teachers they intend to work with (see the chapter by Lin, this volume, on researcher positionality). Their research plans may involve close research collaboration with practitioners, before, during, and after the research project. As Angel Lin shows in her chapter, underpinning such choices in the planning of research, and in the planning of future strategies for research dissemination and knowledge exchange, are different views about research and about issues such as who should be "positioned as the subject of knowing." Certainly, the formulation of the research questions that we build into our research designs is guided by the nature of the researcher–researched relationships that we intend to enter into, as well as by our own knowledge of the "state of the art" in the research field in which we are working.

Field work and the researcher–researched relationship

All classroom-based research of an ethnographic nature involves extended engagement with research participants – teachers and students. So, from the outset, it is vital to get the researcher–researched relationship onto a footing that is ethical, dialogic, and collaborative. Developing this relationship involves ongoing negotiation and commitment from the moment of gaining access to a particular classroom (or classrooms) up to and including the final stages of data interpretation and analysis. The process of building relationships in the field also needs to be as reflexive as possible. Researchers need to be aware of how they are positioning participants as they carry out the research, how they are, in turn, being positioned and how these positionings shape the knowledge-building process. Chimbutane (2012) and Jaffe (2012)

provide particularly good illustrations of reflexive practice in their research in two different multilingual settings. Since the main goal of classroom-based research of a discourse-analytic and ethnographic nature is to interpret and analyze the situated language and literacy practices of research participants in ways that take account of their perspectives, a good deal hinges on the nature of the researcher–researched relationship and on the rapport established.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

Table 9.1 provides an example of how the design of empirical work, with a significant classroom-based component, could take account of the three interrelated policy processes outlined by Johnson (2009): policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation. The table also draws together, in diagrammatic form, some of the lines of thinking about research design and about the development of research questions introduced above. The table should *not* be read as a template for research design but, rather, as a heuristic device for project planning. It does not aim to be comprehensive – it simply points to different possibilities or issues that need to be considered.

From here onwards, my focus will be on the elements in the second and third rows of Table 9.1, that is, with the rows that relate to policy interpretation and appropriation by teachers and students, in particular classroom settings. I begin with data collection and key aspects of classroom-based fieldwork and then I will move on to discuss aspects of data interpretation and analysis, ending with reference to one example of recent research.

Data collection

Column 3 (data-collection methods), row 3 (policy appropriation) of Table 9.1 lists some examples of data-collection methods that could be incorporated into the design of a classroom-based project, depending on the research questions guiding the study. In addition to decisions about the adoption of particular methods, there are decisions about how, when, and how long each of the methods will be employed. Some of these decisions will need to be taken in consultation with the teacher(s) in the study. These decisions will include: when and how often classroom observation should be carried out; how long it should continue before audio-recording; what should be recorded (which classes, which activities etc.); what role the researcher should assume in the class during observations (e.g. whether this should be full participation in classroom activities or a more detached role such as that of observer); whether or not it is appropriate to include video-recording and how much video-recording is necessary; how field notes will be taken and used; which teaching materials to gather; how and when to carry out interviews with teachers and/or students and whether these should be one-off or consecutive interviews. Decisions also need to be made about the nature and scope of other forms of data collection (e.g. the gathering of textual or visual data related to aspects of the linguistic landscape in the educational institution(s) where the research is being carried out).

Table 9.1 Designing a research project around the tripartite set of policy processes: creation, interpretation, and appropriation: an illustration.

Policy process	*Type of research questions*	*Data-collection methods (& researcher diary throughout)*	*Ethical considerations/ research positionings*	*Types of data generated*	*Data interpretation & analysis (& triangulation with different data sets)*
Policy creation	***Questions about*** Production of policy text(s) Social actors involved Discourses drawn upon Institutional context	Archival research Gathering of documents Elite interviews Participant observation (where possible) Field notes	Ethical considerations and reflection on the positionings of the researcher and the researched – in all aspects of the empirical work (face-to-face and online)	Policy documents Transcripts of interviews Field notes	Historical analysis Nexus analysis Critical discourse analysis
Policy interpretation	***Questions about*** Understandings of the policy and different language ideologies among social actors involved, e.g. local education practitioners, program administrators, teachers, students	Interviews with different social actors Participant observation (where possible) Field notes		Transcripts of interviews Field notes	Thematic analysis Narrative analysis
Policy appropriation	***Questions about*** The multilingual discourse practices in one or more classrooms	Audio- and/or video-recording of classroom interaction Gathering of teaching materials Participant observation (essential) Still photography, documenting the linguistic landscape in the classroom, and beyond		Transcripts of different episodes of classroom interaction Field notes Copies of teaching materials	Classroom discourse analysis (critical approach, making links with analysis of processes policy creation and interpretation) Multimodal analysis

While the fieldwork is unfolding, first drafts of transcripts of multilingual discourse, in different teaching/learning activities, need to be produced, so that these can be discussed with research participants, along with the audio- or video-recordings. In this way, researchers can check their initial interpretations of the data with participants, while the particular classroom episodes are still fairly fresh in their minds. The transcription of audio-recorded data is a time-consuming process, particularly in the case of multilingual classroom interaction, since it involves translation as well as transcription of classroom talk. On average, researchers set aside 10 hours of transcription time for each hour of audio-recorded classroom talk. Moreover, if the languages being used in the classroom have different writing systems, there are decisions to be made about whether to use the different systems in the transcription or to opt for transliteration (e.g. the use of a standard Romanized orthography). Different transcription and transliteration strategies may be used for different audiences and readerships. Reflexivity is also needed at the transcription stage, since there are issues of interpretation and representation involved (for a discussion of these issues, see Jenks 2011).

Data interpretation and analysis

There are different "ways in" to the interpretation and analysis of qualitative and ethnographic data. Researchers adopt different approaches. Some begin the process with a close reading of their field notes or interview transcripts. This can be a way of identifying possible analytic categories. It also allows for a reflexive check on: (1) the subjective "ways of seeing" embodied in the field notes; and (2) particular researcher/researched positionings occurring at different points in the interviews. Others begin with reading and making an initial interpretation of transcripts of classroom discourse, sometimes selecting one or two episodes that are flagged up in the field notes as being of particular relevance to the research question(s).

In interpreting and analyzing transcripts of classroom talk, some researchers adopt a bottom-up approach and others a top-down approach (Erickson 2004). Those opting for a bottom-up approach examine the whole of a transcript, working with different units of analysis (e.g. turns at talk), with a view to answering the question: "What kinds of practices recur here?" Other researchers (e.g. Erickson 2004, 491) work top-down, "parsing" a corpus of data looking for different kinds of talk and then, once distinct patterns have been identified, they drill down into particular extracts to take a closer look, working "from whole to part and then down again and again."

With regard to research into multilingual discourse practices, in different policy contexts, the key aims – at a first stage of data analysis – are: (1) to identify the kinds of talk going on in different activities in the particular classrooms; (2) to identify ways in which different languages are drawn upon by teachers and/or students to engage in these different kinds of talk; (3) to ascertain whether particular patterns of switching between languages carry additional meanings or index worlds beyond the classroom or wider language ideologies; (4) to find out whether there is any explicit talk about languages that indexes particular language ideologies.

In constructing a line of analysis, a particular analytic construct can sometimes help to illuminate the significance of a particular kind of interactional or discursive practice. A rich range of analytic constructs has already been developed within the

interpretive traditions in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (outlined in the brief genealogy above). Examples of particular constructs that have already been used in studies of multilingual classroom interaction include:

1 *The classic model of turn-taking in teacher-led classroom talk, first applied to the study of bilingual classroom talk by Mehan (1981).* This model focuses attention on the sequential structuring of classroom interaction and on exchanges involving teacher initiations, student responses, and teacher evaluations of student responses (the so-called Initiation, Response, Evaluation – IRE exchanges).
2 *Goffman's (1981) use of an extended theatrical metaphor to capture the interactional dynamics of face-to-face interaction, including the idea of "staging" ritual performances.* Classroom-based researchers (e.g. Arthur 1996; Cincotta-Segi 2011a) have used this metaphor to distinguish between languages that are assigned a "backstage" role in the classroom and those that are used "on stage," in "doing the lesson."
3 *The concept of "contextualization cue," first formulated by Gumperz (1982).* In Gumperz's later work, contextualization cues were seen as one of the main means by which participants negotiate their way through an interaction, making situated inferences about what is going on, signaling how the contributions are to be understood, or evaluating contributions by others. Gumperz saw switching between languages as one type of contextualization cue, along with other types of cue such as changes in intonation, use of gestures, or facial expressions.
4 Different theoretical perspectives on the uses of texts (e.g. textbooks) in classrooms. These perspectives that have been developed by scholars of literacy education (e.g. De Castell, Luke, and Luke 1989) and focus attention on discourse practices such as teacher mediation of texts and "talking the text" versus talking about it.

Once a detailed description of the patterning of multilingual classroom talk has been developed, along with an account of the nature of the situated meaning-making unfolding in a class, it is then possible to move to a second, critical stage of interpretation and analysis, to broader questions such as: "Why are the recurring patterns of different kinds of talk the way they are?" "What do these practices tell us about the ways in which the teachers and students in these classes are appropriating the language-in-education policy adopted in their particular program, school, region, or country?" "What are the implications of these practices for different research participants – students, teachers, parents?" "Where there are differences across schools and classrooms, does this point to alternative ways of appropriating language-in-education policy?"

Case Study

Cincotta-Segi (2011a, 2011b) carried out a study of multilingual classroom discourse in three primary classrooms in Northern Laos, in a region where a minority language – Kmhmu – was widely spoken. In this study, Cincotta-Segi combined

detailed analysis of classroom talk, in Lao and in Kmhmu, with an ethnographic account of the diverse ways in which national language policy, which privileges the Lao language and script, was interpreted and actually appropriated at different policymaking levels. These levels ranged from the Ministry of Education in the capital city to local administrators and then local village schools and classrooms. The students in the classrooms included in Cincotta-Segi's study were being introduced to literacy in Lao.

In her empirical work in these classrooms, she showed, with meticulous attention to interactional detail, how the three teachers varied in the extent to which they used Lao. According to Cincotta-Segi (2011a, 198), the first teacher used Lao most of the time. She only used Kmhmu as a "backstage" language, "to support the 'on-stage' 'scripted' work of content teaching and learning" in Lao. The second teacher, made extensive use of Kmhmu to talk about and mediate the content of Lao texts, to translate key concepts, and to encourage and support student participation. The third teacher only used Lao for routine aspects of reading instruction, such as reading aloud extracts from the textbook and pronouncing letter labels. Kmhmu was used for all other communicative purposes. There was active student engagement and participation in this teacher's class, but there was little use of Kmhmu to mediate the content of the Lao reading texts.

Cincotta-Segi (2011b) then took a closer look at the transcripts of talk in the second teacher's class and provided detailed insights into his uses of Lao and Kmhmu. She showed how he employed Lao for key tasks (e.g. for introducing lesson content) thereby framing the activity as being in the official language, while much of the actual discussion of lesson content took place in Kmhmu. In particular, Kmhmu was used to do "text scaffolding" and to provide "oral annotation" of texts. Procedural utterances, directives, and classroom-management utterances were mostly in Lao, ensuring that a Lao ethos was maintained in the class, while Kmhmu was the main resource for teaching and learning.

Highlighting the key role of teachers such as these in shaping local processes of policy appropriation, Cincotta-Segi (2011b) states: "despite a lack of training and despite – or perhaps because of – difficult conditions, such as L2 medium of instruction, which constrain them severely, teachers devise their own creative and sometimes sophisticated responses to the needs of their students." Alongside her own account of the teachers' practices, Cincotta-Segi (2011b, 2013) brings the voices and views of the teachers into her research narrative, showing how they described the challenges of working in Lao and how they explained their own classroom discourse practices.

Concluding Comments

Lines of data analysis such as those sketched above lead, inevitably, to reflections on the implications for language-in-education policies. Within the tradition of critical discourse-analytic and ethnographic research in different policy contexts, there has been an ongoing concern with ways in which researchers can contribute to change and to working toward what Pennycook (2001, 8) has termed "preferred

futures." Detailed classroom-based research of the type I have described in this chapter can point to ways in which "implementational and ideological spaces for multilingual education" can be opened up, following Hornberger and Johnson's (2007, 511) vision. When research is conducted in close collaboration with educational practitioners and where there is commitment to researcher–practitioner dialogue, there is potential for working for change. Classroom-based research involving discourse analysis and ethnography is well suited to the goals of fostering researcher–practitioner dialogue and collaboration since it involves reflexivity and extended engagement with research participants across the lifespan of a research project.

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10 Applying Corpus Linguistics to Language Policy

Shannon Fitzsimmons-Doolan

Introduction

Though, historically, linguists and scholars of language have often taken the approach of compiling language and studying the fruits of their assembly (see Francis 1992 for an exploration of pre-computer corpora), corpus linguistics essentially took its modern form with the development of personal computers and complementary software (Flowerdew 2012; McCarthy and O'Keefe 2010). Corpus linguistics data, stored in a *corpus*, is generally defined as a body of naturally occurring texts that is (a) representative of a specified type of language; (b) relatively large in terms of word count; and (c) machine-readable[1] (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998; Flowerdew 2012; McEnery and Hardie 2012; McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006). Corpus linguistics studies are those that analyze corpus linguistics data by applying both quantitative and qualitative techniques to the analysis of textual patterns using computers[2] (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998; Flowerdew 2012; McEnery and Hardie 2012).

A corpus linguistics approach offers reliable ways to study (a) how language is used descriptively as opposed to how language is thought to be used; (b) patterns associated with language variation; and (c) the identification of ideologies encoded in political texts – all important concerns for scholars of language policy and planning (LPP). This chapter will discuss areas of overlap between corpus linguistics and LPP and will introduce important steps for using corpus linguistics approaches to conduct an LPP study; however, an overview of corpus linguistics and a complete

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consideration of methodological issues are beyond the scope of this chapter. A reader looking for more nuanced treatment of these subjects will find the resources recommended for further reading helpful.

Developing Research Questions

A researcher developing a corpus linguistics LPP study will want to keep the following in mind. Research questions using corpus linguistics methods are answered by analysis of linguistic data. However, as Mautner (2009) notes, while focused on linguistic data, corpus linguistics research questions may be driven by pursuit of phenomena at the social–linguistic interface (e.g. questions about how social constructs are encoded in texts can be addressed by corpus-based analysis of linguistic patterns). In addition, corpus linguistics research questions tend to be observational – i.e. descriptive rather than experimental (Gilquin and Gries 2009). Though corpus linguistic approaches are being applied to an increasing number of areas of linguistic study at a brisk pace (Baker 2009, 2010), strikingly few LPP studies have used corpus linguistics approaches to date. Some relatively common focal areas for corpus linguistics are related to LPP studies, however. Therefore, in this section, example corpus linguistics research questions in areas of interest to LPP scholars as well as suggestions for future research questions will be presented.

Important areas of study for corpus linguists include informing the development of dictionaries and grammars and, more recently, language tests. For example, Hanks (2010) reports collaborating with Ken Church to ask, *How is the use of the word* greenhouse *changing over time in terms of both frequency and association?*[3] using corpus linguistics approaches. Corpus linguistics approaches have been used to develop well-known grammars including the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999) and the *Cambridge Grammar of English* (Carter and McCarthy 2006). These grammars were developed by asking questions such as *What are the distributional patterns of x?* where *x* is a linguistic feature like complement clauses (Biber et al. 1999). Biber (2006) presents the development, analysis, and interpretation of the T2K-SWAL corpus of language used in university settings, the results of which were used to support alignment between language in use and the language of the TOEFL test (Flowerdew 2012). Research questions that guided the T2K-SWAL project included, *What are the linguistic characteristics and related functions of language registers encountered by university students?* (Biber 2006). Thus, corpus linguistics research overlaps with LPP research – particularly corpus standardization activities – by exploring how instruments of linguistic standardization (Wright 2004) can accurately and precisely represent systematic variation in language as it is used.

Political language is another area of overlap between corpus linguistics and LPP. Ädel (2010) highlights four genres of political discourse that have been profitably studied by corpus linguists: political speeches, parliamentary debates, political press conferences, and news reports. For example, Baker (2004) used corpus linguistics approaches (i.e. keywords, concordances, and collocations) to analyze oppositional

stances in British parliamentary discourse. He asked, *What are the main lexical differences in oppositional stances to legislation shifting the age of sexual consent for gay men to 16?* and *How are discourses of homosexuality constructed by British lords?* Baker was then able to analyze (quantitatively and qualitatively) language features such as keywords in corpora of oppositional stances and collocates of particular lexical items to answer these questions. Future research questions focusing on language policy and planning discourses using corpus linguistics approaches might build on corpus linguistics studies investigating linguistic features of register. For example, based on Lo Bianco's (2008) division of policy activities as (a) "*textual* (laws, reports, authorisations)," (b) "*discursive* (speeches, radio debates)," and (c) "*public performance* of behaviours that powerful individuals or institutions hold up as models to be followed" (2008, 157), I asked, *Is there variation in the language ideologies expressed in Arizona Department of Education language policy texts attributable to language management register?* (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2011). As this example shows, identifying registers in LPP discourse and analyzing them for constructs such as ideological orientation and language features present could be productive for future research.

Finally, corpus linguistics approaches are increasingly being combined with other methodologies (e.g. appraisal analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and psycholinguistics) resulting in research questions that can be addressed with mixed methods (Gales 2009; Gilquin and Gries 2009; Mautner 2009). For example, Gales (2009) combined corpus linguistics and appraisal analysis to ask, "*Is there prejudice or bias in US immigration laws? If so, from where do those negative ideologies arise? And, finally, what does 'diversity' actually mean in the context of US immigration?*" (2009, 223). In a study combining corpus linguistics and CDA, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) asked, *What are the frequent topics of or issues discussed in, news articles relating to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM)?* and *What attitudes toward RASIM emerge from the body of UK newspapers seen as a whole?*[4] Studies combining these perspectives might ask a research question common in CDA research, but use quantitative corpus linguistics analysis to identify the corpus data on which to focus a qualitative, CDA discourse analysis. The combination of corpus linguistics and CDA approaches seems especially fruitful for LPP studies seeking to make claims about larger bodies of policy discourse or policy documents using linguistic and contextual variables.

Choosing Contexts

One major contextual factor affecting decisions to be made is the language of the corpus under study. If using a pre-existing corpus, there is a limited, though increasing, set of corpora that are available in languages other than English relative to the corpora available in English (Lee 2010). Therefore, if studying a language other than English, it is likely that a scholar would have to build their own corpus (known as a DIY – do it yourself – corpus). Furthermore, analysis may be affected by the language of the corpus. Corpus analysis is in many ways dependent upon the software

tools available to the analyst (e.g. WordSmith) – these are the packages through which analysts carry out corpus linguistics.[5] Not all corpus software tools can analyze non-Romance alphabets.[6] Therefore, researchers wishing to analyze corpora of texts in languages other than English are advised to make sure that software accommodating the language of the corpus can do the analyses specified by the research question of interest.

A second contextual issue follows from the development of DIY corpora (which LPP researchers might likely find themselves constructing for reasons presented in the following section). If one is creating one's own corpus, one must find the data somewhere. The availability of texts in an electronic format makes the Web an attractive source for researchers developing their own corpora (McEnery and Hardie 2012). As McEnery and Hardie note, however, this data source presents several notes of caution for the researcher. The first involves copyright. Since many Web-based texts are under copyright, the researcher must make sure that their intended use does not violate any copyright laws. Specifically, they need to be careful not to sell or redistribute texts unless permission to do so has been obtained. In addition, it needs to be noted that the Web is quite heterogeneous in terms of register. So, unless the sampling frame (for corpus development) takes this into account, the corpus itself might be quite heterogeneous with respect to register and associated linguistic variables (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2014).

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

This section will explore the process of how to conduct a corpus-based LPP study, once a research question has been developed. The first step in such a process will most likely be the construction of a corpus. Although several available corpora exist, for the most part, such corpora were built to represent a broad language variety (e.g. the Brown Corpus) or an alternative, narrow research question, and would be suitable for only a small subset of possible LPP research questions. Therefore, some space will be devoted to discussing existing corpora and selecting among them, but much more will be devoted to concerns and steps in building a DIY corpus to answer a specific research question. Next, steps and concerns related to both the initial quantitative and secondary qualitative steps in corpus linguistics investigations will be presented.

Generally speaking, corpus linguistics studies involve the following steps: (a) develop research questions; (b) identify or build a corpus; (c) determine analytical techniques for addressing the research question/s based on the corpus; (d) conduct the quantitative analysis; (e) conduct the qualitative analysis.

Choosing a corpus

It is possible that a corpus already exists to suit your research questions. For example, existing corpora constructed to represent a regional variety of a language might be useful for corpus-planning scholars identifying areas for linguistic development.

(See the discussion of Nigerian English in Banjo 1996.) Using a ready-made corpus will save a tremendous amount of time and effort, but a corpus study is only as good as the fit between the research questions and corpus (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006). Therefore, an existing corpus should only be used if it will provide results that are valid with respect to the research questions, and a researcher will want to spend considerable time learning about the development of the corpus as well as the nature of the texts that make up an existing corpus.

There are many resources that discuss available corpora. To explore this option, interested researchers can consult Biber et al. (1998, 281–284), Lee (2010), or McEnery et al. (2006, 59–70). These sources describe various ready-made corpora in terms of their development and accessibility. One centralized location to explore might be Corpus.BYU.edu – a website developed by Mark Davies from which a researcher can search any one of seven online corpora using several analytical tools. Besides corpora available to explore online, it is also possible to purchase licenses for and download some corpora. For example, possibly of interest to LPP scholars, the International Corpus of English (ICE) currently consists of 12 comparable subcorpora of English from different nations around the world (Canada, East Africa, Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and the United States) with 12 more still under development. The 12 available subcorpora can be obtained for free for academic use from the project website http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm.

Building a corpus

A researcher would want to build their own corpus for a study if the research question required a body of texts that was representative of a variety of language for which there was not an existing corpus. For example, to address the research questions in Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) (e.g. *What are the frequent topics of, or issues discussed in [British] news articles relating to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants?*), one would need a corpus of news articles from the UK that were related to the topics of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants. In this case, the researchers did create their own corpora to conduct their study.

The next step in building a corpus is to create a sampling system so that the corpus is representative and balanced with respect to the population (language variety) specified in the research questions. For DIY corpora, representativeness means that the corpus captures the variations in linguistic features that characterize the language type being represented (McEnery et al. 2006). In many cases, representativeness can be achieved by including the entire population of texts in the corpus. For example, in Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2011), which asked *Is there variation in the language ideologies expressed in Arizona Department of Education (ADE) language policy texts attributable to language management register?*, all language policy texts posted on the ADE website were retrieved for analysis in a comprehensive corpus. If a comprehensive corpus is very small, a researcher will want to make sure that the linguistic features of interest are present in sufficient numbers for analysis. A corpus is balanced (and more representative) if a variety of text types are included in the corpus (McEnery et al. 2006). There is no universal measure of representativeness (or balance). Rather, judgments of the quality of these characteristics of a given

corpus are subjective, dependent upon clear descriptions of the design process, and relative to the research question. In any case, one needs to make sure that one can systematically collect a sample (if not population) of texts that are representative of the language specified by the research question. This is, in many cases, a logistical issue for which there are several practical considerations.

The practical considerations include the ability of the researcher to systematically identify texts which suit the sampling criteria and then to convert the texts into an electronic form that can be read by corpus linguistics software tools. Regarding identifying texts, it is helpful if there is a systematic interface (such as a library database) that the researcher can use. From the identified texts, the researcher could then capture all or a random subset to include in the corpus. A researcher might also apply an inclusion/exclusion protocol to the identified texts to determine which texts are ultimately included in the corpus. For example, researchers might exclude texts shorter than a minimal size or only include texts that contained a set of predetermined content words. Once captured, it is important to convert the texts to a format that can be read by the corpus linguistics software that will be used in the analysis.[7] Common software types used presently in corpus linguistics analyses are WordSmith, AntConc, MonoConc, and Xaira (Anthony 2009; McEnery and Hardie 2012).[8] As previously mentioned, unicode is a text language that can accommodate several alphabet types *and* is used by many software packages. Thus, converting text files to unicode is advisable. This can be done by saving the captured text in a "text document" file and saving the file as plain text with unicode encoding.

Once a system is devised for identifying and capturing texts, a plan must be made for storing the texts. For example, researchers need to decide whether they will store the texts in one big file or whether they will create one file per corpus text (e.g. newspaper article) and store those files in a folder. In general, corpus linguistics software programs provide quantitative analysis of a feature (e.g. a word, a phrase) per file. So, if all of the texts in the corpus are stored in one file, all analyses of a feature (e.g. a word) would describe the distribution of that word in the corpus as a whole, not the distribution of the word per text in the corpus. For example, if the entire corpus is stored in one file, a frequency count of a word would indicate the number of times that word appears in the entire corpus. On the other hand, if each text in the corpus were stored in a separate file, a frequency count for a word would return the number of occurrences of that word *per text* in the corpus. Depending on the research question, then, the researcher might want to store the texts in separate files. During the capturing and storing of texts, one will want to be careful to include salient information for each text in the header for that text. The header appears before each text in the corpus and can contain the text title, date of retrieval, location of retrieval, as well as register and other situational information (Reppen 2010).

In addition to the header, the researcher will need to decide if any further annotation is required to address the research question. For example, scholars using corpus linguistics approaches to describe language grammars may annotate their corpora to provide grammatical information for each word in the corpus (Biber et al. 1998). They do this using taggers or other supplementary programs. Tagging a corpus would involve locating a tagger, applying it to the corpus, and checking the results for precision and accuracy.

Analyzing a corpus

Once the corpus has been constructed, analysis can begin. The most common corpus linguistics analysis techniques are wordlists, keyword analysis, collocation analysis, and concordance searches – though many more techniques exist and are used for more subtle linguistic analyses. Wordlists or word frequency lists are quite straightforward and tell the researcher all of the words used in the corpus and list those words by frequency of occurrence.

Keyword analysis is also based on word frequency, but is a comparative measure. Keyword analysis juxtaposes two wordlists with each other – one from a relatively small corpus of interest and one from a much larger, more general reference corpus. A statistical comparison between the two wordlists produces a list of keywords – words that are unexpectedly common – in the corpus of interest, with numerical measures of *keyness* (the unexpected commonness) (Scott and Tribble 2006). The keywords tell an analyst what the corpus is about and, if the reference corpus and the corpus of interest are close enough in genre and topic, the keywords can be used to reveal ideologies (Stubbs 1996).

Collocation and concordance analyses look at words or phrases in context. Collocation analysis is the study of the co-occurrence of words within a given window of language (the window size can be specified by the researcher). For example, *statistically* is a frequent collocate of *significant* and *significant* is a frequent collocate of *statistically* in the British National Corpus (Hunston 2001). Concordances show the linguistic context of words or phrases of interest in the corpus. Concordances are used in qualitative analysis to understand what the quantitative patterns identified by wordlists, keyword analysis, and collocation lists mean in terms of function. In addition to these four common techniques, many types of statistical analyses such as descriptive statistics, log likelihood tests (for keyword analysis), ANOVAs, factor analyses, and cluster analyses are commonly used to explore quantitative results (McEnery and Hardie 2012). As with all statistical analyses, when using such tests, a researcher must be very careful that the linguistic data – which often follow unusual distribution patterns – meet the assumptions of the particular test in use.

When determining which of the above analytical techniques to use, the researcher has many considerations. Of course, as with all research, one must make sure that the analytical technique is compatible with the research question. That is, when applied to the data in question (the corpus), will the application of a given technique provide answers to the specified research questions? In this sense, the corpus development and precise application of the analytical techniques matter and should be thoroughly reported in any resulting publication (McEnery et al. 2006). The software to be used for corpus analysis is yet another consideration. The more common concordancers – as basic corpus linguistics software packages are known (e.g. WordSmith, MonoConc, and AntConc) – are able to carry out the more common techniques (McEnery and Hardie 2012). If less common techniques are planned, the researcher would want to make sure that she has access to software that performs such techniques.

After quantitative analyses are performed (e.g. features are counted and perhaps counts are compared), the researcher performs qualitative analysis. This is done so that the researcher can make meaning of the results of the qualitative analysis (Biber et al. 1998). This qualitative analysis usually involves examination of concordance

lines, but such lines can always be expanded so that the researcher can examine an entire text file. Particular qualitative techniques are not specified in the corpus linguistics tradition.

Case Study

The case study presented here will highlight choices and issues discussed more abstractly in the previous sections. In conducting this case study, I used corpus linguistics approaches to address a language policy research question. The study was published in full in the journal *Language Policy* (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2009). For this study, I was interested in the relationship between how people talk about language policies and how people talk about immigration, suspecting that there would be similarities. I limited the source of that "talk" to newspaper articles from two cities in Arizona.

Following the steps above, my first task was to create appropriate research questions. They were

- How much do the sets of keywords from two corpora of Arizona newspaper articles focusing on the topic of language policies (i.e. Official English and language in education policies) overlap with the set of keywords from two corpora of Arizona articles that focus on the topic of immigration?
- What keyness scores do keywords related to language in education policies have in corpora related to immigration?
- What keyness scores do keywords related to immigration have in Official English and language in education corpora? (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2009, 384)

The research questions reflect the corpus linguistics approach of using linguistic data as the source for analysis and are centered upon an LLP concern of the discursive relationship between language policy and immigration policy.

As there were no existing sets of newspaper corpora from Arizona cities which focused on the topics of language policy and immigration, I had to construct my own DIY corpora. In order to meet the criterion of representativeness, I chose to include all newspaper articles from the major newspapers published in the Arizona cities in question (Tucson and Phoenix) that met my inclusion criteria for a given time period. I used a library database to search the newspapers using specified search terms, and used a protocol to determine if articles would be included in the study corpora. Approximately 10% of the articles were also reviewed by an interrater and the interrater reliability was reported in the study. I copied and pasted the newspaper texts into large text files which could be read by the software I was planning on using, WordSmith (Scott 2004). For each topic corpus (there were four), I stored all texts (newspaper articles) in the same file. This was because I didn't need specified counts of any linguistic features per article to address my research questions. Rather, I needed counts per corpus. The header for each text included the document number, the article headline, the newspaper section from which it was retrieved, the newspaper from which it was retrieved, the date of publication, the

author, and the estimated printed pages. Recall that keyword analysis requires a reference corpus much larger than the topical corpus (or corpora) of interest. For my reference corpus, I was able to use an existing corpus of articles from the *San Jose Journal* that was several times the size of the four topical corpora that I constructed.

To address the research questions completely, I made use of all four common corpus-analysis techniques described earlier: wordlists, keyword analysis, collocate analysis, and concordance searches:

1 I created wordlists for each of the five corpora being used. I did this using the wordlist feature in WordSmith and saved each output file. This is a necessary step in keyword analysis and I did not actually analyze these lists.
2 Then, four keyword analyses were run using each of the four topical corpora that I developed which I ran against the reference corpus. This resulted in four keyword lists reporting the most "key" words in each of the topical corpora as well as *keyness* scores.
3 I compared the words in these lists to answer my first research question.
4 Finally, *keyness* scores were compared across lists to address my second research question.

These were my quantitative analyses. The results indicated very little keyword overlap between the language policy and immigration policy corpora. For example, only 6% of the top 100 keywords overlapped across the corpora. I used the results of these analyses to guide my qualitative analysis.

For the qualitative analysis, concordance searches were used to qualitatively investigate how the words that were most key in the immigration corpora and the words that were most key in the language policies corpora were used in the language policies corpora. So, for example, *English*, *language*, and *Spanish* were the most "key" words in the language policies corpora. In looking at patterns in the concordances of *Spanish* (achieved by entering *Spanish* into the concordance search box when the language policies corpora were loaded into WordSmith), I noticed a pattern in which *Spanish* was often preceded by a qualifier (e.g. *some*, *more*, *no*) or a verb that had a limiting effect semantically (e.g. *banning*, *refrain*, *prohibit*). Therefore, I concluded that, in the language policies corpora, *Spanish* was often framed as an entity to be limited. Using collocation analysis tools, I observed that *illegal* was the most common collocate of *immigrants* and *immigration* in the language policy corpora. This was also the case in the immigration corpora. So, I concluded that immigrants were framed in similar, negative ways in both sets of topical corpora, but because of the keyness data, I was able to qualify that observation by noting that those negative ways were relatively non-prominent in the language policies corpora (e.g. *immigration/immigrants* were only slightly, if at all, key in the language policies corpora). In sum, I used several analytical techniques together to address my research questions which, as Gilquin and Gries (2009) note, corpus linguistic studies often do.

Corpus linguistics provides exciting methodological possibilities for those studying LPP. There is clear overlap in topics studied thus far by corpus linguists and LPP scholars (e.g. dictionary, grammar, and test development as well as political language). Furthermore, the increasing trend to combine corpus linguistics approaches with others (e.g. CDA) makes it an exceptionally powerful tool.

Notes

1 It should be noted here that the term *corpus* as a body of texts for study in corpus linguistics clearly differs from its use in the field of language policy and planning, where it is part of the term corpus planning – overt attempts to manage language itself.
2 It should also be noted that some studies report the investigation of corpora but do not use corpus linguistics analysis techniques. Examples of such studies asking language policy and planning questions include Kaplan and Baldauf (2005) and Del Valle and Villa (2006).
3 The research questions presented in this section are often not directly stated in the referenced publications. Rather, the author has rephrased statements such as "study goals" as the research questions that are presented here.
4 Much has been written on the possibilities for combining corpus linguistics approaches with CDA. Interested readers should consult: Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Mautner 2009.
5 Unless the researcher has access to computer-programming resources.
6 This problem is improving, however, with increasing use of the unicode system which can accommodate non-Romance alphabets (Anthony 2009; McEnery and Hardie 2012).
7 Considerations for choosing corpus linguistics software will be presented below in the analysis section.
8 If a researcher's interest in corpus linguistics increases, they may also want to consider learning/using computer-programming skills to write functions to perform corpus analyses in lieu of software.

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11 The Economics of Language Policy: An Introduction to Evaluation Work

François Grin and François Vaillancourt

Introduction

This chapter presents some of the main empirical methods used by economists who since the 1970s have contributed to the elaboration of language policies. This specific focus is the result of the theme of this book; it is more restrictive than discussions on the economics of language or the economics of language policy evaluation. Furthermore, this leads us to emphasize practice-oriented research using quantitative data, in which economists have addressed questions such as: "How much does it cost to make a unilingual education system bilingual?" or "Do actors really benefit from having second-language skills, and if so, how much?" We thus do not discuss epistemological issues, nor do we debate the role of economists in this process. Readers interested in a more conceptual introduction to the economics of language and language planning can find it in other contributions by Vaillancourt (1983), Grin (2003), Grin, Sfreddo, and Vaillancourt (2010), or Grin and Vaillancourt (2011). Owing to limitations of space, the detail of the statistical procedures applied is not presented. Nevertheless, this chapter, by describing, as it were, some of the nuts and bolts of the techniques used in language economics, is intended to make contributions in this area clear and accessible to a broad readership of scholars approaching language issues from other angles – primarily sociolinguistics or other specialties in applied linguistics.

The way in which the information is presented is not the only possible one. It has been designed in order to fit into the structure of this volume and can be mapped onto other typologies available in the literature.

