

# An ethnography of language policy: Investigating discourses about bilingual education and language varieties in Puebla, México

PhD in Applied Linguistics

English Language and Applied Linguistics

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September 2024

**Declaration**

I confirm that this thesis is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Rosalba Karina Ortiz Sáenz

## Abstract

Since 1996, intercultural bilingual education (IBE) in México has been implemented in primary schools that belong to the Subsystem of Indigenous Education in an attempt to revitalise indigenous languages. This study investigates the appropriation of IBE in the context of Puebla, México whereby indigenous languages such as Náhuatl are taught together with Spanish. Specifically, it explores how IBE, Spanish, Náhuatl, and English are discursively constructed in official language policy documents and what language ideologies underpin them. It also examines how school authorities', teachers', and parents' language use is shaped by language ideologies and how they orient to discourses that may enhance or exacerbate the implementation of IBE and the value and uses of languages in the classroom, at home, and in the community.

To analyse language policy appropriation, this study draws from the Ethnography of Language Policy (ELP) and the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). Particularly, it capitalises on stakeholders' appropriation at different layers (ELP) and four levels of context (DHA). By combining the ELP with the DHA, this study triangulates ethnographic data with discursive analyses of language policy texts and discourses. The main data sets of this study consist of official language policy documents and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders. These are triangulated with field note entries.

Consistent with previous research, the findings show that official documents have appropriated discourses from transnational institutions (e.g. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)) to compensate for the subordination of indigenous people and language varieties. However, this has resulted in the commodification of language varieties for different purposes. At the school level, discourses bolstered by a neoliberal agenda have also prevailed, albeit some counter discourses are also employed to challenge official documents. As for the home level, the community's socioeconomic factors (e.g. low socioeconomic level) and school-related features (e.g. convenient location of the school) have contributed to the foregrounding of neoliberal discourses and the backgrounding of others.

## Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis would not have been possible without a number of people who supported me and my work throughout these years. As a Christian, I would like to begin by giving thanks to God for the opportunity to embark on this learning journey and for making provision to meet all my needs. Thank you, God, for sustaining me throughout this journey. Soli Deo gloria.

To my first supervisor, Dr. Tony Capstick, I would like to thank him for refining my writing skills, encouraging my critical thinking, and teaching me how to become an independent researcher and ethnographer. Without his guidance, the writing of this thesis would not have been possible. I would also like to acknowledge my former second supervisor and PhD programme director, Prof. Parvaneh Tavakoli, for her generous feedback and her ongoing moral support throughout my PhD journey. I am also indebted to my current second supervisor, Prof. Rodney Jones, for setting aside time to guide me through the data analysis stage and the writing up of the thesis.

A God-send angel was Dr. Ernesto Vargas who inspired me to apply for a scholarship to pursue my PhD studies in the UK. Not only did he share his own experience as a sponsored student by the Mexican government, but he encouraged me to apply for funding and dream big.

My heartfelt gratitude to my sponsor, the Mexican National Council for Humanities, Science and Technology (CONAHCYT) for trusting in my research project and supporting me financially throughout these years.

This study would not have been possible without the research participants who kindly agreed to participate and share their experiences with me. To Mr. Fortino Acatitla, the headteacher, teachers, and mothers from Puebla, thank you from the bottom of my heart. You have been a great source of inspiration to me as well as an eye opener to a world I was alien to.

I am grateful to my MA dissertation supervisor and academic mother, Prof. Janet Enever, for her willingness to discuss my study, her availability to look at some of my drafts and provide me with feedback.

To my parents David Ortiz and Rosalba Sáenz, my grandma Magdalena Fierro, and my late grandparents Diego Sáenz and Sara Quintero who prayed for my husband and I while we were living in the UK. Thank you! Thank you, mum and dad, for supporting us emotionally and financially and for making yourselves available when I needed you the most. Thank you, Dad, for discussing my findings with me and showing a genuine interest in what I do.

I also would like to acknowledge the ongoing support of my late mother-in-law, Mrs. Graciela Guevara, particularly during the data collection stage. Her financial support allowed me to commute to the research setting. Also, my sister-in-law Ivonne Fontaine and her husband Marco Díaz kindly supported me in the beginning stages of data collection.

I am grateful to my friends and PhD colleagues who became like sisters to me. Thank you for sharing your lives and passions, spending time with me drinking coffee, eating, and chatting about anything, and sustaining me when I needed it the most. You have been the highlight of my PhD journey.

Finally, to my husband, Luis Fontaine, I will always be deeply grateful to you for giving up four years of your life to pursue my PhD dream in the place where we met 19 years ago. I thank you for working hard and giving your best to make sure I had everything I needed. I thoroughly enjoyed your company, and I cherish the highs and lows of our experience in the UK. ¡Gracias infinitas, Muñeco! You are the best husband! Te Amo! We did it!

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## **An Ethnography of Language Policy: Investigating Discourses about Intercultural Bilingual Education and Language Varieties**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

In México, the steady erasure of indigenous language varieties (ILVs) from public (e.g. politics, education) and private (e.g. home) settings has taken place over the last 500 years as a result of the Spanish conquest. Not surprisingly, Spanish has become the dominant language in all areas, including the education sector. In seeking to counteract its dominant role in education for indigenous people as well as promote the revitalisation of ILVs in teaching and learning, a number of language policies (LPs) have been enacted. In this regard, Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) has been in force since 1996 in indigenous primary schools. It aims at providing indigenous people and those with an indigenous background with quality education in their first language (L1) and the opportunity to develop literacy skills in a second language (L2), either an ILV or Spanish (Pellicer et al., 2006).

The present study focuses on the implementation of IBE in the town of Santa María (a pseudonym), Puebla, México, where Náhuatl (an ILV) was once the dominant language. Particularly, the study seeks to shed light on the appropriation of discourses and language ideologies related to IBE, Spanish, ILVs, and English and how these discourses contribute to or hinder the revitalisation of Náhuatl in school and home settings. In order to achieve this, the Ethnography of Language Policy (ELP) (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) are combined seeking to understand local stakeholders' agency in LP decision-making. Having outlined the background to this study, the next section addresses my motivation for carrying out this investigation.

### **1.2. My Background Motivation**

As I describe in Chapter 3, I have an indigenous background. My paternal grandfather was an indigenous person who migrated from Oaxaca, a state in the south, to México City, in

the central region of México. Due to negative experiences at school, he decided to speak only Spanish to his family. It was this lack of exposure to my indigenous roots that triggered my interest in investigating IBE. Concomitantly, I am aware about the foregrounding of Spanish and English in the school curriculum, the backgrounding of ILVs in education, and the great disparity in the provision of bilingual education to indigenous people and those with indigenous backgrounds.

Despite the acknowledgement of linguistic rights of linguistic minorities, the enactment of numerous LPs, and the creation of indigenous institutions (see Chapter 4), ILVs remain absent in the public sphere, there are fewer ILV speakers, and the disparity in the provision of quality education and social inequality remain the same as in the past (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.3 & 4.4). Consequently, I decided to carry out research on IBE seeking to make a positive impact in the field of education, particularly education for indigenous people. This study seeks to expose long-held, common sense, and many times uncontested misconceptions about indigenous people and languages that permeate México, specifically Puebla. Additionally, this study provides clear illustrations of how stakeholders (e.g. teachers and parents) can directly or indirectly contribute to the marginalisation of ILVs by the way they use language and discourses to talk about them. More importantly, I hope the findings contribute to changing dominant language ideologies, discourses, and local actions conducive to the development of ILVs and cultures in meaningful ways. Having provided my motivations to carry out this study, the following sections briefly address the fields of enquiry that ground this study as well as the gaps in the literature to then introduce the overarching aims and research questions.

### **1.3 Overview of Previous Research and Research Gaps**

The first field of enquiry that underpins this study is language planning and policy (LPP) which has become a fruitful area of research over the past decades (Hornberger, 1998; Hornberger, 2020). Previous research has examined the discursive construction of multilingual children in language education policy (Bubikova-Moan, 2017) and the main

focus of educational policy documents in México (Mendoza Zuany, 2020). The findings have shed light on the compliance with neoliberal ideologies that underscore the instrumental value (e.g. social mobility) of dominant languages (Bubikova-Moan, 2017) and the shift from interculturality to inclusion (Mendoza Zuany, 2020). Apart from Mendoza Zuany (2020), scant research analyses the dominant discourses regarding IBE and language varieties in México instantiated in official policy documents, which is one aim of this study (see RQ1 in the next section).

In community and home settings, research has delved into the ideological and implementational spaces of LP implementation and appropriation (De Korne et al., 2019; Johnson, 2010a), adults and youth language attitudes and use of Náhuatl (Gomashie, 2021), and parents' and children's attitudes towards Náhuatl and their effect on home-based interaction (Gomashie, 2023). Together, the findings have shown the increasing visibility and value of ILVs in higher education (De Korne et al., 2019), the use of Náhuatl in religious, family, and community interaction, whereas Spanish is used in education, health services, and intercommunity interaction (Gomashie, 2021) which shows a gradual shift from Náhuatl to Spanish (Gomashie, 2023).

Whilst these studies have drawn on ethnographic action research (De Korne et al., 2019), surveys (Gomashie, 2021), and interviews (Gomashie, 2023), no previous study has taken the ELP approach to understanding LP appropriation in the context of Puebla, México. Additionally, to date few research studies have explored how meso-level stakeholders (e.g. headteacher) appropriate macro-level discourses on IBE and language varieties in semi-structured interviews, and how dominant language ideologies and discourses influence local discourses at home and in the community. Hence, this is another gap the present study seeks to address (see RQs 2 & 3 in the next section).

The second overarching field of enquiry that underpins this study is Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and approaches using CDA. Recent studies within this field have illuminated the intertextual and interdiscursive links between official LP texts and discourses and how these are recontextualised at the school level (Johnson, 2011), the appropriation of official



LP texts, language ideologies and discourses by local stakeholders (Manuel & Johnson, 2018). Overall, these studies have highlighted the influence of dominant discourses and individual beliefs in policy appropriation (Johnson, 2011) and the constraints imposed by powerful languages as bilingual education programmes are implemented (Manuel & Johnson, 2018).

However, research studies that follow the DHA to investigate LPs in the Mexican context are scarce. Specifically, there is a need to approach LPs from a critical perspective that not only problematises their underpinning language ideologies and discourses, but that also investigates them as discursive actions whereby language can be used as a powerful tool to perpetuate social inequality. In addition, there is a need for more studies that explore the influence of socio-political history, central to the DHA, and stakeholders' agency in the interpretation and appropriation of IBE (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Consequently, these gaps are also addressed in this study (see research questions below).

#### **1.4 Aims, Research Questions, and Rationale of the Study**

To address the abovementioned research gaps, this study has three overarching aims. Firstly, following a top-down perspective, this study aims to investigate dominant discourses about IBE, Spanish, Náhuatl, and English instantiated in official policy documents. That is, this study is concerned with providing an insight into the values, ideas, and beliefs that macro-level policy documents convey about IBE (e.g. source of discourses) and language varieties (e.g. Náhuatl).

**Research question (RQ)1a-** How are Intercultural Bilingual Education and language varieties discursively constructed in The National Curriculum (2011) (SEP, 2011a), the Curriculum Framework: Indigenous Language as Subject Content (2011) (SEP, 2011b), and Core Learning for Holistic Education (2017) (SEP, 2017)?

**1b-** What orientations are instantiated in the emerging discourses?

**1c-** What languages ideologies underpin said discourses?

By scrutinising top-down discourses through a critical lens, this study will provide an insight into dominant discourses and language ideologies, how they are discursively realised, and how they shape the way languages are seen and used in IBE.

Secondly, this study aims to explore the appropriation of discourses at the school level. That is, whether the Head School District Supervisor (HSDS), the headteacher, and teachers contest, adopt, or adapt macro-level discourses on IBE and language varieties in semi-structured interviews.

**RQ2a-** How do individuals at the school level construct IBE and language varieties in semi-structured interviews? What are the intertextual and interdiscursive links between these discourses and the discourses in official policy documents?

**2b-**What orientations are instantiated in the emerging discourses?

**2c-** What languages ideologies underpin said discourses?

By making a fine-grained analysis of the language used in the semi-structured interviews, this study will contribute fresh insights into the ideological dimension of LPs addressed in Chapter 2, and how it influences teachers' appropriation of IBE in the classroom (e.g. the uses assigned to language varieties in the classroom that teachers reported during the semi-structured interviews).

Thirdly, this study aims to examine the interpretation and appropriation of LPs at the home and community levels. By means of semi-structured interviews, this study illuminates how dominant language ideologies and discourses at national level influence parents' views on IBE and the value and use of language varieties in daily interaction at home and in the community thereby perpetuating linguistic homogenisation or revitalising Náhuatl amongst the younger generations.

**RQ3a-** How do parents orient to discourses about IBE and language use in semi-structured interviews? What are the intertextual and interdiscursive links between these discourses and the discourses at national and/or school levels?

**3b-**What orientations are instantiated in the emerging discourses?

**3c-** What languages ideologies underpin said discourses?

All in all, this study attempts to obtain a holistic view about LP appropriation in Santa María, Puebla by linking national, school and home levels. Particularly, it will generate fresh insights into the ideological realm of LPs which is argued to influence decision-making and (linguistic) behaviours at all levels (Barakos, 2016; Hart, 2010). By analysing the intertextual and interdiscursive links between LP texts, this study will unpack the origin of discourses and language ideologies found in them, how they are linked to other discourses and texts, and what the implications for LP implementation are (Johnson, 2015).

### **1.5. Overview of the Analytical Approach of the Study**

To achieve the abovementioned objectives, this study follows an interdisciplinary framework that combines the ELP and the DHA. By assigning a balanced proportion between stakeholders' agency (ELP) and critical analyses of policy discourse (DHA), this study attempts to unpack discursive connections between official and local LPs (Johnson, 2009). For instance, how official LP documents impose power, highlight social inequalities, or influence stakeholders' ideologies and discourses about IBE and languages.

The ELP together with the DHA complement each other by examining the dialogic and diachronic relationship between language, LP texts, and discourses at macro, meso, and micro levels. The main component of the DHA that this study follows is its four-level definition of context that triangulates the analysis of the data at national, school, and home levels considering the sociopolitical level, discourses, and texts, as well as the social nature of discourse (Barakos, 2016).

Apart from outlining the analytical framework of this study, it is of vital importance that the immediate research setting is described. Hence, the following four sections will briefly outline the status of ILVs and indigenous people in México, as well as the community, school, and home settings. Some pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of the community and the participants.

## 1.6. Overview of indigenous language varieties and indigenous people in México

Sociolinguistically speaking, México is divided into main eleven language families that are classified by the linguistic practices of indigenous groups. According to INALI (2016), language families are defined as a set of language varieties that share similar features due to a common origin. They are classified by the names of indigenous groups and may differ in their grammatical structure, pronunciation, and/or lexis in comparison to other varieties within the same grouping. These language families are shown in Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1**

*Language Families in México*



The second language family, represented by pink colour, is the Yuto-Nahua found in many parts of the state of Puebla, the context of this study (it is encircled). Within this family group, Náhuatl and its thirty varieties (e.g. Náhuatl from Central Puebla) are found (INALI, 2016). Whilst they belong to the same family, not all may be mutually intelligible (De Korne, 2016). As can be seen in Figure 1 above, Puebla is also home to other language families such as Oto-mangue ('light' blue colour) and Totonaco-tepehua (yellow colour) (INALI,

2008). Speakers of language varieties such as Popoloca and Mazateco (Oto-mangue), as well as Tutunakú (Totonaco-tepehua) are also found there due to internal migration.

Despite the steady erasure of ILVs since the Spanish conquered México, today there are 7,177,185 speakers of ILVs from the age of five onwards, which is equivalent to 5.98% of the total Mexican population. Amongst the official languages recognised in de jure policy, there is Spanish together with 68 ILVs. The most outstanding is Náhuatl spoken by 22.4% of the indigenous population across fifteen states (including Puebla), followed by Maya (10.5%) spoken in three states, and Tseltal (8 %) spoken in one state (INEGI, 2022). See Figure 2 below.

**Figure 2**

*Predominant Indigenous Language Variety Spoken in States across México*



With regard to indigenous people, Table 1 below shows the number of indigenous people recorded in the census since 1950, encompassing the population who are 5 years and older, and who speak an ILV.

**Table 1***Censuses from 1950 to 2020*

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Total Mexican Population</b>	<b>Total Indigenous Population</b>	<b>Indigenous population who speak Spanish</b>	<b>Indigenous population who are monolingual in an ILV</b>	<b>Unspecified</b>
<b>1950</b>	21,821,032	2,447,609	1,652,540	795,069	
<b>1960</b>	28,998,555	3,030,254	1,925,299	1,104,955	
<b>1970</b>	40,057,728	3,111,415	2,251,561	859,854	
<b>1980</b>	57,305,716	5,181,038	3,699,653	1,174,594	306,791
<b>1990</b>	70,562,202	5,282,347	4,237,962	836,224	208,161
<b>2000</b>	84,794,454	6,044,547	4,924,412	1,002,236	117,899
<b>2010</b>	101,808,216	6,695,228	5,467,527	980,894	246,807
<b>2020</b>	115,693,273	7,177,185	6,317,027	785,361	74,797

As shown in Table 1 above, there has been a steady decline of indigenous speakers. In 1950, the indigenous population accounted for 11.21% ( $n=2,447,609$ ) of the total Mexican population. Out of this group, 67.51% ( $n=1,652,540$ ) were bilingual in Spanish and an ILV, whereas 32.48% ( $n=795,069$ ) were monolingual in an ILV. In 1990, the percentage of the indigenous population had dropped to 7.4% ( $n=5,282,347$ ). The percentage of the indigenous people who spoke an ILV and Spanish rose sharply to 80.22% ( $n=4,237,962$ ), whereas 15.83% ( $n=836,224$ ) were monolingual in an ILV. By 2020, the indigenous population fell to 6.2% ( $n=7,177,185$ ) of the total Mexican population. Out this group, 88.01% ( $n=6,317,027$ ) were bilingual in an ILV and Spanish, whereas 10.94% ( $n=785,361$ ) only spoke an ILV. These data not only show the dominance of the Spanish-speaking population, but also the steady assimilation of the indigenous population to the dominant language in the last eighty years (INEGI, 1950; 1960; 1970; 1980; 1990; 2000; 2010; 2020b). See Chapter 4, Sections 4.5.4, 4.5.4.1, 4.5.4.2, 4.5.4.3, and 4.5.4.4 for a summary about the socioeconomic factors that have contributed to the social inequality that indigenous people face, the decline of ILVs and the

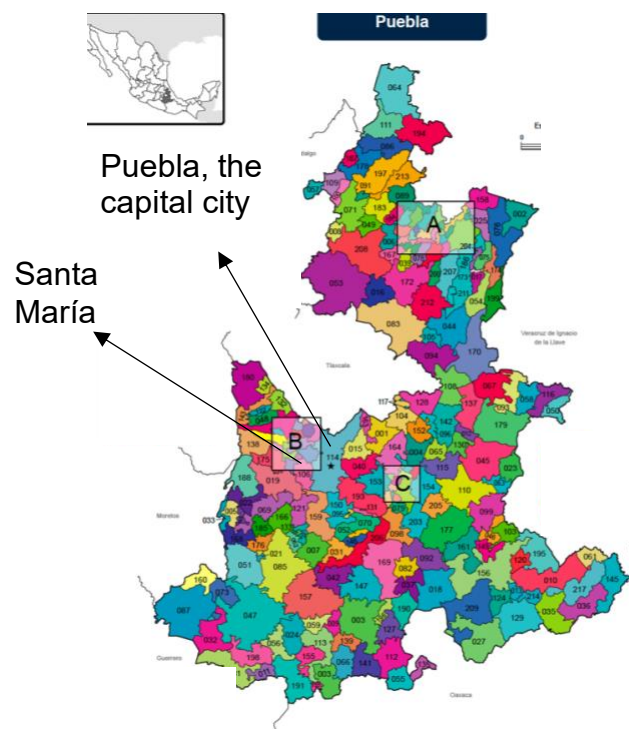
hegemony of Spanish. Having provided a brief overview of ILVs and indigenous people in México, the next section is devoted to outlining the community setting.