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It is important to stress two points. First, this chapter is not an overview or a survey of language economics; it is an introduction to some useful practical tools and methods. We have therefore mainly drawn on our own published or currently ongoing work, spanning over 30 years of research in this field. Second, what matters here is not so much the actual figures presented (for example, on the rate of return to second-language skills or the actual costs of such and such a policy) as the explanation of how they are arrived at, and what they exactly mean. One implication is that we have selected examples not because they constitute the most recent results on one question or another, but because they are best suited to explaining methodological points.

Developing Research Questions

Language economics can be used in the study of a wide range of issues pertaining to very different policy problems, including the effective and cost-effective protection and promotion of minority languages, the teaching of national languages and/or languages of wider communication in education systems, the choice of language regimes for international or supra-national organizations, and the integration of immigrants. However, no matter what research questions we consider, they need to be structured in a certain way if we are to address the issues at hand in an economic perspective or connect language processes with economic processes. Putting it another way, it is important to note that economics (like other disciplines) approaches the world in a specific way; this also applies to economic work on language policy and planning. It follows that research questions have to be developed in a certain way, resting on essential concepts which we present here. We shall present the concepts of "counterfactual," "marginalism," and "aggregation"; we also describe, in this section, the type of data needed to address research questions in an economic perspective.

The first of these concepts is that of *counterfactual*. The counterfactual is not something that is contrary to the facts, but a point of reference, an alternative, or, more specifically, "that against which the object of study is being assessed." For example, if we want to estimate the cost of using five languages for communication in a public or private sector organization, we must say what the alternative would be: using three languages? Or using only one language – and then, *which* language? Note that the counterfactual may be hypothetical, and in the case of the *ex-post* evaluation of a policy (that is, after it has been implemented), it always is, since it refers to "what would have happened if the policy had *not* been adopted and implemented."

The second key concept used here is that of *marginalism*, which is used in constructs such as "marginal cost" and "marginal benefit." The principle of marginalism may itself be seen as an application of the logic of the counterfactual, because it refers to an incremental change to an existing situation. For example, how should we assess a program aimed at helping immigrants with Turkish as first language (L1) living in Germany to improve their fluency in German (L2)? The standard economic answer is to start by estimating the benefits associated with accessing each level of

competence; here we could use a standard, six-point scale from A1 to C2, in a representative sample of Turkish-speaking immigrants, controlling for the likely impact of other variables.[1] The benefits taken into account may be of any kind (financial or symbolic), but in practice, the emphasis is placed on labor income (or "earnings"), while equally relevant non-financial benefits usually have to be omitted for lack of suitable data. The value of mastering German at B1 level, then, is given by the earnings differentials between people with a B1 level and people with an A2 level; likewise, the value of reaching C2-level skills is denoted by the difference between the earnings of people who have achieved this C2 level and those who have a C1. These earnings differentials (which are sometimes called "rates of return," even if this term, technically, is not correct in this case), reflect the advantage, "at the margin," that Turkish speakers reap from their increased competence in German.

Thirdly, policy evaluation often requires *aggregating figures*. Using the example above, figures on language-based earnings differentials can be used to assess the aggregate value of the German language learning program aimed at Turkish-speaking immigrants. Suppose that the program has been estimated, on the basis of a first study, to increase competence by one level on the six-level competence scale, all other things being equal *and* on average (some learners do better, others do worse). In order to estimate the expected benefits of the program as a whole, we multiply these earnings differentials by the number of people in each competence category, *plus* those who had less than an A1 level (but whose skills are *on average* brought up to an A1 level), *minus* those who already had a C2 and do not stand to make further gains in linguistic competence – or at least, no gains that would have a statistically noticeable impact on their earnings. This total can be projected over the number of years during which the persons targeted by the program are expected, given the age structure of the sample, to be on the labor market. Further adjustments are required to take account of the fact that some people are in paid employment full-time, others part-time, and others not at all. Finally, the resulting aggregate figure needs to be *actualized or discounted*, that is, corrected downwards in order to take account into the fact that benefits accruing in a distant future are worth less than those appearing right away.

The resulting aggregate represents the value of the program; it captures only its financial impacts, but if information on the potential symbolic benefits is also available, and if it can be converted into a monetary estimate, the latter can be added to the aggregate present value. The total so obtained can then be compared with the cost of the program (assumed, for simplicity, to be of a one-off type at the beginning of the period). If the benefits are higher than the cost, this constitutes – from a policy analysis standpoint – a conceptually robust basis for recommending the adoption and implementation of the policy unless other programs have a higher benefit–cost ratio.[2]

Fourthly, economic analysis aims to have general validity and to apply beyond idiosyncratic cases. Thus, it requires "RAD" data; they must be *representative* in the statistical sense, in *adequate* numbers, and sufficiently *detailed*. The notion that "competence in language X among staff is useful for business" must rest on more than a small clutch of observations (insightful as the latter might be), hence the importance of databases with an adequate number of representative observations. When the latter are available in sufficient numbers, it becomes possible to move from simple, descriptive statistics (such as a sample mean and standard deviation) to inferential statistics

allowing the exploration of relations between variables. When they come along with a plausible explanation, such relationships may be interpreted in terms of causal links.

In statistical inference, however, it is rarely enough to consider only two variables (for example, respondents' foreign language skills on the one hand, and their labor income on the other hand). It is, of course, very plausible that a person's earnings are influenced by her foreign language skills as shown by mean or median earnings by language skills. At the same time, earnings are not influenced by foreign language skills only, and economists will normally seek, data permitting, to carry out a multivariate analysis in order to take account of several determinants of earnings jointly.

For lack of space, it is not possible here to present these methods in detail, and basic familiarity with the principles of multivariate analysis such as, but not restricted to, ordinary least squares (OLS) regression is assumed; readers who want to a refresher will find the necessary tools in any introductory econometrics textbook (see e.g. Gujarati 2008).

Choosing Contexts

The notion of "context," in economics, is rarely discussed at great length, but it is of paramount importance. To explain this, let us recall that economics is, at heart, about comparing options and making better-informed choices. We hinted at this in the preceding section, when presenting the concept of "counterfactual," but we can go one step further here.

Economic analysis focuses on the "efficient" (that is, targeted, non-wasteful) use of scarce resources. When resources are scarce, it is important to use them well. This applies to an individual with given a weekly wage, a household with a monthly budget, a company whose turnover must cover its production costs and (in principle) generate a profit, or a government whose tax revenue must cover public expenditure. If resources were *not* scarce, there would be no reason for economics to exist. But they are, and the problem of scarcity and how to deal with it is central to human experience (Becker 1976). Therefore, "context" in economics, *always* means a situation in which we are confronted with scarcity, and have to make the best use of our scarce resources to achieve our goals.

Note that both the resources and goals are not necessarily financial or material – both can also be of a non-material or symbolic nature, and the problem at hand remains an economic one. For example, when deciding how many languages (and *which* specific languages) to retain as official in the internal operations of an international organization (because resources are limited, it is often assumed that restricting the number of languages used in the organization is sensible), there are symbolic implications to retaining language *X* but not language *Y*. These implications *are* part of the economic evaluation of alternative language regimes for the organization. Non-material aspects can be extremely important and have tangible consequences, as shown by the cognitive benefits of bi- or multilingualism in the executive control of complex tasks (Diamond 2012).

When choosing a context, therefore, the first thing to ascertain is whether the problem can be approached in terms of scarce resources and their optimal use. For

example, given a certain cost of acquiring a second language (learner time, teachers, money all are scarce resources), what are its benefits (material as well as non-material)? The *general* context, therefore, is of one scarcity, and the nature and magnitude of the costs and benefits concerned will depend on the *specifics* of the context: learning English is generally costlier, all other things being equal, for a native speaker of Japanese than for a native speaker of French; the benefits of knowing English *as a foreign language* in, say, Germany, will usually be higher for someone whose work entails regular contact with trading partners in overseas countries than for someone working in local retail. Similarly, given the fact that communication within an international organization needs to be achieved somehow, is it more *efficient* to officialize one language only (whether English, Esperanto, or Klingon) and get every member of the organization to learn it (which is costly), or to retain several official languages within the organization, increasing translation and interpreting costs, but reducing the necessary language-learning costs? There again, the *general* context is one of scarcity, while the nature and magnitude of benefits and costs will depend on the *specific* context – for example, the language needs of an organization such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), whose members are the United States, Mexico, and Canada, are different from those of the United Nations with its 193 member states (as of early 2015).

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

Let us now turn to measurements and applications. Because it would not be possible, in this brief chapter, to provide an exhaustive review of the main tools in the trade, we focus on some of its most established ones and on the associated data collection and analysis.

For this purpose, we begin by presenting, in Table 11.1, bivariate and multivariate estimates of the impact of language skills on the earnings of residents of Quebec for 1970 and 2005 – the earliest and latest years for which such results are available. This line of work is amongst the longest-established in language economics, yet it remains representative of numerous studies for Quebec, Canada, and the United States using census or large-scale survey data. We present results for men, since the variation in returns to language skills tends to be greater for them than for women, and thus more interesting for illustrative purposes. Economists generally prefer to use earnings rather than occupation or indicators of socio-economic achievement as a measure of socio-economic status.

Let us now briefly explain how to read this table. The *gross* figures represent *average* earnings differences (in percentages) between groups of persons with different language attributes. They show some convergence between anglophones and francophones over the 1970–2005 period. The *net* impacts of language skills are different from the gross impacts both in value and, sometimes, in sign. The most striking case is that of unilingual anglophones in 2005, where the positive 25% gross impact turns out to be, once control variables are taken into account, a negative net impact of –8%, which represents a total difference of 33 percentage points. But one also finds that the premium for bilingualism is much smaller and sometimes non-existent when net rather than gross impacts are used.

Economists argue that gross differentials are not very useful in establishing the status of a language or changes in it since both the level and the changes in the

gross (from one linguistic profile to another) earnings differentials may not reflect returns to language skills as such. Differentials could be explained by other traits, such as differences or changes in the education or experience of individuals with these language skills. This is why economists set greater store by the *net* impact of language skills, that is, the net earnings differentials, which can be computed using multivariate analysis. The methodology used to obtain them is in general as follows:

- RAD data must be secured for the variables of interest. They may be obtained from public use samples from censuses (Canada, including Quebec) or survey data (Quebec, United States, Israel, Germany, Switzerland, Australia).
- More or less narrow samples are analyzed, normally focusing on people in the usual working age range (20–65), and sometimes restricted to men only as above.
- Ordinary least squares ("OLS") regressions are used to estimate the link between a dependent variable (usually, the natural logarithm of labor income) and a set of independent variables.
- The set of independent (or "explanatory") variables used as control variables typically includes age, education, experience and its square,[3] and weeks worked (if the sample is not restricted to full-time workers or if no other adjustment has been made to convert part-time incomes into full-time equivalents). This corresponds to the standard specification of Mincerian equations, named after the economist Jacob Mincer (1974). They were initially developed to evaluate the rates of return to schooling. Additional controls such as marital status, region of residence, type of employment, etc. are also commonly used, depending on the availability of data.
- The key independent variables, however, are the respondents' linguistic attributes, including their first language (or mother tongue, or L1) and their second or foreign language skills. OLS regressions provide estimates of the coefficients expressing the contribution of each independent variable to the value of the dependent variable. (Lewis-Beck 1993).

One difficulty with public data sets often is the lack of detailed information on language skills. In the work reported in Table 11.1, a "0–1" definition of bilingualism is used ("not bilingual" v. "bilingual"). This results in a loss of precision, as shown, by contrast, by the figures in Table 11.2, which refers to the case of Switzerland. In the Swiss study quoted here (Grin, 1999), more detailed survey data enable us to take a closer look at the effect of different *levels* of language skills. If we had, in this case, used a "0–1" definition of bilinguals (with 1 for those with excellent or good language skills and 0 otherwise), then the bilingualism coefficient would have failed to capture some relevant effects, such as the fact that an improvement from "basic" to "good" skills yields little gain (5%) while an improvement from "good" to "excellent" yields more than twice the returns (12%) of the first improvement.

While multivariate analysis has mainly been used to examine the impact of language skills on earnings (with well over 300 journal articles, chapters of books, monographs, and reports recorded as of late 2014), it has other uses, such as the study of the determinants of language acquisition or the use of language in the workplace and in consumption activities, which cannot be further discussed here (see, however, Grin et al. 2010).

Table 11.1 Gross and net yearly earnings differences in %, Quebec, men, 1970 and 2005, seven sets of language skills.

Type of difference	*Gross (mean)*		*Net (marginal)*	
	1970	*2005*	*1970*	*2005*
Language group ↓				
Unilingual anglophones	59.	25.	10.1	–8.2
Bilingual anglophones	74.	36.	17.0	ns
Unilingual francophones (reference group)	–	–	–	–
Bilingual francophones	43.4	34.0	12.6	4.8
Anglophone allophones	25.8	–13	ns	–28.1
Francophone allophones	5.7	–28	ns	–31.7
Bilingual allophones	45.7	11.	6.0	–19.3

Source: Vaillancourt et al. 2013, tables 5 and 7.

Table 11.2 Gross and net impact of English-language skills on monthly earnings, Switzerland, men.*

	Gross	*Net*
Excellent	50	31
Good	29	19
Basic	16	14
None	–	

Source: Adapted from Grin 2001, 72, tables 1 and 2.
*All the results on Switzerland presented in this chapter rest on a sample of 2,400 adult respondents, collected in 1994/95, reflecting the actual distribution by gender, age, and language region. No similarly detailed sample has been collected in the country since then.

Case Study

As a case study exemplifying economic reasoning applied to language policy, we consider the case of Canada, with an evaluation of the costs and benefits of the Official Languages Act (OLA).

Coche and Vaillancourt (2009) estimate the marginal costs and benefits of providing services as a result of the OLA. English being the majority, and hence default language in Canada, the cost of the OLA is generally understood as the cost of

providing services in French. The counterfactual, therefore, is a unilingual federal government with English as the sole official federal language. The methodologically key points are how to define the target group of the policy and how to measure costs and benefits.

Policy target group

There are two possible definitions of francophones. One definition of francophones encompasses individuals with either knowledge of French only or knowledge of both French and English, but with French as their mother tongue. This first definition is based on language preference or identification. A second definition of francophones is the population with knowledge of French only; it is based on a notion of strict necessity.

The choice of a definition is not without political implications, since using the first yields, with respect to the provision of public services, a minimum cost difference between anglophones and francophones and a maximum benefit for francophones; using the second yields a maximum cost difference and a minimum benefit for francophones. Why? Because as the number of francophones increases, on one hand, the value per francophone of a given total flow of services decreases (because the denominator is larger) while on the other hand, multiplying a given per-unit cost difference by a larger number of francophones increases the difference in total cost.

Costs

The availability of cost information is, of course, highly country-dependent. In the case of Canada used here as an example, it is found in official documents, mainly the public accounts of Canada, which record amounts actually spent, as distinct from amounts budgeted. For some items, such as interpreting and translation, the published figures can be used directly. For others, such as the cost of the French-language arm of the public Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, we must establish the marginal cost of this body, since in its absence the English arm would provide services in Quebec in English.

The marginal cost of a specific service is established as follows, under the assumption of constant marginal costs:

- Calculate the *cost per individual* for the anglophones by dividing the total cost of offering the service to anglophones by the anglophone population of Canada: this yields a unit cost per anglophone.
- Calculate the *notional total cost* of providing the service to francophones at the unit cost of anglophones. To do this, one multiplies the per-anglophone unit cost by the number of francophones in Canada; this yields a notional cost for all francophones.
- Subtract this notional total cost from the observed or estimated total cost for services to francophones; this yields the *supplementary cost* of the services in French provided to francophones, which captures the true cost of operating bilingually instead of unilingually.

Finally, we must account for items that can be neither captured directly, such as translation, nor measurable as a marginal cost, such as minority-language provision. These additional items of cost are often embedded in general departmental spending. This is the case, for example, of the additional costs of printing reports in two languages as opposed to just one, and the reduced productivity (because of the necessary time expenditure) that may occur if some department personnel undergo mandatory language training (the assumption being that if this training were optional, the civil servants concerned would choose not to enroll). Some miscommunication errors and slowdowns may also arise as a result of the use of two languages as opposed to one; however, this would occur only in actual bilingual situations, not in all working environments of the federal civil service. All this makes the estimation work more complex.

How can one get a handle on these two unobservable costs? The approach used by Coche and Vaillancourt (2009) is a *top-down subtractive* one as opposed to the *bottom-up additive* one used above for the direct and marginal costs. They establish the total federal budget, remove from it items unlikely to be affected by the OLA and obtain a remaining amount. For example, interest payments or pension payments do not have OLA-related costs. They conclude that professional and special services are the category where extra OLA spending is embedded and that this should be accounted for with a 5% share of those costs.[4]

Benefits

The same authors also examine the benefits derived from the provision of services by the Canadian federal government in two official languages. This examination leads them to reject two measures sometimes used in the literature. These are:

- estimates of the size of the language industry, which are inappropriate since the question is "what are the benefits to society of providing bilingual services?", not "what are the resources spent to generate these benefits?"[5]
- Increases in the exports of goods and services and thus in GDP, employment, and so on. This would be relevant only if the policy specifically targeted areas linked to exports such as, for example, the training of individuals in a language used in export-related activities. Given the areas covered by the OLA, which include parliamentary debates, artistic creation, and criminal courts, this approach would not be relevant for Canada. Provincial higher education policies are the key determinants of export-related language skills.

The fundamental benefit of the OLA is that it allows francophones to access federal government services in French. What is the value of such benefits? One could ask the beneficiaries how much they would be willing to pay for these services, but information about "willingness to pay" is not available, and collecting it is notoriously difficult.[6] Let us instead assume that federal government services are offered only in English. If this happened, presumably, there would be a reduction in the demand for some federal government services by unilingual and bilingual francophones. But for many federal government services used by francophones, either as private citizen or as an employee/employer, such as interacting with the Canada Revenue Agency or

obtaining a passport, such a drop in demand for federal services is not feasible. One can therefore imagine the three following ways to continue using these services:

- An informal supply of services in French by federal civil servants who speak French. They would, for example, help tax fillers or applicants for passports fill out the various forms. This would take them away from their other duties and impose a cost on the federal government if general service standards were maintained, because more time and thus more employees would then be required, mainly in French-speaking Quebec.
- A supply of English knowledge by bilingual family or friends of unilingual francophones. This would require expenditure in time by private unilingual francophone citizens.
- A supply of French by privately hired professional interpreters and translators. This would require monetary expenditure by private unilingual francophone citizens.

What are the plausible costs of these three possible responses to an English unilingualism policy? This depends on the product of the multiplication of the following terms:

- The number of users, which will depend on the target population.
- The number of hours per user of interaction with the provider of the services.
- The unit costs of an hour of interaction with each type of provider.
- The mix of providers used.

Canada numbers 4 million unilingual francophones, which we multiply by 10 hours times ((.33 × the wage of civil servants + (.33 × implicit wage of friends and family) + (.33 × wage of interpreters and translators)), as detailed in Coche and Vaillancourt (2009).

The target population could be increased by 3.3 million to account for bilingual francophones. The total number of hours this entails for civil servants could, however, be reduced if one takes into account the fact that they would have interacted with the unilingual francophones in English anyway.

The whole exercise yields the information provided in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3 Summary of results on the costs and benefits of the Official Languages Act, Canada, 2006.

Observable costs M$ (1)	1139
Induced costs M$ (2)	440
Total costs M$ (3) = (1) + (2)	1579
Benefits strict necessity M$ (4)	640
Benefits preference for French M$ (5)	1170
Cost of OLA as % of public (program) spending (6)	1
Cost of OLA as % of GDP (7)	0.15
Cost of OLA per francophone (MT) (8) $	230
Cost of OLA per Canadian (9) $	55

Source: Coche and Vaillancourt 2009: (1) mean of the two totals, table 4, p. 29; (2) text, p. 31; (4), (5) text, pp. 42–43; (6), (7), (9) text, p 31; (8) calculations using (9) and share of francophones of 24%.

Let us insist that the foregoing is but one example, among many possible ones, of the type of economic analysis that can be brought to bear on language policies. At the time of writing, applications of language economics to the selection, design, and evaluation of language policies are gaining importance, particularly as societies are confronted with new challenges that carry major linguistic implications. The set of processes often subsumed under the label of "globalization" is obviously a strong driver of demand for such analyses, which serve to strengthen the information base required to address a wide range of problems. These include (and are not restricted to) the need to:

1 Manage mobility on ever more interconnected labor markets with distinct linguistic features, and equip citizens with a broad range of language skills, while ensuring easy access to such skills and preventing them from creating new patterns of social exclusion.
2 Manage linguistic diversity as such, which requires particular attention to be devoted to the protection and promotion of small languages, which are still disappearing at an alarming rate.
3 Balance the roles of major languages against one another, internationally and locally, with a particular concern for avoiding a centripetal drift toward the exclusive use, in a wide range of domains, of a single LWC (language of wider communication – the term *lingua franca* being, in this context, improperly used), and bearing in mind that creativity and innovation apparently benefit from the possibility of analyzing and processing problems through different languages.

The issues at hand are socially important and analytically difficult. They can only be properly handled by adopting a suitably interdisciplinary perspective. Since its emergence in the 1960s (Raynauld, Marion, and Béland 1966), empirical language economics has been increasingly drawing on other disciplines, in particular the sociology of language and sociolinguistics, lending it what we see as a necessary – and commendable – interdisciplinary awareness. Interdisciplinary ventures need to be pursued and deepened for a better understanding of multilingualism in society, and we hope that the overview of tools provided in this chapter will inspire many readers to join in this enterprise.

Notes

1 The six-point scale referred to here (known as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*) is the internationally best-known system of its kind. It can be applied to any language, as distinct from the competence levels describing learners' progress in specific languages like English, French, or Spanish. It includes six levels of competence (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2), where A1 describes a very basic level and C2 a highly advanced one. Each level is approached through descriptors (now available in over 30 languages) for five types of skills (listening comprehension, speaking, oral interaction, reading, and writing). For a complete presentation and abundant materials, the reader is referred to http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre1_en.asp (accessed December 13, 2014).
2 To our knowledge, no rigorous evaluation of the non-financial or non-material benefits of language (one might also speak of symbolic benefits) has ever been undertaken. The most promising avenues for such an enterprise reside in the adaptation to language of evaluation techniques initially developed to assess the value of the natural environment (see Grin 1994).

3 The squared term provides a better statistical fit by allowing the estimation to take account of the progressive obsolescence of skills over a person's career, which generates a concave earnings function.
4 This 5% figure is derived from the work on the use of minority languages in education also presented in this chapter.
5 See Industry Canada, *Economic Assessment of the Canadian Language Industry*, http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/317799/publication.html.
6 There again, as suggested in note 2, the use of evaluation techniques imported from environmental economics may be particularly useful.

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12 Analyzing Language Policies in New Media

Helen Kelly-Holmes

Introduction

Media can be seen to carry out all functions of language policy and may have their own explicit language policies, implicit policies, or a mixture of both (Kelly-Holmes 2012). Traditional media are a relatively new domain for investigating language policy and planning, with the main focus to date being on the role of media in supporting status, acquisition, and corpus planning in relation to the revitalization of minoritized languages (e.g. Cormack and Hourigan 2007; Hult 2010). Digital technology and the development of new media have, however, taken control of media away from institutions more closely associated with traditional organs of language policy and planning, such as the state and educational institutions.

New media, and in particular the World Wide Web, are a non-traditional domain for the study of language policy and language planning. However, the World Wide Web is a major site of linguistic practice and, I would argue, policy, which remains, to a large extent, untouched by the normal tools of LPP. In theory, individuals, institutions, and corporations are free to do what they want in borderless cyberspace, paying little attention to the, generally, territorially anchored regulations of language policy and planning and associated institutions. What is interesting, however, is that in general such actors do not just do as they wish and do appear to be still guided by many of the same norms that are at play in offline contexts. New media enable the development of online speech communities, which, of necessity, incorporate not just practices, but also shared norms and beliefs in relation to those practices, following Spolsky's (2004) definition. The investigation of language

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policy in new media contexts thus contributes a new and important dimension to a comprehensive understanding of language policy and language planning as it focuses on non-traditional actors and non-traditional domains, which are generally free from established regulatory frameworks and national borders. In this chapter, we will look at how to investigate language policy in new media environments, highlighting a number of possible research directions, both on the "monologic" and "dialogic" Web.

Developing Research Questions

Because of the "unregulated" and "borderless" (although these attributes need to be used with caution) nature of the Web, there are relatively few explicit policies available for this domain for the researcher to interrogate. While certain corporate sites and social networking sites do have explicit policies, primarily in relation to the moderation of inappropriate language, and while official sites (e.g. maintained by local and national governments) are regulated by the same language policies that apply to them in offline contexts, the overwhelming focus of research into language policy on the Web needs to be on examining established and routinized practices as policy. We are therefore mainly looking at covert (Shohamy 2006) or implicit (Schiffman 1996 language policy.

National governments have traditionally been major agents of language policy in the modern era, attempting to fix languages to borders. Initially, national media tried to replicate this attempt to fix media borders along linguistic-political borderlines. However, as mentioned above, such borders do not exist, or are at least very hard to implement, in cyberspace. While one of the key characteristics of the World Wide Web is its disregard for national borders, there are still "countries" on the Web in the form of top-level domains (.uk, .fr, .cn) and, in general, national boundaries are relied on and reinforced. For example, most sites require information about the location of the user – and to an increasing extent this information is gathered automatically through recognition of the user's IP address – and then assign users to country-specific and linguistically localized sites. Thus, an important question in this context is whether – and to what extent – national/official/de jure language policies are replicated in cyberspace. And whose linguistic rights are respected and whose are not in the digital context that exists outside national borders? These issues are explored in the study outlined below.

The Web, which is constructed as an explicitly global medium, also provides an ideal domain in which to explore issues of language policy and globalization. The role of English has been a central theme in the language policy literature, with historical and contemporary studies documenting its role in former colonial contexts and as a global lingua franca (Ricento 2006; Wright 2005). Despite initial fears based on the origins of the Web that English would dominate this new space (Crystal 2001), the Web has turned out to be much more multilingual, mainly as a result of the convergence of certain technological, economic, and political factors. In relation to new media and online contexts, an obvious question to ask is what the role of English is in relation to online contexts and whether or not it is different to its role

in offline contexts. For example, Kachru's (1996) circles of Englishes provide a useful framework with which to frame and interpret the role of English on the Web. In addition to the role of English discussed above, can we observe policies emerging in relation to specific lingua francas? The study presented below is concerned with these issues.

Web 2.0, which allows for user-generated content to be uploaded in diverse locations, is characterized as a place of bottom-up practice, and thus provides an ideal space for studying bottom-up language policy and policing (Blommaert et al. 2009) by individuals and groups at the micro level of language policy. In such a context, how do groups regulate their own language practices online? Are there explicit policies imposed on them? Do they create explicit policies? In the absence of explicit policies, how do implicit policies (resulting from practice) emerge? How are these "policed" and monitored? For example, Lenihan (2013) reports on a long-term virtual ethnographic (see below) study of the Irish language translation community on Facebook and their policing and monitoring of their own language community, its practices and implicit as well as explicit policies, on the global social networking site.

Choosing Contexts

When dealing with a domain as vast and limitless as new media, the choice of contexts is equally vast. It can be useful to distinguish between two approaches to studying the Web to help with choosing contexts. Hine (2000) differentiates between the Web as interactive space and the Web as a repository of texts. The former refers to what could best be termed the dialogic Web, which creates spaces for social interaction and is premised on the idea of communication as dialogic, which may be synchronous and asynchronous. This is most obviously a site or a field in the traditional ethnographic sense (e.g. social networking sites; gaming sites; fan and club sites; special interest groups; eWom (electronic Word of mouth) and consumer sites; producer sites (in which consumers and producers collaborate to create products); blogs and micro-blogs; learning communities; eCommerce buying and selling; advice sites; support sites).

This context is the most obvious place to explore research questions in relation to bottom-up, implicit, or covert language policies, addressing in particular issues about how groups regulate their online language practices and how they create their own policies. For example, in a discussion of a video on YouTube, what language is used by the participants and how is this regulated? Is self-regulation involved, and how are deviations from standard practice moderated or commented on? This can be particularly interesting and insightful where video content refers to bilingual contexts and/or contains bilingual content.

The latter is concerned with the monologic Web: a repository of (often largely static) texts, such as individual homepages, corporate websites, certain blogs, news sites, search engines, gateway sites, and wiki sites. While there may be interaction and some dialogic communication, these are characterized primarily by monologic communication, and, as such, are closer to "old" or "traditional" media, which involve one-to-many communication.

The monologic Web, as a repository of texts, allows for the examination of research questions to do with top-down language policies and the extent to which offline national official and de jure policies are respected in cyberspace. So, when looking at the corporate or dot.com website of an organization, questions can be asked about the degree of linguistic localization, the degree of compliance with relevant local language legislation or de facto policy in cases where no legislation exists, and of course, about the role of English. This chapter is focused on the investigation of language policy in the monologic Web, particularly by corporations and institutions in their gateway sites. A gateway is "a service which provides a starting point for accessing the Internet. Internet service providers often provide a gateway which is their first point of access for the users and which offers a range of different forms and activities for users to try. Directories provided by search engines are also gateways" (Hine 2000). Corporations, institutions, governments, international agencies, and others all rely on gateway sites in order to filter users to their local site (localized in terms of language and/or content). For this reason, they provide a particularly useful context for examining language policy online. The gateway site shows evidence of how these bodies manage multilingualism, by managing their users and categorizing them in terms of language and location. They are therefore a key context for studying top-down policies in new media.

New media spaces also offer the opportunity to examine the interaction of both top-down and bottom-up policies. For example, Facebook and other social networking sites organize the multilingual space of the Web into different language sites – which provides a space for investigating top-down policies, by exploring questions in relation to compliance with offline language policy requirements – as well as providing a space for investigating bottom-up policies, by looking at how individuals regulate their own language practices and make implicit policies in the process (Lenihan 2013).

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

The investigation of language policy in new media environments requires a multi-methods approach. For the type of questions that are being addressed in this chapter and the contexts outlined above, virtual ethnography (Hine 2000) can be usefully combined with linguistic landscape analysis (Landry and Bourhis 1997) to produce a method that can be termed "virtual linguistic ethnography."

Virtual ethnography

Virtual ethnography, introduced by Hine (2000), is a useful tool for investigating language policy issues online by employing an ethnographic sensitivity that "makes explicit the taken-for-granted and often tacit ways in which people make sense of their lives" (Hine 2000, 5). While ethnography "traditionally relied on travel, experience and interaction" (Hine 2000, 44), ethnographic approaches to everyday life, institutions, and indeed the media are all well established. With the acknowledgment that computer-mediated communication is no less meaningful

than face-to-face communication and that it can create both transient and strong communities (Hine 2000, 18), the Web has also come to be a focus for ethnographic approaches. The concept of travel to a site, which is inherent in traditional ethnography, is particularly useful in Web-based ethnography, since the Web enables new forms of mobility and "travel," which result from the compression of time and space which digital technology permits. Virtual ethnography can be seen as a "variant of traditional ethno-methodological techniques, utilizing a spectrum of observational and other qualitative methods to examine the ways in which meaning is constructed in online environments and gleans much of its analytical framework from derivations of conversation analysis" (Cavanagh 1999, 1). Acknowledging the limitations of the virtual world, Hine and others promote an ethnographic approach or the adoption of an ethnographic sensitivity to exploit "ways in which ethnographic perspectives can be adapted to cast light on the construction of the Internet in use … and focus on the locally situated occasional character of Internet use" (Hine 2000, 5).

Virtual ethnography allows for a number of possible types of engagement with the site(s) being studied: surfing the Web; observing a particular site; and lurking, which involves more systematic and long-term engagement with the site, without participating openly. Lurking and observing can also involve the downloading or archiving of material and the gathering and storing of, for example, screenshots. The virtual ethnographer may then move on to active engagement and participation in the site. Ultimately, in a long-term study, the researcher may wish to reveal their identity and conduct interviews with the owners of the site and participants in/members of the site (Hine 2000). It is important to point out that it is not necessary to go through all these stages of engagement; the level of engagement should be determined by the research questions and purpose of the study. For our purposes, lurking/observing and downloading/archiving are generally sufficient in order to document language policy on the monologic Web, although interviews with site originators would enhance the data gathered (see below for discussion of ethical issues involved).

Virtual linguistic ethnography

Hine's approach is primarily aimed at investigating interaction in online communities, i.e. the dialogic Web. However, her model can be easily adapted and proves useful in studying implicit and covert language policy by looking at practice in gateway sites. Below is an adapted framework based on Hine (2000) for studying monologic sites:

1 First of all, the researcher must suspend what is taken for granted in using the Web. This can be particularly challenging, as its usage is so normalized in everyday life. However, it is crucial to render the Web remarkable and to become conscious of the process of using it. In relation to questions of language policy, for example, one could undertake a search of the Web for resources in a particular language.
2 Use fieldwork notes to record and document the accessing the site. As Hine points out, "Ethnographers might still start from a particular place, but would

be encouraged to follow connections which were made meaningful from that setting" (Hine 2000, 60). This involves logging and recording the linguistic journey to the site, and reflecting on whether or not it is possible to carry out this journey in one particular language or if another is required (e.g. a language such as English).

3 Audit the site and provide a full description of it. This involves recording all of the languages on the site, the language options available, and the extent of information available in all languages. This requires more than one visit to the site, and it is recommended that the researcher observe the site and any changes over an appropriate period of time. Consider the congruence between provision of country sites and languages; compare official or de facto language policies with provision for the relevant countries or regions; examine the functions of different languages on the sites – to what extent are some confined to "symbolic" or "token" functions and to what extent do they also carry out instrumental functions; establish which languages function as lingua francas.

4 Document and follow up on intertextual and hypertextual links – this enables the researcher to capture linguistic trajectories from/to the site through the Web. This is particularly interesting in the context of researching policies in relation to the provision of multilingualism. For example, in some localized country- or region-specific sites, the links from those sites lead to sites/pages in English or another lingua franca, or are not available, thus limiting how far one can "travel" in a particular language.

5 Adopt an ethnographic sensitivity to follow up leads which look interesting; the researcher should be prepared to go where the hyperlinks lead, since virtual ethnography is, by its nature, multi-sited. In relation to language policy research, the languages of hyperlinks and the content and sites to which they lead are a significant part of the ethnography. It is important to be flexible, since virtual ethnography works best as "an adaptive ethnography which sets out to suit itself to the conditions in which it finds itself" (Hine 2000, 65).

6 Record changes in language provision and content over time in order to track the emergence of language policies.

7 Document and research if necessary advertising on the site; investigate financing and ownership, and issues of language choice. For example, where is the organization headquartered, or where is the origin of the company or brand and what is the language policy in this location?

8 Take screenshots to document traversals. Lemke (2002) uses the concept of "traversal" to refer to unique viewing and engagement experiences on the Web. The concept is useful in helping one to recognize that every viewing experience is different and that a holistic account of a particular site is impossible. Instead, what can be said holds true for a particular view by a particular individual at a particular point in time and space. It is not stable or static and is constantly changing. So, rather than attempting to freeze the site in time and fight against its transience, the concept of traversal embraces it.

As we can see from the above framework, virtual linguistic ethnography relies also on linguistic landscape analysis of the site(s) under investigation. Linguistic landscape analysis involves assessing the visibility and importance of languages on public and

commercial signs in a given territory or region. The basis of such an approach for understanding covert and overt language policy and planning in a particular region or domain is the assumption that "the linguistic landscape serves an important informational and symbolic function as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory" (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Since it was introduced by Landry and Bourhis, linguistic landscape has been advanced by many scholars as a methodology for investigating language policy (Shohamy and Gorter 2009 and Gorter, Marten, and van Mensel 2011 for examples of studies). More recently, focus in linguistic landscape studies has moved to the Web (e.g. Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009; Kelly-Holmes 2006a, 2006b; Troyer 2012).