### 1.7. Research Setting: Santa María, Puebla

The town of Santa María (No. 106) is located in the state of Puebla, in the centre-southeast of México, and it lies approximately twenty kilometres away from the capital city, Puebla de Zaragoza (No. 114). See Figure 3 below. It is part of the Ocoyucan municipality, which borders the San Andrés Cholula municipality to the North, the capital city to the southeast, and the Santa Isabel Cholula municipality to the west.

**Figure 3**

*Location of Santa María, Ocoyucan, Puebla*



At the 2020 census, Santa María had a population of 6031 (INEGI, 2020a). Its main source of income is *jarciería*, a term that is used to refer to the manufacture and selling of cleaning supplies such as mops, buckets, plastic clothes pegs, clothes lines, which are made of agave or ixtle fiber. The second main source of income is migrant remittances as many of the inhabitants have migrated to the United States to reunite with family members

and seek better job opportunities as there is great economic inequality due to minimum wage jobs (\$123.22 MXN= £5.61) (CONASAMI, 2021).

Regarding the level of schooling, almost half of the population (49.1%) in Ocoyucan (the municipality that Santa María belongs to) have completed basic education (primary and secondary school), whereas 18.8% have completed further education, and 25.3% have completed higher education (INEGI, 2020a). Given the economic precarity of most of the families in Santa María, several school-aged children leave school before completing primary school and work in agriculture, commerce, and *jarciería* since neither specialised training/knowledge nor literacy in Spanish is required to perform these jobs (Torres Corona, 2014).

In terms of language use, Spanish is spoken at public institutions such as the town hall, pre-schools, and primary schools since the Spanish conquest when friars taught Spanish to the indigenous population (see Chapter 4). The percentage of the population who speaks an ILV is 2.51% and those who are monolingual in an ILV account for 1.50% of the population. The two most prominent ILVs are Náhuatl (90.6%) and Totonaco (4.1%) (INEGI, 2020a). Although no figures are provided for Santa María specifically, it is assumed that similar percentages are found in this setting. As for Náhuatl, there has been a noticeable erasure in day-to-day linguistic practices due to internal migration to urban areas that border Santa María, external migration to the United States of America, and lack of interest in Náhuatl amongst the younger generations (Torres Corona, 2013).

Socioeconomically speaking, there have been tensions amongst community members which has resulted in the creation of two groups: *Los Salonistas* (the Assembly Hall, my translation) and *Los Iglesistas* (the Church, my translation). The former is connected to the National Action Party (PAN), which represents the interests of the Catholic church and corporations. According to Torres Corona (2013), they have mass in the town's assembly hall that was built between 1993 and 1997, as requested by the Bishop of Puebla to provide an additional worship facility for small Catholic churches. Many of the Assembly Hall



members are parents who work in commerce, have a higher socioeconomic status, have at least completed primary school, and are literate.

The latter group is composed of devout Catholics who have mass at church and are affiliated to a political organisation known as *Antorcha Campesina* (Peasant Torch, my translation). This organisation represents the interests of the underprivileged (e.g. peasants) and demands, amongst other things, agricultural rights, the opening and improvement of medical centres, schools, and roads. Amongst its members there are labourers, mixed-race and indigenous peasants, single mothers, and jarriería makers, many of whom are characterised by being predominantly illiterate and uneducated given that they did not complete primary school. Additionally, they are said to be opposed to progress and politically contentious (Torres Corona, 2013). Strikingly, this dispute has permeated the school setting.

### **1.8 Research Setting: Bilingual Primary School**

In Santa María, there exist three schools: Veinte de Noviembre founded in 1959; Miguel Hidalgo founded in 1985; and La Niña, la Pinta, y la Santa María founded in 1984. The former two are part of the General Educational System, whereas the latter is part of the Indigenous Educational Subsystem. The bilingual primary school La Niña, la Pinta, y la Santa María was founded by Enrique Martínez, the coordinator of literacy sent by the National Institute of Adult Education to Santa María. He witnessed the mistreatment of marginalised students, as well as the homogenisation of linguistic practices at the school Veinte de Noviembre. Having indigenous ancestry himself, he decided to found a school in order to cater for the educational needs of the marginalised and revitalise the indigenous culture of Santa María.

To be able to register the bilingual school in the Indigenous Educational Subsystem and have a license to become an accredited institution, Enrique and his colleagues set a flexible admission criterion that accepted children without the early years' foundation stage. Additionally, Enrique and his colleagues were flexible regarding school uniform policy, late arrival at school, and extra costs to cover the expenses of stationary, school uniforms,

amongst others. Despite said flexibility in admissions and parents' administrative requirements, the community disapproved of the bilingual school due to its shortage of qualified teachers. What is more, teachers were stereotyped as peasants and labourers since they had only completed lower secondary school.

The establishment of the bilingual school in the community led to an inevitable conflict and social divide between the *Salonistas* and the *Iglesistas*. The school choice for the *Salonistas* was the mainstream school, Veinte de Noviembre, and the school preference for the *Iglesistas* was the bilingual school, La Niña, La Pinta, y La Santa María. According to Torres Corona (2014), the social stigma attached to the bilingual school at the beginning was due to the school's affiliation to the Indigenous Educational Subsystem and its association with underdevelopment and prejudice. Nowadays, however, there seems to be more acceptance of the bilingual school in the community.

With regard to the implementation of IBE at the bilingual school, the allocation of hours for Náhuatl is minimum (one hour per week) and is limited to the teaching and learning of basic vocabulary (e.g. colours, animals, commands), introducing oneself, translating small paragraphs from Spanish to Náhuatl, and the singing of the National anthem. This is due to teachers' very basic knowledge of Náhuatl since the majority of them speak Spanish as their L1, which is a recurrent feature across multiple contexts (e.g. Bazai, et al., 2023). In some occasions, they invite the elderly, who speak Náhuatl, to tell a story in Náhuatl, or similar. However, the implementation of these kinds of activities where the elderly participate actively do not take place often, but occasionally. Hence, this has contributed to the homogenisation of linguistic practices at school where Spanish has replaced the use of Náhuatl, albeit translanguaging may occur in private settings. Lastly, Náhuatl, unlike Spanish, is not formally assessed neither is it part of end-of-year reports. Hence, teachers evaluate students' activities throughout the year, but the marks assigned are symbolic as they do not affect students' overall marks.

### 1.9 Research Setting: Home Interaction

At home, like in the community and at school, a dichotomous view toward ILVs knowledge, usage, teaching, and learning is also evident. On the one hand, there are young parents who have some knowledge of Náhuatl given that their parents, who are the “older” generations, speak to them when giving commands such as “bring this,” “let’s sit down to eat,” and so on. In some occasions, the younger parents use phrases to communicate with their older parents, or to transmit their limited knowledge (e.g. names of colours) of Náhuatl to their children. This group of parents approves of IBE as it aims at appreciating and revitalising Náhuatl and the Nahua culture in Santa María.

On the other hand, there are young parents who do not understand Náhuatl and are indifferent towards its use at home and in the community as there has been a noticeable shift from it to Spanish in the last decades (Terborg & Landa, 2011). This has been due to, amongst others, lack of interaction in Náhuatl coupled with an emphasis on the development of Spanish literacy promoted by the school. As a result, the younger generations have lost interest in the learning of Náhuatl to communicate with older people in different situations.

With regard to the level of schooling, as outlined in Section 1.7, a number of parents have completed primary education, whereas a smaller number of them have completed secondary school and further education. Therefore, a large number of parents have low levels of literacy skills in Spanish which has negative implications for students’ literacy development, particularly reading comprehension and critical writing. In many instances, the only academic support students have is provided by the school. In terms of family structure, there are couples who are legally married, whereas others are common-law partners, or single parents. As for family size, many families are composed of the father, mother, and three to four children, others are comprised of single parents and two to four children, whereas others consist of the grandparents, the father and/or the mother, and two to four children. So far, a synopsis of the research setting of this study has been provided seeking to give an insight into the peculiarities of Santa María, the bilingual school, and the home setting. What follows is an overview of this thesis.

### 1.10 Overview of the Thesis

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, this study positions itself at the intersection of the ELP and the DHA. Hence, the organisation of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 is divided into two parts. The first part introduces the two overarching fields: LPP and CDA. Within these, the core tenets of the ELP and the DHA are summarised. With regard to the latter, the four levels of context are operationalised, and the ways in which the ELP and the DHA align are also considered. Also included is a review of previous research whereby the gaps in both fields of enquiry are addressed.

The second part of Chapter 2 is devoted to defining language policy, language ideologies, and Ruiz's orientations to investigate the underpinning language ideologies and discourses instantiated in LPs.

Chapter 3 is devoted to describing the methodological framework of this study. It begins by further explaining the operationalisation of the ELP and the DHA. Then, a description of official policy documents, semi-structured interviews, and field note entries is given. Also included are the participants' sociological features seeking to account for the third level of context. What follows is a summary of the process of accessing the research setting and participants, the ethical approach that was followed, and the way ethical consent was sought. It will then go on to discuss how ethical considerations were addressed, particularly interviewing participants as well as transcribing and translating their personal accounts. In the final sections, the procedures for selecting and analysing data are discussed.

Chapter 4 accounts for the socio-political level of context which describes the use of language varieties in México before the Spanish conquest until today. Additionally, it includes recent critiques of LP initiatives and organisations that have been enacted in an attempt to counteract the subordination of indigenous people and ILVs in the public sphere.

In Chapter 5, the dominant discourses about IBE and language varieties in official LP documents are explored. At the beginning, a general description of three official LP documents is found (see RQ3 for the documents). It includes background information as well as the theoretical underpinnings of said documents. What follows is a summary of the main

findings regarding the coding of excerpts (taken from the three official LP documents) under Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive strategies using MAXQDA. Then, a fine-grained linguistic analysis of the excerpts is carried out whereby the DHA's five discursive strategies are employed. In the last section, the discussion of the most prominent discourses and their underlying language ideologies is provided, highlighting the intertextual and interdiscursive links to other documents, and how they relate to previous research and Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 aims at shedding light on the appropriation of discourses associated with IBE and language varieties at the school level. Like Chapter 5, Chapter 6 begins with an overview of the most salient findings related to the coding of the data under Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive strategies. Then, it presents a detailed linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews with school authorities and teachers seeking to unpack how meso stakeholders use language to talk about IBE and language varieties. The second section presents a discussion of the findings drawing attention to the intertextual and interdiscursive links between official LP documents from Chapter 5 and the excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews. The findings are considered in light of previous research studies and other levels of context. The implications of the findings are also considered.

In Chapter 7, the appropriation of discourses regarding IBE and language varieties at the home level is investigated. Like Chapters 5 and 6, Chapter 7 follows the same order. First, a summary of the most outstanding findings related to the coding of the data is provided. Then, a linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews with mothers is carried out seeking to illuminate how language is used to appropriate dominant discourses and language ideologies associated with IBE and language varieties. In the second part of the chapter, the findings are discussed making intertextual and interdiscursive links with the national level. In addition, the findings are evaluated taking into consideration previous research and other levels of context.

Finally, in Chapter 8, the aims of this study are summarised together with the analytical framework that was followed to achieve said aims. Then, a summary of each research

question is given. The practical and ideological implications of the research findings are considered. These are followed by the theoretical and methodological contributions of the study. The chapter ends by addressing the limitations and proposing new avenues of research.

## **Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework**

As outlined in the introductory chapter, this study positions itself at the intersection of the ELP and the DHA. Consequently, in the first part of this chapter, these fields of enquiry are presented. It begins with a summary of past approaches to LPP. Then, the ELP is introduced, underscoring its strengths and its pertinence to investigating LP appropriation at macro, meso, and micro levels. Additionally, a critical account of previous studies in this field is provided addressing the research gaps. Then, the overarching components of the field of CDS are introduced. Next, the DHA is presented outlining its features, making particular emphasis on its four level of context and its operationalisation in the study. The ways in which the DHA aligns with the ELP are also considered in this section. Also included is the definition of the DHA's key terms that are relevant in this study. At the end of this first part, a critical review of previous studies within this field of enquiry is carried out addressing the gaps in research.

The second part of this chapter delves into other aspects that are central to the theoretical framework. First, the term language policy is defined. Here, it is argued that LPs are instantiated in people's linguistic practices, language ideologies, and written texts. What follows is the definition of language ideologies that highlights their influential role in the discursive structure of LPs, discourses, and the linguistic practices of a group of people since they are linked to socio-political and socio-historical agendas, as well as identity. At the end of the second part, Ruiz's orientations to LP are examined as a useful analytical heuristic to explore the rationale behind language ideologies and discourses in LPs. What is more, these orientations are argued to constrain the ways in which language is talked about and language-related problems are tackled, which have implications for LPs that aim at revitalising ILVs.

## **2.1 Historical Overview of Approaches to Language Planning and Policy**

### **2.1.1 Early Developments**

Early developments in the field of language planning and policy (LPP) addressed issues associated with decolonisation processes in the 1960s. In this case, the standardisation of minority language varieties prompted language intellectuals to develop grammars, dictionaries and writing systems aimed at ethnolinguistic minorities (Haugen, 1959). Others (e.g. Kloss, 1969) concentrated on aspects such as the functions of languages in particular contexts now known as status planning. These early approaches to LPP envisaged deliberate, structured, administrative policy initiatives (Fishman, 1973) that entailed macro efforts by federal or state authorities and institutions to tackle nationwide 'problems' linked to changes on linguistic attitudes and behaviour. These early approaches were heavily critiqued as they conveyed the separation of LPP from its sociopolitical, sociocultural, and ideological contexts with the presupposition that there were no social implications (Johnson and Ricento, 2013). What is more, they contributed to the hierarchisation of languages according to their instrumental benefits (Tauli, 1974). More importantly, they included a macro-level perspective only and constructed LPP outcomes as neutral (Johnson and Ricento, 2013).

### **2.1.2 Further Developments in the 1970s and 1980s**

During the 70s and 80s, more variations other than corpus planning and status planning were developed (Ricento, 2000). The emergence of concepts such as communicative competence proposed by Hymes (1972) set the foundations for the sociolinguistics domain, as well as the LPP field. One example of a study that directly addressed the term was Hornberger (1988) who investigated the relationship between the statements found in the policy and the patterns of Quechua and Spanish use in two communities in Perú. The findings show that speaking Spanish was highly valued as it symbolised economic, social, and academic progress, whereas speaking Quechua was a sign of shame. Strikingly, however, participants reported a contradictory appreciation for both languages.



Although the blooming of Critical Language Policy officially began with Tollefson (1991), the development of key notions that prompted its creation were evident in Ruiz' (1984) orientations to LPP as a problem, right, or resource. What this means is, a new sociopolitical perspective was beginning to be adopted in which LPP was inextricably linked to ideologies, social structures and ultimately, power (Hornberger, 1990). In the same vein, Cooper (1989) established that LPP results from micro interaction that reflects macro-level decisions or bottom-up initiatives which inevitably have a ripple effect at national and societal levels. In this regard, Cooper (ibid) provided an account of local initiatives that took place in the United States during the 1960s in an attempt to eradicate gender discrimination and make an impact on a national scale. All in all, in this historical period, a subtle shift began to emerge which moved from a neo-classical focus that perceived LPP as an individual-driven and unbiased process, towards a more collective, discriminatory approach (Johnson & Ricento, 2013).

### **2.1.3 Critical Language Policy**

The emergence of the critical paradigm began with Tollefson (1991) as he advocated for a historical-structural perspective to LPP which considers socio-historical, context-embedded factors as pivotal to the creation of LPs. In Tollefson's view, LP is political in nature since it addresses the agendas of dominant social classes (Tollefson, 2006). Hence, Critical Language Policy (CLP) seeks the preservation and promotion of minority languages through the enactment of more representative LPs. Additionally, it is informed by Critical Theory (Foucault, 1991) which postulates that social inequality is driven by ideologies that make inequality an inherent, uncontested feature of society (Tollefson, 2006), as is Wodak's work in CDS (2009).

Pennycook (2006a) challenged the first aim of CLP by postulating that power is not only exercised by official authorities or policy documents (e.g. textbooks), but by teachers who engage in specific discursive practices guided by well-founded directives, making reference to what Foucault (1991) defined as governmentality. In other words, Pennycook (2006a)

“draws our attention to much more localised and often contradictory operations of power” (p. 65). That is, decisions concerning people’s use of languages, beliefs, and behaviours are made through different channels (e.g. textbooks) in diverse settings (e.g. education) at the micro level (e.g. classroom). Whilst Tollefson (2006) approached LPP from a macro perspective where power lies in federal or state authorities, Pennycook (2006a) emphasised power at the micro level embodied in classroom discourse. Although Pennycook took into consideration the micro level, he failed to account for micro stakeholders’ agency (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Johnson, 2015) by solely assigning a powerful role to discourse, which aids to sustain unequal power relationships without resistance (Johnson, 2009). As a way of illustration, Pennycook (2002) discussed the way mother tongue served as a strategy to accomplish the aims of a colonial LP to govern citizens, but it undermined the role of micro stakeholders’ agency to appropriate the policy. Like Pennycook, Davis (1999) criticised CLP by underscoring that it neglects the fact that language learning and use take place in specific social and cultural contexts.

It is, therefore, that an Ethnography of Language Policy approach to LPP has been developed in order to provide comprehensive descriptions and interpretations on LP initiatives in specific contexts (Davis, 1999).