Data and ethical issues

A variety of data about the site can be gathered using a virtual ethnographic approach. For our purposes this would include:

- "Field" notes recording observations – these show the journey using the particular language and the languages encountered.
- Screenshots to show language provision and how languages are organized on the site.
- Records of changes in language provision, options, and content in the site.
- Site traffic and other statistics indicating where users are from and any sociolinguistic data about them.
- Multimodal data (aural, visual, textual, etc.).
- Secondary texts about the site, phenomenon (e.g. any official documents about the organization and/or its language policy).
- Links and trajectories and information about the languages encountered in these links/through these trajectories.

While there are complex ethical issues involved in using virtual ethnography to investigate interaction and online communities, the use of this adapted model for examining language policy on the monologic Web fortunately raises fewer concerns. Lurking in cyberspace is easier than observing in physical space, since access to online corporate and institutional sites does not need to be negotiated in the same way as it would if a researcher wanted access to an offline institutional or corporate site in order to examine language policy. Another major advantage of virtual ethnography for investigating language policy is that the "field" can be accessed whenever the researcher has time, not just when participants have time and are available. While the issue of ethics is more crucial for research on the dialogic Web, it is still important to keep it in mind when looking at monologic content and examining top-down policies, as in the current case (Buchanan 2004; Enyon, Fry, and Schroeder 2008).

A major challenge of this approach, however, is the sheer quantity of data that can be accumulated and the issue of archiving the data, which is linked to another challenge, namely the question of when to stop. This of course means that the researcher needs to be quite strict in terms of sticking to the research questions and deciding when s/he has sufficient information to answer the relevant question. This will help in deciding when to stop following links, which are potentially limitless; or deciding

on a cut-off point beyond which one will not observe the site. The research design can include a randomly or deliberately selected cut-off point (e.g. after 100 links have been followed or after 100 days of observation). Or the ethnographer may decide to observe for a length of time that is particularly relevant to language policy – for example the opening up of a new market or a new country link – and observe the changes that happen in this time. It is also important to note the ephemerality of the research and the fact that this is a snapshot when reporting the data or making conclusions. This links to another problem, which is inherent to the study of online environments and which is part of their nature, namely the issue of constant change. This is something which I frequently have to deal with (see case study below). Sites can disappear or can change completely in a very short space of time. Thus, a virtual ethnographic approach involves accepting that "understandings of the Internet are, at most, only locally (and temporally) stable phenomena" (Hine 2000, 147).

Case Study

De Swaan (2001) proposes a World Language System in order to explain the power and functions of different languages globally. I was interested to see if this system applied to the language policies of global brands on their gateway sites (Kelly-Holmes 2006a). De Swaan categorizes languages as supercentral, central, and peripheral. Supercentral languages are lingua francas having functions and significance beyond their national boundaries (e.g. Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili, Hindi) and/or being the national/official language of large populations and economically wealthy countries (e.g. Japanese, Chinese). Central languages are national/official languages of countries (e.g. Czech, Polish, Turkish, Urdu, Gujarati, Thai), while peripheral languages are languages that are primarily oral and do not have official functions – de Swaan gives the example of African tribal languages. Finally, de Swaan accords English the special status of hypercentral language, as the global lingua franca linking the entire system together.

In attempting to address these questions, the gateway sites of 10 global brands were investigated. The brands were all selected from the Business Week/Interbrand Corp "100 Top Brands" rankings for 2004 (Business Week 2004). In order to qualify for inclusion, the brand must "derive about a third of its earnings outside its home country" (Business Week 2004, 68) and, in their assessment of the value of various brands, Interbrand Corp includes "global reach" as one of the key criteria. This is defined as the brand's "ability to cross both geographical and cultural borders" (Business Week 2004, 68). Six of the brands were in US ownership, two brands were German, and there was one Finnish and one Japanese brand.

In total, 548 sites were looked at (from the 10 gateway sites to the national and regional sites), and they were examined using a virtual linguistic ethnographic approach, as outlined above. A number of hypotheses were developed in relation to the study and tested against the data collected from the sites:

1 Global brands opt for a policy of using the "hypercentral" language, namely English, to connect with all of their consumers across the globe.

2 Global brands use a policy of "supercentral" languages to connect to their consumers across the globe.
3 Because the Internet makes the multilingual production and dissemination of texts cheaper than in more traditional media, global brands will provide websites in all central languages of the countries they are targeting, complying as much as possible with local de jure and de facto policies as appropriate.
4 In countries with more than one official language, they could either opt for a policy of recognizing one language only, or they could provide multilingual sites in all of the country's central languages.
5 Given de Swaan's definition of peripheral languages as primarily oral, it would seem unlikely that these languages would figure in the language policies of corporate websites. (See Kelly-Holmes 2006a for a discussion of the findings.)

A number of challenges arose in carrying out this study, some of which were inherent to the nature of virtual ethnography. First of all, as outlined above, virtual ethnography is necessarily unstable and the researcher needs to be able to cope with an "unbounded" site – unlike traditional ethnographies – and the reality of constant change. In the course of this particular ethnography, I found no Arabic website for one global brand, namely McDonalds. Instead, McDonalds was offering a localized (in terms of information) English-language site to customers in some countries in which Arabic is the main official language (e.g. North African and Arabian Gulf countries). When I was submitting my article to a journal and wanted to verify the website addresses, I discovered that in the few months since the end of my ethnography, Arabic had been added to these sites. This is just one example of the uncertainty and volatility involved in virtual ethnography, which the researcher needs to manage. Also, it proved very difficult to access secondary documents about language policies for these large multinational brands. I created a short questionnaire asking about the language policy of the organization and also posing a few brief questions about the localization choices for different websites. I had only one response to my request, and that was from a brand which stated that in the interests of protecting corporate information from competitors, it could not help me with my study. It also proved necessary to use language identification software to verify certain languages with which the researcher was not familiar. A final challenge was the fact that for some websites, my location and original country/language choice were saved by the website and/or the search engine, so it proved extremely difficult to return to the global gateway site in order to replicate the search in different languages. It is worth noting that with increasing personalization on the Web, this difficulty has increased in the time since the original study, which I have replicated over the last few months.

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13 Historical-Structural Analysis

James W. Tollefson

Introduction

Historical-structural research in language policy and planning emerged in the 1990s as a reaction against fundamental assumptions implicit in many research studies in the 1960s and 1970s (Fishman 1974; Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta 1968; Rubin and Jernudd 1971). This early research, beginning in the mid-1960s and called the "neoclassical approach" (Tollefson 1991), "classical language planning" (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), or the "autonomous model" (Street 1994), focused on language policies of the nation-state, particularly national education ministries in the new multilingual states of the postcolonial period (e.g. Indonesia, India, Tanzania), in which state authorities faced decisions about the medium of instruction and official-language use, especially whether colonial languages should continue to be accorded privileged status in "high" domains (Ferguson 1959) such as education and government. Neoclassical research was characterized by the optimistic belief that state language policies provide a basis for sociocultural integration, societal "modernization," and economic "development" (Fishman et al. 1968).

Beginning in the 1990s, language policy research began to focus instead on power, inequality, and the impact of coercive policies on language learning and language use. Termed the "historical-structural approach" (Tollefson 1991) or the "ideological model" (Street 1994), this research was influenced by critical theory (Tollefson 2006), research on imperialism (Phillipson 1992), and particularly the case of South Africa, in which language planning was used to support the racist apartheid state.

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Whereas neoclassical research generally expressed an optimistic belief that language planning can benefit all social groups, historical-structural research examines the role of language planning in creating and sustaining systems of inequality. Based on growing evidence that language policies are an important mechanism for the unequal distribution of economic resources and political power (Tollefson 1991), researchers within the historical-structural approach began in the 1990s to investigate the role of language planning in processes of economic stratification and social "hierarchization" (see Rojo 2013).

In contrast to neoclassical research, which viewed individual language decisions as shaped by rational cost-benefit calculations, historical-structural research seeks to understand how individuals and groups are coerced into language acquisition, language loss, and patterns of language use by powerful external forces that control the processes of policymaking. As a result of this focus on power, inequality, and coercion, particular kinds of research questions emerge.

Developing Research Questions

Historical-structural research has the broad aim of discovering the historical and structural factors that lead to policies and plans that sustain systems of inequality. The term *historical-structural* refers to two sets of factors that are the focus of research questions. *Historical* factors may vary considerably from one context to another, but have in common attention to the (historical) sources of the unequal costs and benefits for patterns of language use and language learning that different groups experience, possible (historical) explanations for language planning processes, the composition of planning agencies and the interests they represent, and the effects of particular policies that emerge from planning processes (Tollefson 1991; also see Wiley 1998). For example, colonialism is a central factor in many postcolonial settings (e.g. Hong Kong, Kenya, Malaysia), where language status can be explained with reference to the history of colonial language policies, and in former colonizing states, where specific language issues are prominent due to historical factors associated with colonialism (e.g. the status of South Asian and Caribbean languages in the United Kingdom). In the United States and Canada, language policies can only be understood within the context of the historical conquest of the continent by European settlers and the associated effort to eradicate Native American languages. Examples of other historical processes within which language policies may be examined include globalization (related to the spread of English and to language loss worldwide); the rise of indigenous activists and politicians with political power at the national level (contributing to language revitalization in Bolivia, for example); and the international human rights movement (which underlies efforts to expand the use of minority languages in Europe and many other contexts). Research questions focus on how such historical processes are linked with language policies that contribute to (or undermine) language-related hierarchies.

Structural factors are conceptualized in different ways, depending on the ideological framework of the research and the researcher. In the most influential historical-structural research, the focus is on socio-economic class, with language policies

viewed as one mechanism by which class-based power and inequality are maintained. Other historical-structural research examines related factors such as race, ethnicity, and gender (Tollefson 2011), institutional forms and practices (Althusser 1971), the international division of labor (cf. Phillipson 1992), the political organization of decision-making, and the role of language in social policy (Forester 1985). These different emphases have in common attention to relations of power, by focusing on how structural factors contribute to language policies and practices that sustain social, economic, and political inequalities.

The concept of *power*, which refers to "the ability to achieve one's goals and to control events through intentional action" (Tollefson 1991, 9), is a central focus of historical-structural research. Dominant groups are those that are able to expand their range of options (such as educational and employment opportunities), whereas the options of dominated groups are constrained relative to others with whom they share social relations. Whereas much of the neoclassical research in language planning focused on individual choice and agency, a key characteristic of historical-structural research is its emphasis on the historical and structural factors affecting power relations that constrain individual choice.

Despite this common attention to power and inequality, historical-structural research varies in its conceptions of power. Research on *state power* examines the role of language in institutions of the state, including the military, police, and security forces. Research on *ideological power* focuses on the ability of dominant groups to project their linguistic practices as natural and commonsense. Research on *discursive power*, which refers to the ability of dominant groups to control discursive processes that are the basis for policies, is especially important in recent historical-structural research. Within all historical-structural research, power is viewed as inherent in all social relationships and institutions, with language policy viewed as a key arena for power struggles among social groups (especially classes).

Research questions that examine structural factors in language planning may focus on three areas. First, structural factors affect the composition and the decisions of language-planning agencies at all social levels (including state educational authorities, decision-makers in private and public institutions, and micro-level groups such as families, churches, and social organizations of all kinds). Historical-structural research may investigate how planning agents generally (though not exclusively; see Johnson 2011) serve the interests of dominant economic and political groups, and how actors may accommodate or resist plans and policies promulgated in top-down language planning (Pérez-Milans 2013). Second, research questions may examine how structural factors determine the system of costs and benefits that is central to the coercion that shapes the language behavior of individuals and groups. For example, why must some groups bear the costs of learning a new language in order to participate in school while other groups are exempt from such costs? Who benefits from unequal cost-benefit systems? Third, research questions may focus attention on how language policies affect the distribution of economic resources and political power. Which groups are the winners and losers when particular policies are adopted? In every context, this question is central to historical-structural analysis.

Research questions within historical-structural research often reverse traditional notions of cause and effect (or independent and dependent variables). For

example, whereas most research in second language acquisition views students' motivation, teachers' training or language ability, and curriculum and materials as causal variables that explain language learning, historical-structural research assumes that these are dependent variables which have been shaped by historical and structural factors. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002), for instance, argue that the school failure of many rural children in the Solomon Islands and their associated disillusionment with education is due not to their poor motivation or their parents' lack of support for schooling, but instead to the domination of Anglo-European educational models imported by state and foreign-aid agencies; Solomon Islands children and their parents reengage with schools when their education is based on indigenous epistemologies and ways of learning. In sum, important questions within historical-structural research are those that seek historical and structural explanations for language policies and other language-related phenomena.

Choosing Contexts

Appropriate contexts for historical-structural analysis include those in which historical and structural data are available or can be generated as part of the research. During the first decade of historical-structural research, the historical process of colonialism and its continuing consequences received particular attention. As a result, (post)colonial contexts have been widely studied (e.g. Rahman 2007). More recently, globalization has been the focus of research, particularly in the spread of English in Europe and East/Southeast Asia (e.g. David and Govindasamy 2007; Rojo 2013). A third context that has received somewhat less attention has been indigenous communities in Australia, New Zealand, North America, and elsewhere, where language loss and language shift have resulted from a range of powerful historical processes and policies (e.g. McCarty 2002, 2004). In such research, the relevant historical processes may be clear; the contribution of the research is the detailed analysis of how the historical processes affect language use, learning, and loss.

Contexts that have received less attention in research are those that are more difficult to define because the people involved are not associated with identifiable territories, such as nomadic groups (e.g. Tuareg in North Africa and Roma in Europe) and transnational labor migrants, or because the contexts are relatively inaccessible to researchers, such as rural areas in Papua New Guinea, elsewhere in the Pacific, and sub-Saharan Africa. Some contexts may have little historical or structural information available (e.g. rural areas of Indonesia), and thus historical-structural explanations for language phenomena may be difficult to develop. In addition, the traditional focus on state institutions and policies has generally meant that non-state actors, such as corporations and religious organizations, have received less research attention. Yet power and hierarchy are important in all contexts, and the recent attention to policies among non-state actors (e.g. Thomas 2008) shows that a broader range of contexts deserves researchers' focus.

A key issue in choosing contexts for historical-structural analysis is that central concepts (such as *power* and *hierarchy*) must be operationalized in a way that provides insight into the data. For example, in comparing classroom interaction in a Spanish-English bilingual program for Spanish-speakers and a Spanish-as-a-second-language program for immigrants, Rojo (2013) found that use of students' L1 (Spanish) is encouraged as a pedagogical resource in the bilingual program, whereas in the second-language program the L1 (Arabic and other languages) is discouraged as an impediment to learning. This finding is explained with reference to a concept of power operationalized as different forms of the teacher's participation in students' L1 interactions; these differences index power relationships in the programs.

Historical-structural research may include both macro- and micro-levels of data and analysis. Macro-level data include a range of phenomena such as ideologies implicit in policies and plans or rationales for them; links between language plans and economic development; deployment of economic resources (e.g. for minority-language medium-of-instruction programs); linguistic stratification of labor markets; and the effect of planning on the distribution of economic resources and political power. Micro-level analysis may focus on phenomena such as language use in classrooms and schools; the status and use of local varieties of English in particular sociolinguistic domains; language in curriculum, materials, and instruction; attitudes toward code-switching and other forms of creative language use; and intergenerational language use in families.

It is important to acknowledge that the distinction between "macro" and "micro" levels has been problematized in recent research, because most language phenomena should be understood as involving multiple levels. For example, classroom interaction is not only a micro phenomenon; it also may be analyzed as the daily living-out of (macro-level) policies that may have their origin in national education ministries. That is, meaning-making practices in classrooms must be tied to official curricular content and goals, to ideologies of language and teaching, to social structuration, and to the plural and hybrid linguistic practices of complex communities that may not be reflected in official policy and practice.

Unfortunately, the distinction between macro and micro research has led to a divide between a macro-level focus on nation-state planning, explicit policy statements, and large institutions on the one hand, and a micro-level focus on face-to-face interaction, local discursive processes, and issues of identity on the other. Different research methods characterize this division, with historical-structural research often used to explain macro-level phenomena and interactional sociolinguistics, for example, applied to micro-level phenomena. The explanatory power of theory and research methods in language planning and policy has been seriously constrained by this distinction. As a result, many scholars have called for research that examines data from multiple levels and offers theoretical explanations that are valid across levels (see e.g. Hornberger 2003; Jones and Martin-Jones 2004). For example, Johnson (2011) explores how critical discourse analysis can be integrated with ethnography to unpack the connections among multiple levels of policy activity, while Hult (2010) shows how discourse-analytic methods can reveal the complex, multi-level relationships between language policies and individual social action. In a recent example of research that integrates multi-level analysis, Pérez-Milans' (2013)

critical sociolinguistic ethnography of classrooms in Zhejiang Province in China links historical-structural factors with classroom data in order to understand how teachers and students construct social identities within the context of policy regulations and ideologies that are connected to global economic and political processes.

Despite such efforts, much of the current research continues to reflect the macro-micro distinction. Nevertheless, all historical-structural research is united in attention to power, in order to discover the role of language in social, political, and economic hierarchies, as well as possibilities for reducing language-related inequalities. Thus a continued focus on power and inequality, combined with increasing efforts to integrate multiple levels of analysis, is a promising direction for future research.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

The process of historical-structural research involves several steps that must be carried out successfully. The following list is in a typical order, although in practice the steps often occur simultaneously or recursively: (1) formulate research questions; (2) decide the scope and scale of the case, the data, and historical explanations; (3) decide research methods and sources of data (keeping triangulation in mind); (4) gather data; (5) analyze and interpret findings; (6) check results with participants; (7) revise analysis.

The wide range of topics that can be investigated using historical-structural research methods can make it difficult for beginning researchers to decide what to include in a research plan. One useful framework for organizing historical-structural research is depicted in Table 13.1. This framework adopts the traditional distinctions between the language-planning processes of status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989), and between micro and macro levels of analysis. Each of the planning processes may be analyzed at multiple levels from the micro to the macro. Historical-structural factors may apply in all planning processes at all levels. For example, micro-level research on status planning may focus on the patterns of language use and the status of language varieties in particular classrooms or schools. Jones and Martin-Jones' (2004) study of Welsh–English code-switching among students and teachers in Year 8 (age 12+) mathematics classes in Wales, for instance, found systematic distinctions between the functions of Welsh and English; these distinctions are explained with reference to the historical development of medium-of-instruction policies in Wales dating back to the nineteenth century, resistance to English domination by supporters of the Welsh national movement, and ideologies of language that have emerged in Welsh-medium and bilingual schools in Wales since the Education Reform Act of 1988.

After a research question is defined, the next step is to identify the scope or *scale* of the research. The notion of *scale* refers to "the fact that social events and processes move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and global (macro) as its extremes and several intermediary scales (e.g. the level of the state) in between" (Blommaert 2006, 2). Moreover, full understanding of any

Table 13.1 A descriptive framework of historical-structural research.*

Language planning processes	*Examples of micro-level analysis*	*Examples of macro-level analysis*	*Examples of historical-structural factors*
Status planning	Multilingual discursive practices in classrooms and schools Implicit language policies in families Translation and interpretation in the police, courts, and other state institutions	Monolingual ideologies of language in official policy statements Constitutional provisions for official multilingualism Political self-determination in minority-language communities	History of colonialism Linguistic imperialism Linguistic stratification in the job market The role of language in elite closure Language and national identity
Corpus planning	Codification Functional and terminological elaboration Linguistic purification programs New varieties of English and other languages of wider communication	Language documentation Multi-modal literacies The rise of new indigenous literatures	Standardization and "accountability" in education Movements for authenticity and cultural identity Ethnolinguistic nationalism
Acquisition planning	Content of curriculum, textbooks, and materials Standardized testing and washback Indigenous pedagogies in schools	Movements for indigenous curriculum and pedagogies International cooperation among linguistic-rights movements	Maintenance of colonial educational systems in postcolonial states Availability of resources and influence of funding sources for textbooks, materials, and teacher training Globalization and English-language policy Discourses of the instrumental value of English

*For a related framework, see McCarty 2002.

phenomenon requires analysis of interactions among different scales (Hult 2010). Decisions about the scale of research involve two issues. First, what data will be gathered? For example, a study of bilingual discursive practices in classrooms may focus on a school, a school district, a city, a region, or a nation-state, and it may

involve cross-national comparative data, if sufficient resources are available to support such research. In addition, such data may focus on a single period of time or may involve changes over time. Second, what will be the historical and structural explanations for the data? Jones and Martin-Jones' (2004) data, for example, were gathered in only two mathematics classes in each of five Welsh–English bilingual schools, but their findings were explained with reference to historical, structural, and ideological factors at the local and national levels extending over the past century.

Steps 3–4 involve decisions about research methods. Historical-structural analysis is not a research method, but instead draws on various methods appropriate to the research question(s). Commonly used methods include analysis of economic variables (especially class), media analysis, discourse analysis, and ethnography. The following examples of historical-structural research illustrate these methods.

1 Despite the strong association of some languages with national identity (e.g. Urdu in Pakistan), support for English as medium of instruction in Pakistan has intensified in recent years. How does the use of English as medium of instruction sustain systems of economic class that provide privileges for members of the elite? This important research question may be investigated with economic analysis that examines the class basis for differences between English-medium and Urdu-medium schools in Pakistan, as well as census and demographic data about students and their families (e.g. Rahman 2007). Such research seeks to establish associations between class, income, or other economic variables on the one hand, and language policies and their outcomes (e.g. various school performance measures) on the other.
2 Despite the overwhelming advantages English enjoys worldwide, the popular official-English movement in the United States has been successful in depicting English as a threatened language. In what ways is the official-English movement "a proxy for social class and race" (McCarty 2004, 87)? This research question may be examined through analysis of the ideologies implicit in the discursive construction of languages and linguistic groups in mass and social media. One of the most common approaches to media analysis is content analysis, which involves systematic (often quantitative) measures of media content.
3 In many educational systems, textbook content is determined by education authorities concerned with historical processes such as globalization or nation-building (e.g. Malaysia). How do such processes affect national and ethnolinguistic identities represented in officially approved textbooks, and which groups benefit from these representations? This question may be examined using discourse analysis of textbook content, language-attitude surveys of textbook writers and users, and analysis of language ideologies implicit in textbooks (e.g. David and Govindasamy 2007). Discourse analysis varies considerably, and includes critical discourse analysis and nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004).
4 Why are particular language policies adopted by a specific policymaking body, such as a school-district office of bilingual education? This issue may be examined through ethnographic methods (e.g. participant observation) that investigate the ideologies and beliefs about language and language policy as well as the decision-making practices of participants in policymaking bodies (e.g. Johnson 2011). The use of ethnographic methods to analyze language policymaking is among the most important developments in recent research (McCarty 2011).

Historical and structural explanations may rely on primary or secondary data. For example, Tollefson's (1989) analysis of education for refugees from Southeast Asia relied on participant observation, government documents, and other primary sources; Wiley's (1998) analysis of US policies affecting German in the early twentieth century relied on primary and secondary sources, which he reinterpreted within a historical-structural framework.

Data may be quantitative (including demographic, economic, or census data; test results; questionnaires; and observations) or qualitative, (including interviews, observations, documents, and spoken and written texts). Triangulation means that multiple sources of data (perhaps derived from multiple research methods) should be compiled and compared in order to ensure greater validity and reliability. In addition, multiple sources of data can help researchers extend their analysis beyond a limited micro- or macro-level perspective.

Once data are gathered, historical and structural explanations for the data are developed, and then historical-structural researchers often check their results with participants in their studies, revising the analysis based on participants' feedback. This practice has emerged as a way to reduce the power differential between researchers and participants and to ensure that participants' views are incorporated into research reports (see Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002).

Case Study

A good example of historical structural research is Gao's (2011) analysis of South Asian students in Hong Kong schools. The two goals of this research are: (1) an explanation for the poor school performance of students from the Philippines, Indonesia, Nepal, and other South (and Southeast) Asian countries; and (2) development of proposals for improving their school performance. Gao's analysis proposes a historical and structural explanation for the finding that relatively few South Asian students remain in school through upper secondary levels and even fewer go on to university. Specifically, she traces the colonial and postcolonial trajectory of language policy in Hong Kong and the complex and changing relationship between linguistic capital and socio-economic stratification.

The first step in this project is to document the situation of South Asian students and their families. Census data for the Hong Kong population provides essential background about ethnic diversity in the city. Other data are available from government statistics, surveys of South Asian language, education, and employment, and additional studies of ethnic and linguistic attitudes. Gao creatively organizes this information in order to construct a multi-faceted portrait of South Asians. For example, although data on the language abilities of South Asian students are not gathered by the Hong Kong government, Gao cites a survey commissioned by the Home Affairs Bureau revealing that only about half of South Asians in Hong Kong speak Cantonese, while 87.9% speak English. This information is crucial when understanding policies that require students to demonstrate advanced ability in Chinese in order to proceed through higher levels of education. Also available are data showing that South Asians are primarily employed in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations

and that a majority of South Asian students believe they face significant barriers when competing with Chinese residents of Hong Kong for places in higher education and employment. These various sources of data provide a consistent picture: South Asians face unequal educational and employment opportunities and outcomes.

The next step is to explain the situation facing South Asians in Hong Kong. Gao's explanation consists of two parts: a historical explanation and a structural explanation. The historical explanation for the inequality Gao documents is the history of language policy in the colonial and postcolonial periods, particularly since 1997, when England returned Hong Kong to China's control. Gao provides a brief summary of the colonial period, showing that English was the high-status variety providing access to good jobs in the military and the bureaucracy for South Asians, who generally spoke English well. Gao then shows that status planning since 1997 has changed the linguistic hierarchy, as English has shifted from a colonial language to an international language, and trilingualism in Cantonese, Putonghua, and English is now a requirement for the civil service and many other jobs. In addition to a summary of this broad change in language policy and status, Gao's historical analysis summarizes specific changes in language policies associated with the change in status, such as the directive issued by the Hong Kong government in 1997 to promote Chinese-medium instruction.

Gao's historical explanation also includes analysis of specific educational practices that create disadvantage for South Asian students. These practices include testing that requires fluency in Chinese, the "banding" system in which schools are ranked according to three levels of quality, admissions policies that reduce South Asian admissions to high-quality schools, teacher training and certification systems that make it unlikely South Asian students will have teachers who know their languages or are trained in second-language teaching, and university admission requirements that penalize South Asians for their non-fluent Chinese-language ability, even at universities using English as the medium of instruction. Gao carefully explains how these policies construct specific barriers for South Asians in primary, secondary, and tertiary education. Overall, the historical analysis demonstrates that language policies since 1997 have negatively impacted South Asians in Hong Kong.

The second part of the explanation for South Asian students' difficulties in schools is the link between historical changes in policies and structural socio-economic inequality. Whereas South Asians enjoyed access to jobs in the military and bureaucracy when English was the language of government employment, since 1997 Cantonese and Putonghua have become essential, and thus South Asians' English-language abilities have lost much of their capital. Gao's analysis explains the limited occupational opportunities for South Asians with reference to language barriers to education and employment. That is, socio-economic class in Hong Kong is sustained, in part, by language policies and practices in the educational system.

It is useful to summarize this case study with reference to Table 13.1. Gao's focus is on status planning and acquisition planning; corpus planning plays no role. Her analysis of status planning describes the history of colonialism and the post-1997 changes in policy that contribute to ethnolinguistic stratification in higher education and the job market. She focuses on macro-level, official state policies that have created disadvantages for South Asians, but also mentions micro-level discursive practices in schools, where interaction is largely determined by ethnicity and where teachers' practices and attitudes restrict South Asians' access to higher education. She also

discusses acquisition planning, including the limitations on Chinese-language learning among South Asians that are imposed by the three-band structure of the Hong Kong educational system, as well as by testing and teaching practices. Thus both policies and practices at multiple levels contribute to maintaining the language-related socio-economic hierarchy in which South Asians suffer significant disadvantage.

Finally, it is important to note that Gao's analysis includes recommendations for reforms in policy and practice that could reduce the system of inequality in which South Asians students are embedded. Her concern for reducing inequality is an important part of the tradition of historical-structural research.

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14 Interpretive Policy Analysis for Language Policy

Sarah Catherine K. Moore and Terrence G. Wiley

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of how the language policy researcher might decide whether to select interpretive policy analysis (IPA) and its methods as a framework for engaging an investigation, including considerations regarding its utility and some possible constraints. The authors outline how the IPA researcher should regard data sources and the generation of data, and include recommendations for approaches to data analysis. The chapter closes by describing a case study that drew on the orientation in the analysis of the implementation of restrictive educational language policies in Arizona.

Among the challenges of language policy analysis is to understand the sociopolitical factors that underlie the intentions behind the formation of formal policies, how they are interpreted and implemented, and their ultimate impact on the populations targeted by them. Interpretive policy analysis also provides a useful orientation for researchers with direct experience within the larger policy issue and its actors because it "assumes that it is not possible for an analyst to stand outside of the policy issues being studied, free of its values and meanings and of the analyst's own values, beliefs, and feelings" (Yanow 2000, 6) See Canagarajah and Stanley (this volume) for a discussion of ethics and Lin (this volume) for notions of positionality. The interpretive purview for policy analysis includes "human artifacts and actions, including policy documents, legislation, implementation, are understood here to be not only instrumentally rational

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but also expressive – of meaning(s), including at times individual and collective identity" (2000, 6).

Yanow (2000) notes that the intellectual antecedents of interpretive policy analysis are the neo-Kantian traditions of the late nineteenth century, and the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions of the twentieth century. In the latter, this conceptual work was bolstered by developments in areas of program evaluation and policy implementation, particularly through the work of Egon Guba (1984) and Guba and Yvonna Lincoln (1989) and several essays in the work of Palumbo and Calista (1987, 1990). At the same time many policy-analytic theorists were influenced by interpretive work from other fields, in particular developments in symbolic anthropology, especially the work of Clifford Geertz (1973, 1983); in the philosophy and history of science, including the arguments of Kuhn (1962), Latour (1987), and Rorty (1979); in literary theory (e.g. Fish 1980); and in contemporary political philosophy (e.g. Habermas 1987; Ricoeur 1971; Taylor 1971, and others).

Yanow concludes that the "interpretive approach is less an argument (in the context of policy analysis, at least) contesting the nature of reality than one about the human possibilities of knowing the world around us and the nature of that knowledge" (2000, 7). It focuses "on the meanings that policies have for a broad range of policy-relevant publics, including but not limited to clients and potential clients, legislators, cognate agencies (supporting and contesting), implementers (such as implementing-agency executives, administrators, and staff), and potential voters" (2000, 8). The stakeholders with opposing views are "situated knowers" arguing from views shaped by different experiences. The interpretive approach "explores the contrasts between policy meanings as intended by policy makers – 'authored' texts – and the possibly variant and even incommensurable meanings – 'constructed' texts – made of them by other policy-relevant groups" (2000, 9).

Following the establishment of policy, its intent becomes a "benchmark against which to assess enactment and outcomes" (Yanow 2000, 9). In formal policy analysis the authored texts become the focal point. In interpretive policy analysis, however, it is "erroneous to assume that this is the only meaning appropriate or relevant for assessment [because] implementation problems are often created by different understandings of policy language; [thus], it is as important for analysts to access these other interpretations – the local knowledge held by communities of meaning in constructed texts" (2000, 10; cf. Barthes 1980, 1986; Kristeva 1989; Levinson 2010).

Interpretive policy analysis methodologies

Interpretive policy analysis does not utilize a singular methodological approach. In this sense, it is more of an interpretive orientation than a methodology. As an orientation, it is compatible with a variety of methodologies, including for example, case-study research, observation, interviewing, archival data collection and analysis, and ethnographically informed methods, among other means of collecting data to research various scenarios, subjects/participants, and contexts associated with language policy and education policy (Yanow 2000).

The four main elements of IPA are: (1) artifacts; (2) meanings; (3) interpretive communities; and (4) discourses. The *artifacts*, or "artifactual symbols, include three broad categories of human action: language, objects, and acts" (Yanow 2000, 15). Once these artifacts have been identified, "we strive to understand the meanings they are vested with and their moral (belief), cognitive (value), and affective (feeling) bases" (2000, 16). Essentially then, a portion of an IPA approach involves identifying these first two main elements – *artifacts* (language, objects, and acts) and their *meanings* (values, beliefs, and feelings). These are fundamentally related to, and may derive from, one another.

In addition to identifying *artifacts* and *meanings,* the IPA researcher will also locate the third element – *interpretive communities* with and/or on which the policy is enacted. And, by extension, tease out the fourth element – various *discourses* that emerge from the identified *interpretive communities*. Again, as with *artifacts* and *meanings,* these are closely tied to one another, in that the discourses emerge from the interpretive communities. Together, four early steps in IPA are listed below. These are not necessarily sequential, but rather may overlap and occur out of order. They are also not intended to expressly and individually reflect the four elements described above (see Yanow 2000, 22).

1 Identify the artifacts (language, objects, acts) that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue, as perceived by policy-relevant actors and interpretive communities.
2 Identify communities of meaning/interpretation/speech/practice that are relevant to the policy issue under analysis.
3 Identify the "discourses": the specific meanings being communicated through specific artifacts and their entailments (in thought, speech, and act).
4 Identify the points of conflict and their conceptual sources (affective, cognitive, and/or moral) that reflect different interpretations by different communities.

The identification of these four elements and pursuit of the above steps may not prescribe the other early stages in study design (developing research questions and choosing contexts, for example), but the IPA researcher whose positionality amidst the policy case is more situated may likely easily identify some, if not all four, of the elements and their extensions preliminarily.

Developing Research Questions

Research questions employed for interpretive policy analysis are focused on delving more deeply into a seemingly objective or explicit policy so that researchers can unveil the underlying meanings of policymakers or those impacted by the policy. This reflects a more inductive approach to policy analysis, in which the construction of meaning emphasizes the tacit knowledge surrounding a particular policy, its actors, and interpretive communities. Such an approach provides an opportunity to

frame research questions and begin to address them and their context in a way that might not be possible through other methodologies.

Developing research questions for IPA research involves first identifying the language policy at the center of one's research, as well as the key artifacts associated with the central policy. A first step in outlining research questions involves identifying the symbolic artifacts and the interpretive communities associated with the language policy.

A key first step involves notions of positionality (see Lin, this volume) – researchers engaging in studies using an IPA approach following Yanow "ask such questions as, for example, what the Middle Ages or Middle East are in the 'middle' of – and who 'put' them there, and why. It is an approach that sees concepts and categories as embodying and reflecting the point of view of their creators" (2006, 6).

Beginning in the theoretical locale of particular artifacts and meaning-makers in the context of a research issue establishes the basis for the overall interpretive approach. For example, a study might seek to further explicate how the language of a particular policy illustrates tacit knowledge about its underlying assumptions. Yanow, looking at race and ethnicity in the 1990 census, focused on the language categories used in race-ethnic questions. Specifically, the research questions employed were: "According to what characteristics are we dividing our population? Why choose these characteristics and not others? Moreover, what characteristics do we leave out? That is, on what are our categories silent? What public discourse is being encouraged by this form of categorization, and what discourse is being discouraged?" (Yanow 1996a, 485). In further discussion of the questions developed for this study investigating the language used in census protocols, Yanow notes that "these questions are ways of asking what meanings we are creating, maintaining, communicating, and changing in the U.S. today around racial and ethnic identities" (1995, 123).

Choosing Contexts

Language policy researchers employing an IPA approach may likely have selected this orientation due to its utility for accounting for meaning construction around top-down policies. IPA also allows for inclusion of, and explanations for, those affected by language policies, and the complexities associated with the nature of language policy as a field of research in itself. As has been noted, the IPA researcher may have existing knowledge of, or experience in, interacting with and interpreting a particular policy. In this sense, the selection of IPA as an appropriate approach to LPP research may be based on one's prior arrangement in its context.

For example, the graduate preparing to study a case in LPP might first consider "With what contexts of this issue am I already familiar to which I may also already have access?" Alternatively, a new scholar planning to embark on study of a policy case with which he or she has limited familiarity might consider "What preliminary knowledge do I need to gain in order to appropriately design an IPA-based study of this case?"

IPA research that attempts to understand language policies, planning, politics, and management is best focused on various stakeholders, such as (1) the users and negotiators of policy, and (2) the communities involved in translating policies into practice(s). In addition, they can focus on how those affected by policies attempt to navigate them once they have been imposed.

Although a number of IPA studies (Chock 1995; Hoffmann 1995; Yanow 1996b), have focused on top-down policies, bottom-up policies are also worthy of focus (cf. Hornberger 1996; McCarty 2011). For example, informal policies and practices that teachers impose within classrooms, or which administrators enact in schools, can also be fertile ground for the use of IPA (cf. Corson 1999). Other examples in the field of language policy where IPA could be applied might include analysis of a community's plans for sustaining intergenerational language transmission. Although IPA is useful for illustrating the hegemonic nature of language policies, such as those that restrict or confine language, it can also be applied to scenarios in which language policies are intended to uphold languages and foster multilingualism, language revitalization, or language reconstruction (cf. Fishman 1991; Nettle and Romaine 2000).

A useful approach to integrating IPA into language policy research might involve supplementary frameworks and methods. IPA findings are often presented as narratives or might involve complex explanations for the dynamic interplay between symbolic artifacts, policies, and interpretive communities. Thus, IPA can utilize a variety of methodologies that allow researchers to present findings accessible to audiences beyond academic and scholarly venues. It can also utilize evaluation tools. For example, several IPA researchers (Grijalva 2011; Moore 2008) who employed qualitative methodologies also used the Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) (Hall and Hord 1987). This framework is frequently used for investigating and evaluating change in schools when teachers, administrators, and other stakeholders are introduced to a new innovation. CBAM attempts to measure stages of concern (SOC) about an innovation as well as levels of use (LOU). Grijalva (2011), for example used an SOC interview protocol to understand school administrator concerns about the imposition of SEI (structured/sheltered English immersion) policy in Arizona.

Methods for Data Generation and Analysis

Researchers using an IPA research orientation begin by identifying the LP-relevant problem at hand. As Yanow (1996a) demonstrated with her analysis of racialized census categories, the problem may be limited to the language used in a particular protocol to understand the particular choices of words referring to race, and the omission of others. IPA has also been applied to understanding how a particular policy impacts the actors involved in its implementation as well as those experiencing its impact, as in the case of investigating the SEI requirements for teacher education as outlined in Arizona's (2000) English-only law, Proposition 203 (Moore 2008). Or it may entail mapping the extent to which a federal policy impacts funding for the promotion of a particular set of languages, as with the Critical Languages Act (Bale 2008). Again, the problem central to an IPA investigation has

to do with the symbolic artifacts, interpretive communities, and kinds of meaning constructed around the identified problem or issue.

At the initial stage in developing a research design, a researcher may not yet have knowledge of all symbolic artifacts and interpretive communities related to the policy. However, a researcher in pursuit of a particular language policy should have enough clarity about the policy at hand to identify key actors who are the negotiators of meaning involved in a policy's development, implementation, and application. If this is not clear, it may be useful for a researcher to first conduct a preliminary assessment to flesh out the key meaning-makers and artifacts associated with the particular LP issue.

The use of IPA for LP research is most valuable in cases where the policy is complex, multi-faceted, and involves a variety of stakeholders functioning within and around, and playing a range of roles vis-à-vis the development, implementation, and application of the language policy. An IPA approach allows for the researcher to investigate top-down policymaking that accounts for the meaning-making activities and interpretation of symbolic artifacts, including key stakeholders (actors affected by the policy); acts (those activities performed by actors, often in response to the policy, in its implementation and application); and language (which may emerge from the policy itself or the actors as they apply it in practice in a bottom-up fashion); and the interpretive communities (which may, collectively, come to multiple shared meanings of policy implementation and application that are distinctive from, or in some way amend, the prescribed top-down policy).

Once the policy issue central to the project has been identified, the IPA researcher outlines overarching research questions that seek to illuminate the implicit acts, actors, and language involved in the policy, the negotiation of meaning around it, and other factors at play as a result of the development, implementation, application, and/or imposition of the policy. Research utilizing IPA from the outset acknowledges these dynamic factors, symbols, and meanings. Partly given the IPA researcher's role as meaning-maker amidst a particular case, data should be framed not as "collected" or "gathered," but rather as generated from various methods (Yanow 2007, 409).

The three typical methods for generating data in IPA include observing, interviewing, and reading documents (Yanow 2007), and researchers may engage in one or more of these methods. The researcher engaging in IPA for language policy investigation should consider accessibility to these three data sources, and the extent to which each is valuable and/or necessary in order to address one's research questions.

Observing

Considerations around the act of observing, which at its core involves physical imposition by the researcher upon those subjected to a policy and amidst the activity of a policy, necessitate revisiting the epistemological posture fundamental to interpretive research. Research involving IPA should first be situated within the context of the reflexivity within which interpretive research is conducted. Thus, interpretive researchers avoid potentially false presumptions of centrality, objectivity, and context-free understanding of a particular issue. The challenge for IPA researchers involves orienting themselves to its ontological viewpoint as one engages in the research effort. The researcher must understand her/his positionality among sociopolitical,

sociocultural, socioeconomic, and geopolitical power structures from a reflexive and constructivist outlook. The IPA researcher is cognizant of his/her role as co-constructor of meaning around a particular policy, and as potential participant in the activity of "conducting" research.

The activity of observing, or engaging in observations, while doing IPA research generally utilizes an ethnographically informed perspective, in which the observer is functioning not as much as an outsider, but more as a participant observer, aware of her/his positionality within a particular setting, while working or living with other actors/stakeholders. For example, a school principal may be conducting research in his or her own school, or a researcher may be volunteering in a classroom while collecting data. The IPA observer often is engaged with members of the interpretive community or communities and with symbolic artifacts (acts, objects, language) relevant to the language policy at issue. In Moore's (2008) study, for example, research involved the implementation of pre- and in-service teacher training coursework, a policy which covered a course taught by the researcher. In this example, Moore played an insider and participatory role. In another scenario, the researcher may be studying the impact of a national social policy while working as a community organizer (Yanow 1996b). In IPA, the position of the observer can be located somewhere along a broad continuum between participant observation and engaged participation (Yanow 2007). The contexts of IPA observation for language policy research might involve classroom instruction, professional or public briefings, or hearings involving policymakers and experts.

Interviewing

As data are gathered and analyzed through the interview process, the IPA researcher needs to account for her/his positionality in the context under investigation, as well as that of the interviewee. The epistemological approach to interviewing in IPA is ethnographically informed and also critical in nature. Spradley explains the ethnographic intent as, "I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experiences, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as your feel them, to explain things as you explain them" (1979, 34). Unlike scripted interviews, the IPA interview attempts to understand how the actor/interviewee is interpreting the policy and understanding and experiencing its impact. An IPA interview is more conversational and less scripted than a predetermined, strictly outlined protocol. The IPA interviewer's goal is to delve into the interviewee's understanding of the language policy and its implementation to develop a more in-depth understanding of how the interviewee is interpreting the policy. Yanow notes that, "unlike the survey researcher, whose training stipulates that she not depart from the text of the written questions – neither in tone of voice nor delivery nor in wording or question order – the interpretive researcher typically seeks to draw the speaker out, much as one would a conversational partner, in order to gain further understanding of the terms being used or the perspective being articulated (2007, 410). In order to investigate top-down policies, the research may want to interview higher-level officials who developed or dictated the policy, as well as those actors who have to execute the policy. Interview data can also be solicited from policymakers (Chock 1995) (lawmakers, government

agency staff, school administrators), policy implementers (Hoffmann 1995) (school administrators, teachers, community organization staff), or those affected by policies (Yanow 1996b) (teachers, students, parents, community members).

Reading and interpreting documents

Reading and interpreting documents supplements interview data. For example, minutes from past formal meetings or transcripts of governmental events may provide an opportunity for the researcher to generate data that otherwise may have been available through observations, or even interviews. As with observations and interviews, a key tenet of reading documents for IPA places emphasis on understanding how the policy-relevant actors were making meaning of an activity in the minutes, report, or passage of legislation, or how meaning was constructed and represented in a law or formal policy. Evidence includes the language used to frame a particular issue or population being affected by an issue or policy (Chock 1995). For example, is a policy concerning immigration framed around the concept of *immigration*, and its impact on the costs imposed on state systems of schooling, or is it about *immigrants*, and families' access to equal education? Documents applied to the study of a language policy might include both top-down sources, such as laws and meeting minutes, as well as bottom-up sources, such as those provided by administrators, teachers, students, or others in a school.

Top-down curricula mandated by state or local education agencies, or bottom-up lesson plans developed by teachers; student work, teachers' assessments of student work, artifacts from lesson delivery (the bilingual pin-wheel illustrating the life-cycle of a butterfly); or even classroom rules displayed on the wall (*English only in the classroom*): all can serve as written documents appropriate for analysis while using an IPA approach. Other documents associated with language policies include those found on state and local education agency websites. Due to the politicized nature of some language policies, it may be useful to undertake long-term analysis of the content displayed on official department of education websites, for example (does the policy guidance change over time?).

These may illustrate complex and sometimes inconsistent narratives around a policy's implementation and the status being ascribed to students affected by the policy. For example, over the past several decades, students who come from homes where languages other than English are spoken have variously been labeled "limited English proficient" or, more recently, "English language learners" (ELLs). Both ascriptions are value-laden in that they focus only on English proficiency, rather than on other languages.

Data analysis

Analyses occur throughout the process of one's research – in the conceptualization of the investigation, identification of sources, generation of data, and reporting – and may potentially continue after final findings are presented. When conducting IPA, analysis of data sources is done from a perspective grounded in the construction of meaning. It connects symbolic artifacts with interpretive communities to understand

how a policy is being constructed and experienced. Thus, the researcher seeks to develop a sense of how policies affect those at whom they are aimed. Yanow shares valuable insight with regard to IPA-oriented analysis:

> Interpretive analyses often have the quality of disclosing what's "really" going on. This may seem to be contradictory here, since interpretive approaches are typically guided by the tenet that there is no single reality. But the sense of disclosing "reality" is, I believe, an artifact of narrative presentation. Challenging the conviction that there is only one meaning, interpretation focuses attention on alternatives. (1995, 119)

There is no single, prescribed approach to analysis of sources generated through interpretive policy analysis. Again, however, IPA frequently draws on ethnographically motivated methodologies such those derived from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990), or storytelling (Delgado 1989, 1990; Tate 1997).

Grounded theory

A grounded theory approach involves the researcher establishing a familiar connection with the context and data, with which she or he works closely. Frequently this involves transcribing audio-recordings that allow the researcher to develop a deep understanding of data, through which salient themes emerge illustrating the key ideas present in a data source. Once themes are identified from each data source (interview, observation, document), the analysis is then extended across data sources, similar to data triangulation, to determine where there is overlap among themes from multiple interviewees and observation sites. After examining all data sources, analyses would then result in salient themes representative of the overall study. For example, a university instructor might have three primary concerns about implementing SEI training curricula in her courses: less time to cover the history and politics of language minority schooling; the inability to critically engage students around social issues related to teaching English learners; and the perceived value-free nature of ESL methods (Moore 2008). An SEI trainer working for a district might have slightly different concerns, related to time constraints resulting in a watered-down training curriculum (Moore 2008). Both participants involved in SEI training implementation share concerns about curriculum.

Storytelling

In storytelling analysis, the researcher also conducts an investigation focused to some extent on key themes, but the overall goal is to develop a narrative that explains the positionality of the interpretive community or symbolic actors involved in, or affected by, a particular language policy. Storytelling analysis is particularly useful for IPA because it provides the researcher with an opportunity unveil and explicate an elite or "mainstream" narrative that can be contrasted with a counter-narrative, which gives voice to the marginalized actors or communities at whom the policy is aimed. The use of storytelling analysis emerged out of legal theory (Tate 1997) and was later applied to educational research. Subsequently, it has been used

as an analytic tool as a means of revealing implicit social, economic, political, and other expressions of racism (Delgado 1989, 1990; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Tate 1997).

Other approaches

Beyond the two approaches discussed above, which may be the most appropriate for language policy context, other approaches to data analysis compatible with IPA that might fit well with LPP include frame or value-critical analysis, narrative analysis, and category analysis (see Yanow 2007, 412–413). In frame or value-critical analysis, two or more interpretive communities are analyzed based on their respective framing of the policy or case under investigation. Narrative analysis focuses on the actors present in the context of a particular issue; these may draw from literary theory, and include a plotline. Finally, and perhaps most appropriate of these three to LPP, is category analysis, which aims to deconstruct the assumptions embedded in policy issues through the instatement of categories or labels, such as limited English proficient (LEP) or student with interrupted formal schooling (SIFE). Researchers should determine methods for the analysis of data generated through IPA based on the contextual characteristics specific to the particular policy case.

Case Study

In 2000, the state of Arizona passed Proposition 203, severely limiting access to bilingual education and positioning in its absence structured/sheltered English immersion (SEI) as the primary instructional approach for teaching English-language learners across the state. Several state-wide policies were developed as a means of facilitating the implementation of SEI, including the requirement that all certified education personnel complete two mandated professional development sessions in order to obtain a new SEI credential. The new SEI credential was deemed comparable to the English as a Second Language (ESL) and Bilingual Education (BLE) credentials previously awarded to personnel working with ELLs. Despite their comparable policy definitions, to obtain an ESL or BLE endorsement personnel were required to complete six university-level, three-credit courses (equating to 270 seat hours; each university credit equals 15 seat hours), whereas, the initial professional development required to obtain the SEI endorsement included 60 seat hours of training (non-university level or IHE-accredited). The 60 seat hours required for Arizona's new SEI endorsement included two sessions – 15 and 45 seat hours per session – which resulted in first, a preliminary endorsement; followed by the full endorsement.

The Arizona Department of Education (ADE) outlined curricula for each respective endorsement and mandated that all certified personnel complete each element of training by two respective deadlines; personnel who did not complete this training were threatened with removal of their credentials. The policy also required that all pre-service teacher preparation programs also cover the curriculum. Any individual who held an ESL or BLE certificate was able to develop training materials and obtain

approval from the ADE to offer the new SEI training. Because all personnel were required to complete the training, school districts (local education agencies) were in some cases compelled to offer sessions to teachers in an effort at avoiding the removal of credentials from their teachers. As a result of the new state-wide policy, four distinct organizations/institutions functionally offered sessions: for-profit organizations; universities, community colleges, and districts.

Because of the complexity of this particular policy, and the diversity of stakeholders and policymakers involved in its implementation, Moore (2008) utilized interpretive policy analysis as a framework for situating the symbolic artifacts (acts, language, objects) and interpretive communities associated with the development, implementation, and application of Arizona's SEI training requirement as it related to the state's English-only language policy. Emphasis for the research was placed on individuals implementing the required professional development sessions, and four interpretive communities were identified, aligned with the four types of organizations offering SEI training sessions (for-profits; universities; community colleges; districts). Interviews were conducted with 14 participants, many of whom, due to their credentials and the timing and other constraints associated with the SEI training implementation, had worked for more than one type of institution, and thus in some cases were deemed members of multiple interpretive communities.

After initial interviews with seven of the 14 participants, Moore (2008) conducted observations of their professional development session or course delivery. Observations were not possible for a handful of participants because research was conducted after the first SEI training deadline (the 15-hour preliminary SEI endorsement) had passed. Therefore, some participants were interviewed based on their experiences conducting professional development or coursework for the initial 15-hour session, which had been completed, and those participants were not involved in the facilitation of 45-hour sessions.

In some cases, supplementary data were generated through collection of artifacts associated with training sessions or coursework. A key additional data source was ELL Task Force meetings, which had begun prior to the investigation, but which directly related to the ideological and political underpinning of the SEI training policy, as well as related policies that would ultimately further impact teachers, schools, and students as a result of Proposition 203. (Specifically, during research, analysis, and reporting, the ELL Task Force was developing a working definition of SEI in classrooms, which emerged into the "four-hour block" and "Discrete Skills Index." For further reading regarding those particular policies and their implementation, see Grijalva 2011; Lillie 2011; Markos 2011; or Moore 2014.) Additional data were therefore generated through observations of ELL Task Force meetings and reviews of other archival data sources associated with the larger SEI implementation issue, as well as sources specific to the SEI training implementation.

During data collection and early on in analysis, it became clear that the IPA framework was invaluable in its capacity for allowing the integration of these data sources into overall analysis and reporting. The complexity of the training, functioning as one offshoot of the larger English-only policy, the ongoing political rhetoric and patterns of discourse, as well as the shifting definitions of both SEI and the SEI training curricula, were each in and of themselves dynamic, highly complex, and consistently in motion. Through the use of IPA, these various related factors became key components, particularly during analysis of data, in illustrating the multi-faceted and thorny case of

SEI training implementation, and allowed analysis and findings to account for a more complete representation of the scenario, rather than one that might otherwise have been limited to only the context and content of professional development sessions. Data from interviews and observations were analyzed using a grounded theory approach, in which three key themes were identified for each participant (based on both interview and observation data, and in some cases archival documents).

Next, the themes were compared across all 14 participants, based on their membership in one or more of the interpretive communities (for-profit; university; community college; district), to determine the extent to which they aligned with, or were in conflict with, the SEI training curricula outlined by the ADE. Meanwhile, symbolic artifacts were identified to account for the activities somewhat external to training sessions, but related to ongoing efforts toward establishing definitions to facilitate the implementation of Proposition 203.

At this stage in data analysis, the storytelling approach to the explication of findings was utilized to demonstrate how members of the four communities of practice were making meaning of their role as trainers, instructors, or facilitators of sessions; the sometimes problematic nature of functioning as interlocutor between the ADE (required to implement its predefined curriculum) and pre- or in-service teachers; and the difficulty or ease with which they conducted SEI sessions. Ultimately, findings were outlined in two ways: first the presentation of trainers' *counter-narratives* in response to the ADE's *majoritarian* narrative; second, through establishing two categories for the themes that emerged from each of the four interpretive communities (either in alignment or at odds with the ADE and its SEI curriculum).

This case study illustrates the utility of IPA for accounting for diverse, dynamic, and complex cases in language policy. Researching one issue among dozens associated with Arizona's English-only policy may have placed isolated emphasis on training sessions themselves. However, the use of IPA, data sources, their analysis, and the presentation of findings accounted for many of the various symbolic artifacts involved and allowed for a framing that unveiled both the complexity of the policies and the perspectives of those engaged in the on-the-ground activity of making meaning out of policy.

In approaching language policy from a qualitative perspective, researchers are conscious of their role amidst not only the policies themselves but, more importantly, those through which and toward whom policies are being implemented, imposed, and/or applied. Interpretive policy analysis, thanks to its capacity for containing multiple (and conflicting) perspectives, characters, acts, languages, and other issues at play around policy, can be particularly valuable to the critically informed language policy researcher.

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15 Intertextuality and Language Policy

David Cassels Johnson

Introduction

Making connections between language policy texts and discourses and language practices is characterized by Hult (2010) as the perennial challenge for the field of language planning and policy (LPP). How do we show connections across the multiple domains, contexts, levels, layers, and scales of LPP activity? A related challenge is: Given that a lot of language policy research involves analyzing texts, how do we determine the *meaning* of a language policy text? How do we make sense of the multiple and potentially conflicting meanings, voices, and styles in a text? To deal with these challenges, discourse-analytic strategies have been proffered elsewhere, including speech chain analysis (Mortimer 2013), Nexus Analysis (Hult, this volume), critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Cincotta-Segi 2009), and a combination of CDA and ethnography (Johnson 2011). Here, I focus on a strategy within discourse analysis that employs *intertextuality* to analyze how texts derive meaning from other texts, which can be utilized in concert with many other research methods.

First, a literary example that hopefully illustrates the idea. In the novel *American Gods* by Neil Gaiman (2001), the protagonist Shadow is a recently released prisoner who has developed a close relationship with another character, named Wednesday. In one scene, Shadow is lamenting the loss of his wife, who was killed in a car accident while Shadow was in jail, to which Wednesday gives the following advice: "That is the eternal folly of man. To be chasing after the sweet flesh, without realizing that it is simply a pretty cover for the bones. Worm food." Standing on its own,

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a reader might interpret Wednesday's statement as revealing his cynical view of the value and meaning of life, that we are really only food for the worms when dead and buried. However, when interpreted in connection to other texts that preceded it, more meanings emerge. For example, Hamlet says, "Your worm is your only emperor for diet: we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots: your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes, but to one table: that's the end." When considered in this light, Wednesday's statement takes on a potentially more tragic connotation: however you live your life – as king or beggar – we all become worm food in the end. We can trace the metaphor back even further, to the biblical character Job, who laments how unfair life is since righteousness is not necessarily rewarded and, in the end, "the worm shall feed sweetly on him; he shall be no more remembered" (Job 24:20). Similarly, while he does not use the worm metaphor explicitly, another biblical character, Ecclesiastes, says much the same thing, declaring "All is vanity," in the midst of his own existential crisis. This connection to the Bible becomes even more interesting when considering that Wednesday is later revealed as the Norse god Odin and thus the reader may interpret comedic or even blasphemous connotations in his statement. The potential for these diverse meanings arises, and our interpretation of Wednesday's advice is shaped, by these intertextual connections.

Julia Kristeva (1986, written in 1966) is credited with having coined the term *intertextualité* in her analyses of Bakhtin's writings on literary semiotics that, in turn, popularized his mostly unpublished and unknown work (Allen 2011). Particularly relevant is his notion of *dialogism*, which describes how the lines of literature, and their meaning, do not exist *in vacuo*, but are inextricably "in dialogue" with other utterances (Wednesday is in dialogue with Job, as it were). Bakhtin proposes that utterances are filled with the echoes of previous utterances and these intertextual by-products imbue utterances with *dialogic overtones* and multiple meanings, and any interpretation of a (potentially multi-voiced) text requires an understanding of these intertextual connections: "[A]n utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication, and it cannot be broken off from the preceding links that determine it both from within and without, giving rise within it to unmediated responsive reactions and dialogic reverberations" (1986, 94).

Kristeva also takes up Bakhtin's notion of *ambivalence*, which describes how a text draws upon other texts in the past but it also "implies the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history" (1986, 39) and therefore the meanings of previous works, as well as the present one, are all impacted. Kristeva further distinguishes between *horizontal intertextuality*, which is meant to capture the relationship between writing subject, addressee, and the "discursive universe" of the text, including the reader and other texts (a synchronic focus), and *vertical intertextuality*, which is meant to capture the historical connection to previous texts (a diachronic focus). An important characteristic of Kristeva's notion of horizontal intertextuality is how the reader participates in the semiotics of a text (cf. Barthes 1967) which opens many more intertextual pathways including all of the spoken and written texts with which the reader has come into contact. In other words, how I interpret Wednesday's statement will depend on other texts I have read, and since the metaphor of humans as worm food is so widespread, many potential connections are possible. Bakhtin's and Kristeva's theories have been influential in a wide variety of disciplines – from literary theory to art criticism (see Allen 2011) – but they are

also applicable to LPP research, given the interest in understanding the meaning of policy texts, how these texts are related to other texts and discourses, and how they get interpreted in schools and communities.

In writing about intertextuality as a useful tool within CDA, Fairclough (1992) proposes that the theory of intertextuality should be combined with a theory of power since the meaning of a text is not infinitely innovative, but will be limited by conditions of power relations, and particular meanings will be privileged because of how dominant discourses impact social structures and practices (cf. Ball 1993). Fairclough distinguishes between *manifest intertextuality*, which involves explicit and verbatim incorporation of texts (for example through the use of quotations or citations), and *constitutive intertextuality*, or "the configuration of discourse conventions that go into [the text's] production" (1992, 271), which he describes as *interdiscursivity*, and defines later as "a question of which genres, discourses and styles [a text] draws upon, and how it works them into particular articulations" (Fairclough 2010, 234). Whereas intertextual analysis largely attends to the lexico-grammatical features of a text – what Candlin calls "hugging the textual ground" (2006, 4) – interdiscursivity refers to the connections between discourses and texts.

Because of these connections, meaning is not just attributable to one particular utterance in isolation but emerges between utterances, texts, and discourses. Therefore, as Lemke points out (1995, 23), "It is very important to understand just *which* other texts a particular community considers relevant to the interpretation of any given text." Because meaning-making is a social activity that is impacted by ideologies and discourses circulating in a particular context, and because a text is a product of a multiplicity of social voices and a "background made up of contradictory opinions" (Bakhtin 1986, 281), it makes sense that a language policy would be interpreted in a variety of ways by various communities. Some policies, quite literally, have a background made up of contradictory opinions, especially when they are created by committees or statutory law-making bodies (like parliaments and legislatures) known for debate and controversy. Language policies are linked to past policy documents, such as earlier policies and earlier versions of the same policy (vertical intertextuality) and current policies (horizontal intertextuality), and they may be connected to a variety of past and present discourses (interdiscursivity).

This theoretical position implies that the language policy researcher can analyze intertextual connections to make sense of a particular language policy text but, in a sense, this is only a potential meaning; the "real-life" meaning is established in the context in which it is used and therefore one might also consider the "meaning" of a text imposed upon it by those responsible for its interpretation and appropriation. Any text created and interpreted in one context, or level of social organization, will be *recontextualized* in the new context, with earlier versions either expanded upon, added to, filtered, and/or suppressed. The nature of recontextualization relies both on intertextual connections to past texts and discourses as well as the relationships, beliefs, ideologies, and power relationships in the new context (Blackledge 2006; Wodak and Fairclough 2010). For example, the authors of a federal educational language policy will interpret it in their own (multiple, potentially conflicting) ways, but when the policy is interpreted and appropriated by educators, new meanings

may emerge, and this recontextualization will be impacted by the unique texts and discourses circulating within the context of study.

Developing Research Questions

Language policy texts are not necessarily some homogenous documentation of unitary authorial intentions but, instead, heteroglossic and often filled with diverse (even contradictory) ideas about language and/or language education (see Jaffe 2011; Johnson 2013a). Because of this, Ball (1993) suggests that we disregard the search for authorial intentions and instead focus on how policies are interpreted and appropriated in practice. His focus on the "audience" of a policy mirrors post-structuralist theory, which emphasizes the reader's interpretation and not, as Roland Barthes (1967) puts it, "a single theological meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God)"; adding "The text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture." While it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain authorial intentions – in part because it is impossible to document all of its thousand sources of culture – intertextual LPP analysis can illuminate where the ideas and language in a document might come from, how they are connected to other texts and discourses, and what this might mean for those responsible for interpreting, appropriating, or implementing the policy.

As in discourse-analytic research more generally, research questions are open-ended and can change according to emerging findings (see McCarty, this volume). However, in the two paragraphs that follow, I propose a list of potential research questions, which can be focused on: (1) the meaning of a particular language policy and, in particular, how its semantic content is related to other texts and discourses, and (2) the interpretation and appropriation of language policy texts in schools and communities; i.e. its recontextualization.

Example research questions concerning the meaning of a language policy document (#1) might be: How has the meaning of a language policy emerged or changed over time? In the case of language policies engendered by statutory legislation, this might be further articulated as: How has the meaning of a language policy shifted between the various incarnations of a particular language policy (vertical intertextuality)? How do these changes reflect (or not) shifts in societal discourses about language, language learners, and/or language education? How do language policies developed within a polity at different levels of political organization – macro, meso, micro, etc. – relate to one another (horizontal intertextuality)? How do local language policies draw upon meso- and macro-level texts explicitly (manifest intertextuality) or conceptually (constitutive intertextuality)? What can be gleaned about the meaning of a particular language policy given the discursive and ideological context in which it was created?

Intertextual and interdiscursive analysis of LP is also useful for answering research questions about how the meaning of a language policy document emerges across a series of discursive events within a community or school (#2). Not only might the intertextual connections influence what some policy means, the

idiosyncratic beliefs, ideologies, and discourses circulating in a particular context will influence how it is recontextualized and shape the localized "meaning" of the language policy. This type of analysis incorporates the poststructuralist notion that a text never has one single authoritative meaning, but multiple meanings, which depend on intertextual/interdiscursive connections and the interaction between author and reader. Example research questions include: How is the recontextualization of macro-level language policy impacted by local texts and discourses? How does the meaning of a language policy change when interpreted and appropriated by different language policy actors? How does this change rely on local texts and discourses within the community and/or shifting societal discourses? How does the meaning of a language policy evolve over time, across a series of settings and discursive events?

Choosing Contexts

Based on Richardson and Wodak (2009, 255), the four levels of context are adapted here for analysis of language policy:

Box 15.1 Four levels of context for language policy analysis

1. Text-internal analysis of a language policy text – including a focus on lexico-syntactic units like vocabulary words, phrases, or grammatical structures; and discourse elements like topoi and genre.
2. Intertextual connections to past and present policy texts and discourses – including the multiple drafts, re-authorizations, and/or revisions of a particular language policy, or relations across different language policy documents – and the interdiscursive connections to past and present discourses about language, language users, and/or language education.
3. The extralinguistic social variables – including the institutional and sociolinguistic contexts in which language policies are created, interpreted, and appropriated; i.e. the multiple layers of context in which language policy activity takes place.
4. The sociopolitical and historical contexts – including the historical, political, and social impact of a particular language policy, the institution(s) involved in language policy processes, and the beliefs and actions of language policy agents.

When the focus is the interpretation, appropriation, and recontextualization of a language policy in communities and schools, intertextual analysis can be leveraged to enhance ethnographic and other qualitative research projects, particularly when the goal is to understand how local policies and practices relate to macro-level texts and discourses. Intertextual and interdiscursive analysis helps illuminate how text production is linked to discursive and sociocultural practices but qualitative research

methods, like interviewing and participant observation, uncover how and why particular policies are recontextualized in particular ways in particular settings. If the focus is on recontextualization of a language policy in schools and communities, data collection can take place in a single site (like a classroom) or across multiple sites. Multi-sited data collection can be beneficial in a study of LPP because policy activity occurs across multiple contexts and levels of institutional authority. For example, studies done in classrooms or schools may reveal language practices, offer evidence for the exercise of classroom-level language policy, and explore the discourses and ideology that underpin the two, but unless the researcher incorporates participants at diverse levels of institutional authority, they cannot account for how policy is created, interpreted, and appropriated outside the classroom. Likewise, macro-analyses of language policies do not account for how such policies impact language practices. However, multi-sited data collection also poses distinct challenges – important events may be missed, and attempting to collect data from multiple sites may weaken the researcher's ability to provide a thick description in any one site. The point here is not to diminish the value of classroom-based or macro-level LPP studies, both of which are vital, but to highlight that multi-sited research is particularly well suited for investigating intertextual and interdiscursive aspects of LPP within and beyond policy documents.

National and trans-national language policy and classrooms have been widely studied contexts, but there is still plenty of work to do in both areas. However, less empirical attention has been directed at the multitude of intermediary layers and contexts in between – school districts, teacher committees, city councils, ministries of education and other social and educational agencies that oversee many schools and school districts, states or regional bodies in charge of interpreting and appropriating national language policy, etc. (for an exception, see Cincotta-Segi 2009). As becomes quickly apparent, however, macro, meso, and micro do not adequately capture everything. For example, while we tend to think of "macro" as describing large-scale policies affecting whole countries, a teacher may think of the policies of school district administrators as "macro" while the district administrator might understand what they do as "micro." In other words, while these terms are convenient labels, they are also relative and should be understood against the background of what research participants interpret as "micro" and "macro." Furthermore, Blommaert (2007) reminds us that within any interaction, multiple contexts and discourse types (from the macro to the micro) can play a role, and the multiple scales interacting leads to what he calls "layered simultaneity" (cf. Hult, this volume).

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

Intertextual analysis of language policy can be used for research in a variety of contexts and can be usefully combined with other research approaches featured in this volume, including historical structural research (see Tollefson, this volume), ethnography (McCarty, this volume), language ideology research (Ascjic and McGroarty, this volume), and nexus analysis (Hult, this volume). For example, intertextual analysis can help highlight the "historical and structural factors that lead to policies"

(Tollefson, this volume), particularly as they are indexed in texts that are intertextually connected. Or, when combined with nexus analysis (Hult, this volume), intertextual analysis can aid in "the mapping of how discourses from multiple scales intersect in a specific social phenomenon" such as educational language policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation.

Intertextual analysis is a tool that can be leveraged to analyze a particular phenomenon – meaning production in spoken and written texts – within a larger research project that makes use of other methods. In this way, it is a *method* or technique, not a methodology (see discussion in Crotty 2003), but it is a particularly malleable method that is adaptable to a wide variety of topics and research methodologies, as demonstrated by the diverse disciplines and bodies of scholarship that have taken it up (Allen 2011). However, because of the position that texts are heteroglossic without one true or objective meaning, and as the observer takes part in the production of their meaning, it does carry with it some epistemological baggage that may not be coterminous with an objectivist study. Therefore, the analyst needs to carefully consider their own positionality with regard to how the texts are being interpreted. In my experience, more attention is paid to how texts are manifestations of dominant and marginalizing discourses and less attention is given to syntactic ambiguity and/or ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger 2002), both of which arise as a result of manifest and constitutive intertextual connections to other texts, jumbled together. However, *my* perception of the field is driven by my own epistemology, language ideologies, and experiences, which are themselves a product of intertextual and interdiscursive connections. The point is, we all have an epistemology – whether objectivist, constructionist, or subjectivist – and it is important to be clear about it, with ourselves at least and potentially with our audience (see Lin, this volume).

Organizing data collection in a large-scale LPP study can be a formidable challenge. One possibility is to organize data collection around language policy processes: creation, interpretation, and appropriation. All policies are *created* by human agents, whether by a single author, committee, court, parliament/legislature, or some other organization. They are also created across multiple layers of context and institutional authority; that is, it is not just polities that create language policies – school districts create language policies, teachers engender language policies that impact language use in their classrooms, and families often develop implicit language policies. Not all of these policies are written down; some are de facto, unofficial, or implicit. Then, all policies are *interpreted* by human agents, both by those who created the policy, and those who are meant to implement the policy. Finally, language policies are *appropriated* in a variety of ways by those meant to implement them.

If analysis focuses on the meaning of a particular language policy, the creation of the policy and the resulting policy text will be of primary interest. The first step is to gather all available and pertinent texts. By "texts," we mean any product of discourse, not just written documents – traditional texts like policies, historical documents, and media reports but also transcripts of interviews, community interactions, classroom interactions, and meetings, as well as multi-modal data like photographic evidence. Potential sources of data include:

- Previous iterations of the same policy; i.e. early drafts.
- Previous versions of the policy – for example, if the policy is a newer version of an earlier policy.