#### ***2.1.4 The Ethnography of Language Policy***

The ELP (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) was developed drawing on the Ethnography of Speaking (Hymes, 1962) and language revitalisation research (Fishman, 1964, 1991). In line with CLP, the ELP is concerned with opposing dominant policy discourses that aim to suppress ethnolinguistic groups and their languages. However, the ELP, unlike CLP, seeks to assign a balanced proportion between stakeholders’ agency and critical analyses of macro-level policy discourse by unveiling discursive connections between macro, meso, and micro-level LPs (Johnson, 2009). Following Duranti (2004), this study sees agency as stakeholders’ (e.g. teachers) ability to exercise their freedom by adding, modifying, or removing parts of an LP to then appropriate it at their level. It is however, “perpetually

constrained by societal forces” such as sociocultural and socio-political agendas (Weinberg, 2021, p. 62).

In developing an in-depth understanding of stakeholders’ beliefs, attitudes, and actions, the ELP not only sheds light on how stakeholders (e.g. teachers) mediate and appropriate the LP at their level (Hornberger, 2015), but also on how this appropriation links back to top-down discourses and texts. For this study, the term appropriation is defined as the way a LP is understood by different stakeholders according to the policy level they belong to, as well as the actions resulting from that understanding (Levinson et al., 2009).

Finally, the ELP gives evidence of how context-bound challenges may contribute to the perpetuation of inequalities among social groups and languages (Hornberger, 2013). Based on the description above, the ELP is a useful analytical and/or methodological tool that contributes rich ethnographic data, or “thick description” (Johnson, 2009, p.141) that illuminates local appropriation. In other words, the ELP takes into account local stakeholders’ (e.g. teachers and parents) agency to make decisions based on contextual features.

The present study takes the ELP approach to investigating LPs in Puebla, México due to its emphasis on local stakeholders’ agency in LP decision-making. By considering school authorities’, teachers’, and parents’ opinions about IBE, language varieties, as well as their influence on language use at school, at home, and in the community, I draw on the ELP’s agency-driven focus (Chapters 6 and 7). This is triangulated with local factors (Chapters 1 and 4) and macro-level discourses (Chapter 5) to strike a balance between macro, meso, and micro layers, thereby illuminating the intricacies of LPs and the power imbalance they may challenge or contribute to. This section has provided a historical synopsis of approaches to investigating LPP together with their shortcomings, leading to the creation of the ELP that compensates for the lack of agency at micro levels (Hornberger, et al., 2018) and balances this with discursive analyses of top-down LPs. In the next section, a review of recent research in the LPP field is provided whereby the research gaps are addressed.

### ***2.1.5 Overview of Recent Research in the Field of Language Planning and Policy***

Based on the historical overview of LPP approaches above, a gradual shift can be seen in the articulation of research objectives and methodological approaches to exploring LPP. During the 1950s and 1960s studies tended to rely on research instruments such as large-scale surveys and self-report questionnaires to inform LPP decision-making at the macro level. In the following two decades, research sought to reform top-down systems that promoted inequality by carrying out political and economic research studies. In more recent decades, investigations have adopted an ethnographic approach to understanding local interpretations and linguistic practices, and how these are influenced by the local setting, agentive stakeholders, and socio-political and economic factors (e.g. Hornberger et al., 2016; Dorner, 2015; Groff, 2017; Hansen, 2016; Hornberger, 2015; 2020; Johnson & Johnson, 2015).

Unsurprisingly, critical and ethnographic approaches to LPP have received more scholarly attention due to a growing interest in advocating for multilingual LPs in linguistically diverse communities, thus contributing to the multilingual turn in educational research and practice. Within LPP research, recent studies (e.g. Poudel & Choi, 2022) have highlighted a tension between discourses (e.g. ethnolinguistic identity vis-à-vis globalisation) underpinning official LPs contributing to the primacy of Chinese and English. Other studies (e.g. Sharma & Phyak, 2017) have explored the influence of neoliberal ideologies (Holborow, 2012a) in the tourism and education domains shedding light on how they have been appropriated institutionally and individually by commodifying ethnolinguistic identity and local languages, whereas dominant languages (e.g. English) have also been acquired. Concomitantly, others (e.g. Hursh, 2007; Wyman et al., 2010) have investigated the endorsement of LPs underpinned by neoliberal agendas that emphasise high stakes testing that inevitably threaten the maintenance or revitalisation of indigenous or minority languages in multilingual settings.

Research shedding light on the connections between language ideologies and their influence in LP decision-making and implementation has also gained currency within the LPP field. A number of studies have investigated said language ideologies in institutional settings such as schools and classrooms, as well as public (e.g. community) and private (home) settings. In her ethnographic account of language use and ideology in different Náhuatl-speaking communities, Messing (2007) discussed competing discourses of *menosprecio* (disdain), pro-development, and pro-indigenous that community members employed to move between traditional and modern identities that resulted in language shift. Similarly, Manuel (2022) found that prominent discourses linking Angolan national identity with Portuguese and late modernity have contributed to the marginalisation and discrimination of African ethnic groups and languages, leading to their stereotyping and hierarchisation in social media and public forums. Bettney (2022) and Joseph and Ramani (2012) made similar points regarding how the hegemony of dominant languages has negatively influenced the implementation of bilingual education and mother-tongue instruction as well as the linguistic practices of teachers and students who come from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds. By constructing English as key to access the global market and social mobility, the teaching and use of English in education has been foregrounded.

Aside from examining neoliberalism and language ideologies and their impact on LPP, increasing attention has been paid to the role of family in LP decision-making in home settings (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; 2016; 2023; Gallo & Hornberger, 2019; Hollebeke, 2023; Nelson et al., 2023; Pérez Báez, 2013; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). In discussing the rationale behind the parents' and carers' decisions to speak or prioritise English over other languages, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) underscored the tensions between home-based interaction and views on education, ethnic identity, and success in a competitive world. Likewise, Pérez Báez (2013) and Seloni and Sarfati (2012) argued that the power of the school and social circles is essential in shifting to dominant languages such as English and

French, contributing to the erasure of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec and Judeo-Spanish respectively.

Consistent with the aforementioned studies, Gallo and Hornberger (2019) contended that the school plays a pivotal role in the dissemination of monolingualism in dominant languages rather than the promotion of bilingualism and the development of biliteracy. In addition, they demonstrated how family LP is influenced by children's imagined academic future across México and the United States.

Although not explicitly focused on investigating family language policy, Chimbutane and Benson (2012) reported parents' support towards the development of bilingual education on the grounds of language maintenance, cultural value, and the benefits of mother-tongue instruction for L2 development despite shortage of funding from the government. In contrast, Howard (2012) stressed parents' interest in their children's acquisition of Standard Thai at school and its use at home due to perceived instrumental reasons, whereas the local language (Kam Muang) was apprehended, by many, as a cognitive hindrance.

#### **2.1.5.1 The Research Gaps in Language Planning and Policy Studies**

The description of the peculiarities of multilingual contexts in the abovementioned studies has provided useful insights into language planning at the national level (e.g. Groff, 2017) as well as bottom-up LPP decisions by micro stakeholders such as school authorities, teachers, and parents (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Dorner, 2015; Hansen, 2016; Hollebeke, 2023). Together, these studies have taken critical (e.g. Sharma & Phyak, 2017) and virtual (e.g. Manuel, 2022) ethnographic approaches drawing on participant observations, interviews, and field notes (e.g. Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Gallo & Hornberger, 2019), and have even claimed to carry out discursive analyses of local discourses (e.g. Messing, 2007). However, there is scant research that delves into the relationship between context-bound micro actions (Weinberg, 2021) and critical discursive analyses of LP texts and discourses at macro, meso, and micro levels (Krzyżanowski, 2011a). Consequently, the proposed study seeks to help fill this gap by taking a multidisciplinary approach to LPP that follows the ELP (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) and the DHA to investigate the discursive appropriation of LP

in Puebla, México (see aims, research questions and rationale in Chapter 1). Having provided a historical overview of approaches to LPP and having discussed recent research and the gaps in this field, the section below is devoted to outlining the second overarching field that underpins this study, CDA.

## **2.2 Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis as a Field of Enquiry**

The field of CDA emerged as an innovative multidisciplinary movement in the 1990s as a result of developments in Linguistics (Wodak, 2009), Social Theory (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1975), and Critical Theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It is underpinned by a myriad of theories and methods to study problems associated with language. Whilst CDA adopts different approaches, i.e. the dialectical-relational (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008), that follow specific agendas depending on the data, objectives, and methodologies, they are grounded on some shared principles. First, CDA approaches are not essentially concerned with the study of language units, but with intricate social problems that necessitate a combination of theories and methodologies that not only understand and interpret the issues at hand, but that also problematise them to transform society.

Second, CDA approaches investigate social problems through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) that consists of language use, traditionally, in written and spoken interaction with increasing calls to account for the non-representational, more-than-human and affect in CDS (Thurlow, 2016). In other words, discourse is apprehended as social practice that entails a dialectical relationship between the context, social actors, and their identities, as well as the social hierarchies that play a role in the interaction. Consequently, discourse and stakeholders are mutually constitutive as they create, regulate, perpetuate, or resist ideologies, shared knowledge, social stratification, and power.

Third, CDA approaches see discourse as a biased and useful tool that overtly and covertly conveys “social inclusion and exclusion” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 13) by indexing, challenging, or modifying power. Although language is not powerful, it is seen as a manifestation of ideological and social domination that privileges the language of the

powerful by creating or exacerbating social inequality. Nonetheless, it is also used by marginalised social groups to accept, (re)shape, or resist ideological and social oppression (van Dijk, 2015). Consequently, CDA is concerned with the de-mystification of power and ideologies instantiated in written, spoken, and visual data (Blommaert, 2005b), as well as other forms of non-representation (Thurlow, 2016).

Finally, researchers who follow CDA approaches attempt to reveal their interests and positionality as researchers whilst adhering to their methodological apparatus and maintaining self-reflexivity throughout the research (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Having provided an overview of the core principles of CDA, the DHA will be presented.

### **2.3 The Discourse Historical Approach**

In this section, an outline of the core tenets of the DHA is provided together with the operationalisation of its multi-leveled definition of context, as well as the definition of the DHA's key terms that are drawn on in this study. Additionally, the ways in which the DHA's four levels of context align with the ELP are addressed.

Within critical discourse studies, there is the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009), which is the main discourse analytical framework used in this study. Grounded on Critical Theory, the DHA has been used to find inconsistencies within LP texts as well as the discourses that inform their creation and dissemination (Savski, 2016a; 2020). Additionally, it attempts to spell out the underlying manipulative essence of discursive events and the linguistic strategies used to impose power at ideological and practical levels by means of, largely, written, spoken, and/or visual texts. Most importantly, the DHA seeks to contribute to solving social problems, which in the case of this study is the social and educational inequality that indigenous people or people who have an indigenous background have struggled with for a long time. Particularly, this study is concerned with exploring whether and how language ideologies and discourses related to IBE and language varieties contribute to those forms of inequality. To achieve this objective, the DHA relies heavily upon the historical context given



that it is apprehended as pivotal in the creation, dissemination, contestation, or adaptation of discourses (Reisigl, 2017).

Equally important to the DHA, triangulation underpins the analysis of social problems. Thus, the DHA attempts to assign a balanced proportion to the social, psychological, political, and historical dimensions of said problems. These dimensions encompass the notion of 'context.' Following van Dijk (2008, p. 4), this study understands context as "some phenomenon, event, action, or discourse [that] needs to be seen or studied in relationship to its environment, that is, its surrounding conditions and consequences." He further expands on the notion of context by saying that "contexts come in different sizes or scopes, may be more or less micro or more or less macro, and metaphorically speaking seem to be concentric circles of influence or effect of some state of affairs, event or discourse" (p.4).

The approach to context taken by van Dijk (2008) is adopted in this study for four main reasons. First, to investigate the appropriation of LPs, it is important to examine the disparate relationships where they emerge, the ideologies that underpin them, the authors who create them, the sociocultural and socio-political agendas that inform them, and the stakeholders' personal experiences and history. Additionally, given that the nature of LPs is not inherently concerned with languages per se, but with social problems, the notion of context adopted here allows for the inclusion of foreseeable issues that may prompt or exacerbate the subordination of ILVs and their speakers in home, school, and community settings.

Second, by looking at context from diverse angles, LP studies can have a wide or narrow focus and investigate different layers of LPs that shed light on agentive decision-making at different levels. This, in turn, allows for an enhanced understanding of LP issues, as well as the creation of solutions to tackle said matters. Looking at the macro level, research can analyse the discourses that are disseminated in official documents such as policy reports (e.g. Bubikova-Moan, 2017). At meso and micro levels, LP studies can examine the role of the school and teachers in LP appropriation. For instance, teacher and student language use in the classroom (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). In home settings, family language policies

can explore the beliefs, attitudes, and practices of parents and children towards dominant language varieties and ILVs (Gomashie, 2023).

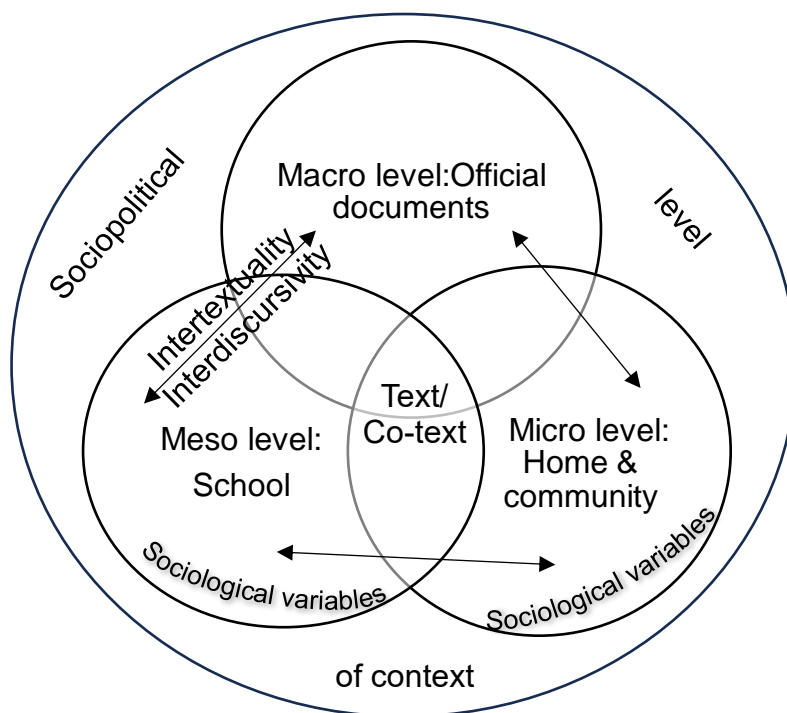
Third, by applying van Dijk's (2008) notion of context in this study, the term not only represents visible actions, but also their ideological underpinnings given that they are mutually constitutive as they modify each other in an ongoing and dynamic process (Barakos, 2016; Savski, 2016b).

Fourth, the interpretation of texts and discourses is contingent upon the socio-political context and historical era where they are created, disseminated, or contested. Hence, texts are likely to acquire new meanings (Wodak, 2007). Whilst van Dijk's notion of 'context' is useful to understand the different dimensions of the concept, it is necessary to build a robust analytical framework that allows for the operationalisation of context in this study. Hence, van Dijk's definition of context will be complemented by Wodak's (2008) four level of context as it suits the theme and focus of this study as shown below. Wodak understands '*context*' as being constituted by macro, meso, and micro dimensions. These dimensions, or levels of context are as follows:

1. the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse (e.g. connotations);
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (e.g. discourse representation);
3. the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation,' i.e. age, gender, level of schooling;
4. the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to (2008, p.11).

These four levels together with a fine-grained linguistic analysis of discursive events are the main features of the DHA that inform this study. The operationalisation of these levels is related to the implementation of IBE in a primary school located in Santa María, Puebla, México. Given that this study focuses on the appropriation of macro-level discourses on IBE and language varieties, the operationalisation of the four levels of context is as follows.

**Figure 4** below shows how the ELP's and the DHA's components are combined in this study.

**Figure 4***Combination of the ELP and the DHA*

The first level of context, as shown in Figure 4 above, is provided in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Across the three chapters, a linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from curriculum frameworks and semi-structured interviews with main stakeholders (e.g. teachers and mothers) is conducted seeking to shed light on macro-level language ideologies and discourses and their appropriation in school and home settings. As texts (e.g. Core Learning, 2017) or co-texts (e.g. semi-structured interviews with school authorities) their linguistic dimension takes prominence as this study aims at exploring how language is used to create, exacerbate, or resist asymmetric power relationships instantiated in language ideologies and discourses related to IBE and language varieties.

The first level of the DHA aligns with the ELP by taking into consideration that one layer of LP is co-constructed together with the others, which is illustrated by three overlapping circles. The shared space between the circles accounts for the permeation of language

ideologies and discourses. Whilst the ELP is more concerned with developing a deeper understanding of linguistic practices in-situ, the DHA complements it by showing how language and actions across the macro, meso, and micro levels are mutually constitutive. In this study, parents' and teachers' views on IBE and day-to-day linguistic practices can be better understood by analysing how curriculum frameworks use language to provide the rationale for bilingual education and outline the uses of language varieties at school. For instance, the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' found in excerpts (2) and (3) endorses the teaching of Spanish and an ILV seeking to achieve equality. At the supervision level, this discourse topic is appropriated by the HSDS who fosters the revitalisation of ILVs in the school setting by planning and promoting activities such as the preparation and presentation of pre-hispanic dishes which he mentions during the interview (FN #4). These kinds of activities also contribute to the appreciation of ILVs as cultural heritage that is another emerging discourse topic at the macro level (see Excerpt 13).

The second level of context (also found across Chapters 5, 6, and 7) is illustrated by two-way arrows that go across the three overlapping circles representing intertextual and interdiscursive links (see Figure 4 above). The two-way arrows show how LP texts are mutually and diachronically influenced by other levels and previous texts shedding light on how discourses about IBE, Náhuatl, Spanish, and English permeate the different levels of LPs (e.g. school and home settings).

For this study, and based on Reisigl and Wodak (2009), intertextuality is defined as the connections between current LPs to policy documents from the past, for example. They can be made by explicit mention of a theme (e.g. advantages of speaking ILVs), an individual (e.g. indigenous people), comments about the very same event (e.g. the San Andrés Accords), and so on. These connections can, in turn, influence texts (e.g. curriculum framework) and their discourses (e.g. 'human rights') resulting in new ones (e.g. 'bilingual education as right') (Reisigl & Wodak, *ibid*). One illustrative example of intertextuality is found in excerpt (5) wherein an explicit reference to UNESCO is made to endorse bilingual

education as right. This intertextuality shows the federal government's interest in meeting the demands of a prominent institution in de jure policy.