- The discursive events, and resultant texts, that engendered the policy – for example, the debate that generated the policy in question (discursive events) and the transcripts of that debate (resultant text) (see Schissel 2009 for an example).
- Current texts and discourses – for example, other policies and sociopolitical and sociolinguistic discourses as indexed in media reports, public declarations by policymakers, or position papers by those responsible for language policy creation.

If the focus is how a policy is interpreted and appropriated in a school, school district, or community, the data sources listed above could be combined with the following:

- All official macro-level language policy texts germane to the study at hand (e.g. national educational language policies).
- All unofficial macro-level language policy texts (e.g. department or ministry of education website publications).
- Local official language policies, at the school and school district level.
- Local unofficial language policies (e.g. brochures for parents of students enrolled in language education programs; website promotion of multilingual education programs).
- Interviews with creators and those meant to implement a policy (see Weiss 1994).
- Participant-observation and field note collection in schools and community settings (see Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995).
- Transcripts of audio-recorded interactions in meetings and classrooms.
- Classroom-based texts (unit plans, objectives, curriculum).
- Photographic evidence of classroom and school activity or the linguistic landscape (see Shohamy and Gorter 2009) surrounding the context of interest.

Analysis begins with a thorough reading of all the texts, with increasing attention to topoi, particular lexical units, genres, or phrases as these become salient. Data collection and analysis are ongoing, intertwined, and recursive, with emerging findings inspiring new sites and methods of data collection. While computer programs like NVivo can be used to quickly scan for particular words or phrases within and across documents, nothing can replace a deep reading of the texts in question. Keeping track of all of the occurrences of a particular word or phrase requires careful organization and diligent documentation. While methods of doing this vary by researcher – some like hard copies of the texts and use highlighters, while others use research software like NVivo – it is important to be clear about which texts are included in the final analysis, and from which context they emerged. After a close reading of the texts, for which preliminary codes are created, a more definitive set of analytical categories emerges (see Saldaña 2013). These can be organized around specific lexico-syntactic features of the text, like vocabulary words, phrases, and grammatical structures, or, discourse elements within the texts, like topoi and genres (see Wodak and Fairclough 2010 for other potential features). Each of these is discussed below.

Bakhtin notes that *words* "belong to nobody, and in themselves they evaluate nothing" (1986, 85), but they are manipulated within utterances to intertextually link to a history of use. In my own research, I have analyzed how the word "flexibility" was

repeated in the creation of the US No Child Left Behind (NCLB) education policy, how it manifested (119 times) in the language of the policy, and then how both lawmakers and educators interpreted this "flexibility" (Johnson 2011). Particular *phrases* are often salient across various language policy texts. In US education, for example, one finds the phrase "equal educational opportunity" or a variant thereof across federal, state, and local policy texts, perhaps making reference to the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court decision, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, or the Civil Rights Act. Analysis of a *grammatical structure* might focus on how syntactic elements create ambiguity, or, how pronoun use in policy debate positions agents within discursive events (Johnson 2013b).

Discourse elements, like topoi and genres, involve how texts are organized and the themes they rely upon for meaning, but they also may be associated with particular lexico-syntactic features. *Topoi* are literary conventions, themes, motifs, or (in rhetoric) conventions for creating arguments and connecting ideas. They reveal both intertextual and interdiscursive connections. In my own research I looked at a recurring tension between "flexibility and accountability" in NCLB, which is representative of a political debate in US education policy more generally, observable in the discursive events (i.e. congressional debate) that led to the creation of NCLB, and then reified in the text itself, which vacillates between promoting the flexibility of the policy and requiring accountability measures, which are not at all flexible. Thus, the tension that exists in US political debate manifests as an odd tug-of-war within the policy text, giving the impression that it is conflicted about what it actually professes (if we can anthropomorphize a document).

This internal conflict within NCLB is perhaps a result of how political debate and compromise engender documents of a unique *genre*. A genre is a discourse type that relies on rhetorical conventions; what Fairclough describes as "the use of language associated with a particular social activity" (1992, 138). Bakhtin emphasizes the historicity of speech genres, which he defines as "the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language. There is not a single new phenomenon (phonetic, lexical, or grammatical) that can enter the system of language without having traversed the long and complicated path of generic-stylistic testing and modification" (1986, 65). One might guess that language policy texts would be influenced by specific genres inherent in the language of political and education policy, legal language, statutory language, etc., but this has been a largely unstudied domain and genre analysis in language policy would be particularly welcome.

Once the relevant lexico-syntactic and discursive features have been identified, analysis then focuses on connections between the text-internal features of a particular policy to previous policy texts, the discursive events that gave rise to the policy texts, and finally the multi-layered sociopolitical and historical contexts and discourses (see Box 15.1). Intertextual and interdiscursive links to present and past texts are highlighted through cross-document coding that focuses on salient lexico-syntactic units or discourse elements. Analysis can then focus on the series of discursive events that led to its creation; for example transcripts of the debate or meetings that led up to the creation of the policy. Such data can be provided by transcripts of legislative debate – for example the US congressional record – or by the researcher who records meetings and debates. Empirical data on the creation of policy is an area of language policy research in which there are many possibilities because it has not often been done. Public declarations and position papers by policy authors as

well as media reports that quote these authors can illuminate the creators' beliefs and intentions, or at least the public presentation of them.

When the focus is the interpretation and appropriation of the policy, the research framework above can be combined with further analysis that focuses on:

- The *creation* of local language policy texts and how local texts and discourses impact the final product. In the creation of polices, what ideas get reified in policy language? How are local texts intertextually linked to macro- and meso-level texts? Which elements are adopted and which are not?
- Which features of the policy texts get taken up by language policy actors; i.e. how they are *interpreted*. Which features are made salient and which are ignored?
- How educators and community members turn the interpretations into actions – i.e. how they *appropriate* the language policy – in schools, classrooms, and communities.
- Then the focus becomes what a policy "means" in the new context. How are policies generated outside of the context of study (e.g. a national policy) *recontextualized*, and how does this recontextualized meaning line up with the analyst's reading of the policy, media portrayal of the policy, or how the authors interpret their own product? How is the recontextualization shaped by local policy texts, discourses, and practices?

To analyze these LPP processes, intertextual analysis should be combined with other qualitative data-collection techniques including interviews, participant observation, field notes, recorded interaction, etc. Each of these processes is taken up in the case study below.

Case Study

From 2002 to 2006 I conducted an ethnographic and discourse-analytic investigation of language policy and bilingual education in the US School District of Philadelphia (SDP). In 2002, when I began data collection, the major US educational language policy that had supported bilingual education programs for years – Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), aka the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) – was replaced with Title III of the newest version of ESEA, coined No Child Left Behind. Thus I started out with two general research questions (RQs): (1) How did the language within Title III emerge over time? And (2) How might shifting federal language policies impact educational practices (bilingual education programs in particular) in the SDP? In ethnographic and discourse-analytic approaches, research questions are allowed to emerge based on the researcher's experience and, indeed, while I started out observing in a bilingual education classroom, I quickly became interested in policy and program initiatives at the administrative level. Because of my relationship with an external consultant to the district – Eve Island (pseudonym) – I was invited to be a member of a group that developed an official language policy for the SDP. Therefore, another research question was added: (3) How is the recontextualization of Title III shaped by local policy texts and discourses?

The recontextualization of policy texts is impacted by the unique ideologies and discourses circulating within a particular context, and access to this information is really only available through long-term engagement. Through participant observation and interviews, I learned some important information about the context of the SDP, which it is necessary to explain up front. Data collection for this project ended up being divided into two halves, which were not only differentiated by different groups of educators, but by different and changing ideologies about language and language education. During the first half (roughly 1.5 years), language planning and policy initiatives were led by a core group of administrators, teachers, and an external consultant (Eve Island) who made it their priority to extend the range of bilingual education options in the SDP. These individuals engendered a "dual language initiative," which was intended to increase the number of dual-language education programs, and developed the School District of Philadelphia Language Policy for English Language Learners. The development of the SDP language policy was a cooperative effort, with input from teachers and administrators from multiple levels of institutional authority. After it was ratified by the school board (an important committee in US school districts), the language policy was posted on the school district's website and quickly forgotten. A big reason for this was because of the change in language policy initiatives during the second half of data collection (roughly 1.5 years), which was dominated by one particular administrator who had different ideas about language education and how language policies should be developed. She shifted the district toward focusing on transitional bilingual and English-focused programs and she made these decisions without the input of teachers; thus the spirit of cooperation among teachers and administrators was diminished. As well, she created a handbook for the district, which effectively replaced the SDP language policy and became the primary written language policy for the district.

During the first half of data collection, I began analyzing Title III of No Child Left Behind in order to answer RQ 1. The texts I gathered included:

1 Previous iterations of Title III – the different versions created by the senate and house.
2 Previous policies from which Title III borrowed, particularly its predecessor Title VII.
3 The discursive events that engendered NCLB – i.e. the published congressional debate which was a window into how the lawmakers interpreted their creation.
4 Public statements from politicians about potential impacts of the bill, as given in the media, public policy announcements, or newsletters for constituents.

While the shift from Title VII to Title III was (accurately, I would argue) portrayed as a shift in federal policy away from additive bilingual education and toward transitional bilingual education and English-focused programs, as a whole, these data told a complicated story. My text-internal analysis (Box 15.1) of Title III focused on which language education programs were promoted, allowed, and prohibited and suggested that while it was clearly dominated by a preoccupation with English, there did appear to be room for other bilingual education programs; nothing was *outlawed*, for example, things just seemed to be *stressed*, English most notably. I then considered the intertextual connections to the policy that preceded it (BEA) and

previous iterations of Title III, as it was developed, written, and rewritten, in the two branches of the US Congress – the House of Representatives and the Senate - both of which created their own versions. By comparing the different drafts of Title III, and noting intertextual connections (or lack thereof), I found that some included language suggesting a myopic focus on English at the expense of other languages, while others were very focused on bilingualism, with much of the language cut and pasted from the Bilingual Education Act. What was eventually passed was a compromise with different bits of language added and subtracted, and the resultant text being an amalgamation of language from the BEA, the Senate and House versions, and some new language.

I then sought to understand the extralinguistic social variables (Box 15.1) – the historical and discursive contexts that gave rise to these texts. Luckily, the US congressional record is a publicly available document of statements made by politicians on the floor of the House and the Senate. I searched for moments during the debate over NCLB when legislators spoke about language, language education, and Title III in particular. I compared these texts with public statements from legislators. It is important to note that each of these public statements represents different genres, which are manipulated by politicians to meet their own political ends. Nevertheless, the analysis revealed that both public proponents *and* opponents of additive bilingual education favored the bill, both claimed it would meet their aims, and they declared so on the floor of Congress and in public statements. Thus, instead of a monolithic English-focused doctrine, I found Title III to be heteroglossic and often vague, notably when newly created language was intermingled with older texts, all of them with intertextual histories and pathways tied to diverse and even contradictory discourses. As well, the production of Title III was a process influenced by multiple and sometimes conflicting discourses and authorial intentions – a "background of contradictory opinions" as Bakhtin (1986, 281) puts it.

With this initial phase of the research underway, I also sought to understand how Title III was recontextualized in the SDP and how this recontextualization was shaped by local texts, discourses, and practices (RQs 2 and 3). The following data were collected:

1 Other official macro-level language policies germane to the study; for example Pennsylvania educational language policy.
2 Unofficial macro-level texts; for example Department of Education website publications.
3 Local official language policies: the SDP language policy and the handbook in particular.
4 Local unofficial language policies, including school-based documents describing language education programs.
5 Interviews with educators from multiple contexts and levels of institutional authority, and particularly those responsible for language policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation.
6 Participant observation in a classroom and language policy and program meetings.

To illustrate how these data were analyzed, I will focus on a particular topos. Having conducted text-internal and intertextual analyses of the various policy texts

(Title III, BEA, the SDP language policy, the handbook, etc.), during participant observation I became interested in a tension between the accountability requirements and the focus on English in NCLB and how the policy was publicly interpreted in language policy and program meetings. Thus, one topos that emerged was a tension between accountability and flexibility that manifested within and beyond the policy texts and had intertextual and interdiscursive repercussions. This type of analysis was possible because of the combination of ethnographic and discourse-analytic research methods, which further revealed how the participants manipulated their discursive environments.

During the first half of data collection, educators tended to focus on the flexibility of federal and state policy, the possibilities of expanding multilingual programs, and the reliability of the research supporting such programs. For example, members of the group developing the SDP language policy relied on multilingual discourses as espoused in the BEA and educational research that supported the relative effectiveness of bilingual education programs. They also publicly interpreted Title III as flexible and were selective about which parts of Title III to incorporate into local initiatives. They made these intertextual and interdiscursive connections deliberately. The flexibility that these educators interpreted in Title III was mirrored by language policy initiatives that were "flexible" in the sense that they were open to input from a variety of teachers and administrators from multiple levels of institutional authority. In other words, one local discourse emphasized flexibility in language policy initiatives, both in how macro-level policies were interpreted and appropriated and how local policies were created, which I argued created an environment in which teachers were empowered to be a part of the process.

The recontextualization of Title III was very different during the second half of data collection, when the focus became the *in*flexibility of Title III and the accountability requirements. This new recontextualization led to local initiatives that diminished the focus on additive bilingual education. As well, this perceived inflexibility in federal policy was mirrored by discursive events that were defined by top-down leadership giving directives and positioning teachers as lacking expertise in language education and policymaking. The accountability in the policy, and the accountability of the teachers, was often stressed. The primary language policy leader, who had taken control of language policy and education initiatives in the district, focused on the accountability in NCLB and the English-only focus of Title III. This recontextualization of Title III, in turn, was linked to the handbook created by the administrator. While intertextual analysis suggested connections between Title III and the handbook, interviews revealed how this administrator deliberately made these intertextual connections which were, in turn, motivated by her own unique beliefs about language learning and education.

The combination of ethnography and intertextual discourse analysis revealed how the multiple policy texts and discourses, circulating across various levels, layers, and time-scales, were connected to one another, and how they were recontextualized in the SDP. Instead of being trapped in dominant discourses over which they had no control, administrators and teachers leveraged particular intertextual pathways – picking and choosing from policy language that met their needs – to appropriate federal policy and create local policy in unique ways. Thus the intertextual and interdiscursive links, or lack thereof, helped explain how the policy texts were interpreted and appropriated. This type of analysis revealed how educators utilize their agency

in manipulating texts and discourses to meet the needs of students, but it also showed that policy as discourse is a powerful mechanism that introduces a formidable structure for language education.

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16 Mapping Language Ideologies

Adnan Ajsic and Mary McGroarty

Introduction

Language ideology as a recognized subfield of academic linguistic inquiry began to emerge only in the last two decades of the twentieth century, despite some influential intellectual predecessors, and is "still very much under construction" (Blommaert 2006, 510). Its contemporary emergence is commonly dated to the work of Michael Silverstein, particularly his seminal 1979 paper "Language structure and linguistic ideology" (Silverstein 1979). Although, as Silverstein (e.g. 2000) himself has noted, leading early twentieth-century American anthropologists and linguists had indeed considered the issue of language ideology, even if they soon dismissed it as inconsequential. Kroskrity (2004) briefly outlines the history of twentieth-century structuralist neglect of language ideology in both anthropology and linguistics, pointing to work in the fields of ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics as influencing later work in language ideology. Its relative neglect throughout much of the twentieth century (a phenomenon which de Beaugrande [1999, 260] ascribes to "scientism" defined as "a popularized ideology […] holding that only scientific knowledge is true and valid"), means that there is not yet a single core literature, although one is beginning to coalesce primarily around linguistic anthropological attention to the topic (see essays in Blommaert 1999; Gal and Woolard 2001; Kroskrity 2000; and Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; compare to Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002; Duchêne and Heller 2007; Ricento 2000; Johnson and Milani 2010 for collections of applied and sociolinguistic forays into the topic).

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Developing Research Questions

The significance of language-ideological research for language policy and planning (LPP) is perhaps best reflected in the influential tripartite conceptualization of language policy as consisting of language practices, language management, and *language ideologies* (Spolsky 2004, 2009) as well as the view of language policy as the manifestation of hidden ideological agendas (Shohamy 2006). A basic, widely shared definition of language ideologies is sets of beliefs (or ideas/conceptualizations) about language. While language ideologies can be identified in both language practices and various management efforts in individual domains, it is particularly interesting to investigate to what extent and how managers are able to affect the language-ideological profile of the speech community as a whole because, arguably, the success or failure of any managerial effort or policy in any domain within the community depends in large measure on their congruence with the dominant language ideologies in circulation.

Partly because of the differing research traditions in contributing disciplines and partly because of the theoretical and methodological nascence of the field, research questions in existing studies are not always stated explicitly and can thus be implicit or even difficult to identify, a situation which should be avoided. Early foci on language attitudes and the role of language ideologies in the construction and reproduction of (ethno)nationalist identities remain pivotal in current research (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2011; Fleischer 2007; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; Vessey 2013). Other contributions have attended to the specific role of public institutions in the production of language ideologies (Spitulnik 1998), and globalization-related issues such as the manipulation of language in ideological discourses of economic neoliberalism, political correctness, and religious fundamentalism (de Beaugrande 1999; Johnson and Suhr 2003; Salama 2011), as well as migration and diasporic communities (Baker et al. 2008; Fraysee-Kim 2010).

Unsurprisingly, approaches to the formulation of research questions differ widely, but we can discern some major trends. Earlier studies, which relied more on ethnographic and historiographic methods as well as various forms of discourse analysis, tended to ask two types of questions. Studies based on ethnographic and historiographic analyses thus asked macro-level questions such as the following: What is the structure of language ideology? What are the consequences (for politics, for research) of language ideologies? (Irvine and Gal 2000); How have ideologies of language, nation and state been connected to each other and the practice of sociolinguistics? (Heller 1999). Studies based on discourse analysis, on the other hand, tended to focus more on micro-level or localized issues, asking questions such as: What discourse prosodies (and ideologies) do the term "liberal" and its derivatives "liberalism" and "liberalization" have? (de Beaugrande 1999); and, What is the role of language ideology in the conflict of Catalan and Spanish nationalisms over the ownership of the 1992 Olympic games in Barcelona? (DiGiacomo 1999). However, Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), for example, relied on discourse analysis but asked macro-level questions (What is the specific role of language in current nationalist ideologies? What is an adequate methodology for ideology research?), while

Jaffe (1999) used ethnography to ask both local and more global questions (What are the ideological underpinnings of the strategies of language planners in Corsica? How are their language ideologies rooted in European and French political economies?).

In contrast to these, more recent studies tend to be more synchronically oriented (i.e. current), localized, and textually based, increasingly relying on mixed-methods designs which combine various corpus-linguistic techniques such as keyword and collocation analyses and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Examples of research questions in the more recent studies include: What are the similarities and differences between Anglo-American and German discourses of "political correctness"? (Johnson and Suhr 2003); What are the common categories of representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the British press? Which texts are representative? (Baker et al. 2008); and, Can the Canadian context provide a useful site for cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)? How can cross-linguistic CADS shed light on language ideologies in Canadian newspapers? (Freake 2011).

Interestingly, although the question of the siting of ideology (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) is of central importance to the identification and interpretation of language ideologies, research has so far largely failed to produce integrated accounts which would examine and compare data from different sites of ideological (re)production (but see Blackledge 2005; Jaffe 1999; and Vessey 2013). Some recent research, conducted mainly with ethnographic methods, has documented the tensions that can ensue from differences between institutional language policies and practices and their impact (or lack thereof) on those served; typical foci are education (Mangual Figueroa 2013) and health care (Martínez 2008). Less often investigated are connections between language ideology, management, and practices in arenas of individual and social behavior considered outside the purview of government support, oversight, or regulation, matters that are to some degree region- and country-specific. Baldauf (2005) shows that graduate student researchers whose work focused on language-planning issues for e.g. a single business, a group of workers, or an educational or religious organization, generated important insights; those interested in language ideologies could adapt a similar 'micro-language-planning' focus to further probe discourses surrounding language-related beliefs. Within the realm of religion, research could address, for instance, aspects of language, both oral and written, used for prayer, worship, and, where relevant, evangelization, probing the understandings of religious officials and their congregants regarding particular uses of special words or terms in speech, song, or writing, or in outreach to potential new members. With respect to business, research questions exploring possible links between language-related beliefs and behaviors (e.g. code choice(s), new terms, or new connotations of everyday words) used in advertising, consumer reactions, and sales would be most welcome. (A caveat: in studying either religious or business entities, researchers might face issues of access, if related data are regarded as proprietary.) At the same time, the abundance and availability of public data from various social media, as well as academic sources, could offer an opportunity for more integrated and innovative perspectives to consider and compare sites of ideological (re)production demonstrating varying levels of discursive consciousness.

Feasibility and Choice of Contexts

More perhaps than in many other areas, LPP-related research on language ideologies must be planned from inception with feasibility in mind. Concerns of feasibility include identification of data appropriate to the topic, ease of access to such data, costs (both fiscal and temporal) of data-gathering and analysis, and investigator knowledge of appropriate analytical techniques. Novice researchers working individually face different constraints from investigators who may be part of larger research teams. Sometimes, researchers may have personal connections that facilitate entry to a research site; such entry may or may not include permission to use types of institutional data (e.g. student attendance or achievement records; deliberations of hiring or selection committees or panels; employee demographics) routinely collected there. Matters of scope may demand explicit, iterative consideration in conjunction with supervisors (such as a dissertation director) and multiple knowledgeable others at a site; researchers must be willing to refine, refocus, and, at times, prune their initial topics and, sometimes, alter investigational methods to reflect the possibilities and constraints they face. In any setting where conventional good practice requires formal review of procedures to protect research participants, all related guidelines must be followed. When ideologies are investigated through texts (political or religious speeches; newspaper discourse; legislation and other government documents or publications; textbooks), investigators must possess the linguistic and cultural capabilities needed to understand what various text types signify in the context of interest.

Existing research is largely interdisciplinary and can be classified broadly into one of three main thematic foci: language ideology and language education (e.g. Hornberger and McKay 2010); language ideology and identity, ethnicity, and nationalism (e.g. Kroskrity 2000); and language ideology and social justice (e.g. Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002). However, it should be noted that these often overlap; language-in-education policies, for example, can have implications for ethnic and national identities as well as social justice (e.g. Lippi-Green 2007). The theoretical and methodological orientations are similarly heterogeneous.

Despite the theoretical and methodological heterogeneity, however, even a cursory glance at the available literature reveals a heavy reliance on readily available textual materials, although this is much less the case in studies focusing on language ideology and language education, which rely on surveys, observational data (e.g. speech recordings) and quantitative instruments (e.g. those associated with matched-guise techniques and attitude/motivation assessments) and data as much as on printed pedagogical materials and policy documents. The choice of context for language-ideological research thus depends to a considerable degree on its thematic focus. In the case of research into language ideology and language education, typical contexts include classrooms as well as educational contexts beyond the classroom such as school districts or university departments (for an overview, see McGroarty 2010), whereas research into language ideology and identity, ethnicity, and nationalism, as well as social justice, relies more on politically framed contexts (e.g. state or regional and national entities, with some studies taking a comparative, cross-national approach). Further, unlike the studies in educational contexts, studies with one of the

two other foci strongly favor textual materials such as newspaper discourse and corpora of official policy documents or historical documents created in particular institutional contexts in a variety of genres (e.g. Ricento 2003).

Regardless of the thematic focus and methodological orientation (i.e. qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods), however, most research into language ideologies has been limited to institutional contexts of one kind or another. The primary reason for this is that language ideologies are sociocognitive phenomena and so institutions (whether cultural, political, educational, or religious) as major discourse nodes are more likely sites to contain traces of ideologies and also to have an impact on their reproduction. One major problem with an exclusive focus on institutional contexts is that they tend to be dominated by official, top-down discourses and ideologies, often to the exclusion of the bottom-up processes that may challenge or complicate official discourses (and policies!) and even demonstrate counter-hegemonic ideologies. More research is therefore needed into contexts which are more likely to show traces of unofficial or alternative discourses and ideologies such as, for example, (subaltern) language activism (Jaffe 1999), online reader commentary (Vessey 2013), and debates in cyberspace (i.e. online fora and social networks; e.g. Johnson, Milani, and Upton 2010), and multilingual educational contexts (Johnson 2010). A note of caution is in order here, however: although anonymized online communication has the (often dubious) advantage of being free from many constraints of face-to-face interactions (in addition to ease of access) and thus can offer an insight into attitudes and beliefs devoid of certain pragmatic considerations, the representativeness of such data is always an issue and so it must be treated with caution and triangulated with data from other sources whenever possible.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

Language-ideological research can be qualitative or quantitative and include survey, questionnaire, and observational data, as well as data in the form of pedagogic materials, official policy documents, newspaper and other media discourse, and historical documents. In addition to these, data types that have received comparatively less attention include texts produced under experimental conditions (Wallis 1998), time allocation for different languages in broadcast media (Hult 2010; Spitulnik 1998), as well as data obtained by way of focus groups (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). Space limitations preclude discussion of methods for collection and analysis of all these types of data. We thus limit discussion to two of the most frequently used types of data – surveys and newspaper discourse – and associated methods for analysis.

Surveys of language-related opinions

Surveys, structured psychometric instruments that require respondents to rate a set of descriptors or make selections across a set of statements, have been used to identify and explore language-related attitudes at least since the 1960s, although survey

techniques go back over a century in various social sciences. In North American research traditions, the term "survey" tends to connote a standardized instrument – often including subscales that represent different constructs – which is based on statements or questions to which participants react numerically along some sort of scale; this is the approach generally linked with the study of language *attitudes*. The term "questionnaire" on the other hand, may often connote a more open-ended instrument that asks respondents to report or elaborate on their individual experiences, sometimes in addition to or in lieu of individual interviews or observations. Such a technique would be more typical of linguistic anthropology. In social psychology, a "survey" would demand pilot testing and analysis to assess reliability and validity using quantitative methods; a "questionnaire," which could be used in more qualitatively oriented research in some branches of ethnography or sociology, may or may not be analyzed in this fashion. However, the two terms are often used interchangeably; researchers are encouraged to be aware that choice of terminology may, for some audiences, invoke methodological requirements that they had not anticipated.

The similarity between typical foci of social psychological investigations of language attitudes and concerns of linguistic anthropologists is often striking, but rarely acknowledged (McGroarty 2010, 10–15). While social psychologists initially developed such surveys to investigate individual differences that presumably affected a learner's likelihood to persist and succeed in learning a second language, more recent investigations using these instruments reflect explicit attention to the development of a sociocontextual model that examines the propensity to identify with a first- or second-language community, seek out contact with second-language speakers, and use second-language media (Rubenfeld et al. 2006). Survey research has also been used to identify the attitudes of a broad cross-section of Britons to different English accents (Coupland and Bishop 2007) and to compare the attitudes of Hong Kong secondary students to Cantonese, Putonghua, and English (Lai 2005).

Many basic research texts (e.g. Babbie 2008) offer useful treatments of survey research and provide useful counsel regarding the design, administration, and interpretation of results (see also Palvianinen and Huhta, this volume.) Basic considerations regarding standardized survey instruments include the clarity of wording, need for pilot testing, and determination of both validity and statistical reliability. Administration of surveys demands attention to matters of sampling: How many participants are necessary/is it possible to consult in order to represent a population of interest? How should they be selected (at random? through some kind of purposive selection? based on convenience?)? Analysis of survey results is done through statistical techniques that include basic descriptive results and may well include inferential statistics and various approaches to identifying patterns through mathematical relationships such as correlation. Again, the methodological traditions guiding survey research may demand formulation of and adherence to mathematically grounded sampling plans. Alternatively, in much small-scale research in applied linguistics, educational ethnography, and qualitative schools of sociology such as conversation analysis, researchers often use what are, in effect, convenience samples; in these traditions, questionnaires may be employed to augment observational data or recorded data.

Analysis of newspaper discourse

Newspaper discourse is probably the most frequently used type of data in language ideology research, particularly in research outside the realm of educational practices. There are several reasons for a relative overemphasis on newspapers and other print periodicals such as magazines over other potential sources of data. First, and perhaps foremost, "newspapers are self-conscious loci of ideology production" (DiGiacomo 1999, 105) as well as "key sites for language ideological debates between various kinds of social actors" (Ensslin and Johnson 2006, 155; see also Rickford, this volume). Second, although they have been losing ground to newer media (e.g. television, the Internet), newspapers remain an influential institution in most societies around the world, offering a wealth of information in an increasingly easily accessible and manipulable format (i.e. electronic text). Third, because of the relative similarities between news discourse organization strategies across newspapers but often also languages, newspaper data allow for effective synchronic comparisons of discourses and ideologies based on independent variables such as political affiliation and (ethno) national identity. Fourth, the relative constancy of newspaper formats across time allows for equally effective diachronic comparisons, which are particularly useful in demonstrating the changing nature of discourses and ideologies over time and their dialogic relationship with the cultural, social, and economic conditions in which they are embedded.

Although language ideologies can be implicit as well as explicit, implicit language ideologies are difficult to identify automatically. Consequently, most current mixed-methods approaches to the identification of language ideologies in newspaper discourse rely on their explicit lexical manifestations. Thus, a first step is to identify, on the basis of literature, preliminary analyses, or researcher intuition, a small number of core search terms or concepts (e.g. "language," "linguistic," "monolingual," etc.) with which to select the texts to be included in the primary or node corpus. Once electronic searches for the core terms in the chosen publications and timeframe(s) have been completed, the identified texts can be downloaded or copied onto the researcher's computer. While the resulting corpora can be usefully annotated and tagged with a variety of additional information as is often done in corpus linguistics, corpus-informed language ideology research primarily relies on the frequencies and distributional patterns of lexical units and hence usually on raw corpora (see Fitzsimmons-Doolan, this volume).

Case Study

Since the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, language has been a major site of identity construction and ideological contestation among its former constitutive nations and their newly independent states. Most recently, in the summer months of 2013, a pertinent language-policy-related language-ideological debate in Bosnia-Herzegovina centered on questions about ethnolinguistic identity and the name(s) of the common language to be asked on the national census (October 2013). Although both issues

are legally settled by the country's constitution, they continue to be contested and thus represent fertile ground for political manipulation. In what follows, we offer a brief outline of a case study analyzing the function of dominant language ideologies in the processes of ethnonational identity construction and language policymaking.

Public debates about issues of social importance take many forms, but for reasons explained above, newspaper discourse offers a particularly appropriate and convenient source of data for the study of ideology in dominant public discourses. However, newspaper discourse is only one of many sites of ideological (re)production, and there is general consensus in the literature that ideologies are contradictory and, more often than not, only partly internalized by social subjects. It is therefore important to examine and compare implicit and explicit manifestations of ideological (re)production in discursive loci displaying different levels of discursive awareness, which are likely to show instances of one or the other (i.e. expert vs. lay opinion), in addition to newspaper discourse which can show instances of both but usually represents a kind of middle ground between the two. In order to achieve this, we compare and contrast the lexical manifestations of language ideologies in newspaper, expert, and lay discourses on language policy and ethnonational identity.

The initial step in this process is the compilation of various node and reference corpora. Because the focus here is on dominant ideologies, only the newspapers and magazines with the highest circulations were considered. The newspaper corpora were compiled by downloading relevant articles from a Bosnian online digital press archive. In addition to this, two smaller corpora, one comprising reports citing expert opinion on language policy issues or opinion pieces written by the experts themselves, and another comprising user posts to a discussion thread about language policy issues in an online forum, were compiled using a Python-based program.

The analysis was carried out in two phases: one quantitative and the other qualitative; due to space constraints, only the quantitative phase will be discussed here. The quantitative phase included the following steps:

1 Keyword analysis was conducted automatically using WordSmith Tools (WST; Scott 2012).
2 The keywords chosen for further analysis were grouped into semantic fields based on shared properties such as category of reference or domain (e.g. census, education).
3 Collocation analysis focusing on the word "language" was conducted using WST.
4 Based on concordance analysis, the lists of collocates were filtered by excluding (a) all function words (except personal and possessive pronouns which can be useful in the identification of discursive strategies for the construction of in- and out-groups: see Wodak and Meyer 2001), and (b) all lexical items that did not appear to be relevant in language-ideological terms.
5 Once all the potentially interesting collocates had been identified, they too were grouped into semantic fields, which here largely corresponded to those identified through keyword analysis.

The findings suggest that although each discursive site (newspaper vs. expert vs. lay opinion) exhibits a characteristic set of semantic fields based on lexical patterns, all

three sites share semantic fields pertaining to named varieties, ethnonational identities, and in- and out-group construction. If we take semantic fields as indicators of discourses, their patterning points to the existence of a number of language-related discourses and their associated language ideologies which are shared across these sites. For example, the most prominent semantic field across the entire corpus is the field *languages*, which comprises lexical items referring to named varieties (e.g. Bosnian, Serbian, English, etc.). Judging by the uniformity of these references in the sense that they all reference presumably discrete, named, standardized varieties which are clearly understood to index similarly demarcated (ethno)national identities, the most widely circulated discourse here is an essentialist discourse which views "the content of both 'language' and 'identity' and their iconic relationships […] as fixed, ascribed/natural and unproblematic" (Jaffe 2007, 58).

By identifying and analyzing the dominant language ideologies in evidence in this debate, this study also sought to identify the language managers and, particularly, evidence of their success. Closer analysis revealed that the principal language managers seem to be politicians and, somewhat surprisingly for a nominally secular state, religious authorities. Based on this evidence, we predict that politicians and religious figures with an interest in divisive ethnic politics will have had a fair degree of success as language managers in pursuing language policies favorable to their interests through a discursive reproduction of language ideologies. One way to gauge the success or failure of such managerial efforts is to compare the outcome of the census (i.e. a democratically sanctioned policy) with the ideological positions espoused by the above managers; preliminary census data suggest a high degree of correlation between the two. This confirms that the study of language ideologies can contribute to our understanding of language policy and planning; ideologies represent the groundwork for policies in the sense that articulation of a policy (and, possibly, its eventual acceptance and impact, though these may also reflect multiple additional factors) depends on its congruence with dominant ideologies.

To sum up, methods for investigating the language ideologies that may be explicit or implicit in language policies are drawn from several research traditions. This methodological heterogeneity is not surprising, given the abstract nature of ideologies. Researchers would do well to recognize both the potential and the trade-offs associated with the methods discussed here as they plan related investigations.

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17 Investigating Relationships between Language Attitudes and Policy Issues

Åsa Palviainen and Ari Huhta

Introduction

Attitudes are deeply embedded in the human mind and are rather pervasive and resistant to change. They have been defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken 1993, 1). Attitudes are rarely the product of rational consideration of facts, but rather they are evaluative and subjective responses to a particular target (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). They are also an important driving force behind human action and behavior. The pervasive nature of attitudes and their strong impact on human action and the forming of ideologies make them important objects of study in language policy and planning (LPP). Attitudes held by individuals, communities of speakers, and policymakers toward a target (such as a certain language, language legislation and policies, or an ethnic group) may have wide-ranging consequences for such important questions as the status of a language and its users, policy implementation, the revitalization of a language, or even language death.

Attitudes can be studied in different ways, but this chapter will concentrate on quantitative survey research methods. More specifically, we will present the use of written questionnaires and attitudinal scales as a means of mapping and measuring attitudes in a certain population. These methods build on the idea that the characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes of a large population can be measured, described, and analyzed by collecting questionnaires from only a fraction of that

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population (see also Zhou, this volume). The methodology has its roots in social psychology, where the study of attitudes dates back to the 1920s. Attitudinal scales and models derived from this psycho-social tradition are used in a variety of research fields including education, psychology, and sociology, as well as market research.

Developing Research Questions

First of all, it is important to spend adequate time and care on the formulation of the research questions (see Box 17.1), since they are decisive in determining how to design the questionnaire, and how to perform the data collection and analysis. The most basic question the researcher needs to make clear to him/herself is: *Which particular attitudes X will be examined in population Y toward which target(s) Z?* Possible targets of attitudes Z can be "toward language groups … a language itself; towards its features, uses, or cultural associations; toward learning a language … toward language provision; toward language policy; or toward language practices" (Baker 2006, 213–14). Often the researcher has already decided which population Y is to be examined (e.g. parents of young deaf children in a certain country) but has to decide the exact targets Z of the negative/positive attitudes X (e.g. toward different educational and support alternatives for deaf children). In some cases, the point of departure is rather attitudes toward a certain target (e.g. cochlear implants), after which comes the selection of a population (deaf/hearing adults/teenagers/parents/teachers/policymakers). Both ways are equally acceptable.

Secondly, the research problem is always situated in and emerges from a context and the researcher therefore also needs to consider: *Why is this theme important to investigate?* This is related to how and why the researcher became interested in the problem initially. Is the issue a current language-ideological debate, a policy implementation, new language practices, or the status of an endangered language, and if so, why is this an issue? Are there gaps in previous research or theories which need to be filled; if so, how and why? It should also be considered whether a survey approach with written questionnaires is the most suitable method to use to address the issue, and if so, why. Importantly, language attitudes can be examined using other methodologies as well, such as ethnographic

Box 17.1 Issues to consider in the formulation of research questions

- What attitudes X does group Y have toward target Z?
- Why is this important to investigate (through the use of questionnaires)?
- What are my motives as a researcher, what do I want to achieve?

interviews (e.g. King and Fogle 2006) or experimental designs such as matched-guise tests (Garrett 2010).

A third important step toward formulating a research question is: *What are my motives as a researcher, what do I want to achieve?* The motives might be to understand a phenomenon by *describing* it ("these are the attitudes X in population Y toward target Z") and/or to *explain* it ("the attitudes X toward target Z in population Y are statistically correlated with and can be explained by factor(s) age/gender/ethnicity/…"). It is worth considering already at this stage what kind of results one wants to obtain and what the potential results will tell us.

Choosing Contexts

After having formulated the research questions, the research context needs to be further defined. At this stage, there are various methodological and practical questions that must be considered. These steps overlap and impact on each other, as illustrated in Figure 17.1.

In choosing the research context (Figure 17.1), population and sample are two key terms. A *population* is everyone in the group that you are interested in studying and to whom you think your results should apply. Populations can vary greatly in size, from all of a country's citizens to all the employees at a public authority, or all the learners of French in grade 4 in one city. Usually, it is not practicable to survey every member of a population, unless the population is very small. Instead, you have to decide which

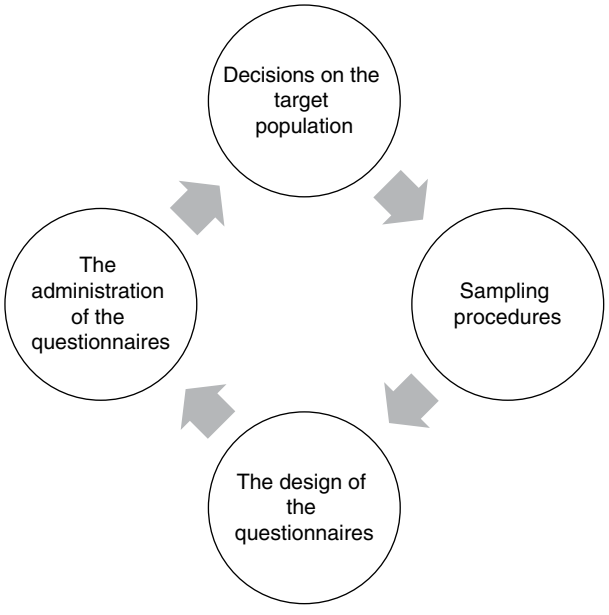

Figure 17.1 The interdependent steps involved in choosing the research context.

members and how many of them you want to include in your survey: this selection process is called *sampling*. Another consideration is how to *administer the questionnaires*, and this, in turn, affects how to *design the questionnaire* and formulate the questions. The steps will be described in further detail in the following section.

Some research questions and contexts make it necessary to repeat the data collection at a later date: a research question may concern changes in attitudes over time. Examples of this are attitudes toward a target before and after an intervention (such as a change in teaching practices in a French class) or a policy implementation (such as changes in national language legislation). In this case, we must decide if it is important that the data is *longitudinal*, with the same sample of individuals responding to the same survey at two different times (e.g. the pupils of a French class before and after an intervention), or *cross-sectional*, with two different samples of the same population responding to a questionnaire at two different points in time (e.g. a country's citizens reacting to a policy change). In yet other contexts, *additional types of data* are needed to respond to a certain research question. For example, if a researcher wishes to examine the correlations between parental attitudes toward the use of multilingual language practices with small children on the one hand, and the language outcomes of their children on the other, attitudinal and language-use scales need to be complemented with instruments that measure the children's language outcomes.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

Designing questionnaires

Using questionnaires has obvious advantages. Once a questionnaire has been designed and administered to a group of people, a huge amount of information can be collected quite quickly and economically. The questionnaire and its contents must, however, be designed carefully, and first it is worth checking if there are already questionnaires on similar topics which can be utilized (such as Gardner's [1985] classic test battery on attitudes and motivation).

Questionnaires are introduced by a *title* identifying the research domain. Then follow clear *instructions* on how to fill out the questionnaire, information about why the responses are valuable and how long it will take to complete the questionnaire, and the promise of confidentiality. Next come the *questionnaire items*, the central part of the questionnaire, and finally a courteous "thank you". A questionnaire should not be longer than four pages and should not take more than 30 minutes to fill out.

The questionnaire items in attitude surveys typically include both factual and attitudinal questions. *Factual questions* concern respondents' background information such as their age, gender, education, and marital and socioeconomic status. As these data are personal, they are usually best placed at the end of the questionnaire. For purposes of statistical analysis, these should be closed questions with fixed alternatives that can easily be transferred into statistical software.

For the *attitudinal questions* various scales can be used. If the attitudes are about affective or cognitive meanings attached for example to a certain linguistic variety or

an ethnicity, the scale might include adjective pairs such as *modern–old-fashioned* or *friendly–unfriendly* (in the literature referred to as a semantic differential scale, see e.g. Gardner 1985). A research question might also ask for information on respondents' language competencies and/or language habits. In certain sociolinguistic scales, one question might be: "In what language do you speak with your mother?" and the options: *Only in language X – Mostly in language X – About equally in languages X and Y – Mostly in language Y – Only in language Y*. The most common tools in attitudinal surveys are, however, multi-item scales, often referred to as Likert scales. The informant is asked to choose from a number of carefully selected statements (e.g. "Asylum-seekers should be offered language instruction in the majority language of the country"). The typical Likert scale includes five response options: *Strongly disagree – Disagree – Neither agree nor disagree – Agree – Strongly agree*, and each option is assigned a number (1–5) for scoring purposes. However, one can also have an even number of options to avoid the respondent always going for the middle alternative.

Different rating scales and question types can and even should be mixed in a questionnaire to create a feeling of variety and keep the respondent alert. In this type of quantitative research, however, exploratory and open-ended questions should be avoided; closed question types make it possible to analyze the results statistically more easily (for descriptions and examples of closed question types, see Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). Aim for short, simple items, use simple and natural language, avoid ambiguous or loaded words or sentences, and avoid double-barreled questions (questions which include two questions in one) (Dörnyei and Csizér 2012). You should also have several items focusing on the same target but with varying wordings and with the focus on slightly different aspects of it. This is to avoid one badly formulated item resulting in misleading responses. Finally, before starting the real data collection, perform a pilot study with your questionnaire. This should show up any inconsistencies or problems (e.g. misinterpretations) in the questionnaire before it is too late to make any changes.

In survey research there is always the risk of so-called social desirability or prestige bias, where the "results represent what the respondents report to feel or believe, rather than what they actually feel or believe" (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010, 8). It is particularly important to be aware of this potential pitfall when studying sensitive topics such as attitudes toward certain languages or ethnicities. Another problem is that closed questions only measure what was strictly asked for. Indeed, survey research has been criticized on the grounds that respondents are answering non-contextualized questions, which lack depth, and the survey "fails to penetrate the meanings and understandings of people who are sampled" (Baker 2006, 224). These problems suggest a need for future studies where mixed methodologies and scales are used to address complex research questions. People's attitudes toward a certain target may also be multiple, even contradictory, and these complexities also need to be addressed more in future research (Eagly and Chaiken 2005).

Data-collection procedures

There are two broad types of sampling: probability (or statistical) sampling and non-probability (or purposeful) sampling. The key characteristic of *probability sampling* is that every member of the population has a certain, accurately calculable

chance of being included in the study; hence, the accuracy of the survey results can be estimated mathematically. Results of opinion polls are often reported with a comment that the finding is accurate with a margin of error of, say, three percentage points. For example, if 65% of the respondents of a poll answered a question in a particular way, the real percentage ranges from 62% to 68%. Reporting such margins of error (or *confidence intervals*) is possible only if the survey is based on probability sampling. The *confidence level* tells you how certain you can be that the true percentage of the population really lies within the confidence interval. A confidence level of 95% means that you can be 95% certain that the true percentage lies within the particular confidence interval. In the above example, you can be 95% sure that the correct result is between 62% and 68%. Conversely, there is a 5% chance that the result is either below 62% or above 68%.

There are several types of probability samples (see Johnson and Christensen 2008 for details). The most straightforward is *simple random sampling*, where each member of a population is given a number and then some of them, say 300, are randomly selected to be surveyed. Alternatively, it is possible to take a *systematic sample*, in which every nth (e.g. every tenth) member of the population is selected. In more complex surveys (of schools in particular) researchers may first take a sample of schools and then take another sample of pupils from each selected school.

The size of the probability sample depends on how certain you want to be of your findings; most researchers are satisfied with the 95% confidence level. It also depends on how wide you want the confidence interval to be around the results – one, three, five or ten percentage points, for example. Also, the size of the population affects the desired sample size but not linearly, as the same accuracy can be obtained with about the same sample size (e.g. a few hundred) when the population size is 10,000 and when it is several million. In smaller populations, however, the sample size matters more. Calculating the required sample size for a simple random sample is quite straightforward; it can be done, for example, at the Creative Research Systems' website at http://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm. Alternatively one can consult the relevant tables in books on research methods (e.g. Johnson and Christensen 2008, 242).

A totally different approach to sampling is *non-probability* or *purposeful sampling*, where you use your judgment to select members of the population of interest. In purposeful sampling it is impossible to calculate the chance of a member of the population being included in the sample, and thus the results of the survey cannot be statistically generalized to the whole population. The conclusions you can draw from the study about the population at large must rest on your knowledge of the characteristics of your sample and of the population. You may be able to generalize the findings at the level of ideas, concepts, and theories even if you cannot make a statistical generalization (see Chalhoub-Deville, Chapelle, and Duff 2006).

Purposeful sampling is typical of qualitative studies but is also often used in smaller-scale quantitative research or in mixed-method studies. Strategies of purposeful sampling include selecting cases that are thought to be very typical of the entire population or that are somehow very important with regard to the population. Other approaches are the selection of very different cases that illustrate how much variation there is in the population, or the selection of only extreme, very unusual, cases for closer inspection (see Johnson and Christensen 2008).

Decisions about the population, sampling procedure, and the type of survey administration often go hand in hand: a certain population may be most easily

reached using a certain channel of distribution. If the target population is the students of a school, *group administration* may be a good way of collecting data. In this approach, the researcher visits a class, presents the research, and hands out questionnaires that the whole class then completes. This procedure results in high response rates but requires the presence of the researcher, and it is time-consuming. Furthermore, answers from paper-based questionnaires need to be entered manually to computers unless an optically readable reply form has been used. *Online administration* is an efficient and fast way of reaching a large number of people. Typically, you send emails which include a URL link to a web-based questionnaire, or you post the link on Internet discussion groups or bulletin boards. Several different software programs are available to create web-questionnaires, and these typically allow the input to be automatically transferred to statistical software, such as SPSS. One major drawback of online administration is that the sample may consist of mainly self-selected participants (those who make the effort to respond). This affects the validity of the research. Finally, if the target population is spread out geographically, and includes people with little or no computer skills (or poor access to computers), *postal administration* is also possible. The return rate is, however, often very low.

Analyzing questionnaire results

The analysis of survey results consists of at least four stages (see Box 17.2). The first two stages, *data cleaning* and *computing of descriptive statistics* (e.g. frequencies, means, and standard deviations), usually happen together. It is important to examine the distribution of the responses variable by variable to check for any data-input errors. Often, you will find some respondents with very unusual response patterns. It is important to examine all these "outliers" to determine whether you should keep them in your data – the inclusion or exclusion of such extreme cases can significantly

Box 17.2 Checklist for questionnaire data collection and analysis

- Questionnaire design
  - Structure: Title, instructions, test items (factual and attitudinal), thanks
  - Scales: Likert, semantic differential, sociolinguistic
  - Piloting
- Sampling procedures
  - Probability (statistical) sampling or non-probability (purposeful) sampling
- Administration of questionnaires
  - Group, online or postal
- Analysis of results
  1. Data cleaning
  2. Computing of descriptive statistics
  3. Analysis of scale's properties
  4. Analysis of scale scores in relation to background variables

affect your results, especially if your sample is small. Has the respondent read the statements in the first place and responded thoughtfully, so it is genuinely a very unusual respondent with markedly different attitudes, or is it someone who has not bothered to think at all?

As for the third stage, *analysis of the properties of the attitude scale*: If you use a previously validated questionnaire, it should work relatively well if your informants are sufficiently similar to those with whom the questionnaire was validated. However, it is important to check that it works also in your study. Conducting a *reliability analysis* and computing the coefficient alpha (also called Cronbach's alpha) with e.g. SPSS is a common way of checking the internal consistency of your scale. Reliability analysis reveals which statements are more tightly grouped together and which have less in common with the others, as indicated by their low correlation with other statements. You may decide to remove statements with very low correlations; however, your instrument may also be measuring more than one construct (e.g. types of attitude). If you have about 100 respondents or more, it is possible to use more powerful analyses such as *exploratory factor analysis* or *principal component analysis* (DeVellis 2012) to examine the properties of the scale, e.g. the number of dimensions of attitude it measures. You can also conduct item response theory-based analyses, as they can yield even more detailed information about the statements and the scale (see Bond and Fox 2007; DeVellis 2012).

After checking the quality of your questionnaire as a measurement instrument, i.e. making sure that all the items/statements work properly and that it measures all the intended dimensions, you can move on to the analyses, which are often the most interesting part of the study. At the fourth stage, *analysis of the relationship of the scale scores to a number of background variables*, you examine whether certain characteristics of your respondents are related to the attitudes that you measured. It may be interesting to analyze whether respondents of a different gender or nationality differ in their attitudes or if their attitudes are related, e.g. to their age, ethnicity, language proficiency, or educational level.

Case Study

In both implementing and evaluating language policies and language laws, one fundamental consideration is the attitudes of those affected by them. The survey presented here was conducted in 2006–2007, to examine Finnish-speaking university students' attitudes toward Swedish and the mandatory study of Swedish in Finland (Jauhojärvi-Koskelo and Palviainen 2011; Palviainen 2010). The Constitution of Finland (731/1999 §17) declares that both Finnish and Swedish are national languages with the same status. Although only 5.3% of the population of Finland are registered speakers of Swedish (Official Statistics Finland 2013), compared to about 90% Finnish-speakers, Finnish-speaking students are obliged to study Swedish in secondary school and high school and at university (just as Swedish-speaking students must study Finnish). The fact that the two national languages are compulsory school subjects has sometimes caused tension and has provoked much discussion in the media. At the beginning of the twenty-first century a number of political

measures were taken (e.g. revising the Language Law of 1922 and making Swedish optional in the Finnish matriculation examination) which have affected the teaching of Swedish at university level. These measures were the reason why the survey was conducted.

The target population was all Finnish-speaking university students in Finland, for whom a university course in Swedish is mandatory. Non-probability sampling was applied: all the Finnish-speaking students taking the mandatory course of Swedish were approached at one Finnish-medium university in the fall term of 2006 and the spring term of 2007. The university, located in central Finland, had seven faculties which all offered subject-specific language courses in Swedish. Group administration of questionnaires was used; the researchers personally went to the first lesson of all the courses, presented the research aims, and collected the paper questionnaires. A total of 776 students filled out the questionnaires. The response rate was very high (fewer than 10 persons declined).

The questionnaire consisted of three pages. On the first page, a cover letter presented the aims of the research, ethical questions, and the researchers' contact information. The second page had a number of factual questions. The researchers wanted to test certain hypotheses concerning correlations between background variables and expressed (positive and negative) attitudes. The factual questions, which were formulated as closed questions with fixed alternatives, therefore concerned gender, age, the field of university study, previous education, the latest grade they had in Swedish, language-use habits, and where (in Finland) students had grown up. The third page consisted of 19 attitudinal statements in which the respondents were asked to consider the degree to which they agreed or disagreed, on a five-point Likert scale (see Figure 17.2).

The statements (presented in Finnish and translated here) were formulated to examine attitudes toward two main targets: the (mandatory) study of Swedish (including the university course on which they were then embarking) (statements 1, 3, and 5), and the extent to which they believed they would need Swedish in their future profession (statements 2 and 4). The statements had slightly different focuses

B) Attitudinal statements

Consider the following 19 statements, and mark the extent to which you agree or disagree with them:

1 = Completely disagree
2 = Disagree to some extent
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree to some extent
5 = Completely agree

1.	*I would attend this university course, even if it was not mandatory*	1	2	3	4	5
2.	*It's important for me to study Swedish, since it will help me in my future work*	1	2	3	4	5
3.	*I enjoy studing Swedish*	1	2	3	4	5
4.	*I believe the course is useful for my future work*	1	2	3	4	5
5.	*If I could choose, I wouldn't have studied Swedish at all*	1	2	3	4	5
6.	...					

Figure 17.2 Questionnaire sample.

(cf. statements 1 and 4 focusing on the mandatory university course and statements 2, 3, and 5 on Swedish studies in general). The logic behind the scale was that the lower the scores, the more negative were the attitudes. However, this did not apply to statement 5, which was formulated using a negative construction: the numbers then needed to be reversed in the statistical analyses. The questionnaire was first piloted on a smaller group of students and some minor changes were made to the statements. As a paper questionnaire was used, all the responses were coded and entered manually to SPSS.

One of the research questions was whether there was a difference in the attitudes of female and male students (Figure 17.3). In computing descriptive statistics, the means showed that female students (n = 518) had a higher mean score for *I enjoy studying Swedish* (statement 3 in Figure 17.2) than male students (n = 257) had: 3.73 versus 3.04. In other words, female students on average had a slightly more positive attitude than male students.

However, means can be treacherous: Consider the possibility that 50% of the students responded "completely agree" (option 5) and the other 50% responded "completely disagree" (option 1). This is certainly a radically different response pattern than if 100% of the students chose "neither agree nor disagree" (option 3). However, both response patterns would give the mean score of 3.0. It is therefore important to report standard deviations. Another way of describing data is to provide the distribution of responses. The bar chart in Figure 17.4 shows the distribution of attitudes between females and males in more detail than mean scores.

Although descriptive figures like this provide some illustrative information of one's data, statistical testing is needed to see whether the observed differences are significant. An independent sample t-test, in which the means of two groups of people are compared systematically, takes different response patterns into account. The observed differences between female and male students in this study did turn out to be significant.

In another analysis, the attitudes of students of different subject fields were compared and analyzed statistically. Since the mean scores of more than two groups were to be compared (number of faculties = 7), a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was applied. It is also possible to include several background variables in the statistical analyses to examine which variable is the strongest explanatory variable for the attitudes expressed. In one log-linear analysis – a multivariate statistical method – it

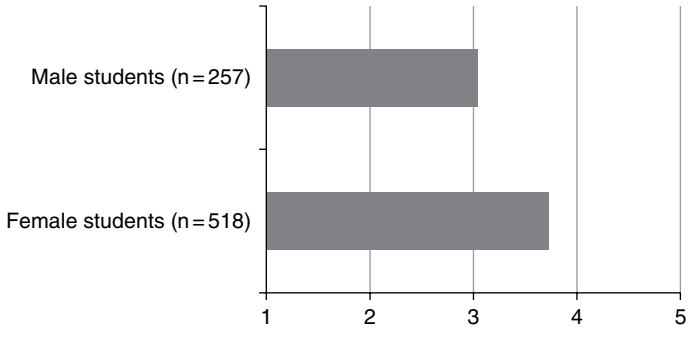

Figure 17.3 Attitudes of male and female students.

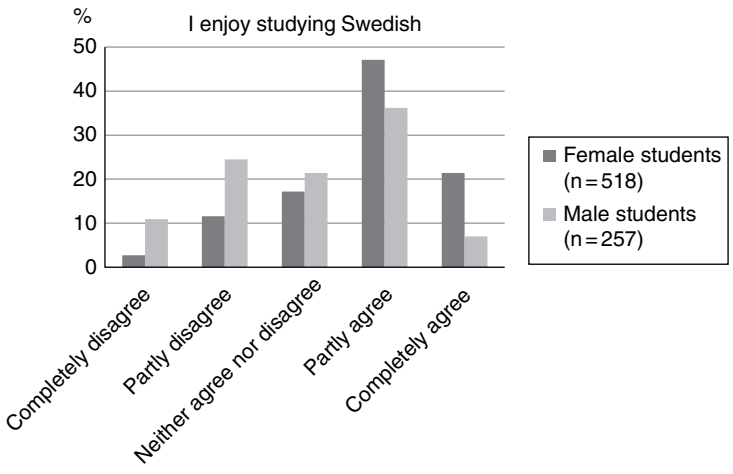

Figure 17.4 Distribution of attitudes between female and male students.

was found that gender and faculty (field of study) better explained attitudes toward studying Swedish than e.g. students' geographical background. Multivariate statistical approaches (such as cluster analysis, structural equation modeling and discriminant function analysis) should be encouraged, since attitudes themselves are of a complex nature (Baker 1992; Eagly and Chaiken 2005).

This chapter started out by saying that attitudes toward a certain target may have wide-ranging consequences for e.g. legislation and policies. In today's Finland, the issue of whether or not Swedish should remain mandatory for Finnish-speaking students continues to be very much debated (now more than ever before) and the government might soon decide that Swedish will be made elective. The survey study presented above gave the researchers a better understanding of the underlying mechanisms (that is, people's attitudes) that may be driving this major societal change.

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18 Using Census Data and Demography in Policy Analysis

Minglang Zhou

Introduction

We are always concerned about how language policy (LP) affects people's language rights, attitudes, use patterns, literacy, education, civil rights, and socioeconomic status as well as the international, national, and local politics behind the policymaking, implementation, acceptance, and resistance. For example, we want to know how China's 2001 Common Language Law influences non-Mandarin speakers, how Germany's 1999 amended citizenship law affects immigrant children's German proficiency, and/or how the US 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation impacts ESL speakers' educational attainment. To understand the impact of a specific LP on its target community, we need some measurements to assess the policy's effects there. This is where census data and demography may play a crucial role in our critique and evaluation of LP and its impact.

Developing Research Questions

When developing research questions, we need methodology and perspectives. Methodologically, public policy studies provide us with tools and dimensions to assess LP regarding its rationality, efficiency, equality, process, output, impact, cost-benefit, goal/outcome, etc. (see Stone 2012; Palviainen and Huhta, this volume). We

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may evaluate one dimension or the relationship among multiple dimensions synchronically and diachronically.

Synchronically, we can develop questions to examine the rationality of a state's LP and its impact on its citizens and non-citizens within its boundaries or across states. For example, we may compare the different rationales underlying LP in Germany, which defines German nationality by "race," and France, which defines the French nationality by "place of birth" (see Brubaker 1992), since LP is an integral part of nation-state building (Wright 2004: 8). Thus, we may hypothesize that Germany's LP negatively affect its immigrants' and their children's German proficiency more than France's does that of its immigrants' and their children's French proficiency. Employing both states' census data, we can compare German proficiency, literacy, and education of certain age cohorts of immigrants in Germany with those of comparable age cohorts of immigrants in France. We may target our research questions at one of these two countries without cross-country comparison if that is where our interest lies.

Diachronically, we may develop questions to compare Germany's LP before and after 1999 when Germany amended its citizenship law to allow certain immigrants' children to acquire German citizenship. We may hypothesize that the new policy has a positive impact on immigrants' younger children's proficiency and literacy in German since these children are expected to benefit from changes in language education policy as a consequence of Germany's amended citizenship law. Taking advantage of Germany's census data, we can compare older cohorts of immigrants' German proficiency, literacy, and education with those of the younger cohorts of immigrants, and find out the impact of the change. On the interactive dimension, we may create questions to evaluate the political process that has eventually led to such a policy change.

Very often we formulate research questions on the impact of language policy on literacy and education, and measure the impact by analyzing census data and demographic information synchronically across communities or diachronically across time periods (see Zhou 2000, 2001). Sometimes a simple measurement of literacy and education in a multilingual setting may not be enough when we consider the local linguistic diversity and linguistic ecology (see Hornberger 2003). For example, over 130 languages are spoken in China, but education is mostly provided in Chinese and only literacy in Chinese is usually counted in Chinese censuses. Thus, we need to develop research questions, beyond literacy and educational levels, about bilingualism and minority language maintenance, in a multi/interdisciplinary approach.

To investigate the impact of LP in such an approach, we have more perspectives to existing census and demographic data about the relationship among language proficiency, literacy, and schooling on the one hand, and socioeconomic status, democratic citizenship, and participatory democracy on the other, since language and power are interwoven inside and outside the classroom (see Cummins 2004; Kymlicka and Patten 2003; McCarty 2005; Tollefson and Tsui 2004), and develop research questions from these perspectives:

- Does LP affect literacy rates in minority communities?
- Does LP facilitate minority groups' educational attainment?

- What is the relationship between language proficiency and minorities' income?
- What is the relationship between language proficiency and voter registration?
- What is the difference in language proficiency between minorities who register and vote and who register but don't vote?

For example, if we are interested in the relationship between language proficiency and socioeconomic status, we may treat proficiency in the official language or bilingualism as a variable, asking whether bilingualism is positively or negatively related to one's income, which language proficiency is associated with higher income and which with lower income. These questions can be answered by analyzing census data, which usually contain income information (for the formula, see Grin 2010; for case studies, see Dustmann and Fabbri 2003; Shapiro and Stelcner 1997). The results from this kind of study provide a solid basis for us to evaluate the impact of an existing LP or the necessity to create a new one to address socioeconomic disparity resulting from linguistic inequality. On the other hand, we often talk about the relationship between language and power, but we seldom design quantitative research questions targeting this relationship directly. In our research, can we treat language proficiency and language-use patterns as variables that affect how ethnic minorities exercise democratic citizenship? This is where LP students can do more, since few currently published studies treat language as the primary variable in political participation or as a necessary element in participatory democracy (see Parkin and Zlotnick 2011).

Choosing Contexts

For new LP students, choosing contexts for one's research on social and public policies such as LP not only involves the disciplinary, theoretical, empirical, and methodological issues discussed above, but also fully engages one's personal experience, training, and resources. All these eventually boil down to the question of how to contextualize one's research questions within the available and accessible data.

First, our personal experience may unfold a perspective that is otherwise invisible and serve as basis for initial research questions. For instance, I did not fully realize the extent of linguistic barriers that minorities in China face in education until I experienced being a linguistic and ethnic minority in the United States and went back to China to do fieldwork in minority communities. Thus, living a minority life and doing fieldwork in a minority community opens a new horizon for our research interest and helps contextualize our research.

Second, when formulating specific research questions, we need to consider our training and resources, and contextualize questions within our abilities and resources. In my early studies, I asked questions about the relationship between writing systems and literacy/education because my MA thesis was on writing systems and reading strategies. These questions led to my first publications on the subject, analyzing published Chinese census data (see Zhou 2000, 2001).

Third, to contribute to the field, the student must go beyond his or her personal experience and training to contextualize the research on theoretical and methodological grounds. Methodologically, we should evaluate whether a qualitative study or quantitative study is more appropriate and, if we decide on the latter, critically assess data contexts when we use available data. For instance, when we examine the No Child Left Behind law in the United States from the methodological perspective, we find that studies of the impact of this de facto LP since its passage in 2001 are generally qualitative, while data reporting required by the law may be plagued with problems (see Koyama 2011). In this situation we cannot plan a quantitative research project relying on the data reported to comply with the law. As a more reliable alternative, we may use the US census, which reports the language use and educational attainment of those aged 18 or over in several ethnic/racial categories (http://www.census.gov/#). We may adopt educational attainment as a measure of the achievement of the policy and students' home language use as a measure of the policy's impact on linguistic diversity over the past decade, targeting specific racial/ethnic and linguistic groups in specific states and even counties to evaluate the consequences of this law.

In addition, we may also contextualize a research project with theoretical considerations. Returning to the issue of language and power mentioned above and going beyond symbolic power and cultural power, we may explore the relationship between language and political power, specifically focusing on how home language use and democratic citizenship are related. For example, the US census provides household and individual home language-use information and voter registration/turnout information on specific ethnic/racial groups in specific counties and states, but we should be aware of the limits of such data, as discussed in the following section. We may look into a specific ethnic/racial group's data and investigate how that group's home language-use pattern as a variable is related to that group's voter registration and turnout. We may analyze the data of a county or state and compare every ethnic/racial group's home language use and voter registration and turnout. Findings on what language people use at home and how they use it could be a good measurement of their political participation and power in a democratic society, contributing to the understanding of the role of LP in promoting or limiting democracy.

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

For an individual researcher's initial study, it is almost impossible to carry out one's own demographic surveys because of financial and political considerations. The best strategy is to take advantage of existing demographic data, which can be mined from censuses and analyzed for policy evaluation. Census data are readily available to the public in democracies, such as the United States, but may be limited in other polities, such as China. Regardless of the degree of availability of census data, the first step for us is to study the designs, concepts, changes, and procedures of a census so that we understand the nature of the data available to us.

Open access and the US census data

We look into the US census as an example of open access to census and demographic data (http://www.census.gov/). The US census, the oldest continuous census system, operative since 1790, currently collects data through the Decennial Census (DC), Current Population Survey (CPS), and American Community Survey (ACS).

First of all, these three surveys differ in the size of population covered. The DC, which is conducted every 10 years, targets individuals of the whole population by surveying each household. The ACS, which is conducted throughout a calendar year, currently samples about 250,000 households a month or about 3 million a year. The CPS, which is carried out over a four-month period each calendar year, currently samples about 50,000–60,000 households. Thus, sample size and frequency are factors that we should consider when we use the DC, ACS, and CPS. We use DC when we need data on the overall population. We use CPS and ACS when we need the most updated data. We use ACS when we study the dynamics of monthly changes.

Second, the means of data collection are different among these three tools. The DC mails a questionnaire (a short form or a long form) to each household, where one person fills it out for all the residents. The ACS mails questionnaires and makes phone calls or personal visits to the selected households. The CPS makes phone calls or personal visits to the selected households. There may be different degrees of probability of error depending on the means of data collection and the size of the population sampled. For example, DC may be less reliable than ACS and CPS because every ethnic group may understand the idea of one address for one household differently. ACS and CPS personal visits and phone calls may help clarify such confusion. On the other hand, the problem for ACS and CPS is whether the samples are representative of the whole population.

Third, these three surveys cover different geographies. The DC covers all geographies, while the ACS collects data from areas with a population of 65,000 or more (including nation, state, counties, cities, congressional districts, and American Indian/Alaska Native areas) and the CPS samples at the national and state level. Thus, we need to consider the geographic limits when we explore the interaction between geography and demography. For instance, we may not be able to use CPS data when we focus on city or county policies or national policy's impact in specific cities or counties.

Fourth, these three surveys provide different kinds of data. The DC with its short form and long form used to provide the most comprehensive information, but it transferred the content of its long form to the ACS in 2010. With the short form only, the 2010 census collects information on age, gender, and race/ethnicity, but its long form used in previous census, such as the 2000 one, gathered data for LP evaluation, which included English proficiency, home language use, educational attainment, length of residency in the United States, and income. Now the ACS collects all these categories of data. Thus, we go to the ACS for current data and the DC for historical data when we evaluate the impact of a certain LP. In addition to its normal coverage, the CPS periodically collects data on special topics, many of which are of great interest to LP researchers. For example, it collects data on voter registration and voting biennially (2006, 2008, and 2010). The data include demographic information on who registered to vote and who actually voted. Another example is the CPS collection of school enrollment data between October 2005 and 2011, which include information on members of the population 3 years old or older on school enrollment. Other interesting special

topics include volunteering, international migration, and access to computers and the use of the Internet, for instance.

After having explored the US census, we are now ready to mine the data for our research. Depending on our research questions, we will need to use data from one, two, or all three of the surveys. We need only go to the US Census Bureau's website (http://www.census.gov/) and locate the specific category of data under "people," which houses over 40 categories of data, including language use, foreign-born, income, school enrollment, race, voter registration, etc. Returning to our early question on language and democratic citizenship, we can measure the relationship between home language use and voter registration/voting for major racial and ethnic groups, such as the Asians and Hispanics, by analyzing the data on their registration/voting and their home language use. Moreover, some states provide bilingual or multilingual registration forms and ballots, while other do not. This difference between states may be treated as a variable, which is measured against the registration and voting patterns of the voters, whose home languages are used or not used in registration forms and ballots. The presence or absence of bi/multilingual materials may be a variable in comparing registration and voting patterns among people whose home language is used and those whose home language is not used. In a word, open access to census data is of tremendous help in LP evaluation.

Limited access and the Chinese census data

On the other hand, there are societies where a national census is not held regularly and there is limited access to census data. We will look into the Chinese census as an example in this regard. With the exception of news and communiqués on the census, we cannot find detailed census data on the website of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) National Bureau of Statistics, whose office is in charge of the census (http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/). The PRC held national censuses in 1954, 1964, 1982, 1990, 2000, and 2010. It is not clear what methods were used in the first three censuses, but the last three adopted methods close to international standards, using both short forms and long forms. The 2010 census short form collected data on these categories of interest to LP students: age, gender, ethnicity, literacy, educational attainment, and mobility, while the long form (used for 10% of the population) collected data of interest in these additional categories: job status, profession, and income. Neither the short form nor the long form collected any data on language use.

Of the six national censuses, China only published the data of the last three as census data books. Even the published data seem to be selective. For example, the data on literacy and educational attainment for each cohort of minority groups from the 1990 and 2000 censuses are published, but those from the 2010 census are not, or at least not yet, published though the short form collected them (China 2003, 2012). Facing the problem of limited data, we have to develop methods to project meaningful estimates based on the available data when we evaluate LP in less open societies. For instance, when we study the impact of China's LP on ethnic minorities' literacy rates and educational attainment in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, we have to project the estimates for those three decades because the data from the first three censuses are not published. Fortunately, literacy and educational attainment for each age cohort for every ethnic group are published, which we may use to obtain the estimates in the corresponding years of schooling, and thus evaluate the impact of LP in corresponding periods (see Zhou 2000, 2001).