Interdiscursivity, on the other hand, is understood as the connections among different texts and discourses such as official LPs and semi-structured interviews, linking the macro level with the micro level in several ways. At this level, the DHA aligns with the ELP in that both seek to illuminate how meso (e.g. school authorities) and micro (e.g. mothers) stakeholders exercise their agency by appropriating language ideologies and discourses, and how they link back to official LP texts. For instance, in excerpt (11) the discourse topic of 'globalisation,' which addresses the pivotal role of both Spanish and English for social mobility and migration, is appropriated by the HSDS in excerpt (15) during his second interview (FN #5). He makes interdiscursive links between discourse topics of 'globalisation,' 'revitalisation,' 'teacher accountability,' 'reality,' and 'cultural and linguistic diversity' to elaborate on the goals of IBE. This includes the revitalisation of ILVs in school and home settings as well as teachers' responsibility to encourage ILV use in the classroom. While he broadly acknowledges the positive aspects of globalisation during the interview and uses Spanish to communicate at work, he also contests the dominant role of Spanish and English by constructing globalisation as a bomb that destroys cultural and linguistic diversity. In showing his resistance, he greets his colleagues in Náhuatl during staff meetings in an attempt to revitalise it ("Tlasokamati, tlasokamati totlahtol...") (FN #6). See complete record of field note entries in Appendix C and excerpt (18).

The third level of context in this study is found in school and home settings explored in Chapters 1, 3, 6, and 7. It takes into account school authorities', teachers', and mothers' sociological variables such as age, gender, and level of schooling to analyse and discuss the appropriation of discourses. These individual features are pivotal to make sense of why and how language ideologies and discourses are appropriated. In this study, one instance in which the influence of these sociological variables is noticeable is found in Excerpt (24) wherein M4 draws on a discourse topic of 'development' to highlight the usefulness of learning English for social mobility. As reported in Table 3 in Chapter 3, M4 only completed

primary school and worked as a housewife and in *jarciería* (see the definition in Chapter 1). Consequently, she expresses her desire for her children to have improved life chances which evokes the appropriation of neoliberal ideologies that associate language with work and access to the global economy.

In this study, the DHA's third level of context complements the ELP by showing how these sociological variables (e.g. level of schooling, gender) shape stakeholders' agency in decision-making. In this case, due to mothers' low level of schooling and their low socioeconomic level recorded in the field notes on April 26, 2021, the attention has shifted from the promotion of bilingual education and the revitalisation of Náhuatl to the development of dominant languages for social mobility.

The fourth level of context, the socio-political and historical that surrounds the three overlapping circles, provides the background to the creation, enactment, and appropriation of LPs in México in Chapter 4. Specifically, a historical level including pre-colonial times, the Spanish conquest, Mexican independence and the emergence of a nation-state, the consolidation of the nation-state, and recent developments in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is provided. In the DHA, this fourth level provides a detailed account of historical developments that surround language use in the course of Mexican history as well as the appropriation of language ideologies and discourses related to education for indigenous people in school and home settings. At the macro level, the DHA complements the ELP by delving into the social conditions and political context that, for example, contributed to the legitimisation of Spanish to achieve national cohesion and development in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Having operationalised the four levels of context in this study and having addressed the ways in which the DHA aligns with the ELP, it is important to define the terminology from the DHA that will be used throughout the study.

## **2.4 Definition of Key Terms**

The following paragraphs will provide a definition of the DHA's terms that are useful for this study, together with a brief discussion relating these terms to the theoretical framework. The first term will be text, followed by discourse and power.

### **2.4.1 Text**

A definition of texts that is useful to scrutinise LPs from a critical perspective is Reisigl's and Wodak's (2009) who define them as "parts of discourses. They make speech acts durable over time and thus bridge two dilated speech situations, i.e. the situation of speech production and the situation of speech reception" (pp. 89-90). In other words, texts can contain written, spoken, and/or visual information about particular phenomena or events, and they can be retrieved at any time given that they endure time. They reflect the use of language associated with specific social activities. For instance, a curriculum framework which is the type of macro-level LP documents analysed in Chapter 5. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) see texts, such as LPs, as palpable manifestations of linguistic activity that inevitably require the interpretation of those who access them (e.g. teachers) to act in accordance with them. In addition, the way texts are created and used, they argue, is shaped by contrasting views, unequal relationships amongst social actors, implementation in diverse contexts, and intertextual and interdiscursive connections with other texts. Hence, texts are heterogenous in nature as they are influenced by a myriad of texts and discourses. Concomitantly, they are constrained by the cultural and socio-political contexts where they are created and disseminated (Fairclough, 1992; Thurlow, 2016).

### **2.4.2 Discourse**

Another DHA term that is pivotal in this study is that of discourse. Following Wodak (2008), the theory of discourse that this study adopts is proposed by Lemke (1995): "When I speak about discourse in general, I will usually mean the social activity of making meaning with language and other symbolic systems in some particular kind of situation or setting" (p. 5).

This study, aligned with Lemke's definition, detaches from a simplistic notion of language as a group of words that are decontextualised from a particular situation whereby individuals interact and draw on semiotic resources to create, reproduce, and shape the life of society. This study understands discourses as socially created, disseminated, and accepted for particular ends in contexts where social problems emerge (Reisigl, 2017). Given that discourses are bound to historical and societal change, they are characterised by being dynamic and hybrid (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). By dynamic, discourses are understood as being in constant activity, change, or progress. As for hybrid, they are seen as the combination of various discourses. For instance, a discourse on language rights can be informed by discourses of human rights and quality education.

Lemke's definition above highlights the historical dependence and social constitution of discourses. Building up on the latter, this study sees discourses as "communicative and interactional macro-unit[s] that transcend the unit of a single text or conversation" (Reisigl, 2017, p. 51). The communicative dimension of discourses conveys the transmission of ideas about language varieties and their benefits, for example. The interactional dimension, on the other hand, refers to the influence that one discourse can have upon another. For instance, literacy discourses that address the students' need of reading and writing in the dominant language can provide great leverage for discourses of linguistic homogenisation that capitalise on speaking one language variety. The two dimensions of discourses defined above are visible through macro-units, or macro-topics (Wodak, 2006) that are characterised by appearing in different texts such as curriculum frameworks and passed laws (e.g. the General Law on Linguistic Rights of the Indigenous People). For this study, education for indigenous people and language varieties (e.g. Náhuatl, Spanish) are the macro-topics under investigation.

### **2.4.3 Power**

One last term that is deemed important for this study is power given that it permeates LP texts (e.g. transcriptions of semi-structured interviews), language ideologies (e.g. standard



language ideology), and the DHA. Following Reisigl and Wodak (2009, pp.88, 89), this study understands power as:

An asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions or belong to different social groups. Power is legitimised or de-legitimised in discourses.

Texts are often sites of social struggle in that they manifest traces of differing ideological fights for dominance and hegemony. Thus, we focus on the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.

This definition highlights the pervasiveness of power in different areas of life. At the beginning, power can be seen at play in social interaction among individuals. In this study, for example, power can be perceived in the interaction between the headteacher, teachers, and parents at school where the headteacher tends to have a higher social position among parents. Thus, if he/she stresses the importance of developing literacy skills in the dominant language variety, both teachers and parents will devote more time to the acquisition of abilities in the dominant language. Apart from social interaction, power can be validated or disapproved by means of discourses.

As discussed in the previous section, discourse can index, challenge, and re(shape) power by using language given that it is seen as an instance of social and ideological domination. For example, in this study, linguistic competence as commodity, that addresses the development of skills for economic benefits, can permeate the discussion about the benefits of bilingual education for indigenous children and minimise cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition to social interaction and discourses, power can be manifested in texts. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) emphasise that texts such as official LP texts consist of conflicting ideas that seek to control and gain authority over others. A useful example in this study is the National Curriculum (*Plan de Estudios*, 2011) that is underpinned by discourses of human rights and globalism. The latter, as shown in Chapter 5, takes prominence by promoting the development of literacy skills.

Given the prevalence of power in social interaction, discourse and texts, a detailed linguistic analysis of written, spoken, and/or visual language is proposed by Reisigl and

Wodak (ibid). In this regard, the present study illustrates how power is legitimised from a top-down perspective. At the macro level, for example, it shows how the rationale for IBE in curriculum frameworks influences the value(s) and use(s) that are assigned to language varieties in education. Specifically, how LP texts are constructed on a myriad of contradictory discourses from powerful international organisations such as UNESCO and the OECD, as well as national laws such as the General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People. At the meso level, power is noticeable by how teachers do not necessarily challenge all the dominant discourses related to IBE and language varieties at school, but how they appropriate macro-level discourses to suit students' needs and achieve some of the aims of the Spanish and Náhuatl programmes. Finally, at the micro level, power is visible through mothers' appropriation of dominant discourses that convey dichotomous views about the value and use of ILVs, Spanish, and English, which suggest foreseeable challenges to revitalise ILVs at home and in the community.

This section has been devoted to defining the DHA's key terms that integrate the present study's critical perspective on LP appropriation that seeks to illuminate how LP texts, the language that is used, and the discourses that constitute them can contribute to social and educational inequality or resist it. The following section is devoted to providing a review of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) highlighting the research gaps.

## **2.5 Recent Research in Critical Discourse Studies**

In recent decades, studies within CDA's strands have increased, unpacking how language and discourses are constituted by ideologies that can perpetuate asymmetrical power dynamics. Across multiple contexts, these studies have explored the links between institutional practices and (language) policies (e.g. Barakos, 2012; Krzyżanowski, 2011b), others have contributed to our understanding on how education can be a powerful means to perpetuate social inequality (e.g. Rogers, 2011; Thomas, 2022), yet others have

demonstrated the influential role of socio-political agendas in LPP decision-making (e.g. Savski, 2016a, 2016b; 2017; 2018; Wodak and Fairclough, 2010).

In her study, Barakos (2012) explored the dynamics in institutional settings (private businesses), providing insightful evidence about the complexities of achieving the objectives of top-down LPs (e.g. become “Bilingual Wales” on the grounds of equality). Despite the lack of resources to provide services in Welsh, amongst others, Welsh was seen as a social, cultural, and economic resource, albeit its use in business matters was regarded unnecessary.

Also shedding light into institutional practices, Krzyżanowski (2011b) found the uncontested reproduction of institutional practices at organisations from the European Union whereby both institutional and communicative components were strictly regulated. Unsurprisingly, the potential development of new practices was contingent upon experienced top-down officials within the European Parliament and other powerful institutions.

In education, Bubikova-Moan (2017) examined two official LP reports that addressed how multilingual children in early child education (ECE) were constructed in Norwegian LPs over time. By carrying out an intertextual analysis, Bubikova-Moan (ibid) demonstrated significant differences between the reports as they resisted or supported top-down institutions and their discourses.

Similarly, Johnson (2010b) discussed the intertextual links between federal and school LP decision-making. He showed how LP was subject to different readings and appropriation based on the influence of researchers and research on applied linguistics. Some, Johnson argued, advocated for developmental bilingual education, whereas others supported transitional bilingual education.

A third study within the field of education was Roger’s (2011). She conducted a longitudinal study to monitor the school experiences of a minority female student in special education throughout primary and secondary school. She elicited and discussed three episodes where she criticised how institutional discourses and practices in neoliberal policies were racist and classicist as they buttressed academic and social inequality through the

omission of information or the exclusion of special students to sit state examinations, amongst others.

In the same vein, Thomas (2022) examined the discursive techniques that were employed to develop mainstreaming discourses to justify funding cuts for bilingual education in the Australian context. Thomas argues that official policy texts drew on three discursive techniques to impose a neoliberal government structure over education for indigenous people during the political debate in 1998 and 1999. First, bilingual education for indigenous people was portrayed as an obstacle to develop literacy skills in English. Second, securing employment was the main objective of education. Third, being subsidised by the government was believed to impede an effective integration into the Australian society and a global market.

Taking a more discursive perspective towards analysing LPs, Savski (2016a; 2017; 2018) explored LPP in Slovenia. In his first study, Savski (2016a) discussed two counter narratives underpinning LPs. The first endorsed a nation-state ideology that underscores the homogenisation of linguistic practices and the assimilation to a dominant language and culture. The second, on the other hand, constructed Slovenia as a multilingual and diverse nation. Underpinned by discourses of human rights and inclusivity, multilingualism was constructed as an economic advantage, thus illuminating how the meanings of concepts such as multilingualism were recontextualised due to dominant voices.

In his second study, Savski (2017) highlighted the multiplicity of views that were fed into LP texts by various authors who pursued their own agendas at the expense of the public interest. Similarly, in his third study, Savski (2018) analysed the politicisation of LPs as language experts sought to meet their agendas. In doing so, they partnered or negotiated with others. Equally important, Savski noted that the personal backgrounds and habitus of said language experts also played an important role in the (re)framing of institutional practices and discourses associated with LPs.

Finally, in their interesting analysis of the enactment of higher education reforms to standardise processes, Wodak and Fairclough (2010) showed how the Bologna Process

was recontextualised in Austria and Romania due to its historical background, sociopolitical agendas, and varying degrees of legitimation.

### ***2.5.1 The Research Gaps in Critical Discourse Studies***

Together, these studies have shown how language plays a pivotal role in the enactment and appropriation of LPs in institutional settings, and how it can (re)produce dominant discourses and firmly embedded ideologies. These, coupled with stakeholders' socio-political agendas and local realities, can either contribute to or hamper the attainment of objectives of said LPs. Most of these studies have provided a thorough discussion of LP processes by drawing on CLP and CDA (e.g. Bubikova-Moan, 2017), long-term ethnography (e.g. Rogers, 2011), action-oriented notions of LP (Krzyżanowski, 2011b), and the DHA (e.g. Savski, 2016a; 2017). Whilst most of these studies have explored macro levels (e.g. Krzyżanowski, 2011b; Savski, 2016a; 2017; Thomas, 2022), few have triangulated top-down LP texts with local appropriation in school, home, and/or community settings by means of ethnographic empirical data (e.g. Barakos, 2012; Johnson, 2010a; Rogers, 2011). Many of these studies have only provided “analysis of textual policy data... [that] no longer suffices to grasp the complex interaction of policy actors” (Barakos, 2016, p.24) and linguistic practices in local settings.

Consequently, more CDS studies are needed that include these local settings and that take an ELP to LPP. In addition, to my knowledge, no research study in México has drawn on the ELP together with the DHA to provide insights into the appropriation of discourses regarding IBE and language varieties taking into account the multi-level definition of context. Particularly, there is limited knowledge about how dominant discourses of LP texts influence teachers' and parents' language ideologies and discourses to either perpetuate linguistic homogenisation or revitalise Náhuatl.

As stated in Chapter 1, to help fill these gaps, the second underpinning analytical framework to this study is the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) given that “[language] policy meaning is discursively constructed, and [...] discourse about [language] policy can thus be

considered constitutive of policy meaning and constituted by it" (Savski, 2016b, p. 55). By combining the ELP with the DHA, the present study seeks to strike a balance between ethnographic empirical data that illuminates the agency of local stakeholders and critical discursive analysis of "the power of policy (discourses)" and ideologies (Johnson, 2016, p. 13). In this section, the research gaps in CDS have been addressed. The following sections are devoted to presenting other areas of the theoretical framework that underpin this study.

## **2.6 Language Policy: Review of Definitions and Operationalisation of the Term in this Study**

In this second part of the chapter, language policy and language ideologies are defined in the first sections. The final section explores the relevance of Ruiz's orientations to LP as an analytical heuristic to explore language ideologies and discourses instantiated in LP texts. They are aligned with the DHA and the ELP as they contribute to understanding the rationale behind the appropriation of discourses in Santa María, Puebla, which in turn may promote or hinder the revitalisation of ILVs.

The definitions of LP have evolved in the last three decades in an attempt to capture the complexities that surround it. Previous studies (e.g. Johnson, 2007) that have explored LP creation, interpretation, and/or appropriation have followed Ball's (1993) definition. He conceptualises LPs as texts and discourse. In delving into the definition of texts, he states that they are "materially durable products of linguistic actions" (Wodak, 2006, p. 177), and they need to be interpreted by stakeholders (e.g. teachers) in order to be enacted. He goes on to acknowledge that texts emerge from contexts where disparate relationships of inequality and power exist which, in turn, influence the creation and use of texts. Consequently, texts acquire different meanings and are subject to (re)interpretation.

Ball also defines LPs as discourse. He argues that LPs are discursive given their linguistic nature and their extra-linguistic import that bestow specific individuals with a certain degree of power and authority, and the right to give voice to certain ideas and disregard

others (Ball, 1993). Whilst Ball's definition incorporates the durability of LP texts across time, a theory of power in LP creation and implementation (Johnson, 2015), and the agency of local stakeholders in LP processes, it fails to account for the influence of language ideologies on stakeholders' discourses on the ground at different layers, which is one the main objectives of this study.

Like Ball (1993), Savski's (2023a) recent approach to exploring LPs includes stakeholders' agency in LP processes. However, Savski's approach towards LP appropriation goes beyond textual analyses of LP texts as it capitalises on stakeholders' social actions across time and space. His perspective takes into consideration the (re)construction of LP texts by the very same activities they are appropriated for. This reconstruction entails dynamism and change through (re)entextualisation at different scales. In describing the (re)entextualisation process or the way LPs are made or reinserted into a text, Savski (*ibid*) begins by stating that LP texts are transmitted from individuals to institutions, showing a shift from personal to collective voice whereby an LP text is decontextualised from its original source. Characterised by its non-linearity, (re)entextualisation undergoes different processes that are intertwined diachronically. Along the process, one of the tensions involves the interpretation and appropriation of an LP text through the lens of individual or institutional ownership, which addresses the actions that result from stakeholders' (e.g. teachers) interpretation and implementation of LPs. Another point of contention is between the local and the global whereby the universality of LPs can be contextualised in a particular country. A third site of struggle is found between the universality of practice and the situatedness of policy action. In this regard, Savski (*ibid*) argues that the ongoing negotiation of universal LP meaning is situated in specific times and spaces and is mediated through social practices. Across the abovementioned tensions, Savski (*ibid*) establishes that the (re)entextualisation of texts is agentively mediated through social relations that focus on the who, where, when and how of LP in action. He suggests this broader approach for studies that seek to go beyond textual analyses of LPs and instead

explore (re)entextualisation across time and space by agentive stakeholders, amongst others.

A third definition of LP that has been used in recent studies (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen et al., 2023; Gomashie, 2023; Hollebeke et al., 2022) that explore LPs at micro levels, particularly home settings, is Spolsky's (2004). Like Ball and Savski, Spolsky's approach to LP accounts for stakeholders' agency. However, unlike Ball and Savski, it incorporates language ideologies and their influence on language use. Spolsky (ibid) posits that LPs pervade all domains of life; from families to schools to supra-national groups to polities. They encompass much more than explicit official policy documents. Spolsky (ibid) argues that they are also implicit within speech communities that are characterised by specific groups of people who have a shared understanding about the regulations, as well as the expectations of language varieties. Within speech communities, LPs can be apprehended in three ways. First, LPs are visible through the linguistic practices of a community which allude to the selection of language varieties as part of the linguistic repertoire, as well as the functions assigned to each language variety. Second, LPs are noticeable through language ideologies and beliefs associated with the value and use of each language variety within the community. Third, LPs are found in explicit written policies or plans that attempt to reorient the beliefs of a speech community and its linguistic practices (Spolsky, 2004). In other words, Spolsky's definition of LPs focuses on linguistic practices, ideologies and the written policies and plans which instantiate those practices and ideologies (McCarty, 2010).