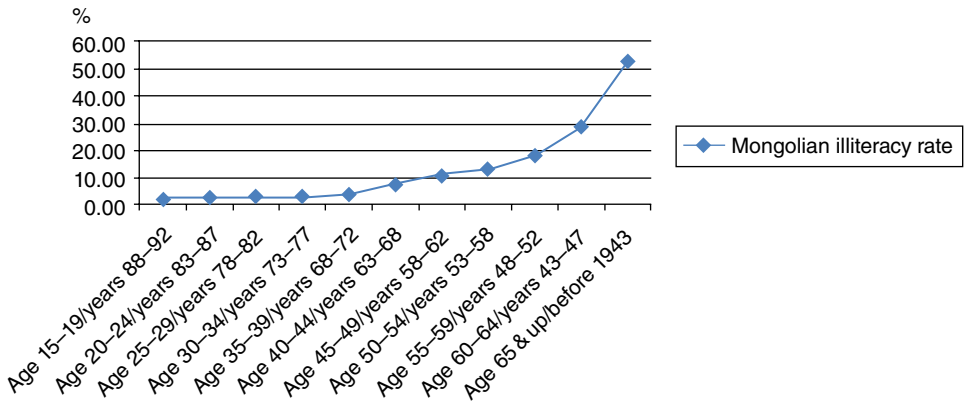

Figure 18.1 Mongolian illiteracy rate across age cohorts and periods (1940s to 1990s).
Source: China 2003, vol. 1, 184.

We will illustrate this approach with the analysis of two cases, the illiteracy rate in China's Mongolian community and educational attainment in China's Kazakh community. To identify the illiteracy rate of each cohort among Mongolians aged 15 and up with a specific period, we first establish the relationship between each age cohort's illiteracy rate with that cohort's expected years of schooling. For example, the cohort aged 15–19 in 2000 were expected to go to school between 1988 and 1992 if they started school at age 7 (15–19 minus 7 years = 8–12 years; 2000 minus 8–12 years = 1988–1992). All the 11 cohorts reported in the 2000 census data are charted in Figure 18.1, where a line is used for a single variable – illiteracy.

This chart gives us the best estimate of the impact of LP over time in the past five decades, though we also need to consider the effects of literacy attrition, literacy campaigns, and variations in age of schooling. We may adjust the estimate when we have evidence of a variable different than the expected norm. For instance, we can adjust the age of schooling from 7 to 8 if fieldwork or other data suggest that the latter was predominant in Mongolian communities in the past. When we are confident about the estimate, we are ready to use it to evaluate how a specific policy or policy change affected literacy development in a community during a specific time period (see Zhou 2000).

This approach may be applied to obtain estimates of educational attainments for a specific community for a specific time period as shown in our analysis of the situation in China's Kazakh's community. The 2000 census data has nine levels of educational attainment: no schooling, literacy class, primary school, middle school, high school, vocational school, junior college, four-year college, and graduate school. We simplify them into four categories by collapsing "no schooling" and "literacy class" into "no schooling"; "middle school," "high school," and "vocational school" into "secondary education"; and "junior college," "four-year college," and "graduate school" into "college education." The census data supply the counts of the Kazakh population for each level of educational attainment for each age cohort. Thus, we convert the head counts of each level of educational attainment of each cohort into percentages for cross-cohort comparison, since the sizes of the population are uneven. The conversion follows this formula:

$$EA \div TC = EA\%$$

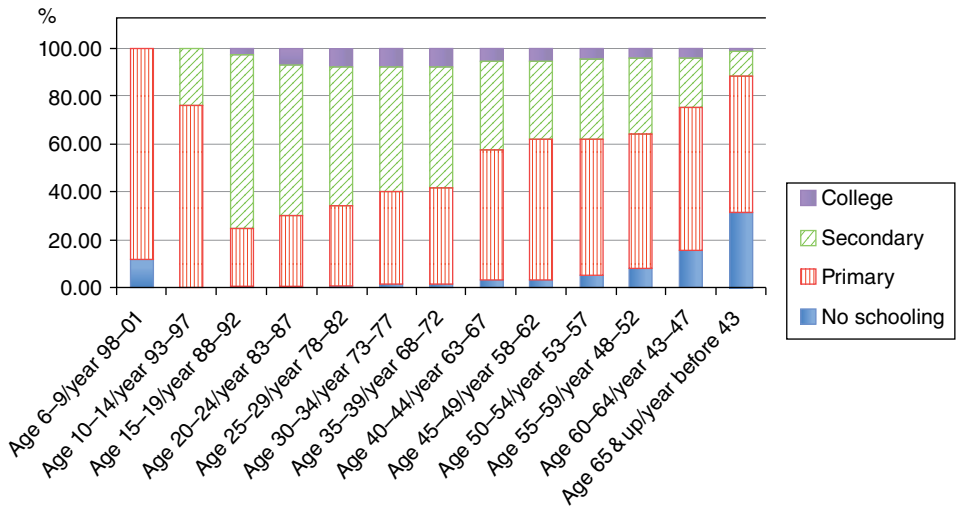

Figure 18.2 Kazakh educational attainments across age cohorts and periods.
Source: China 2003, vol. 1, 140–143.

We simply divide the counts of a level of educational attainment (EA) by the total counts of a cohort (TC) to obtain the percentage (e.g. age 6–9 no schooling 11,738 ÷ cohort total counts 94,796 = 12.38%), but we must add the counts of the collapsed levels before the conversion. After repeating this for each level of a cohort and for all cohorts, we chart the results as shown in Figure 18.2, where columns with different shading are used to represent four variables: no schooling, primary education, secondary education, and college education. Figure 18.2 matches educational attainments with age cohorts and estimated time periods of schooling. With the baseline of the starting year of primary school and knowledge of the school systems in the Kazakh community, we can project the estimates of secondary education and college educational attainments for each time period. In this way we are able to evaluate LP changes over the years and gauge the impact of such changes on literacy, primary, secondary, and college education in the Kazakh community.

In short, it is much easier for us to collect and analyze data when there is open access to census data, but we can still get the job done with appropriate methods when there is limited access to census data. Regardless of the degree of accessibility, the first step is to study the design of a census and the second step is to play with various data from the census before we develop research questions utilizing the data.

Case Study

In this section I still focus on limited access to census and demographic data for LP evaluation. With open access to such data, what we need to do is to develop good research questions. With limited access to such data, we need to develop good research questions as well as creative use of the limited data for our research questions. I will

demonstrate this approach with the following case study of the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism in China.

The PRC began to promote Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) as the national common language in the mid-1950s. However, the exact scope of its impact on over 100 million members of minorities in China is not clear, though it is recognized to be extensive (see Beckett and Postiglione 2012; Zhou 2012). This is because the Chinese census does not collect data on language use. The Chinese government finally recognized that there must be a comprehensive survey of language use in China, so that its LP, education policy, and other public policies could be drawn up on a solid scientific basis (China 2006, 341). It therefore carried out such a survey in 1999–2001 and published the results in 2006 (China 2006). When I got a copy of the survey data, my first questions were, "What is the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism?" and "What is the scope of the shift from minority languages to Chinese?" I asked these two questions because I always tried to find a benchmark when I was doing fieldwork on bilingual education in a minority community, but never got one.

When searching through the volume of data, I found that the information that came closest to answering my questions was the percentage figures of native language speakers and Chinese speakers in each minority group, as in Table 18.1, which shows a wide range of minority-language maintenance and Chinese gain.

To obtain an idea of the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism, I first needed two types of data: the scope of minority-language maintenance and the scope of shift to Chinese. Table 18.1 provides only the data on the scope of minority-language maintenance – the percentage of a minority population that still speaks the native language. To mine from the existing first type of data, I arrive at the estimate of the scope of the shift with this formula:

$$T - L1 = S$$

T stands for the total population of a minority group (100%), L1 for the percentage of native-language speakers among the population, and S for the scope of the shift. Using this formula, I obtained the estimate of the scope of the shift, shown in Table 18.2. It is an estimate because some members of a minority group may have shifted to a dominant minority neighbor's language, but the data are not available. For example, some Lhobas speak Tibetan, but the number is not available. Generally speaking, the estimate is robust because the shift is geared more toward the national language than a local language as the state effort, economic development, and demographic mobility all strongly favor the former.

Returning to the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism, I propose the following formula:

$$L2 - S = B$$

L2 is the percentage of a minority population that speaks Chinese, S stands for the percentage of shift to Chinese, and B is the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism. Using this formula to recalculate the data in Table 18.1, I obtained the scope of Chinese-minority bilingualism for each minority group in Table 18.2. The robustness of the estimate of the scope of bilingualism relies on that of the scope of the shift.

Table 18.1 Percentage of minorities speaking Chinese and minority languages.

Ethnicity	*Chinese*	*Minority languages*	*Ethnicity*	*Chinese*	*Minority languages*
Manchu	99.99	0.00	Dongxiang	85.70	71.05
She	99.99	0.20	Va	84.27	99.26
Hezhen	99.99	2.67	Korean	84.11	93.99
Gelao	99.87	1.46	Bai	83.54	91.37
Hui	99.66	4.60	Lahu	81.46	94.85
Tujia	99.39	6.63	Yi	81.43	69.07
Russian	99.27	49.51	Naxi	80.45	98.34
Bonan	99.11	49.25	Zhuang	79.99	86.16
Achang	98.75	86.15	Ewenki	78.67	94.23
Qiang	98.61	14.66	Blang	77.64	96.93
Oroqen	98.58	59.72	Salar	73.95	62.41
Yugur	98.14	64.26	Mongol	71.38	75.52
Jing	97.72	93.37	Lisu	71.18	98.72
Jino	81.95	96.86	Hani	68.28	94.64
Li	95.51	89.18	Nu	60.27	98.19
Bouyei	94.55	50.33	Tu	59.58	84.02
Daur	92.50	87.13	Shui	58.67	90.77
Miao	92.12	59.70	Tibetan	51.87	90.40
Jingpo	92.09	97.50	Derung	48.12	95.79
De'ang	89.65	99.90	Tatar	43.25	98.96
Yao	89.47	74.90	Kazakh	42.37	99.08
Xibe	89.36	93.87	Lhoba	35.43	89.74
Dong	89.04	57.27	Uyghur	19.88	99.74
Dai	88.58	98.28	Uzbek	16.09	98.12
Maonan	88.03	47.53	Monba	13.22	97.52
Primi	86.81	97.77	Kirghiz	12.21	98.28
Mulam	86.26	91.23	Tajik	6.60	99.75

Source: Zhou 2012, table 4 (p. 6). Reproduced by permission of Mouton de Gruyter.

Table 18.2 shows three general patterns of language shift and bilingualism in China. First, the shift to Chinese varies widely from 0.25% (the Tajik) to 100% (the Manchu). Second, Chinese-minority bilingualism varies from 0% (the Manchu) to as high as 91% (the Jing). Third, Chinese-minority bilingualism does not necessary lead to shift to Chinese, particularly seen in the Jing, De'ang, Jingpo, Dai, Primi, and Va groups that keep the shift rates to single digits while achieving rates of bilingualism of 80% or above.

The results can be used to generate more research questions, such as why some groups see a massive shift to Chinese and why some groups maintain high levels of bilingualism but contain the shift. The results may have more broad use since this study is not an academic exercise but a case of LP evaluation. For instance, the results can be introduced in relevant workshops and other outlets in minority communities and used in communication with language planners and relevant government

Table 18.2 Percentage of minority groups shifting to Chinese and being Chinese-minority bilinguals.

Ethnicity	*Shift to Chinese*	*Chinese-minority bilingualism*	*Ethnicity*	*Shift to Chinese*	*Chinese-minority bilingualism*
Manchu	100.00	0.00	Dongxiang	28.95	56.75
She	99.80	0.19	Va	00.74	83.53
Hezhen	97.33	2.66	Korean	06.01	78.10
Gelao	98.54	1.33	Bai	08.63	74.91
Hui	95.40	4.62	Lahu	05.15	76.31
Tujia	93.37	6.02	Yi	30.93	50.50
Russian	50.49	48.78	Naxi	01.66	78.79
Bonan	50.75	48.36	Zhuang	13.84	66.15
Achang	13.85	84.90	Ewenki	05.77	72.90
Qiang	85.34	12.27	Blang	03.07	74.57
Oroqen	58.30	40.28	Salar	37.59	36.36
Yugur	35.74	62.40	Mongol	24.48	46.90
Jing	06.63	91.09	Lisu	01.28	69.90
Jino	03.14	78.81	Hani	05.36	62.92
Li	10.82	84.69	Nu	01.81	58.46
Bouyei	49.67	44.88	Tu	15.98	43.60
Daur	12.87	79.63	Shui	09.23	49.44
Miao	40.30	51.82	Tibetan	09.60	42.27
Jingpo	02.5	89.59	Derung	04.21	43.91
De'ang	00.01	89.64	Tatar	01.04	42.21
Yao	25.10	64.37	Kazakh	00.92	41.45
Xibe	06.13	83.23	Lhoba	10.26	25.17
Dong	42.73	46.31	Uyghur	00.26	19.62
Dai	01.72	86.86	Uzbek	01.88	14.21
Maonan	52.47	35.56	Monba	02.48	10.74
Primi	02.23	84.58	Kirghiz	01.72	10.49
Mulam	08.77	77.49	Tajik	00.25	06.35

Source: China 2006, 125–126. Chinese here includes both Putonghua and Chinese dialects.

offices. This approach requires the development of social networks with minority communities and the government. Most important of all, it requires wisdom in societies like China if one wants to make constructive criticism that the government will listen to.

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19 Making Policy Connections across Scales Using Nexus Analysis

Francis M. Hult

Introduction

It is a long-standing sociolinguistic challenge to make connections across large and small scales[1] of human activity (e.g. Blommaert 2007; Fishman 1972; Lemke 2000), and language policy and planning (LPP) researchers often seek to explore how policies designed for a country or an institution relate to the language behaviors of individuals (Ricento 2000; Schiffman 1996). In managing this challenge, LPP researchers are increasingly turning to ethnographic and discourse-analytic tools for exploring such relationships (e.g. McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010). Nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004) is especially useful in this regard because it facilitates mapping connections across scales by synthesizing principles and techniques from ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics, and critical discourse analysis.[2]

As such, nexus analysis is not a radical departure from earlier theories and methods, but one branch in the ongoing evolution of ethnographic and discourse-analytic sociolinguistics where research questions increasingly focus on relationships between semiotic resources and social issues that are often complex and mediated by a confluence of factors from individual to sociopolitical scales and shades in between (e.g. Blommaert 2010; Bucholtz and Hall 2008). Nexus analysis provides a systematic approach to the principled eclecticism of methods needed to investigate such questions using different kinds of data across multiple settings (Blommaert 2005, 16).

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Nexus analysis aims and fundamentals

The primary aim of nexus analysis is to facilitate the mapping of how discourses from multiple scales intersect in a social phenomenon – in nexus terms, a "nexus of practice" – such as language policymaking, interpretation, and/or implementation (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 12). As a whole, a nexus of practice is made up of multiple "social actions," a term borrowed from sociocultural theory, that are situated in particular temporal and physical social scales. For instance, if the implementation of educational language policy were taken as a nexus of practice, relevant scales where social actions could occur might include the state legislature, teacher training programs in universities and other institutions, schools, and classrooms, among others. Together the collection of actions constructs the nexus of practice. At the same time, any individual action in a particular site or scale can be seen as a nexus point for discourses from other scales (Lane 2010; Lassen 2008; Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011). Social action, as such, is the focal point, and the analytical task is to trace how certain discourses mediate a given social action thereby situating the single action within the nexus of practice as a whole (Scollon 2005).

With this in mind, and reflecting the three aforementioned complementary methodological traditions, Scollon and Scollon (2004, 13–14) call attention to three kinds of discourse that may intersect in a social action such that every action becomes a nexus point for them. The first of these is the *historical body*, or embodied life experiences, of the individuals involved in the action (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 13–14). The second is *discourses in place*, the circulating beliefs/ideologies co-present in the moment of action. The third is the *interaction order*, which is the set of situated norms for how individuals relate to each other during the action. Discourse, here, follows in the spirit of Gee's big "D" discourse, meaning how language relates to "ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to … make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others" (Gee 1999, 13, as cited in Scollon and Scollon 2004, 4).

Developing Research Questions

Nexus analysis is designed for investigations that focus on social phenomena as systems, meaning how a whole emerges from relationships among its parts (e.g. Hult 2010a; Scollon 2005; cf. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008; Lemke 2000). Rather than emphasizing either large or small scales alone, it guides researchers in attending to connections both within *and* across scales (Pietikäinen et al. 2011). As Scollon and Scollon explain, one needs to "[make] sure that the study does not become obsessively narrowed to single moments, speech acts or events, or participants without seeing how these connect to other moments, acts, events, and participants" (2004, 9).

In developing research questions about language policy and planning, then, it is useful to consider the big picture (the nexus of practice as a whole), the different scales that are part of the nexus of practice, and the individual social actors who are involved on different scales. Hornberger and Hult (2008, 285) developed the following overarching questions to guide this kind of thinking:

- How are relationships among different languages reflected in policy documents?
- How do language policies relate to individual experiences with language use and beliefs about language(s)?
- How do language policies relate to sociolinguistic circumstances "on the ground"?

The three types of discourses (i.e. discourses in place, interaction order, and historical body) that Scollon and Scollon identify are latent in these questions (Hult 2010a). The first question leads one to find textual evidence for discourses in place about the languages (and their speakers) that are present in a particular LPP nexus of practice by virtue of what is explicitly written (or not written) in policy texts. The second question focuses one's attention on the historical bodies of specific individuals to facilitate an understanding of how human agency is involved in both policymaking and policy interpretation (e.g. Menken and García 2010). The third question draws attention to the interaction order of how languages are used in daily life and the extent to which policies align with such practices (Schiffman 1996, 49).

Depending on the interests of the researcher or the socially situated language problem under investigation (see Lo Bianco, this volume), more detailed questions could be developed. For instance, one might wish to examine how discourses present in language curricula become discursively transformed, or resemiotized (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 70), as classroom lessons by a teacher. Reflecting on the relevant scales, one might ask questions about the discourses in place in a language curriculum; the historical body of the teacher with respect to language ideologies, professional training, and/or language learning experiences; and the interaction order of the classroom in terms of teacher–student and student–student interaction (e.g. Dressler 2012). As another example, one might wish to investigate corporate language management, which could involve posing research questions about the intersection of discourses in place about official and working languages in a company's strategic documents; the historical bodies of the company's leadership and individual employees; and the interaction order of specific day-to-day practices within the company as well as with its clients (e.g. Siiner 2014).

The key is that relevant scales and actors involved in a language policy nexus of practice are identified and then specific questions are posed about them. It is important to note that the starting point for inquiry could be any scale. It is just as possible, for example, to trace discursive connections by beginning to ask questions about an interpersonal scale and determining which policy discourses become relevant as it is to begin by asking questions about discourses in place in a policy text and determining how they may or may not manifest themselves in interaction.

Choosing Contexts

There are three general phases of conducting a nexus analysis: engaging, navigating, and changing (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 9). Engaging the nexus is the first or entry phase. One may begin engaging as an insider, an outsider, or potentially a combination of both. A common challenge among novice researchers is trying to figure out what issue to study, where, and with whom. As Scollon and Scollon (2004, 154) suggest, "the first place to look for that issue is in your own life, your own actions, and your own value system." As researchers, we might have had personal experience with a national language policy situation, been in classrooms where policy implementation is underway, or been employed in multilingual workplaces with institutional policies. We could thus begin investigating a setting to which we already have access or a similar type of setting where we might be partial insiders. Alternatively, it is also possible to focus on an issue in a context about which one has an interest but no pre-existing access. Much as in ethnography more broadly, there are both benefits and drawbacks to working in a familiar setting (Hult 2014a). Even in the case of a nexus analysis that begins in a familiar context, the multi-dimensional nature of the inquiry makes it likely that the study will need to be at least partially, if not substantially, multi-sited (e.g. Falzon 2009; Marcus 1998) in order to trace discourses to sites on different scales. It is important, then, that sufficient time be included in the research plan to develop contacts, negotiate access, and become involved (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 60–61).

Regardless of the entry approach, it is during the engaging phase where one begins to identify what the specific nexus of practice is, what scales might be germane, and who the key actors are (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 154). These may not be entirely transparent. Even something as seemingly fundamental as the nexus of practice itself can take time to specify. For instance, one might begin a study with the idea of exploring bilingual language policy implementation and, after engaging with social actors and discourses across scales, come to realize that the nexus of practice is actually discrimination against a certain ethnolinguistic group, variously entextualized in policy and resisted or reproduced by educators.

It is also possible that the researcher's initial assumptions may be different from those of the participants. In policy research, this can relate to the very understanding of "policy" itself. As LPP researchers, we have scholarly definitions of language policy (e.g. Johnson 2013a, 4–7) that our participants may not share. Indeed, they may not even recognize the various ways in which language is regulated in their environment as "policy" but simply as the way things are done in their social and cultural contexts (Schiffman 1996, 22–23). If we, then, ask directly what the policies are, we may not get the full story. We might even be told that there are no policies. Part of the engaging phase, then, is gaining an understanding of what participants *experience* as policy even if they do not label it as such. This would include finding out about implicit norms that govern interaction and explicit values that participants hold about how languages can be used, as well as a range of texts that have the function of policy such as curricular documents, institutional guidebooks for staff, mission statements, assessment instruments, and official decrees or guidelines, among other possibilities (Hult 2014b, 171; Schiffman 1996, 30). Very seldom is there truly

an absence of policy. As Fishman has remarked, "a 'no policy' policy … is always a silent vote for the continuation of the status quo and of those who benefit thereby" (2006, 125).

With respect to selecting contexts, the engaging phase is also crucial in helping to put practical limits on the scope of inquiry. Considering the purpose of nexus analysis to map discursive connections across scales, a major pitfall is having too broad a focus or trying to collect too much data in too many different settings. While the objective is to understand the nexus of practice as a whole and how specific actions are related to that whole, one does not seek comprehensive coverage of every possible action on every possible scale (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 160). Rather, one makes informed, selective decisions about settings and participants in order to obtain data from people and places that are "information rich" (Perry 2011, 67–68) with respect to the nexus of practice (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 171). Accordingly, one must think practically about where one is most likely to obtain the most relevant data that is illustrative of different elements of the nexus. It is during the engaging phase that such relevant scales, actors, and sites of engagement are ascertained. A range of different exploratory techniques can be used to gain such initial insight, including interviews, focus groups, surveys, and observations, among others (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 156–158; see also Lo Bianco, this volume; Martin-Jones, this volume; McCarty, this volume).

The engaging process is easier said than done, and it is not uncommon for this exploratory phase to take three months or longer (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004, 153). After several weeks of engaging with people in a context, issues or problems begin to emerge. These may include, for instance, language and communication challenges in need of management or controversies about policy interpretation and implementation (Lane 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Soukup and Kordon 2012). In essence, one looks for common threads across scales and in repeated actions to begin to tease out specific elements of the nexus of practice that are worth investigating more closely (Hult 2010a).

Methods for Data Collection and Analysis

As one gains greater knowledge and develops more focused research questions during the first phase (engaging), there is gradual movement toward the second and third phases: navigating the nexus, during which core data collection and analysis take place, and changing the nexus, through which the researcher contributes to the nexus of practice. These two phases can occur either simultaneously or sequentially.

Following the engaging phase, data collection begins to intensify as targeted data are sought out in order to begin answering the research questions. Nexus analysis integrates from its ethnographic roots the understanding that data collection and analysis are intertwined such that ongoing analysis results in new insights which, in turn, guide further data collection (e.g. Agar 1996, 62; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 207–209). This kind of recursive analysis, already underway during the exploratory engaging phase, continues throughout the navigating and changing

phases, resulting in increasingly specified interpretations and understandings (Gee 2011, 37; Scollon and Scollon 2004, 159–160).

The focus is on gathering data from multiple scales and analyzing them in order to understand how those multiple scales are discursively related. Having identified the relevant scales and focal sites on each scale during the engaging phase, one is now prepared to investigate each of them systematically. The kinds of data may vary for different sites and scales (e.g. media or policy texts on a national scale and audio-recorded speech on an interactional scale) so the right tools must be selected for each job (Hornberger 2006; Hult 2010b).

It is in this respect that nexus analysis provides a conceptual guide for collecting and analyzing data across scales by functioning as a meta-methodology: a systematic way of synthesizing data-collection and -analysis techniques from interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, and ethnography of communication in order to facilitate the holistic study of relationships between discourse and social action (Hult 2010a).

Policy action as social action

As noted in the earlier discussion about research questions, inquiry can begin on any scale. Regardless of the scale, though, the starting point for nexus analysis is *social action*. It is useful to pause here and consider that human actions take place on every scale (Hult 2014b; Menken and García 2010, 4; Scollon 2008, 20). National-scale policy texts are debated and drafted through interaction among legislators and their staff, news media are produced and consumed by journalists and readers, and institutional decisions and directives are crafted during negotiations among administrators and managers. Likewise, teachers and students or employees and managers interpret institutional policies in their daily interactions. As such, focusing analytically on any particular scale is not about making a micro-macro distinction, but about considering a social action and the scope of its impact (Hult 2010a, 19). The actions of headquarters staff may have an impact on employees at company locations worldwide, the actions of national legislators may have an impact on an entire country, and the actions of a teacher may have an impact on students in a school or classroom.

One factor that distinguishes language policy research from ethnography or discourse analysis more broadly is that the specific focus is on *policy* actions. These would include any action taken by a policy stakeholder in relation to either an implicit or explicit, de jure or de facto language policy (Schiffman 1996, 30; Scollon 2008, 37–38). Such stakeholders are *policy actors*, or "arbiters" (Johnson 2013b; Menken and García 2010, 1), who act based on their interpretations of policy. This might include obvious policy actions like reading a language curriculum text while planning a lesson, or less obvious policy actions like choosing which language(s) to speak during the lesson based on (implicit) expectations about the medium of instruction.

Policy texts, in turn, can be considered a kind of "*frozen action*" (Norris 2007, 13), or "material manifestations of actions taken in the past" (Pietikäinen et al. 2011, 281), since policy documents are textual products of interactive actions during the policymaking process (Blommaert 2005, 185). In some cases it may be possible to

gain insight into the policymaker's interactions through which a particular text was negotiated (e.g. Woodson 2010). More often, though, the text itself is the only accessible trace of policymakers' actions. In such instances, portions of a policy document can be investigated as frozen actions and then potentially be connected to the actions of stakeholders on other scales who interpret and implement the policies (e.g. Compton 2010).

Putting it all together: Mapping intersecting discourses in policy actions

A study grounded in nexus analysis will yield a diverse range of data such as field notes from participant observations, audio-recorded (and transcribed) interactions and interviews, documents (including policy texts), and various kinds of multi-modal data such as photography and news media. These data reflect different sociolinguistic scales ranging from the individual to the interpersonal to the communal/institutional to the societal. The analytical task is to trace discursive connections across these scales.

Every policy action is potentially mediated by, and therefore becomes a nexus point for, the three types of discourse noted at the outset of this chapter: historical body, discourses in place, and the interaction order (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 20). As depicted in Figure 19.1, each of these discourse types facilitates possible connections to different scales, and data related to each type are collected and analyzed using specific methodological tools.

Analytically, one selects a "key incident" (Erickson 1977; Kroon and Strum 2007), or particularly salient moment with respect to the nexus of practice, and a specific action within it. Determining what makes a moment a *key* incident is an interpretive process that relies on the researcher's situated understanding (see Moore and Wiley, this volume). It is a moment where noteworthy discourses intersect and, in this way, is especially useful for developing greater insight into the policy nexus.

With a specific action in focus, one then proceeds to determine what specific discourses of each type are particularly relevant to mediating that action. This, too, is an interpretive process. As Johnson notes, "multiple discourses are always circulating and it is the ethnographer's job to identify which are the most relevant and how they relate to language policy processes" (2009, 154). By attending to the potential relevance of discourses of the three types, one is conceptually guided in seeing how multiple scales intersect in a single moment or action, what can be called "layered simultaneity" (Blommaert 2005: 126–131; cf. Scollon 2008, 65).

The *historical body*, adapted from Nishida's work (e.g. Nishida 1998 [1937]), calls our attention to how the experiences, skills, and beliefs held by individuals might relate to how a policy action unfolds (Blommaert and Huang 2011, 73). By using techniques such as (ethnographic) interviewing, focus groups, surveys, or even textual analysis in the case of public officials who make their values known in print, insight can be gained into the lived experience of policy actors which, in turn, can be called upon to understand how an action they take in a particular moment is part of their personal historical trajectory (Bhalla 2012; Lane 2010; Scollon and Scollon 2004, 160–161). Special attention might be paid to aspects like professional training, beliefs about languages and speakers, prior experiences with policies, and educational experiences, among others. The historical body highlights human agency and

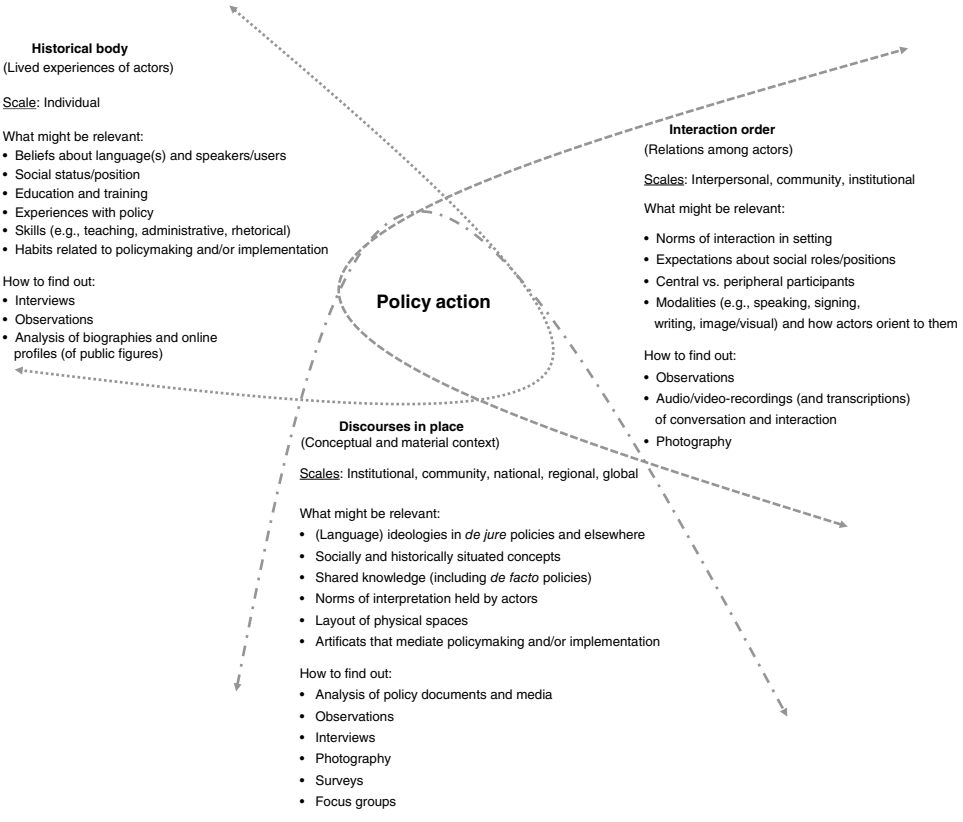

Figure 19.1 Intersection of discourse types in nexus analysis of language policy.

offers insight into how the individual scale has an impact on language policy processes.

Discourse in place emphasizes both the material and the conceptual context in which the action takes place (Blommaert and Huang 2011, 276; Scollon 2008, 34–36; Scollon and Scollon 2004, 161–163). Materially, this might include how the physical layout of a classroom or office either facilitates or hinders certain language policy actions. Conceptually, it might include which nationally circulating language ideologies or institutionally circulating norms mediate the policy action an individual takes. The tools of critical discourse analysis can be useful for identifying societal discourses and ideologies in venues such as media texts, political speeches, advertising, or public signage in linguistic landscapes (e.g. Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Scollon and Scollon 2004, 173–174). The discourses are said to be "in place" because they are part of the situated context (place) that mediates an action (Blommaert and Huang 2011, 276; Scollon and Scollon 2004, 14). Once the potential discourses in place have been identified, how they are made local can be traced in tangible ways by looking for instances of intertextuality, explicit allusions to texts from other scales, and/or interdiscursivity, connections to frames or ideas from other scales, with respect to a certain policy action (Blommaert 2005, 29; Scollon 2008, 22; see also Johnson, this volume). Discourse in place thus facilitates tracing how a

single policy action is discursively connected to the larger policy nexus (Scollon 2008, 34–35).

The *interaction order*, borrowed and adapted from Goffman (e.g. Goffman 1983), calls attention to the interpersonal scale (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 13). It is a kind of bridge between the individual (historical body) and the societal (discourse in place) scales (Blommaert and Huang 2011, 277). By drawing on the tools of interactional sociolinguistics, such as the analysis of audio-recorded conversations, and/or ethnography of communication, such as the analysis of field notes from observations of speech situations, it is possible to determine how individuals co-construct opportunities for certain discourses to be foregrounded or backgrounded in relation to a policy action. Whose experiences are valued? Who makes which language ideologies discursively relevant in the moment of action? How do norms of interaction privilege or condition certain speakers' contributions (e.g. in legislative bodies, committees, or classrooms)? Focusing on the interaction order reminds us that policy processes involve negotiation among policy actors (Scollon 2008, 32–33).

It must be noted that none of the three types of discourse should be seen as static. Rather, each one can change over time, especially as they intersect with each other. Scollon and Scollon (2004, 27) offer the water cycle by analogy. Just as water can rain down, take up new elements from the environment, evaporate, and rain down anew so, too, can a discourse manifest itself, be changed in social context, become (re)appropriated, and manifested in modified ways. Nexus analysis, then, allows not just for tracing how discourses move across scales but also for examining how they potentially change as they do so (Scollon and Scollon 2008, 21–22).

By examining multiple actions across different scales, a holistic picture of the policy system and discursive connections among its parts begins to emerge. For some actions on certain scales, it may be possible to find discursive traces to all three types of discourse. For others, it may be possible or even desirable to map traces to only one or two types. In part, it depends on the research questions, and in part, it depends on the kind of data available. For example, one might wish to investigate synchronically how all three discourse types contribute to the social construction of an institution (e.g. Dressler 2012) or one might wish to examine how particular historically situated discourses in place shift across time (e.g. Hult and Pietikäinen 2014). One need not necessarily focus on all components to conduct a successful nexus analysis.

Before turning to a brief example from an LPP nexus study, a few words about the third phase, changing the nexus, are in order. Also reflecting the ethnographic roots of nexus analysis, the researcher is not seen as separate from the research setting or issue and is likely to become part of their participants' lives in meaningful ways (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 9; see also McCarty, this volume). As part of navigating a nexus one also changes it, because research itself raises new questions and awareness among participants that might not have been salient if not for the researcher's ongoing involvement. In an LPP study, this could result in new ways of thinking about language problems or interpreting language policies. Alternatively, changing the nexus may be sequential in studies where a researcher might draw policy implications or make recommendations for future language policy formulations informed by data collection and analysis. Nexus analysis, like (critical) ethnography and (critical) discourse analysis more broadly, allows both for proactive action research that seeks to facilitate social change and for the potential (and sometimes unintended) impact on society that is part and parcel of all social research.