Spolsky's definition above expresses the links between the ideational and behavioural; that is, it highlights the inextricable relationship between ideas or beliefs and their resulting actions. Whether LPs are written in official policy documents, or instantiated in linguistic interaction, they are (re)shaped by ideas and beliefs about language use. It is this approach to LP that this study adopts for the following reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, it aligns with the ELP as it includes decision-making at the school and community levels taking into account local appropriation of macro-level LPs instantiated in linguistic practices. For



instance, it attends to the social interaction that takes place in classrooms or the local market aiming to develop a deeper understanding of how individuals relate to LPs by using languages to read and write, or to speak to a family member. Secondly, it implicitly constructs LPs as being socially mediated. That is to say, LPs are disseminated, negotiated, adapted, or consolidated in social interaction whereby individuals engage in communication. Thirdly, it implicitly constructs ideas and actions, language ideologies and behaviour as mutually constitutive. Finally, it considers the influence of language ideologies in LP decision-making which is one of the main interests of this study (see RQ2 and RQ3 in Chapter 1).

Before operationalising Spolsky's approach to LP, it is important to address some of its shortcomings. First, it does not include a critical component that problematises the contextual factors that surround a given LP (Barakos, 2016). Second, it fails to provide a robust definition of language ideologies (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). Third, "it dilutes the scope of 'policy' as opposed to ecology" (Savski, 2023a, p. 4). Consequently, in an attempt to compensate for these shortcomings, this study draws on the DHA's multi-leveled definition of context presented earlier and a broader concept of language ideologies outlined in the next section.

To bring together Spolsky's definition and its operationalisation in this study, it is useful to provide a brief example of the LPs that will be explored in detail in Chapter 5. Language-in-education policies, which provide school staff with guidance about language use for teaching and learning, are good examples of written LP texts that outline the use of language varieties across the education system in a given region. Their appropriation in the classroom, by teachers, is an example of how teachers' ideologies and beliefs about languages shape their classroom discourse.

This section has critically reviewed recent definitions of language policy. Given the scope and aims of this study, Spolsky's understanding of LPs instantiated in linguistic practices, language ideologies, and written documents is useful to explore LP appropriation in Santa María, Puebla, México. The section that follows presents the definition and

operationalisation of language ideologies in this study. They are conceptualised in connection with the DHA, from a critical lens, to show how LP texts and discourses convey language ideologies that are linked to sociocultural settings wherein identity and power are mediated, and where socio-political agendas contribute to inequality.

## **2.7 Language Ideologies: Definitions and Operationalisations**

The concept of ideology first emerged within Marxist and neo-Marxist notions that attempted to give an explanation of how high social classes remain in control of a system that allows them to access privileges and continue suppressing those from lower classes. The term has evolved, and although differences of opinion may exist, there appears to be some agreement that language ideologies refer to beliefs, values and practices that are linked to the way a language variety is used. Additionally, they are associated with discourse considering that they have an influential role in shaping actions, thereby contributing to the content and discursive construction of LP texts as well as stakeholders' subsequent linguistic practices at local and national levels (Barakos, 2016; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994).

Building on language ideologies, Blackledge (2012) highlights that beliefs and attitudes about a language variety not only are related to language, but to specific sociocultural settings where power and identity are contested and mediated (Woolard, 1998). In the same vein, Gal and Woolard (1995) postulate that ideologies that deal with language varieties often represent ideas about people and the ways language is used or structured. They are characterised by being context embedded and tied to socio-historical and socio-political agendas (Kroskrity, 2004). Similarly, Blackledge (2012) adds that language ideologies have become "battlegrounds on which broader debates over race, state, and nation are played out" (p. 1).

The definition of language ideologies introduced above is complemented by Kroskrity's (2004) cluster concept that expands on language ideologies and how they operate within individuals and among the members of a social group. It consists of five levels of

significance that allow a better understanding of beliefs about language together with the study of those beliefs. The levels are 1) individual or group interests, 2) variety of ideologies, 3) recognition of language ideologies, 4) the mediating role of language ideologies, and 5) the enactment of language ideologies in cultural identities.

The first level refers to the notion that language ideologies convey individual or collective perceptions of discourse and language influenced by social experiences, as well as political and economic concerns regarding a specific cultural or social group. For instance, in this study, many parents appreciate ILVs as cultural heritage given the body of knowledge, traditions and values that they represent. Nonetheless, they underscore the linguistic discrimination that their parents and others experienced in the past, at school and outside the community, as well as their low socioeconomic level. Hence, they perceive Spanish as a commodity for improved life chances.

The second level denotes the plurality of language ideologies as they shape language use of distinctive subgroups within a cultural or social group such as social class and gender. An illustration of this could be that many parents who decide to enrol their child(ren) in the mainstream school rather than the bilingual one (the context of this study) have a higher socioeconomic status and perceive IBE and ILVs as backward.

The third level describes the level of awareness of local language ideologies among members of a sociocultural group. This degree of awareness can be noticed in what Silverstein (1998) calls ideological sites where social practices reveal discursive and practical awareness of ideologies to a greater or lesser extent. For example, ideological sites in Santa María can be the church where mass is held in Spanish. In this instance, Spanish is discursively and practically employed as the main means to listen to the clergy and understand the message that is communicated.

The fourth level refers to the power that language ideologies exert on the way individuals select and draw on discursive and linguistic resources to manage their social and cultural experiences. This can be exemplified by the older generations' use of Náhuatl among their

closed family and friends in private situations, whilst they use Spanish to speak to strangers to sell products in the town centre or in other cities.

The last level makes reference to the role of language ideologies in the construction and depiction of sociocultural identities such as nationality. That is to say, language varieties are used to identify social groups (e.g. Mexicans, indigenous people) and restrict the domains where they can use language varieties (e.g. Spanish at school, Náhuatl at home) (Kroskrity, 2004). The cluster concept described above depicts an ‘ideology continuum’ that shows that language ideologies emerge within individuals, are disseminated through linguistic practices, and accepted by the members of a speech community, regulate members’ behaviours and actions, and serve to create a unified identity. It is the complexity of language ideologies shown in the previous paragraphs and their far-reaching influence instantiated in language use, discourses, and text(s) in IBE in the town of Santa María that this study aims to investigate. Particularly how discourses contain and disseminate certain language ideologies that, in turn, influence the appropriation of the IBE programme and the value and use of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English at school, at home, and in the community (see research questions in Chapter 1).

### ***2.7.1 Prominent Language Ideologies in Puebla***

Whilst this section does not attempt to provide a full discussion on the myriad of language ideologies that are found in contemporary theory, it will provide a brief description of two of the most prominent ones in Puebla. The first one is the Standard Language Ideology (SLI) defined by Lippi-Green (1994) as “a bias toward an abstracted, idealised, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which takes as its model the written language. The most salient feature is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds” (p.166). My understanding of this definition is that the SLI is an unreasoned tendency to think about a language as a separate system that is regarded as perfect given that it has a fixed way of using Orthography, syntax, and lexicon. This “accurate” way of using a language is legitimised and imposed by official institutions such as the educational system

(Çavuşoğlu, 2021) through social practices (e.g. the development of literacy skills in Spanish) that are underpinned by the institutionalisation of ideological power conveyed in texts (e.g. curriculum frameworks) (Davila, 2016), and discourses (e.g. national identity) (Fairclough, 1989). Not surprisingly, the dominant language variety is accrued with more value and prestige than others, thereby contributing to the subordination of ILVs (Walsh, 2021). Particularly, by hampering communication between Spanish speakers and ILV speakers as well as promoting stigma and inferiority (Hawkey & Mooney, 2021).

The second one, closely associated with the SLI, is the one-nation-one-language ideology. As Gellner (1983), Vogl (2018) and Walsh (2021) highlight, since the late 18<sup>th</sup> CE, speaking a unified language not only is linked to national identity and belonging, but it is also believed to be pivotal for social cohesion and national unity. For instance, in an attempt to achieve unification, the Mexican government has gained consent from a large majority of the population to homogenise the linguistic practices in the public sphere such as in education. By homogenisation, I mean the linguistic practices that are akin to the language variety(ies) they draw upon. Thus, an emphasis has been made between the use of Spanish, national identity, and social cohesion, restricting the domains and functions of ILVs although their use in education is recognised in the jure policy.

In summary, it has been shown from this review of language ideologies that they are beliefs and attitudes related not only to language varieties per say, but to socio-political agendas where power is constantly mediated and challenged. They shape discourses, the discursive structure of LP texts, as well as the linguistic practices of individuals in private and public settings. Being context embedded, they deal with discussions about national interests as well as people's views about the ways language is structured. Finally, their far-reaching influence emerges within individuals and disseminates to society through social interaction.

At this point in the theoretical framework, it is essential to present a general analytical heuristic of language ideologies instantiated in LP texts and discourses to explore the rationale and underpinning values that inform them, which, in turn, pose serious implications for LP appropriation. Consequently, the section below outlines Ruiz's three orientations to

LPP, weaving in recent research drawing on these orientations. This is followed by recent critiques of Ruiz's heuristic and their counter criticism.

## **2.8 Ruiz's Orientations to Language Planning and Policy**

As stated above, language ideologies are exhibited in LP texts and discourses. To explore how they play out in Santa María, Puebla, Ruiz's framework (1984) will complement the DHA's four level of context to analyse what orientations underpin LP texts at different levels, and what language ideologies and concomitant discourses represent each orientation. Ruiz's framework put forward an emancipating perspective that highlighted the individual and collective benefits of multilingualism to counteract monolingual ideologies that threatened linguistic minorities in the USA (Hornberger, 1990). His heuristic approach to investigating LPP initiatives was underpinned by three orientations: language as right, problem, and resource. These orientations, he would argue, elucidate the views language planners, policy makers and stakeholders have towards language varieties and their function(s) in society. But more importantly, these orientations constrain the ways language varieties are talked about, the ways in which language issues are addressed, and the ways outcomes are understood and dealt with (Ruiz, 1984). When analysing LP documents or initiatives, more than one *orientation* may become noticeable giving way to heightened opportunities to address issues of inequality (Hult & Hornberger, 2016).

### **2.8.1 Language as Problem**

The first orientation that may underpin LP initiatives is seeing *language(s) as problem*. In this study, the language-as-problem orientation is understood as topics or issues that arise from daily interactions in diverse academic contexts, which are the focus of applied linguists. This view is informed by monolingual ideologies that favour the learning of a dominant language, i.e. Spanish, at the expense of minority languages (Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019; Han & Dong, 2024; Hornberger, 1990; Van Raemdonck et al., 2023). A good illustration of this orientation is a study conducted by Lagunas (2019) that showed the discrepant ideologies amongst the elderly and youth in Guerrero, México. The elders, on the one hand,

reported being in favour of speaking Náhuatl only to preserve it since the youth have been influenced by social media, migration, and capitalism. The youth, on the other hand, reported feeling shame of speaking Náhuatl in front of the elders because they might mock them for mispronouncing words. Additionally, Náhuatl was perceived as old fashioned in contemporary society.

Worryingly, the language-as-problem orientation sees linguistic diversity as a menace to national unity and cohesion, thus homogenising linguistic practices that contribute to the endangerment or complete loss of ILVs (e.g. Gallo & Hornberger, 2019; Ruiz, 1984). Additionally, speakers of ILVs are apprehended as linguistically deficient in the dominant language. Their linguistic repertoire is not seen as an advantage, but as a hindrance to effective educational, professional, social and/or economic development (Thomas, 2022). In many occasions, language problems are mistakenly associated with educational attainment or impoverishment (Ruiz, 1984). Hence, LPs that orient to these monolingual discourses seek to restrict the functions of ILVs or eradicate them completely from society to favour the use of a dominant, colonial, or national language variety (Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019; Easlick, 2022; Ruiz, 2010; Smith-Christmas, 2014). Following this view, subtractive bilingual programmes orient towards the teaching and learning of a dominant language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) in an attempt to 'reverse' linguistic marginalisation and social alienation (Ruiz, 2010).

### **2.8.2 Language as Right**

The second orientation that can inform LP implementation is perceiving language(s) as right. Whereas the language-as-problem notion claims to cater for 'linguistic deficiencies' in minority groups, the language-as-right orientation seeks to compensate for linguistic discrimination by legal proceedings (Hult & Hornberger, 2016). Although the rationale that prompted this orientation took into consideration a global perspective of language rights, the context of American policy, where civil rights had been given more prominence, was the primary source. Whilst language rights can be acknowledged around the world, the way

each nation tackles linguistic and social inequality differs depending on its legislation (e.g. Alstad & Sopanen, 2021; Paulsrud et al., 2020).

Given that through language any individual accesses education and employment, to mention but a few (Ruiz, 1984), language rights deal with language use within a nation or community and are endorsed by laws in an effort to protect or promote ILVs (Hornberger, 1990). Not surprisingly, however, some nations employ laws to foster the acquisition and use of an official or national language variety and entirely disregard ILVs (e.g. Thomas, 2022). Additionally, some language rights can be limited as they only include certain linguistic groups and their scope is either restricted or vague (e.g. Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Ruiz, 1984). They go from banning to allowing to promoting language varieties. Banning a language variety would entail seeing it as a problem, and therefore, laws would prohibit its use in order to assimilate to a dominant language. On the other hand, promoting a language variety would imply enacting laws that stipulate how funding will be allocated in order for bilingual or multilingual programmes to operate, as well as the functions that language varieties will have in all spheres of the life of a country. Irrespective of this, ILVs may still experience discrimination on the grounds (Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

An illustration of how this orientation takes place in the Mexican context is given by De Korne et al. (2019). In México, 68 indigenous languages have an official status since 2003. In spite of this, ILVs are still tokenised, ridiculed, or patronised by a number of people. Many view them as an identity marker, yet others perceive them as a symbol of mobility. Ongoing cooperation from influential members of faculty and language educators has been conducive to the creation of ideological and implementational spaces where Diidxazá, an ILV, is gaining more visibility and importance within a higher education institution. Ultimately, the aim of the Diidxazá programme is to promote the use of Diidxazá among community members and influence the view of it as a resource (De Korne et al., 2019).



### **2.8.3 Language as Resource**

Finally, the third orientation that may inform LPP decision making is conceiving language varieties as resources. This view articulates an inclusive approach towards linguistic diversity that highlights ideological and implementational spaces (e.g. Shen & Gao, 2019) within LPs that enhance bilingual or multilingual education. What is more, this orientation can serve as a point of reference for future LPs that foster multilingualism. Essentially, “language as resource is the antithesis of the language as problem orientation” (Hult & Hornberger, 2016, p. 38) since it capitalises on the harmony between cultural and linguistic diversity and national cohesion (Ruiz, 2010). Ethnolinguistic minorities are seen as “sources of expertise” who can benefit themselves, other language learners in the wider community and the society in general (Ruiz, 1984, p. 28).

Language varieties, as resources, can either pose extrinsic (e.g. global economy) or intrinsic benefits (e.g. social cohesion) that ultimately affect the rationale that underpins an LP (de Jong et al., 2016). In modern society, both types of benefits are fundamental to this orientation given that Ruiz (2010) argues that it is impossible not to capitalise on the economic benefits of multilingual education whilst also highlighting the inherent value of language varieties, specifically ILVs. A useful example of the focus on both extrinsic and intrinsic values of minority languages is Dorner’s (2015) study of an immersion programme in the USA. The findings show that the programme administrators stressed the relationship between multilingualism and global awareness and access to better employment. Echoing the administrator’s views, parents emphasised the discourse of language as a global and professional resource. Additionally, those parents whose heritage language was Spanish stressed multilingualism as an identity marker and communication enhancer with family members. Finally, parents viewed the multilingual programme as a means to develop social cohesion, empathy, and cognitive development.

By stressing the benefits within this orientation, more substantial gains could be achieved when advocating for ILVs socio-politically speaking (Ruiz, 2010). Nonetheless, there are

counter views (e.g. Ricento, 2006) that postulate that a number of LP documents show a tendency towards the extrinsic benefits of language varieties that foreground the interests of a country in general rather than ethnolinguistic minorities, although in some cases they do take into consideration the interests of minorities (e.g. Aktürk-Drake, 2023). More striking, the survival or promotion of a language variety depends on whether it has value in the global market and if it has a place within the linguistic repertoire of a nation. This, in turn, may serve to perpetuate unequal power relationships that demand linguistic minorities to learn the dominant language variety and ignore their own language and culture (Horner, 2011).

Bilingual programmes that are informed by the language-as-resource orientation can be found in dual language bilingual education (Henderson, 2017). In some instances, they encompass the teaching of dominant languages (e.g. English) to language-minority students as opposed to devoting efforts to support or revitalise minority languages (Ruiz, 1984). Other programmes, within this orientation, seek to foster long-term bilingualism for linguistic minorities (e.g. developmental bilingual programmes) or for both language-minority and majority students (e.g. two-way immersion programmes). Although this orientation still poses foreseeable challenges to be effectively implemented (Hult & Hornberger, 2016), it spurs a critical approach to understanding the complexity of linguistic practices of multilingual countries and advancing critical analysis and discussion conducive to an inclusive participation of linguistic minorities in this globalised community “in their own terms” (Hornberger, 1998, p. 439).

#### ***2.8.4 Recent Critiques towards Ruiz’s Orientations and Counter Critiques***

Based on the above discussion, Ruiz’s heuristic approach has proven useful to reveal the premises and the implications of enacting “alternative languages policies” (Crawford, 1998, p. 52). Nonetheless, it has also been criticised by Macías (2016) who argues that the orientations are limited to status planning and corpus planning and fail to incorporate other types of LPs. According to Macías (2016), Ruiz’s heuristic approach is only the “beginning of a conceptual framework” (p. 180). Additionally, it has also been questioned in terms of its

depth and breadth to explain the underlying, often invisible, ideological, and political agendas that inform the creation and implementation of LPs. In the same vein, Crawford (1998) argues that these orientations only seem to include the view of language specialists but fail to account for the driving forces behind political initiatives and the interests of other sectors in society that deal with other domains other than language. In short, the decisions made regarding language use are rarely influenced by language itself.

Hult and Hornberger (2016) challenge Crawford's view by arguing that Ruiz's orientations allow researchers (outsiders) to unpack and understand the underlying principles and ideologies that guide the intricate interplay between policy creation and appropriation. Additionally, Ruiz's orientations may also represent the ideologies of main stakeholders in instances when they explicitly articulate their views about language varieties. Whilst Hult and Hornberger (2016) acknowledge the influence of other aspects in LP decision-making, they emphasise policy makers' and main stakeholders' views in mediating policy decisions. These orientations, in turn, represent a pivotal aspect that must be carefully considered by LP researchers (Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Finally, Hult and Hornberger (2016) highlight the potential use of the 'language-as-resource' and 'language-as-right' orientations to inform policymaking that intends to make provision for the needs and interests of ethnolinguistic minorities and bolster multilingualism.

## **2.9 Summary**

This chapter set out to present the theoretical framework that underpins the present study. In the first part of the chapter, the fields of LPP and CDA were outlined. In the first sections, a critical historical overview of past approaches to LP was conducted. It showed a steady shift from top-down LP initiatives that aimed at tackling language-related problems to bottom-up critical ethnographic approaches that explore local appropriation. The most recent approach, the ELP, was then presented underscoring its agency-driven focus that

acknowledges local stakeholders' appropriation of LPs based on contextual features. Recent research within this field was discussed and the research gaps were addressed.

The second overarching field of this study, CDA, was outlined. Within CDA approaches, the DHA was introduced, particularly its four level of context was operationalised as it is the main feature which this study draws from. This is due to the fact that these four levels take into consideration the political, historical, psychological, and social dimensions of context together with the linguistic dimension of LP texts. Also included were the ways in which the DHA aligns with the ELP. The DHA's key terms that are drawn on in the study were also defined and operationalised. The last section of the first part of this chapter presented a summary of CDS whereby the gaps in research were addressed.

The second part of this chapter was devoted to outlining other core aspects of the theoretical framework. In the first section, the term language policy was explored in light of contemporary definitions. Given the aims of this study, Spolsky's understanding of LP was followed as it connects macro with micro levels as well as ideological with practical dimensions of LPs thereby linking linguistic practices with language ideologies and written documents. Bearing in mind that Spolsky's understanding of LPs fails to incorporate a critical perspective that takes into account contextual features and a robust definition of language ideologies, the DHA and a more comprehensive definition of language ideologies were integrated in this study.

Subsequently, language ideologies were conceptualised as pivotal to discourse, the discursive construction of LP texts, and their consequent actions in specific settings. What is more, they were argued to be tied to sociocultural and socio-political agendas whereby nation-states are prioritised and a unified national identity is sought. They were argued to be created and disseminated in social interaction.

In the last section, Ruiz's language as problem, right, and resource orientations were presented as a useful heuristic to explore the rationale of LPs, and the underpinning language ideologies and discourses that portray each orientation. Recent critiques of Ruiz's orientations were also included as well as their counter criticism. The language-as-problem

orientation was contended to be underpinned by monolingual ideologies that contribute to the homogenisation of linguistic practices. The language-as-right orientation, on the other hand, was considered as a lawful compensation for linguistic discrimination that seeks to secure access to students' L1 in education. As for the language-as-resource orientation, it was argued to be used as a leverage to promote cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the intrinsic or extrinsic value of languages. Having outlined the theoretical framework of this study, I will now move on to present the methodological apparatus that guided the planning stage, as well as data collection and analysis phases.

### **Chapter 3 Methodology**

This study situates itself at the intersection of the ELP (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) and the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) where ethnographic and linguistic analyses were drawn on to gain a better understanding between social life and language use across different levels of Santa María, Puebla, México. That is, by fusing the ELP with the DHA this study sought to carry out a linguistic analysis of macro-level LP texts and their influence over teachers' and parents' language ideologies, discourses, as well as day-to-day linguistic practices reported in semi-structured interviews.

In the following sections, details of the operationalisation of the ELP and the DHA are provided. They will be followed by a detailed description of macro-level LP texts, semi-structured interviews, and field note entries that were employed to explore LP appropriation at different layers or levels of context. Next, an overview of participants' sociological features is provided. What follows is a summary of how access to the research context and participants was sought. It will then go on to address the ethical approach taken in this study which unpacks the researcher's different positionalities and the way these prompted the researcher's reflexivity which are key elements in ethnographic studies that aim at working critically and understanding the power dynamics between the research setting, participants, and the researcher. Subsequently, a synopsis of how ethical consent was obtained is given. Then, ethical considerations are addressed, particularly the ones related to interviewing participants as well as transcribing and translating their personal accounts. Towards the end of the chapter, the process of selecting LP texts for analysis is outlined. Finally, a detailed description of how the data were analysed is provided.

#### **3.1 Research Design of the Study**

##### **3.1.1 *The Ethnography of Language Policy***

A growing body of research has provided ethnographic accounts of people's lives, linguistic practices, and contextual particularities to develop a deeper understanding of the complexities of LP processes in bilingual settings (e.g. Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; De

Korne et al., 2019; Hornberger, 2002). Nonetheless, few studies (e.g. Johnson, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2011b) have adopted a discourse ethnographic approach to illuminate the tensions between official LP texts and their discourses and bottom-up interpretations and appropriation of said texts and their discourses considering participants' contextual needs and demands (Hornberger 2015). Consequently, the present study aimed at making a methodological contribution by combining the ELP with the DHA. On the one hand, the ELP (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) served as a heuristic to investigate LP processes across different layers by providing a thick description of LP appropriation in school and community settings (Davis, 1999). In this respect, this study attempted to shed light on teachers' and parents' local realities (e.g. social activities) documented in field notes, as well as their agency to appropriate certain discourses in semi-structured interviews (Hornberger et al., 2018).

By getting an insight into Santa Maria's linguistic practices at school, at church, and in the town centre I was able to make sense of participants' beliefs about IBE and language varieties, as well as develop a deeper understanding about the inextricable link between these ideas and participants' linguistic practices at school, at church, and in the town centre (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Heller, 2008). For instance, by observing the interaction between teachers, mothers, and students at school, as well as community members' interaction during the patronal feast, I was able to gain a deeper insight into the dominant role of Spanish in religious activities and the erasure of Náhuatl from the cultural practices. To strike a balance between local interpretation and appropriation with the discursive influence of LP texts over other texts, the DHA was drawn on to carry out a fine-grained analysis of texts, discourses, and contextual features (Johnson, 2009).

### **3.1.2 The Discourse Historical Approach**

The DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009), like the ELP, is characterised by being problem oriented. In this case, the social problem under scrutiny is the academic issues (e.g. lack of instruction in students' L1 or ancestral language) that people who have indigenous ancestry

experience (see Chapter 4), and whether LPs in IBE contribute to the revitalisation of ILVs or exacerbate their erasure in school and home settings (Mendoza Zuany, 2020; Skutnabb Kangas, 2000). Taking a discourse ethnographic approach proved useful for the following reasons. First, it bridged the gap between social interaction and language ideologies, as well as the institutionalisation of ideological power instantiated in macro-level LP texts and stakeholders' agency in school and home settings. Second, it exposed the power relations between discourses and social reality where power was negotiated. Finally, it provided a framework for the linguistic analysis of LP texts across different levels of context to see how they influence each other (Krzyzanowski, 2011a) in ideological and practical ways.

From the myriad of key concepts that can inform the DHA to analyse data, this study drew on intertextuality and interdiscursivity. These two, defined in Chapter 2, Section 2.3, showed how micro-level LP texts (e.g. semi-structured interviews with mothers) were associated with macro-level LP texts and dominant discourses overtly and covertly (Johnson, 2011), and how these links influenced social practices in school, home, and community settings.

Apart from intertextuality and interdiscursivity, van Dijk's (2008) notion of context (see Chapter 2) was complemented with Wodak's (2008) four level of context to triangulate the appropriation of LP discourses and language ideologies at macro, meso, and micro levels. These four levels were operationalised in this study as follows:

1. Macro-level LP texts such as the National Curriculum (2011) and the Curriculum Framework: Indigenous Language as Subject Content (2011) (Chapter 5);
2. Intertextual and interdiscursive links between LP texts such as interview transcripts and discourses about IBE and language varieties (e.g. 'bilingual education as right,' 'English for international migration') (Chapters 5, 6, and 7);
3. Main stakeholders' (e.g. teachers and parents) socioeconomic level, level of schooling, sex, age (Chapters 1 and 3); and
4. The sociohistorical and socio-political history of bilingual education for indigenous people in México, and particularly in Puebla (Chapters 1 and 4).



The sociohistorical and socio-political level of context is outlined in Chapters 1 and 4 where the history of bilingual education in Santa Maria and a historical overview of bilingual education in México are provided. This level of context is pivotal to trace the creation, dissemination, and appropriation of discourses by making intertextual and interdiscursive links between LP texts and discourses diachronically (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The first level of context, which is “the immediate language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse” (ibid) can be found in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. In Chapter 5, an overview of the content of each of the three macro-level LP texts (curriculum frameworks) is provided at the beginning, particularly those components that address the rationale behind IBE as well as the value and use of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English in and out of the school setting. Then, a detailed linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from macro-level LP texts will be carried out, followed by a discussion of the intertextual and interdiscursive links between discourses.

Chapter 6 explores teachers’ appropriation of macro-level LP texts at the school level. Particularly, how the Head School District Supervisor (HSDS), headteacher, and teachers talk about the rationale and objectives of the curriculum frameworks based on the students’ interests as well as contextual needs. Also, it examines their views about the expected learning outcomes in the curriculum frameworks regarding language varieties, and what value and uses they assign to language varieties within the classroom. Like Chapter 5, the discussion in Chapter 6 will revolve around intertextual and interdiscursive links between macro-level LP texts and teachers’ discourses.

Chapter 7 sheds light on how dominant discourses related to IBE and language varieties are discursively mediated in semi-structured interviews with mothers. In other words, what mothers report regarding their linguistic practices at home and in the community, as well as what their expectations about IBE are, particularly about learning Spanish, Náhuatl, and English. In order to give an insight into the appropriation of discourses in school and home settings, Chapters 6 and 7 make intertextual and interdiscursive links between them. The analysis and discussion take into account the historical and socio-political level of context (see Chapter 4) together with sociological variables such as the socioeconomic level and

level of schooling taken from field notes and background questions from semi-structured interviews. Concomitantly, the immediate text of semi-structured interviews with teachers and mothers is analysed.

To carry out the linguistic analysis in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, this study employed discourse topics and the DHA's five discursive strategies. Consequently, it is important to define what discourse topics and discursive strategies are. Discourse topics are understood as prominent themes found in words, sentences, paragraphs, or complete texts across different LP texts (Krzyżanowski, 2008; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). In the case of this study, they provided information about the rationale, aims, and views related to IBE as well as participants' linguistic practices, views, and expectations regarding language varieties. Hence, they were used as tools for analysis. All the discourse topics were related to the two macro-topics of this study: IBE and language varieties (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2). In order to identify discourse topics, those excerpts where participants provided detailed accounts of the macro-topics were selected. This meant looking for references to bilingual education (e.g. its rationale, objectives, advantages) and practical uses of language varieties at school, at home, or in the community. In other words, it entailed counting the number of instances where bilingual education, language varieties, and related aspects were mentioned. As a result, the abovementioned discourse topics, among others, were chosen.

Discursive strategies, on the other hand, are defined as “a more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal” (Reisigl & Wodak, *ibid*, p.95). In other words, discursive strategies are the linguistic means that individuals draw on, for example, to describe their past and present linguistic practices at home and in the community, evaluate the objectives of the curriculum frameworks, or convey their level of commitment to meeting specific agendas (e.g. Spanish learning objectives). There are five discursive strategies: 1) nomination, 2) predication, 3) argumentation, 4) perspectivisation, and 5) intensification/mitigation. These were employed to different extents by macro-level LP texts, teachers, and mothers in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. See Table 2 below for examples of each discursive strategy.

**Table 2**

*Overview of Discursive Strategies (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009)*

<b>Discursive strategy</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Devices</b>	<b>Examples from the data</b>
Nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	⇒ deictics ⇒ metonymies ⇒ synecdoches	⇒ yo, allá, acá ⇒ lengua materna, segunda lengua ⇒ el currículo, maestros, la escuela
Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions	⇒ adjectives ⇒ metaphors	⇒ filosóficos, nacos, indios, complicado, ⇒ un espacio también para la lengua originaria, la palabra de los ancestros
Argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	⇒ topoi	⇒ right and law- el sistema educativo hace efectivo este derecho... ⇒ authority- La UNESCO apoya la educación bilingüe...
Perspectivisation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	⇒ direct/indirect speech ⇒ quotation marks	⇒ desde el punto de vista de los pueblos originarios... ⇒ los niños dicen: "Voy a aprender inglés..."
Intensification/ mitigation	modifying the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	⇒ tag questions ⇒ subjunctive ⇒ hyperboles ⇒ questions instead of assertions	⇒ ¿No? ⇒ si realmente les interesara no tendrían... ⇒ todo el mundo ⇒ ¿Cómo los voy a poner a escribir si no saben hablar?

As can be gleaned from Table 2 above, nomination is employed to name people, objects, events, or actions. In this study, nomination is particularly useful, for example, to identify 1) the stakeholders who promoted a monolingual ideology in school and home settings ('*el currículo*'); 2) the focus of the curriculum frameworks ('*escribir*,' '*habilidad lectora*'); and 3) the terms assigned to language varieties ('*segunda lengua*') depending on their status.

Predication is used to talk about features or attributes that are assigned to people, objects, events, or actions. In many instances, this strategy is drawn on to describe the value of oral tradition within the curriculum ('*la palabra de los ancestros*'), convey expectations

about the younger generations in relation to their educational attainment (*'pueden llegar más lejos'*), or assign value to language varieties (*'un espacio también para la lengua originaria'*).

Argumentation is a powerful discursive tool that enables a person to provide arguments or reasons to support a claim in an attempt to persuade the listener or reader to take a particular stance. This strategy is used to set out the rationale behind the incorporation of ILVs in the school curriculum bolstered by transnational institutions such as UNESCO (topoi of right, law, and authority) (see Chapter 5). Another example of this strategy is evident when some participants address the pivotal role of Spanish as the medium of instruction (topos of globalisation) (see Chapter 6).

Perspectivisation is used to convey a point of view related to a specific theme. For instance, this strategy is employed to approach ILVs from the perspective of indigenous people, seeing them as cultural heritage (*'desde el punto de vista de los pueblos originarios'*). Additionally, this strategy is drawn on to illustrate the value and uses of language varieties amongst the younger generations (*'los niños dicen: "Voy a aprender inglés"'*).

Finally, intensification and mitigation are employed to strengthen or weaken the illocutionary force of statements such as evaluating, criticising, describing, and so on. Intensification is noticeable when some participants address the inconsistency between the expected outcomes of IBE and the students' lack of knowledge about Náhuatl (*'¿Cómo los voy a poner a escribir si no saben hablar?''*). In contrast, mitigation is used to counteract the dominance of Spanish and acknowledge that some people still understand or speak Náhuatl (*'como unos 10 o 20% son los que tienen ese idioma'*).

Having shown how I operationalised the DHA's four levels of context and having provided a definition and illustrations of discourse topics and discursive strategies, I will now move on to outline the research instruments that were used to collect the data together with the participants.

### 3.2 Research instruments

Following a top-down perspective to LP, this section outlines the research instruments that were employed to gain an insight into macro, meso, and micro LP appropriation. First, three macro-level LP texts will be briefly outlined followed by semi-structured interviews and field note entries. These three data sets allowed for “a triangulated database, adding depth, breadth, and credibility to research findings” (McCarty, 2015, p. 89), which is one of the primary aims of the ELP (to obtain a holistic view) and the DHA (four level context) (Hornberger, 2015; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

#### 3.2.1 *Macro-level LP Documents*

The first data set selected for this study were three official curriculum frameworks: 1) Plan de Estudios (2011) (National Curriculum, my translation, henceforth NC (2011)); 2) Parámetros Curriculares de la Asignatura de Lengua Indígena (2011) (Curriculum Framework: Indigenous Language as Subject Content, my translation, henceforth CFILSC (2011)); and 3) Aprendizajes Clave para la Educación Integral (2017) (Core Learning for Holistic Education, my translation, henceforth CLHE (2017)). These macro-level LP texts were chosen for analysis for two main reasons. First, they were being used by teachers to design their Spanish and Náhuatl lessons at the time of data collection. Second, they provided a rationale for the introduction of bilingual education in primary school, set out the objectives regarding the value and use of language varieties within the school, and included learning activities conducive to the attainment of the frameworks' objectives.

The length and scope of the frameworks also varied. For instance, the NC (2011) was eighty-one pages long (excluding references) and it encompassed a range of areas such as language and communication, mathematics, science, and a short section on education for indigenous people. Nonetheless, only the sections that delved into the background to the creation of the NC, the language and communication area, and education for indigenous people were included for analysis. These sections accounted for thirty-three percent of the entire document.

With regard to the CFILSC (2011), it was 112 pages long (excluding references) and it provided the overarching framework to incorporate ILVs as subject content in primary school. Seventy-one percent of the document was analysed except for those sections (=29%) that addressed secondary school given that the focus of this study was on primary education (equivalent to Key Stage 1 and 2 in the UK education system).

As for the CLHE (2017), it was the lengthiest and most detailed of the three macro-level LP texts with 618 pages. Similar to the NC (2011), the CLHE (2017) delineated the curriculum framework and programmes of study for basic education (preschool, primary and secondary school), including Spanish, ILVs, English, mathematics, and science. However, for the purpose of this study, the sections analysed comprised the objectives of education in the 21<sup>st</sup> CE, the teaching of Spanish or ILVs as mother tongue or second language, and the teaching of English as a foreign language, which constituted around 19.5% of the whole document. A detailed description of the content of each of the abovementioned curriculum frameworks is provided at the beginning of Chapter 5, together with their analysis and discussion.

### **3.2.2 *Semi-structured Interviews***

To triangulate macro-level LP texts with their appropriation at meso and micro levels, semi-structured interviews were the second data set that this study drew on. They, McCarty (2015, p. 85) argues, are a “way of looking” or enquiring into people’s lives. Hence, they were composed of open-ended questions that allowed the use of probes and prompts to clarify the content of questions or elaborate on responses (Cohen et al., 2017), offering several advantages. First, they prompted participants to open up about their daily lives in unrestrained ways. Second, they provided some evidence on how semi-structured interviews, as LP texts, are influenced by previous texts (e.g. curriculum frameworks) and exemplified the appropriation of discourses depending on the setting (e.g. rural community) where they emerged or were disseminated. Third, they were useful to tap into teachers’ and parents’ values and beliefs associated with IBE and language varieties (Heller, 2008), and

the ways they used “discursive resources” to convey these values and beliefs (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019, p. 104).

Notwithstanding the abovementioned advantages, the accounts provided by participants during semi-structured interviews should be seen as incomplete and partial representations of truth given the contextual factors surrounding the interview, including the researcher’s influence on participants’ behaviour and responses (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Consequently, the accounts given during the interviews were used to complement the analysis of macro-level LP texts and field note entries.