Case Study

My colleague Marie Källkvist and I undertook a longitudinal study of language policy development at a Swedish university (Källkvist and Hult, in press). Our initial interest in the topic began when we learned that an institution was planning to craft a language policy. Relatively few LPP investigations have examined the making of policy texts in real time, often focusing either on the resulting texts themselves or their implementation. We saw an opportunity to gain insight into the negotiations that take place among policymakers as they debate the issues to include in a policy and to trace these negotiations to the resulting policy document. Around the same time, there was also interest developing nationally in institutional language policies, with the national agency for higher education encouraging such policies and some other universities already having enacted them. As such, we also saw the opportunity to examine how the work of specific policymakers at one institution was related to the larger national language policy climate in Sweden. Thus, our nexus of practice was university language policymaking in Sweden.

Based on her academic relationships, Källkvist was able to gain access to the language policy committee as a participant observer with expertise in English. Drawing upon my prior research on Swedish language policy and Källkvist's knowledge of the Swedish academic system, we designed a study to examine the committee's work as part of a language policy nexus. Reflecting on Scollon and Scollon's comment that a study should not become excessively narrowed to specific events, we sought to gather data from multiple policy scales as suggested in Figure 19.1. From the national scale, we obtained policies and documents from the government, language council, and the national agency for higher education as well as language policies from other universities in Sweden. On the institutional scale, we obtained earlier strategic planning documents, the charge that set forth the parameters for the language policy committee's work, and written responses[3] to the draft policy from university stakeholders. On the committee scale, we audio-recorded its meetings, spoke to committee members, and received access to drafts and other work-product as well as the policy text generated by the committee following its ten meetings over nine months.

It was not our objective to conduct only an interaction analysis of the committee's work, but to examine the multi-layered discursive mechanisms that operate in language policymaking. To this end, these two research questions emerged from our engagement with this nexus:

- How are language problems determined, negotiated over time, and entextualized?
- How do ideas from multiple scales (e.g. supranational, national, institutional, individual) intersect in the policymaking process?

Recursive analysis, in the ethnographic tradition, began to take place during Källkvist's participant observation at committee meetings, as she noted themes, issues, and policy connections that became salient. Through textual analysis of other policy documents, circulating discourses from the national and institutional scales were identified. We then selected key incidents on which to focus our analysis.

Fortunately, we were able to work with a research assistant who transcribed all of the audio-recorded data, verified for accuracy by Källkvist, allowing us to use the transcribed corpus as well as ethnographic experiences and field notes to select the key incidents. While this was ideal, it is worth noting that comprehensive transcription of all audio-recorded data may not always be necessary in a nexus analysis. One of the major challenges in conducting nexus analysis is working with a broad scope of diverse data (textual, oral, visual) from various scales. How one approaches these data for the sake of analysis will depend on the research questions. In a study that focuses particularly on the interaction order, for instance, it may be advantageous to transcribe as much as possible, while in a study, such as ours, focused on ethnographically selected incidents and related discourses from other scales such comprehensive transcription can be useful, but selective transcription may be sufficient when combined with analytic memos, field notes, content analysis, or other complementary techniques (e.g. Halcomb and Davidson 2006; Spotti 2011).

Focusing our analytic attention on specific key incidents, then, we sought to examine how historical bodies, discourses in place, and the interaction order intersected in policy actions. As an example, consider this short excerpt[4] from the tenth meeting of the policy committee:

S1:	but do you think we should start . I think we should include the word conflict because I got angry when it said in Umeå's policy that there is no conflict
Källkvist:	mhm of course it's a conflict
S5:	yes but can't you just add that after
S1:	to comply with the language act and MU's ambition to increase internationalization means there is a conflict
S2:	yes right we begin with a statement
Källkvist:	means there is a conflict
S1:	and then we can just take from the other [paragraph] that can only be resolved by comprehensive parallel-language use

In this incident, members of the language policy committee are debating how to frame the relationship between Swedish and English in university settings with respect to recent national legislation that makes Swedish the principal language of Sweden. Leaving aside an analysis of the content, let us consider potential nexus points for the three types of discourse and how they can be used to trace connections to other scales (see Figure 19.1).

S1 is the committee chair. It is noteworthy that he initiates the inclusion of an idea ("conflict") and largely advances its development with some input from the other committee members. We can ask to what extent his control of the conversation here is facilitated by the interaction order that the committee has established over time, specifically what is expected or accepted behavior for S1 *qua* chair. The interaction order cycle could be traced back across previous meetings to examine its development and to determine what norms have been co-constructed, and how in this incident, those norms may be facilitating S1's contribution.

Considering S1 features prominently in the excerpted policy negotiation, one might wish to know more about his historical body. If there is potential for the agency of a key individual to have an influence on the substance of policy, it would be useful to

know about his language beliefs and his experiences with institutional language use. It might also be useful to know about S1's skills and experience as a committee chair or member in order to understand how he positions himself and others within the interaction order. With respect to his allusion to another policy text ("Umeå's policy"), it might also be helpful to know more about his awareness and understanding of policies on national and institutional scales. How, in sum, do certain aspects of S1's life trajectory mediate his actions during committee policy negotiation?

It is also possible to trace how more widely circulating discourses become locally relevant by looking for instances of "scale-jumping," when discourses from one scale are brought to another scale (Blommaert 2007, 1–2). There are two such jumps in the excerpt that point to discourses in place that contextualize the committee's negotiation here. The first is S1's allusion to the discourse of conflict, thereby bringing it from the Umeå University policy and putting it "in place" as a foundation for the present discussion. The substance of the negotiation is, indeed, a rejection of how the conflict discourse is represented in the policy of this other institution.

The second instance of scale-jumping occurs when S1 later invokes policies from the national scale ("the language act") and the institutional scale ("MU's ambition to increase internationalization") by suggesting that there are competing discourses in them that should be accounted for in the committee's draft policy text. Tracing these discourses, in turn, took us to a critical discourse analysis of the Swedish Language Act and the university's strategic plan for internationalization to determine how the discourses from these other scales intersect with the issues lifted forward in the committee's negotiations.

Ultimately, the negotiation depicted in the excerpt resulted in the following policy entextualization:

> Parallel-language use
>
> The demand to comply with the Language Act and MU's ambition to become an increasingly internationalized university results in a conflict that can only be resolved by comprehensive parallel-language use. Parallel-language use in this case means that two languages – Swedish and English – are used in parallel to a considerable extent in MU's communication.

This one incident offers an example of how nexus analysis can be used to guide one in analytically zooming in to and zooming out from specific moments of action in order to map how discourses from (inter)personal scales and societal scales intersect. By examining multiple incidents in similar ways, one gains an increasing sense of the overall policy nexus and how specific language policy actions relate to it.

Notes

1 Scales are meaningful dimensions of space and time that function as a kind of "instrument by means of which subjects bring order in their semiotizations of the social and material world" (Blommaert, Westinen, and Leppänen 2014, 2). Scales can be seen from an analyst's (etic) point of view as well as from participants' own (emic) points of view. A full treatment of scale as a sociolinguistic concept is beyond the scope of this chapter. For further discussion see Blommaert 2007; Blommaert et al. 2014; Hult 2010a; Lemke 2000; and Scollon and Scollon 2004.

2 An exposition of each of these traditions and their application to language policy research is not possible here due to limitations of space. Here, I focus on the methodological principles brought forth in nexus analysis, in particular.
3 In Sweden, it is common practice in policymaking, even at the national level, for stakeholders to be given the opportunity to offer written feedback in a process known as *remiss* (circulate for comment).
4 The interaction took place in Swedish. This excerpt is our English translation. S denotes Speaker; MU refers to the pseudonym for the university: Metropolitan University. Rogers' (2004) adaptation of Jefferson transcription notation was used.

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Public Engagement and the LPP Scholar

Appendix A Interacting with Schools and Communities

Rebecca Freeman Field

Language policy and planning (LPP) researchers and external consultants can interact productively with schools and communities when they agree on missions, visions, goals, expected outcomes, and processes for working together. My research and practice aims for equity and bilingualism and I choose to work with organizations that share these goals. Here I offer guiding principles and concrete strategies for engaging schools and communities in creating school language policies.

According to Corson (1999), a school language policy should identify language problems, set out what the school intends to do about areas of concern, and include provisions for monitoring and revision of the policy. It is a dynamic action statement that changes along with the school and community. However, in some contexts language policies are not explicitly written but are implicit in practices that LPP researchers observe and document using ethnographic and discourse-analytic methods. In other contexts, the policies are explicitly written but the practitioners working in classrooms are unaware of the existence or meaning of these policies. Complex relationships between school and community beliefs about language teaching, learning, and use also influence the ways that language policies are appropriated locally. It is common to find gaps, confusion, contradictions, and controversies that LPP researchers and consultants need to negotiate locally.

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Working in the School Environment

When interacting with schools and communities, it is important to develop relationships where teachers, administrators, and students see themselves as integral participants in the research process, and not as objects of research. The following general guidelines can help researchers position themselves in ways that encourage teachers and administrators to collaborate with us:

- Clearly articulate your research agenda in terms that educators can understand and are likely to embrace. Remember that teachers and administrators do not use the same terms as LPP researchers and concepts like language planning, language ideologies, and appropriating language policies must be clearly defined.
- Offer to volunteer (e.g. tutoring students, creating curricular materials, strengthening community outreach) in exchange for the opportunity to conduct research. Make sure to balance your attention to their needs with your work as a researcher.
- Use your research to answer questions that constituents have (as well as your own) and encourage practitioners to reflect on practice with you, and take actions to improve practice.
- Allow insiders to direct your attention, data collection, and analyses to what they see as significant (e.g. key interactions to observe, participants to interview, and site documents to review). Ask for their interpretations of the data to triangulate your analyses. Expect these perspectives to support, complicate, challenge, refute – and always enrich – your analyses.
- Work to ensure that all constituents understand the importance of their participation in the research. Invite school and community members to present with you at local conferences or co-publish articles in local newspapers, refereed journals, or chapters in books.

LPP researchers and consultants can work collaboratively with school and community members to make sense of the complexity they find and to develop coherent school/district language policies and implementation plans that promote shared goals of equity and bilingualism. We can also challenge deficit discourses about English language learners by talking intentionally about languages as resources and about building on what students can do with the languages in their repertoires.

Opportunities for LPP Consulting in Schools

Schools and districts are not generally required to formulate official language policies. However, they are often required to hire an external consultant to evaluate their ESL, bilingual, or world language programs, and such program evaluations can lead naturally to recommendations for language policy and planning. Before I agree to conduct a program evaluation, I submit a proposal – that the superintendent must approve because the program evaluation is a requirement – outlining the following:

- **Purpose**. To review the language education policies, programs, and practices offered in the school/district and make concrete recommendations for improvement.
- **Guiding questions**. Who are the students? What are the goals? How are students performing? What services are provided? What are program strengths? What challenges must be addressed? How can services be improved? What action steps are recommended? (See Hamayan and Freeman Field 2012, 5 for details.)
- **Data collection and analysis methods**. Quantitative and qualitative, including student performance data; policy statements and program descriptions; observations of classroom interaction; and interviews and focus groups with teachers, administrators, the superintendent, students, parents, and community members.
- **Deliverables**. Includes an oral program review report to the leadership team and/or a written program review report organized around the guiding questions and incorporating qualitative and quantitative data as evidence.

My approach to conducting a program evaluation reflects my approach to action-oriented LPP ethnographic/discourse analytic research, yet is mindful of the power and authority ascribed to the paid program evaluator who only works with the district for a limited amount of time. I use this power and authority strategically by organizing the program review around the following steps:

1 *Ask the district to convene a leadership team charged with facilitating the review.* The leadership team should include representatives of the relevant linguistic and cultural communities and educators at different levels of decision-making, including school and district administrators; general education and ESL/bilingual teachers; and students, parents, and community members. The team should be large enough to be seen as representative yet small enough to work efficiently. The team must include someone who has the power to act upon the recommendations in the report.
2 *Clearly articulate the purpose of the program review to all constituents*. Start with the school leadership team because this is the group that will facilitate the review and take action based on the consultant's recommendations. Create space to hear what all constituents think about (a) student and community strengths and needs; (b) goals, structures, and expected outcomes of language education programs; and (c) roles and responsibilities of administrators and teachers. Answer questions about language education policies, programs, and practices in terms that everyone understands and that reflect a clear language-as-resource orientation. Work to create a coherent vision and mission for language education that aims for equity and bilingualism. Take note of conflicts, controversies, and competing discourses about educating bilingual learners (de Jong 2011).
3 *Gather the necessary qualitative and quantitative data for the program review.* Ask the leadership team to gather data that respond to the guiding questions before your site visit and to organize that data in a shared electronic file. Ask the leadership team to structure your site visit, and to include opportunities to observe classes, conduct interviews, and facilitate focus groups with key constituents. Report back to the leadership team to debrief and to request any additional data you may need to complete the program review. Discuss your preliminary findings with attention to strengths, challenges, future possibilities, and recommended actions.

4 *Analyze the data and write the program review report*. Use the guiding questions to organize the quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Describe the patterns you see in the data, use interpretations of different constituents to enrich your analyses, and draw on research to explain your findings. Make your recommendations for action steps clear and concrete, and support them with research. Propose an action plan that makes sense given local priorities, resources, and constraints. Write a one-page executive summary highlighting the big ideas and listing the action steps.
5 *Share findings from the program review/evaluation with all constituents*. Work with the leadership team to prepare oral and written presentations in ways that all constituents can understand. Meet with the superintendent and school board members to discuss the report recommendations. Have the leadership team conduct bilingual meetings with parents and community members to discuss changes that respond to community interests. Meet with district personnel to discuss how to plan and implement the types of professional development recommended in the report.

In order for the program review to be effective, constituents must invest in the review process. Most importantly, the leadership team must take ownership of and responsibility for moving the report recommendations forward. When one of those recommendations is for the district to develop a language policy, the leadership team – with the support and guidance of an LPP researcher or consultant as necessary – can draw on what they have learned throughout the review process and in the report, to develop an effective school/district language policy.

Developing Effective School/District Language Policies

An effective district or school language policy and implementation plan must: (1) comply with all federal, state, and local policies and accountability requirements; (2) respond to local community needs, interests, and concerns; (3) promote the development and implementation of educationally sound programs for bilingual learners (including but not limited to ELLs) that deliver valid and reliable results; (4) be understood and supported by all constituents (administrators, teachers, students, parents, community members); and (5) drive decision-making about program implementation and professional learning. The language policy should begin with a mission statement that clearly articulates the district's or school's stance toward languages other than English. School districts and schools that are committed to maintaining and developing languages other than English need to reflect this mission in all of their policies and procedures.

Developing an effective school/district language policy is a complex challenge, and one that most district and school administrators are not equipped to take on without guidance from ethnographically oriented LPP researchers and consultants. The guiding principles and concrete strategies outlined here are intended to help LPP researchers and consultants position teachers, administrators, community members, and educational policymakers as our partners in school/district language planning and policy formulation.

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Appendix B Participating in Policy Debates about Language

John R. Rickford

Language planning and policy (LPP) issues often become the focus of heated public discussion and debate. Sometimes it is triggered by a government action or decision, like the release of a new primary school syllabus in 1975 by the Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Education that was misinterpreted as encouraging "bad English" (i.e. creole English), and triggered a flood of letters to the local press (Carrington and Borely 1975). Reactions to the Oakland, California School Board's 1996 proposal to take African American Vernacular English into account in teaching Standard English were similar, sparking the "Ebonics controversy." It commanded national and international attention for months, including US Senate hearings, widespread public online commentary, and extensive newspaper, radio and TV coverage (Rickford and Rickford 2000). Sometimes the triggering event is a publication or speech by a celebrity who castigates the local vernacular, like singer Georges Dor's 1996 book critiquing spoken French in Quebec (Laforest 1999) or historian/broadcaster David Starkey's 2011 inflammatory claim on BBC TV that riots in England were due to the nefarious spread of Jamaican patois among youth, black and white (Pullum 2011, but cf. also Snell 2013).

In these and similar situations, linguists should – indeed must – respond, to contribute the expertise of our discipline, and perhaps influence the opinions of decision makers. But participating in policy debates is not something we're trained to do, so I would like to share some lessons I and others have learned in recent years:

1 *Respond quickly*. If a reporter contacts you about a response, they need to hear from you almost immediately, since they are working on deadlines, and the topic may not be "trending" in a day or two, much less a week or two. Similarly, if you

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want to write a blog or op-ed, it has to be timely, or made to appear so, e.g. slanted to yesterday's remark by the mayor, not to the two-week-old proposal itself. Think of yourself as a newspaper writer with a 5 p.m. deadline, not an academic with a one-year deadline.

2 *Write simply, engagingly*. Obvious enough, but not easy to do. When I was co-authoring *Spoken Soul*, intended for a general audience, I kept slipping into linguistic jargon; luckily my co-author, a reporter at the time, would spot and modify these lapses. Similarly, my (1997) article in *Discover* was initially rejected for not being accessible enough to non-linguists. As noted in Rickford (1999, 271) I "studied previous *Discover* articles to see how writers managed to cover complex subjects in simple and lively ways," and my second attempt was successful. The writing of Stanford biologist Robert Sapolsky (e.g. 1994) was particularly helpful. More generally, see Kendall-Tackett 2007. And remember, when writing for newspapers, paragraphs are often no more than a sentence or two long.

3 *Create a website*. A colleague, Ewart Thomas, suggested I start my own website (www.johnrickford.com) in 1996 after I told him about my frustrations with reporters who often misrepresented in print what I said about the Ebonics controversy in phone interviews. Once I started putting my main ideas online, and referring the reporters to that source, their reports became more accurate, and the phone interviews shorter.

4 *Craft soundbites*. Laforest (1999, 278) notes that, "In the media, the rules of debate are not the ones we're used to. You are given very little time to speak, too little to make an argument." I discovered this in one of my first radio "debates" with my former student, John McWhorter. I was rattling off the results of studies by one academic after another when John, sitting in a studio somewhere else in the US, said, "Using Ebonics to solve the Oakland public school problems is like trying to put out a forest fire with an eye-dropper!" Of course I disagreed, but I had no equally snappy or memorable retort. One cannot argue a case completely in soundbites, but it helps to have one or two up your sleeve for radio and TV appearances.

5 *Use electronic news and social media*. Facebook, Twitter, individual blogs, linguistics blogs (like Language Log), general blogs (like SpeakOut.com), and online news media like *The Huffington Post*, *Colorlines*, and so on are enormously important and influential these days, especially for young adults and others who rarely consult traditional newsprint, radio, or TV. If you are not hip to the use of these media, ask your students. Students first taught me to tweet, and to include hashtags like #Jeantel or #Zimmermancase in my Twitter messages to help them get picked up by people searching for new contributions on those subjects.

6 *Get help from your college's news service*. Unbeknownst to most of us, the news service or communications offices at many of our colleges and universities (typically staffed by people who have extensive media experience and contacts) can help to arrange interviews with or coverage by local or national news media, to edit our opinion pieces, and in other ways. For instance, the TV crews present at the January 1997 Linguistic Society of America meeting – at which we passed resolutions supporting the Oakland Ebonics resolutions – were arranged by the Stanford news service. And in July 2013, after seeing my frustration at not getting my commentaries on Rachel Jeantel's vernacular published by mainstream

media, they offered me a slot on Stanford's *Open Office Hours*, a Facebook video feature that reached a wide audience.

7 *Repeat, repeat, repeat.* Linguists often express annoyance when members of the public make uninformed remarks (for instance about vernacular or non-standard varieties having no "rules") that they debunked (perhaps in their introductory linguistics class, or in a previous public debate) long ago. But as I have said elsewhere, we have to be like advertisers, prepared to say that "Colgate is good for your teeth," again and again even though we have said it in countless ways before. Remember that the message may be old to us, but it is new (or long forgotten) to many of the people we address.

8 *Dale Carnegie the opposition.* Dale Carnegie's (1936) classic, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, may be outdated and out of vogue to some, but some of its principles (e.g. "Try honestly to see things from the other person's point of view") are still respected and followed in business communication and we could benefit from following them in public debates too. For instance, I often emphasized in discussing the Ebonics issue that the Oakland School Board shared with its critics the *goal* of helping its students master Standard English, and that the only debate was about the *means*. Once this was established, there was usually more common ground with such critics, and we could go on to discuss how existing strategies had failed, and what the evidence was for alternative strategies like contrastive analysis.

9 *Expect frustration, even hate mail.* Linguists' positions on language are often so different from those of the general public, whose ideologies have been drilled into them by teachers and parents and other sources, that we can expect considerable resistance, criticism, and even hate mail when we voice them. Laforest (1999) and Rickford (1999) both talk about this, and I can only say that we have to be convinced enough of the importance of the issues for the speech communities we serve to press on regardless. In the summer of 2013 I became extremely frustrated by my inability to a dozen or more op-eds I wrote about Rachel Jeantel's vernacular in the George Zimmerman trial published in newspapers or electronic media. Eventually, I got two of them placed (one on Language Log, one on Speakout.com), put others on my website, and started writing conference papers to develop the themes at greater length.

10 *Be prepared to grow.* In the course of writing about Rachel Jeantel's testimony in the Zimmerman trial and one juror's admission that she found it both unintelligible and incredible, I got feedback from linguists and others that exposed me to literature in speech perception, and language and the law that I had been unaware of before. I am still actively pursuing this, but I find myself growing intellectually in the process, a wonderful theoretical result for what began as a distinctly "applied" endeavor. In this regard, consider Snell (2013), who suggests, provocatively, that our strategy of stressing the systematicity of vernacular dialects in public debate may not be effective or (in some situations) even accurate.

There are other minor points that I could make, but these will suffice for a start, and I hope that others will use a public forum (perhaps Language Log?) to add others.

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Appendix C Interacting with Politicians and Policymakers

Lava D. Awasthi

In the course of conducting language policy research, it may be useful to interact directly with political leaders. This can be daunting for scholars who are less familiar with government settings and the kinds of expectations that politicians and policymakers might have. While there will be variation across geographical, cultural, and political contexts, I offer here some basic and general tips based on my own experience with government service. These tips are meant to guide researchers in preparing for and conducting meetings with political leaders. I break the process down into four parts: (1) early phase, (2) planning phase, (3) interaction phase, and (4) reflection phase.

1 Early Phase

It is always useful to reflect before engaging with politicians or policymakers. Socrates argued for "knowing thyself," meaning one first frames questions based on an inner monologue. This is good advice for researchers, too. It will help you establish your research needs and will provide you with a stimulus for being concrete about the content and focus of the interaction, giving you a clearer idea about who you need to interact with and why. Part of this reflection should be identifying potential individuals you would like to meet and assessing the appropriateness of your choices. Along these lines, it is wise to formulate a roster of potential politicians and their résumés along with other information you might be able to find out about them

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online. At least two alternatives would be useful because your first choice may not be available. The roster should be prepared relating to a specific policy area to ensure that the people selected are, indeed, informed about and engaged with the issue you are exploring and not simply the person to whom you have easiest access.

2 Planning Phase

Once you decide on the politician, you need to gather detailed information about them on both personal and political levels. It is crucial to understand a politician's political ideology, worldview, and vision. You will also need to know more about their previous work and their achievements. It is essential to get information on their policy agenda, reform initiatives, and policy intentions with respect to the particular issues on which you are focusing. Based on this background information, you can create a roadmap for your interaction with the politician which can include, for example, developing a timeline, specifying content, framing questions, and formulating communication strategies to use during the meeting(s).

Once you reach a comfortable level of readiness, the next appropriate step is often to approach the politician's aide and/or to build rapport with the politician's staff. If you run into difficulty with this channel, it might also be possible to reach the politician through someone who knows you and the politician. An introduction is important, and either way can work. You should not, however, ignore the importance of the politician's office staff. They will usually play a major part in your interaction.

With contact made, you can set up a meeting. It is important to be flexible. The meeting may take place in the politician's office, residence, or at another place of their preference. Be prepared to set a time that suits the politician best, rather than one that suits you. Provide an outline for the meeting and major areas of your focus so that the politician is fully informed beforehand. In addition, it can make a positive impression if you share your brief résumé in advance or at the time of your introduction. In some instances, a pre-meeting with the politician prior to your main interaction can add value to the quality of the discussion by building rapport and fostering openness for sharing ideas. Your meeting in advance can also be an opportunity for you to make the politician realize the importance of your topic. Even if a pre-meeting is not possible, it can be helpful to leave notes and relevant materials for them to review before the meeting. In general, it is a good idea to make sure that the politician feels honored and respected.

3 Interaction Phase

When the meeting takes place, take care to create a positive climate for the interaction. Do not jump into asking questions until the politician feels comfortable with you and shows interest in the discussion. Building trust and rapport is more important than maximizing the time by starting immediately with policy discussion. The

medium of interaction can be a critical factor, in which case you should ask the politician about the choice of language as part of building rapport or even in advance as part of the planning phase. During the meeting, you should also be sensitive to the politician's gender, ethnicity, culture, and belief systems. Avoid being offensive, treading carefully when discussing controversial matters. While language policy researchers may feel comfortable addressing critical issues directly or even aggressively, politicians may often be more circumspect because they value their public image and relationships with their constituents. That is not to say such issues should be avoided, but *how* you talk about issues is a key consideration, especially if the outcome of the meeting will be published or otherwise made public.

You will likely wish to make a record of the meeting, usually using audio- or video-recording and/or notes. Be sure to obtain consent for such recording and be clear about the purposes for which the information will be used. If possible, you may wish to record two separate sets, one for you and the other for the politician, which you will leave with them as a record that can be used as a reference later if desired. If you have assistants helping with recording, introduce them and seek the politician's permission to have them join the session.

Once rapport is established and you think that it is the right time to begin the policy discussion, a good starting point is simply to remind the politician about the purpose of the meeting. You may also need to provide some basic information about the topic and why you thought of meeting them specifically; even if you left notes and materials in advance he or she may not have had time to read them. Acknowledge the politician's position and contribution to the policymaking process. You might then offer an overview of how you would like to structure the conversation and then begin with your questions. Informed questioning is key to your success in conducting such interactions.

A general question about the policy issue is a good place to start. Let the politician express their views spontaneously. Do not interrupt while they are deep in thought. Seek clarification and ask complementary questions when needed. Makes notes on verbal and non-verbal signals as well as key points and the essence of the discussion. Should the conversation go off-topic, try to bring the discussion back on track without offending the politician. Even though you have specific questions, you should be flexible and open by allowing space for the politician to contribute to setting the tone and the agenda for discussion. Keep maintaining the dialogue and show that you are there to promote and enhance the policy process with which they are involved. Toward the end of the discussion, ask the politician if she or he has any questions for you. Once you reach the end of the meeting, extend your gratitude for the politician's time. Let them know that you will continue to follow up with additional questions, people's responses to policy debates, and any findings from your study.

4 Reflection Phase

After you get back from the meeting, reflect on the entire process and the content of the discussion. Assess whether or not the meeting went as planned. Consider whether your encounter leads you to revisit any of your earlier thoughts. Analyze the critical

points on the policy issues that came up and make a detailed audit of the entire conversation. Transcribe the recording, if needed.

You should also reflect on the meeting from a policymaking perspective: what benefits might there be for people at large? Look at the pattern of the interaction and critically assess the macro- and micro-level understanding of the policy debate. Sometimes the simple act of interacting with policymakers and asking them specific questions can have an influence on their subsequent thinking. Finally, you should follow up with the politician and their staff in order to thank them for their time and to set a positive tone for maintaining channels for your future communication and engagement.

Appendix D Managing Media Appearances

Kendall A. King

Many of us have mixed feelings when a journalist calls or emails: enthusiastic about sharing our research findings and expertise beyond the academy, eager to help shape public debates around language policy, but also apprehensive about potentially misrepresenting our research, institutions or ourselves (or being misrepresented) in unfamiliar and sometimes hostile waters.

Researching, and talking to the media and public, about language policy and language learning differs from other academic topics, such as cell biology or French history, because everyone has had intense personal experiences with using language and with language learning, at least a first language if not a second or third. Just about everyone feels themselves to be, and in a sense *is*, an expert on language. This presents a challenge for applied linguists because while we want to recognize the validity of people's beliefs and personal experiences, our job also is to inform the public of what we have learned through research. Widely held, commonsense beliefs often contradict research findings (e.g. the development of students' first languages supports, rather than hinders, second language skills; an English-only national language policy does not lead directly to English-language learning; mixing languages is not indicative of "confusion," and so on).

"Managing the media," or, better put, communicating with a broad public audience, is important, but not easy. And the stakes are high in the United States, Europe, and many other contexts in which language policy is frequently developed and implemented with punitive intent or impact. Below are some insights on "what works" and "what doesn't," summarizing what I have learned, sometimes the hard way, and been told by "author handlers," agents, and producers over the last decade or so.

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What Works…

A little preparation goes a long way in developing productive relationships with the media. Here are a few suggestions to make the most of the interaction and have the best final product.

Knowing your audience and your journalist

It is often useful to do a little investigative work prior to talking with reporters. In particular, try to find out in advance:

- The story line or the angle the reporter is going for (e.g. general background, quick commentary on a hot issue, etc.).
- Who the audience/readership is (e.g. national, local, lifestyles, politics sections).
- What the length and deadline of the piece will be.

For a newspaper story, for instance, you will provide very different sorts of answers for a 300-word piece due in 24 hours compared with a 4000-word magazine piece due in four weeks. Ask questions of the reporter, scheduler, or producer in advance of the interview as this information will help you gauge the tone, depth, and length of your responses, and allow you to prioritize your most important findings or arguments. It took me several years to learn this, but now if called by a reporter, before saying anything about the topic, I ask *What is the deadline and word limit?* Other useful questions might be:

- Who else has the reporter talked to about this issue?
- How much scientific detail is the audience interested in?
- What motivated the reporter to do this piece?

Keeping answers focused

No matter who your audience is, keep your responses clear and relatively succinct. The often recommended formula for this is:

- Make your point (e.g. *Language policies which support bilingualism are good for our state*).
- Follow up with example, fact, or illustration that supports that point (e.g. *A bilingual workforce helps our state compete in the global economy…*).
- Then repeat the main point again (e.g. *We should be investing in developing policies and programs which support language learning and bilingualism*).

Remember that the journalist's questions will very often be edited out, so it is important for your answer to stand on its own. For this reason, avoid starting responses with *Because…* This also allows you the opportunity to reframe the question in your terms (more on this below).

Being vivid and specific

For many audiences, telling a story of a particular school or student is powerful and effective. As researchers we been trained to cite references, studies, and theory, but a simple fact backed up by a true story as an illustrative example is often more convincing. If possible, share some of your passion for the subject matter and an anecdote that conveys that.

Having talking points in advance

You are the expert and you can largely set the agenda for the conversation. You don't need to answer every question directly or even at all. Return to your key points by using phrases such as *The central issue at hand here is really…* or *What we really need to keep in focus is the fact that…* As an academic expert you are expected to be knowledgeable about your area of expertise, but not every detail. It is perfectly fine to say *I'm not an expert in that area* or *I'm not familiar with any research on that specific topic*. It's also fine, even preferable, not to cite every study by author and year.

More importantly: use your airtime or face time with the journalist to get across the points you want to make, rather than letting the interviewer set and control the agenda entirely. If you've done your homework (see above), you'll have a good idea of the issue or angle of the story. If you feel apprehensive, prepare by making a list of a few key arguments and supporting data, findings, or facts.

Coming across as human

Smile, make eye-contact, relax as much as possible, and hold still (small movements are magnified on camera). If there is time in advance, make a little chit-chat with the reporter to learn about her own background and interest in the topic, and share something about your own reasons for coming into the field. Most journalists you speak to are generalists, but many have taken a course in college related to linguistics or studied a foreign language. Establishing a little rapport in advance can go a long way.

Setting up limits and checks

For print media, you might want wish to share some anecdotes, information, or insight that is "off the record." To do so, ask if you can provide information "on background," and ask the reporter not to quote or attribute you for that information. This is usually not journalists' preference (as they would rather have a named source of course), but routinely negotiable. You can also *ask* to see final copy of the story and you can *offer* to review the story for factual errors, corrections, expansions, etc. Few reporters will allow you to demand approval of the story, but you

can make the request to see it before it goes to press. Many reporters are happy to have your stated quotes reworked in an email if this makes them punchier or more precise.

What Doesn't Work…

Lastly, we should turn to a few common "don'ts." These are broad-brush considerations and meant as gentle reminders that the way we talk in our work world does not always translate well to media world.

Using academic speak

Most popular audiences are not interested in the complexity and nuances of academic research, and phrases we use routinely (e.g. *There is a substantial body of empirical research…*) cause many (not all) people to tune out and not hear the second half of the sentence. Start with the main point and build your hedges, as needed, into the main clauses. So for instance, rather than starting with a hedge like *Although there are some mixed results in this area, overall the weight of the evidence suggests…*, include words like *mostly* or *probably* in the main summary of the findings. This also makes it less likely that your position will be simplified or taken out of context as journalists and editors will tend to delete the initial hedge altogether.

Trying to genuinely and fully answer reporters' questions

Most academics take questions very seriously. We are interested in teaching and learning, and tend to try to understand the perspective of the questioner and the basis of the question, and to want to answer fully and completely as we might in an undergraduate class or graduate seminar. This is a mistake. Most reporters are not seeking a comprehensive overview, but either looking for specific facts or opinions (for print) or seeking interesting, engaging commentary. As suggested above, come prepared to the interview with your set of talking points around an issue, and rephrase and reframe questions to suit those purposes. Remember, your audience is not really the journalist, but the broader public, so it is best not to quibble with the journalist's question or terminology, just make the points you planned.

Winging it

Talking or writing for a lay audience about complex research findings is not easy, and does not come naturally to most. To be most effective, it is important that we think about what exactly we want to communicate, and how to make our points

best, and then practice (on camera preferably) doing just that. Practice one or more "elevator talks" that summarize who you are, what is known about this topic, what is important to understand with respect to policy.

Being an egghead

Your title, degree, and university affiliation, typically, will usually be front and center on the screen or in print. What is most impressive, engaging, and convincing for audiences is someone who is clear, modest, warm, and not condescending. For instance, smile when appropriate (even on the phone as this changes your voice quality); nod in response to questions; use the reporter's or questioner's name occasionally; try to have a relaxed tone and vary your pitch to emphasize key points. Pause and be mindful of not talking too quickly. Validate questions (and buy yourself a little thinking time) by starting off with *That's a really interesting/important question* or *That gets to a critical point in the debate.*

Responsibility to Engage

While there are hundreds of scholars of applied linguistics, only a small number of individuals regularly engage with the media and popular audiences. Our field is problem-oriented and deeply connected with politics and current events and has much to offer the public at large and policymakers in particular. Our responsibility is not just to manage the media, but to reach out to them and help them see the relevance of our work to myriad current issues such as the importance of native language instruction; the benefits of bilingualism; the pace of second language learning; the value and systematicity of non-standard dialects; the urgency of Indigenous language loss and revitalization; and so on. Practical steps to that end include:

- Writing letters to the editor, publishing opinion pieces; or contributing to public online discussions.
- Publishing popular versions or press releases of our research, in coordination with university press offices.
- Reaching out to journalists who have covered a language-related issue already and suggesting an alternative, additional take.

This is time-consuming, uncompensated, and sometimes uncomfortable work. But if we don't help set the policy agenda and shape public thinking around these topics, who will?

Index

Page numbers in *italics* denote figures, those in **bold** denote tables.

Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide, First Edition.
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