With respect to their design, four interview schedules were developed aimed at the HSDS, the headteacher, teachers, and parents. They were divided into different sections. The introductory section allowed participants to clarify any doubts or concerns with regard to the content or aims of the interview. Following some aspects of Capstick (2014), the background section delved into questions that elicited information about participants’ linguistic practices in their childhood. A second section that was adapted from Capstick (*ibid*) was education and professional development that delved into participants’ level of education and their experiences at school related to learning and using language varieties. Another three sections (school setting, programmes, and school management) were developed following Hult (2007), which explored teachers’ and parents’ views about the implementation of the bilingual programme in terms of its learning activities, attainment of objectives, amongst others. Other sections that were included were the community setting, family, expectations and challenges of IBE and use of language varieties during the pandemic. A closing question was added at the end to allow participants to have a final say (see Appendix A).

Once the interview schedules were drafted, they were sent to one academic in the field of English language teaching and two non-research participants who worked in bilingual schools in the Subsystem of Indigenous Education in México. They were asked to provide feedback on the wording, content, and use of terminology (e.g. indigenous education) to see whether the questions were confusing, invasive, or discriminatory (Cohen et al., 2017). As a

result of their feedback, some minor corrections were made related to word order and vocabulary. Other minor changes entailed adding a few words in the introduction section where I introduced myself and assured participants that their identity would remain anonymous. Additionally, a few questions were divided into two to keep questions simple, whereas a few open questions were added to probe into some yes/no questions.

During the semi-structured interviews, as shown in Table 3 below, the language variety used to interact with participants was Spanish as it was the shared L1 between the participants and the researcher. Given the restrictions imposed due to the pandemic, most of the interviews (n=11) were conducted via WhatsApp calls, without the video. However, some interviews (n=6) were conducted face to face at the bilingual school, in one of the classrooms and at the HSDS' office. All interviews were scheduled at a pre-established time. The length of the interviews ranged from twenty-five minutes to over two hours, and they were fully transcribed verbatim. See Table 3 below. See Section 3.7 regarding the ethics of interviewing, transcribing, and translating.



**Table 3***Information about Semi-structured Interviews*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Participant</b>	<b>Mode of interaction</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Length of interview</b>
13 May, 2021	Head School District Supervisor (HSDS)	F2F	School District Supervision Office, Puebla	2 hours, 11 mins, 10 secs
27th July, 2021	Headteacher (HT)	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 42 mins, 8 secs
1 June, 2021	Teacher 1 (T1)	WhatsApp call	Puebla	56 mins, 33 secs
2nd June, 2021	T2	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 9 mins, 52 secs
2nd June, 2021	T3	WhatsApp call	Puebla	59 mins, 33 secs
3rd June, 2021	T4	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 37 mins, 3 secs
3rd June, 2021	T5	WhatsApp call	Puebla	54 mins, 30 secs
4th June, 2021	T6	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 40 mins, 6 secs
8th June, 2021	T7	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 2 mins, 33 secs
8th June, 2021	T8	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 22 mins, 34 secs
11th June, 2021	T9	WhatsApp call	Puebla	1 hour, 17 mins, 53 secs
24th June, 2021	T10	WhatsApp call	Puebla	37 mins, 30 secs
14th June, 2021	Mother 1 (M1)	F2F	School "Santa Maria"	45 mins, 7 secs
14th June, 2021	M2	F2F	School "Santa Maria"	37 mins, 49 secs
14th June, 2021	M3	F2F	School "Santa Maria"	51 mins, 2 secs
14th June, 2021	M4	F2F	School "Santa Maria"	25 mins, 52 secs
21st June, 2021	M5	F2F	School "Santa Maria"	41 mins, 43 secs

### **3.2.3 Field Notes**

The third “way of looking” or experiencing (McCarty, 2015, p. 85) the appropriation of LP in Santa Maria was through field note entries (see Appendix B). This study followed McCarty’s (2015) template given that it provided a thorough sketch of how to write detailed field notes. It had a section to describe the activities being carried out, the setting where the activities took place, and the participants. Also, the field notes included verbs and adjectives to make the notes more vivid. A section where vignettes with “naturally occurring speech” (McCarty, 2015, p.85) as well as physical gestures was included. Finally, it had a section for pictures. In this regard, some pictures were taken, mainly of public spaces such as streets, building facades, school grounds, and classrooms. These pictures provided clear illustrations of the community’s socioeconomic level, language use, amongst others. Pictures of community members were avoided due to their sensitivities given their skepticism about my presence in the community. See Section 3.5.1 for my positionings.

One of the advantages of using field notes was that the analysis of macro-level LP texts and semi-structured interviews (Tapia, 2020) was complemented with participants’ sociological variables, day-to-day linguistic practices, and their appropriation of dominant discourses on IBE and language varieties, and the reasons behind parental school choice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

A second advantage was that they allowed me to gain an insight into the community’s circulating language ideologies associated with IBE and language varieties at school and in the community. What is more, they helped me to reflect upon my different positionalities throughout the data collection. In this case, they provided me with a space where I could keep a record of my feelings (e.g. frustration, excitement), question participants’ attitudes towards me (e.g. skepticism, openness), and interpret these based on my life experiences. See Appendix C for the complete list of entries.

“Through participant and non-participant observation” (McCarty, 2015, p.85) depending on the event (e.g. Patronal feast, staff meeting), field notes were taken over a period of two

months, between March and May in 2021. They encompassed community events (e.g. patronal feast), online and in-person staff meetings, and casual encounters with community members (e.g. shopping for fruits and vegetables at the local market and engaging in small talk with locals) in an attempt to describe daily interaction. Whilst taking many field notes would have enhanced my understanding of the community and its cultural practices, they were not taken due to my low level of interaction with the community given the Covid pandemic. Finally, most field notes were taken after I visited the school or the town centre in Santa María. Having outlined the three data sets that this study drew on, the following section will provide a description of participants' background information.

### **3.3 Participants**

This section is devoted to providing a synopsis of participants' sociological variables such as age, sex, ethnic background, and spoken language varieties, which accounts for the DHA's third level of context. Also included is their level of education, teaching experience, or occupation as these features represent the DHA's third level of context that aims to account for participants' sociological background. To shed light on LP appropriation at meso (e.g. administration and school) and micro (e.g. community and home) levels, seventeen semi-structured interviews were conducted with the HSDS of District 2 in Puebla, a headteacher, ten primary school teachers, and five mothers. The participants were recruited based on their role in LP decision-making at school and home. For example, the HSDS made decisions (e.g. develop a framework to design activities to revitalise ILVs in the classroom) that influenced teachers' understanding and implementation of the curriculum frameworks such as the NC (2011). Concerning teachers and parents, they had a pivotal role in the enactment of LPs in school and home settings. Apart from the role they played in LP appropriation, participants were selected based on their willingness to collaborate in the study (see Section 3.6).

The first column from Table 4 below shows participants' sex. As can be seen, more than 60% of participants (n=11) were women including teachers and mothers, and around 35% (n=6) were men inclusive of the HSDS, the headteacher, and four male teachers. In relation to parents, only mothers were interviewed as fathers were working in the construction industry as construction operatives, selling cleaning products (*jarciería*) (see Chapter 1 for its definition), or cultivating the land. Here, it is important to mention that given the percentage of female participants (specifically mothers) in the study, the findings might reflect gender differences. For instance, mothers' views towards the use of language varieties might have taken a more domestic role (e.g. Náhuatl use for basic commands at home), whereas fathers could have expressed a more prominent role for Náhuatl at work (e.g. Náhuatl to interact with colleagues while farming) (Gomashie, 2021).

**Table 4***Participants' Sociodemographic Features*

Participant	Sex	Age range	Indigenous/non-indigenous background	Spoken languages	Level of education	Teaching Experience/occupation
HSDS	M	50-55	Yes	Náhuatl, Spanish, a little bit of English	MA	30+ (working as supervisor since 2016)
Headteacher	M	35-45	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Totonacú	BA	15 years (12 as headteacher)
Teacher 1 (T1)	F	35-45	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	BA	20 years
T2	F	35-45	No	Spanish, a little bit of English	BA	6 years
T3	F	20-35	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of English, a little bit of Náhuatl	BA	3 years
T4	F	45-50	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	BA	23 years
T5	F	45-50	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	BA	15 years
T6	M	35-45	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	MA	20 years
T7	M	35-45	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	BA	2 years
T8	M	20-35	Yes	Spanish, Náhuatl	BA	2 years
T9	M	45-50	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl, Mixteco	BA	27 years
T10	F	20-35	Yes	Spanish	MA	4 years
Mother 1 (M1)	F	20-35	yes	Spanish	Secondary education (Year 9)	merchant
M2	F	20-35	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	Secondary education (Year 9)	housewife, jarciería
M3	F	35-45	Yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	Primary school (Year 6)	housewife, jarciería
M4	F	20-35	yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	Primary school (Year 6)	Housewife, jarciería
M5	F	50-55	yes	Spanish, a little bit of Náhuatl	Primary school (Year 3)	Housewife, jarciería, merchant

*Note:* This table was adapted from Capstick (2016).

A second feature that was reported was participants' age. Table 4 above shows that the two most prominent age groups were 20 to 35 and 35 to 45 with twelve participants, whereas five participants were 45 years or older. In other words, in this setting, the teaching

population was predominantly in early adulthood or early middle age. In this respect, participants' age could have been a determining factor for the uncontested appropriation of neoliberal ideologies and their resulting discourses (e.g. 'development') as these have been further endorsed in the last decades when participants were born and grew up (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.3 & 4.4 for the building of the nation-state and the emergence of development discourses).

A third sociological feature that was included was participants' ethnic background. As can be observed, 16 out of 17 participants had an indigenous background considering that they reported having parents or grandparents who spoke an ILV. This feature was directly linked to participants' bilingualism. In this regard, Table 3 above shows that the language varieties that participants spoke, or had some knowledge of, were mainly Spanish and Náhuatl, although other language varieties such as English, Totonacú, and Mixteco were also mentioned. Here, it is worth mentioning that few participants (e.g. HSDS, T8, T9) reported speaking an ILV (e.g. Náhuatl, Mixteco) as their L1 or mother tongue (see Chapter 1). Nonetheless, they also mentioned that once they started attending primary school, they spoke Spanish since it was the medium of instruction. In other words, code-switching was not salient in the interviews.

In relation to their educational attainment, a stark contrast between the HSDS, the headteacher, teachers, and mothers is seen. Not surprisingly, only the HSDS, the headteacher, and teachers had access to tertiary education. For example, the HSDS had three bachelor's degrees (BA in early Childhood Education; BA in Mathematics; and BA in Laws) and a postgraduate degree (MA in Teacher Training). Similarly, T6 and T10 had completed an MA in Education, whereas the headteacher and other teachers such as T2 and T7 had studied for a BA in Education at the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (National Teacher Training University, my translation). In contrast, the highest level of education completed by two mothers was secondary education (Year 9), whereas another two completed Year 6 and one more completed Year 3.

Finally, participants' teaching, or work experience was also explored. With respect to the HSDS, the headteacher, and teachers, their experience ranged from two to over thirty years. Most of those (e.g. T3, T8, T10) with little teaching experience were in their early or mid-twenties at the beginning of their career in bilingual education, thus still developing their teaching knowledge and skills. In some instances, they were employed on a short-term contract (e.g. T3, T10).

On the other hand, those (e.g. T1, T4, T9, HSDS) with a robust teaching experience (twenty to over thirty years) had worked in the Subsystem of Indigenous Education since the beginning of their teaching career and were permanently employed. As for mothers, their job type consisted in being a housewife, working in *jarciería* (see definition in Chapter 1), and/or being a merchant.

As stated in Chapter 1, the average family size was three to four children. Consequently, mothers stayed at home to look after their children, do household chores such as cooking and cleaning (Gomashie, 2021), whilst they also worked in *jarciería* assembling mops or clothes lines. In some instances, they even commuted to other towns or cities to sell *jarciería* products (e.g. all-purpose cloths, laundry clothes pegs). Fathers, in contrast, worked outside of the house (e.g. farming, construction, trade). Despite the difference in parents' gendered roles, they used Spanish to perform said activities and jobs. This section has provided more details about the participants which account for the DHA's third level of context. The section that follows provides a synopsis of how access to the research setting and participants was obtained.

### **3.4 Access to Research Setting and Participants**

#### ***3.4.1 Access to the Bilingual School and Teachers***

The first point of contact to the research setting was the HSDS whom I initially approached via email as I was living in the United Kingdom. In the email, I introduced myself and expressed my interest in researching the implementation of the bilingual programme in

one of the schools he supervised. The HSDS replied to my email promptly and we agreed on a date to meet informally over the phone. The phone call took place over Skype. I introduced myself as a PhD student at the University of Reading in the United Kingdom. Additionally, I explained the overall objectives of my study, mainly the interpretation and appropriation of the Spanish and Náhuatl programmes at school and the linguistic practices at school and at home.

The HSDS welcomed my request to carry out the study and suggested potential schools for data collection. He shared with me the names and telephone numbers of three headteachers. First, I contacted them via WhatsApp to introduce myself briefly and express my interest in carrying out my research at their school. I enquired into their availability to call them and provide them with more details about the study and obtain more details (e.g. geographic location of the school, parents' willingness to participate) about the school they supervised. In the meantime, I travelled to México City where I stayed for the first two months whilst I continued to develop cordial relationships with potential participants and looked for a suitable place to rent in Puebla. Once I found a place, I selected the bilingual school 'La Niña, La Pinta, y la Santa María' mainly due to its close proximity to the capital city, Puebla, where I lived during the data collection.

Then, I informed the HSDS and the headteacher which school had been chosen and sought consent from the teachers to visit the school. When they accepted, I travelled to the school on 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2021 to join their staff meeting. The headteacher introduced me as an English teacher who was interested in exploring the implementation of the bilingual programme and the linguistic practices at school and in the community. He might have done this as it is customary to introduce people by their occupation. It is important to note, however, that this might have influenced my position as a researcher to gain more access to participants and the community setting.

Although teachers were willing to participate, they expressed their skepticism regarding the usefulness of the data given the erasure of Náhuatl from the home and community settings, and their lack of knowledge about Náhuatl. I commended their endeavour towards



the revitalisation of Náhuatl and assured them that the data would yield interesting and useful insights despite the erasure of Náhuatl.

### **3.4.2 Access to Parents**

Whilst I built rapport with teachers over the first weeks, I asked them about parents who could be interviewed. Some of the teachers suggested potential participants based on their commitment to supporting their children with schoolwork as well as their enthusiasm to participate in school activities such as parents' evenings and school festivals. Once these potential participants were contacted by the teachers and agreed to be interviewed, the teachers shared their telephone numbers with me. I proceeded to contact them via WhatsApp messages to briefly introduce myself and arrange a face-to-face meeting at school. Rapport was built slowly and remotely as most of the interaction took place on WhatsApp or via Zoom given the restrictions imposed due to the pandemic. By reflecting on the interaction I had with participants before, during, and after data collection, I could see myself navigating four different positionings: a researcher from the National Council of Humanities, Science and Technology of México, an English teacher, an insider, and an outsider to the community.

## **3.5 Ethical Approach of this Study**

### **3.5.1 Researcher Positionality**

According to Hornberger (2015), a rich methodological point in ethnographic studies on LP deals with the researcher's authority to interpret the findings. This authority derives from my positionality as a researcher as well as my reflexivity which are part of the ethical approach I take to working critically and understanding the power dynamics of working with marginalised people and language varieties. Hence, in this section, I address the ethical approach taken in this study linking my different positionalities and my reflexivity to my ethical stance.

My first positioning was a researcher from CONAHCYT (National Council of Humanities, Science and Technology of México) which proved to be influential. Becoming a sponsored doctorate student overseas is highly valued amongst academics in México. This is due to the fact that a small percentage becomes recipient of this prestigious scholarship. What is more, it entails that I have had access to knowledge and skills that only privileged people have. Thus, I was aware of the privilege to gain access to the research setting and participants. As mentioned in the previous section, initial contact was made via email with the HSDS. In this regard, I used my student email from the University of Reading to attract the HSDS' attention and obtain permission to conduct the study in one of the primary schools he supervised. Once I arrived in Santa María to collect the data, I introduced myself as a PhD student overseas during the first staff meeting I attended. Most of the teachers had a general notion about what a PhD entails, hence, they congratulated me and welcomed my presence at school. A few others, however, seemed to be indifferent towards me. Perhaps they thought that my role was to monitor their progress in relation to meeting the programmes' aims. However, other reasons might have been possible.

My second positioning was that of an English teacher. This positioning, I thought, would be conducive to the development of trust among the teachers and I as we shared some common ground in terms of having knowledge about language teaching and interest in contributing to education. Like my researcher positioning, this positioning was disclosed since the beginning. I informed teachers about my English language teaching experience with primary school students, specifically Years 1 and 2. Not surprisingly, the teachers enquired into my interest in investigating the teaching of the bilingual programme, and particularly the teaching of Náhuatl as I had expressed my lack of exposure to ILVs. I explained that while I was working on my PhD proposal, I found a research article (Feldes & Sanchez Aviña, 2015) about the teaching of Náhuatl, Spanish, and English in a neighbouring school under the supervision of the HSDS. I emphasised that I intended to carry out research on a topic that would make a positive impact in the field of education, particularly education for indigenous people. Although the rationale provided convinced some of the

teachers, it dissuaded others as they pondered upon my researching a context and language variety that were foreign to me (Georgiou, 2022).

Consequently, I drew on my third positioning: an insider to the community. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, my paternal grandfather was born in an indigenous community, Santa María Xadani, in the state of Oaxaca in the south of México. He spoke Zapoteco, an ILV, until he migrated to Mexico City to pursue further education. Due to negative experiences at school, he stopped using Zapoteco at school and never taught his children neither his grandchildren to speak Zapoteco. Thus, I never learned the language neither indigenous traditions. This lack of exposure to ILVs triggered my interest in investigating IBE and contributing to its visibility. Regardless of my attempt to convey a genuine interest in working closely with teachers and parents, I felt that my presence at the school and in the community was not fully accepted. As a result, I felt as an outsider.

My fourth positioning, an outsider, made me question my own sense of identity as a researcher. One useful illustration of this was clear when I went to the town centre to witness the patronal feast to San Bernardino de Siena (FN#10- May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2021). In an attempt to not miss any details during the feast, I brought a notebook and a pen. As soon as I approached the church, I started jotting down ideas. Approximately ten minutes after I had arrived, I started noticing that some community members were staring at me, but I continued taking notes as I forget things easily, and I did not want to miss any details. Soon after, two community leaders approached me and said, “What are you writing on that notebook? What are you doing here? Are you from the Ministry of Health? People can get mad.” I replied that I had spoken to the Mayor who had given me clearance to be in the community. Nonetheless, they insisted that the community members would be angry. This misunderstanding was due to their belief that I had been sent by the Ministry of Health (see direct quote above) to report that they had gathered at church despite the surge in COVID cases and the restrictions imposed on the community. Hence, I showed them the notes I had taken. Once they verified the information in the notebook, they left. After this distressing experience, I stopped taking notes. During the rest of the ceremony, I pondered upon how

my own sense of identity as a researcher had shifted. They could have accepted me as a researcher, as an outsider. However, my behaviour (taking notes during the ceremony) was inappropriate to them. In other words, there were certain researcher activities that I should avoid carrying out.

All in all, my four positionings allowed me to navigate the community and school settings where the data were collected, as well as learn how to approach fieldwork. My positioning as a researcher from CONAHCYT afforded me the opportunity to access the community as researchers are highly regarded, albeit this came with some mistrust too. What is more, it gave me the opportunity to get an insight into the peculiarities and complexities of implementing IBE in Santa María, as well as the role of language varieties in teaching subject content and day-to-day interaction. My English teacher positioning enabled me, to some extent, to relate to teachers' experiences and concerns about students' academic performance given the difficulties of working remotely due to the pandemic. Additionally, it helped me to listen actively to make sense of the appropriation of certain discourse topics (e.g. 'linguistic competence as commodity') and the contestation of others (e.g. 'inconsistency') (Hornberger, 2013).

My insider and outsider positionings were, perhaps, the most unsettling as they made me question the effectiveness of my approach towards engaging with the research setting and participants, as well as exploring community practices amid the pandemic. By drawing on my indigenous heritage, I attempted to convey a genuine interest in researching indigenous education as I had not had the opportunity to learn about ILVs. Nonetheless, this insider positioning may have caused skepticism amongst some of the teachers and parents as I did not have any knowledge about Náhuatl, and my professional expertise was related to the teaching of a dominant language, not an indigenous one. Thus, some participants may have thought that rather than contributing to the enhancement of indigenous education, the study was going to be beneficial to me, at least in the short term (see Fishman, 1994, for criticism on research on LP).

### **3.5.2 Researcher Reflexivity**

The abovementioned multifaceted positionings that I adopted during the design of the study, the development of the research instruments, and the collection and analysis of the data are inextricably intertwined with the critical stance that influences the ethnographic and discursive approaches that underpin this study. As stated in the previous section, Hornberger (2015) argues that a researcher's authority is grounded on his/her positionality as well as his/her reflexivity. With regard to the latter, a reflexive engagement with the researcher's identity, personal and academic experiences, ideological biases, and participants' views is expected. In other words, reflexivity involves a dialectical relationship between the researcher, the data collection process, the participants, and the findings. For instance, building on the experience I had at church, my identity and ideological biases contributed to my reflexivity. With regard to my researcher identity in a UK university, it was necessary that I take field notes. However, the power hierarchies at play meant that this was inappropriate at the time of the church event.

As for the role of my own ideological biases, I believed that as a Mexican national speaker of Spanish, with an interest in ILVs, I would be more readily welcomed. Nonetheless, this was not the case due to a tension between the ideologies relating to what is an acceptable practice during a church ceremony in Santa María and my note taking, which was seen as a sign of surveillance perhaps due to the Covid restrictions. Consequently, by being reflexive I was able to counterbalance the power relationships between the participants and I, allowing their voices to be heard (Aull Davies, 2008) to make "sense of their own lives" (Hornberger, 2020, p. 121). It is this aspect of the ELP methodological approach that this section explores.

Drawing on from Hornberger and Johnson (2007), the ELP seeks to cater for a variety of interpretations of top-down LPs and their resulting actions by agentive individuals (Johnson, 2009). These interpretations, particularly in home and community settings, are mediated by a reflexive researcher. To reflect on the findings, it was essential to bring to the fore my

different positionings so as to achieve a critical approach towards understanding the enactment of macro-level discourses and participants' rationale behind their appropriation of said discourses in school and home settings. By doing this, I sought to expose the manipulative essence of discursive events which is one of the DHA's main concerns, thus guiding me to ponder over my different positionings, ideological biases, and my own discourses. For example, expanding on the misunderstanding at church between the community members and I, in my church practices I have familiar ways of interpreting what is happening in a religious setting. Some of those practices are discursive (e.g. taking notes, which is something normal in my church as it can symbolise introspection), and perhaps I was trying to apply some of them to the religious setting in Santa María, thereby creating a tension between what was appropriate to community members and what was appropriate to me.

My different positionings were influenced by my emerging familiarity about the dominant role of Spanish as the medium of instruction, the neglect towards indigenous education, and the resulting subordination of ILVs. Concomitantly, my lack of awareness about Santa María's accepted practices and behaviours positioned me in the community as an outsider as I did not know when not to use a notebook and a pen when conducting fieldwork.

### **3.6 Gaining Ethical Consent**

Apart from addressing my researcher positionality and reflexivity, another key aspect that needs to be addressed is how ethical consent was obtained. Consequently, this section outlines how basic ethics requirements were met.

In the initial stages of data collection, particularly before visiting the community of Santa María, verbal consent was sought from the HSDS, the headteacher, and teachers in order to visit the school. Once I visited the school and I was formally introduced to the teachers, the purpose of the study was explained in very general terms. This was one of the most challenging phases of the data collection as I had to express the aims of the study in simple

ways so that teachers would be able to make an informed decision about their participation in the study (Canagarajah & Stanley, 2015). But more importantly, it had important ethical implications. In this case, how participants' awareness of the purposes of the study could influence their behaviour and responses. Hence, I mainly expressed my interest in learning about the teaching of Spanish and Náhuatl, the types of activities they asked students to work on from home, and the ways in which Náhuatl and Spanish were used at school and in the wider community. At this point, however, neither the headteacher nor the teachers signed the written consent as the focus was on building rapport so as to gain their trust, accommodate to their agendas, and negotiate access to parents (Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

A few weeks after engaging in the school context and attending in-person and online staff meetings, teachers were asked to sign the written consent (see Appendix D). Issues of confidentiality were addressed by assuring them that their identity would remain anonymous by the use of pseudonyms so that the information they disclosed would not be associated with them in any way (Canagarajah & Stanley, 2015). Additionally, they were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any stage.

With respect to mothers, initial contact was made through teachers, and given the restrictions imposed by the pandemic, there was no interaction between mothers and I prior to carrying out the semi-structured interviews (see Section 3.3 above). Written consent was sought before interviewing mothers as this involved sharing private information that was intended to be published (see Appendix D). Like teachers, the same protocol was followed. At this stage, the aims of the study were provided in written consent forms in Spanish as that was mothers' L1 (See Chapter 1). Emphasis was made on my interest in learning about their daily activities at home and work, as well as the ways in which language varieties were drawn on to perform daily activities. More specific objectives associated with discourses about IBE and language varieties, and how these could contribute to the revitalisation or erasure of ILVs were omitted. In addition, I assured them that their identities would remain anonymous using pseudonyms and that their withdrawal from the study was free at any

time (Chowdhury, 2016; Duran Eppler & Codó, 2016). However, they were reassured that the questions were about how they used language varieties at home and in the community to interact with others.

### **3.7 The Ethics of Interviewing, Transcribing, and Translating**

Having outlined how the basic ethics requirements were met, this section explores special ethical challenges related to accessing the research setting of the study as well as higher-level ethical dimensions regarding the representation of participants' voices. Particularly, it describes what ethical considerations were taken regarding interviewing participants as well as transcribing semi-structured interviews and translating them into English.

As outlined in Chapter 2, this study is underpinned by the ELP and the DHA that follow the critical tradition that addresses the effect of disparate subject positions and power imbalance that influence the representation of knowledge through the lens of the researcher, but not necessarily representative of participants' views. Consequently, in this ethnographic and critically discursive study, ethical considerations are accounted for. In addition, this study ponders over "the why and how of influencing other people's behaviour" through the implementation of LPs (Canagarajah & Stanley, 2015, p. 33) as they are concerned with language attitudes and identities that are not necessarily objective or rational, but ideological.

When drafting the interview schedules and interviewing participants, one of the most challenging aspects the researcher must consider is the themes, the depth and breadth of the questions, as well as power dynamics (Hornberger et al., 2018). For example, what to ask and how much to probe into the answers without making participants feel uncomfortable or skeptical about the researcher's identity, the study's purpose(s), or the power dynamics between the researcher and the researched. In this study, this meant that before interviewing participants, the interview schedules were sent to two non-research participants who worked as teachers in bilingual schools in the Subsystem of Indigenous Education. They were asked



to provide feedback on the content and the use of terminology (e.g. indigenous education) to see whether the questions were invasive or discriminatory (Cohen et al., 2017).

Additionally, it was equally important to minimise the researcher's influence over participants' responses by allowing them to talk freely and openly about their lives, which elucidates their agency in decision-making (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Consequently, I probed into questions where participants addressed past or present, positive or negative experiences, or ideas associated with IBE and the use of Náhuatl, Spanish, or English. For instance, when M4 mentioned that English could be useful, I had to enquire into what she meant by useful (see Excerpt 24 in Chapter 7) in order to have a clearer idea of the benefits she was referring to.

Apart from taking into consideration the themes, and the depth and breadth of the questions, it was also important to pay careful attention to transcription conventions. Once the data collection phase ended, the semi-structured interviews were transcribed. In this phase, it was important to take into consideration that transcriptions may influence the reader's attitude towards the LP text as well as the participants who are represented through them (Kalocsányiová & Shatnawi, 2022). Recent studies (e.g. Kalocsányiová & Shatnawi, 2021) have provided transcriptions that follow an interpretative approach so as to provide a rich narrative of participants' stories and lived experiences. Other studies (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2010) have followed a linguistic ethnographic approach towards multilingual education and issues related to the negotiation of multilingual identities, nationalism, power, and ideology. In this case, a slightly similar stance to Blackledge and Creese's (ibid) study was taken towards transcription, particularly by taking a critical stance towards participants' responses as imbued by power relationships and hierarchies.

In relation to the language variety chosen for transcriptions, I decided to adhere to participants' combination of standard and non-standard Spanish as the aim was to illustrate the approach this study takes towards language varieties as unbounded entities. As for the type of transcription, they were transcribed verbatim and excluded all types of paralinguistic features. Some (e.g. Kvale, 1996) have argued that this type of transcription "may appear as

incoherent and confused speech even indicating a lower level of intellectual functioning” (pp. 172, 173). Thus, potentially affecting the “status and legitimacy of speakers” (Jaffe, 2012, p. 204). Whilst this could happen, I decided to adopt this type of transcription as the aim of this study was to “obtain a sample of the discursive practices that they [participants] employ, with a view to studying the nature of these and how they function” (Hammersley, 2014, p. 532) to construct their arguments regarding IBE and language varieties. In other words, this study aimed at investigating how participants use language to talk about their views about education, and the value and functions they assign to language varieties at school and in the community.

Finally, the translation of the excerpts analysed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 required careful consideration for the following reasons. First, it was important to “carry meanings across linguistic, discoursal and cultural boundaries” (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 293). In other words, it was necessary to find similar or relevant concepts when translating from Spanish to English. Second, including translated excerpts has significant implications for voice. Voice, for Creese and Blackledge (2012), is best articulated through the concept of heteroglossia. Heteroglossia derives from the Bakhtinian notion of multi-voicedness whereby all texts are composed of multiple voices (e.g. registers, styles, discourses). By considering voice, I sought to translate the multiple voices of participants that interacted when they spoke in the interview. The original excerpts in Spanish, which include words in Náhuatl, different styles and discourses, are found in italics throughout chapters 5, 6, and 7. The English translation of the excerpts is included below the Spanish version and appears in bold text.

Third, an English translation is provided to make it accessible to an English-speaking audience, bearing in mind that no translation can be the same as the original. Thus, an attempt was made to convey the voices of LP texts and their authors at the different layers of LP (Kalocsányiová & Shatnawi, 2022). In other words, the English translation should only be read as an approximation. This section has addressed higher-level ethical dimensions related to carrying out, transcribing, and translating interviews. The section below outlines how texts were selected for analysis.

### 3.8 Selection of Texts

The selection of LP texts was underpinned by the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Following a top-down approach (Johnson, 2009; Unger, 2009), the criteria for selecting macro-level LP texts will be followed by the criteria for choosing excerpts from semi-structured interviews with meso (e.g. teachers) and micro-level (mothers) stakeholders.

#### 3.8.1 *Criteria for the Selection of Macro-level LP Texts*

Previous studies following the DHA have chosen particular texts based on key events. For instance, Unger (2009) selected two historical events that contributed to the formulation of policy texts to different extents. Other studies (e.g. Savski, 2015) have selected official policy documents based on their influence in shaping government policy, in Savski's case the governance of Slovenia, as well as the dissemination and mediation of policy. This study follows Savski's (2015) approach by selecting texts based on their influence on LP decision-making. In this regard, three main macro-level LP texts were selected based on their role in LP appropriation in school and home settings. That is, these texts provided teachers with guidance on the content as well as material development conducive to the attainment of the objectives of the Spanish and Náhuatl programmes. These LP texts are three curriculum frameworks: 1) NC (2011); 2) CFILSC (2011); and 3) CLHE (2017) (See Section 3.2.1 above). An overview of the content of each LP text is provided in Chapter 5 together with a linguistic analysis of selected excerpts from said texts.

Excerpts were selected by choosing the sections that directly or indirectly addressed the rationale, objectives, and content of IBE, as well as the views on language varieties. For instance, in relation to IBE, the second section of the CFILSC addressed the linguistic rights of indigenous people. Consequently, those sentences, paragraphs, or sections that included terms such as 'human/linguistic rights,' 'bilingual education,' 'indigenous people,' 'bilingualism,' or 'languages' were chosen. Other examples of terms that were related to IBE were 'mother tongue,' 'cultures,' 'communicative competences,' 'social practices' and so on. As for language varieties, sentences or paragraphs that included proper nouns such as

'Náhuatl,' 'Spanish,' and 'English,' or terms such as 'indigenous tongue/language,' 'native language,' and 'second language' were selected.

As mentioned earlier, the three macro-level LP texts were curriculum frameworks, thus they were associated with the education domain only, which could be a potential critique given that they did not represent other genres. Thus, triangulation between different genres was not possible. For example, if the data set at the macro level had included the Political Constitution of the Mexican United States or the Law of Education, the findings would have yielded intertextual and interdiscursive links between the political and educational domains. Nevertheless, the comparison between genres at the macro level was beyond the scope of the present study.

### ***3.8.2 Criteria for the Selection of Meso and Micro-level LP Texts***

Regarding the semi-structured interviews with the HSDS, headteacher, teachers, and mothers, a similar approach to Capstick's (2016) selection of interview data was followed. The chosen excerpts were those that provided details about the views and expectations of bilingual education as well as the past and present role of language varieties in school and home settings. This involved a quantitative analysis of the orientations (Ruiz, 1984) and the discursive strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) that were drawn on to talk about IBE and language varieties, thus addressing the research questions that this study sought to answer (e.g. the discursive construction of IBE in the curriculum frameworks).

### ***3.8.3 Rationale for the Selection of Excerpts***

Once all the excerpts from the curriculum frameworks and semi-structured interviews were coded in MAXQDA, the final stage of the selection process took place. It entailed choosing excerpts based on the number of discursive strategies that they employed seeking to show the complexity of LP texts and discourses in terms of the linguistic means that were used to accomplish a particular linguistic, social, or political objective (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Consequently, those excerpts that drew on three or more discursive strategies, i.e. Excerpt 16, were included in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

### 3.9 Analysis of Data Sets

Once macro-level LP texts were chosen and semi-structured interviews were fully transcribed, they were uploaded to MAXQDA 2022. Next, a code system relating to Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive strategies was created to carry out the first phase of analysis across the three data sets (see Table 5 below). In the second phase of coding, discourse topics were included, albeit the number of coded instances is not provided since coding them proved to be an unfeasible undertaking due to time constraints. The codes, which were the integrated discourse-analytical framework, were aligned with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 aiming to answer the research questions (see Chapter 1).

#### 3.9.1 First Layer of Analysis: Ruiz's Orientations

Following De Cillia et al. (1999), the integrated discourse-analytical framework of this study was constituted by hierarchical layers. The first layer consisted of Ruiz's orientations which were used as a thematic cluster under which the discourse topics were categorised. The orientations were used as an analytical heuristic to explore language ideologies, as well as the rationale and underpinning values that feed into them given that they have an effect in LP decision-making (Ruiz, 1984). See Chapter 2, Section 2.8 for an overview of the orientations.

#### 3.9.2 Second Layer of Analysis: Discourse Topics

The second layer was composed of discourse topics which appear under Ruiz's orientations in Table 5 below (see the definition of discourse topics in Section 3.1.2). With respect to the discourse topics underpinned by the language-as-problem orientation, 'linguistic discrimination' was employed to address a specific type of discrimination that indigenous people experienced based on ILV use. As a result, the homogenisation of linguistic practices in the classroom was endorsed ('monolingualism in Spanish') since Spanish was accrued with more value and prestige than Náhuatl. Concomitantly, several students and their parents had low literacy levels in Spanish ('literacy deficit'). Hence, more

effort was directed towards the development of literacy in Spanish and acquisition of different registers, hinting at the SLI (Lippi-Green, 1994).

In relation to the discourse topics rooted in the language-as-right orientation, 'bilingual education as right' was explicitly endorsed by intertextual links to UNESCO wherein instruction in Spanish and an ILV was encouraged based on the acknowledgement of México's cultural and linguistic diversity. Interestingly, from a rights-based perspective, emphasis was made on the development of literacy skills in the dominant language (Spanish) and an ILV (e.g. Náhuatl) ('linguistic competence as commodity') in an attempt to grant equality to all students, including indigenous and migrant students. Additionally, Náhuatl and Spanish were apprehended as a symbol of national identity (Gellner, 1983; Walsh, 2021).

As for the discourse topics grounded in the language-as-resource orientation, the development of 'competences,' specifically the development of literacy skills in Spanish, was one of the main aims of IBE bolstered by neoliberal ideologies that emphasised the link between work and language use. Consequently, discourse topics such as 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' and 'Náhuatl for national identity' were drawn on to assign it a symbolic value that only sustained its subordination in linguistic practices at home and school. The value of English, on the other hand, was contingent upon its role in migration ('English for international migration') given that many community members have migrated to the United States seeking improved life chances.

**Table 5***Integrated Discourse-Analytical Framework of the Study*

<b>Layers of analysis</b>	<b>Macro-level LP texts</b>	<b>Semi-structured interviews-school authorities and teachers</b>	<b>Semi-structured interviews-mothers</b>
<b>Orientation</b>			
Language as problem	21	195	96
<b>Discourse Topics (examples)</b>	Linguistic homogenisation, linguistic discrimination	Monolingualism in Spanish, inconsistency, lack of interest in Náhuatl	The past, maltreatment, literacy deficit
<b>Orientation</b>			
Language as right	236	189	53
<b>Discourse Topics (examples)</b>	Bilingual education as right, gender equality	Equity, equality, linguistic competence as commodity	Standard Spanish use, Spanish for national identity, Náhuatl for national identity
<b>Orientation</b>			
Language as resource	232	237	184
<b>Discourse Topics (examples)</b>	Development, competences, inclusivity, migration	Spanish as the medium of instruction, revitalisation, English for international migration	Linguistic competence as commodity, Náhuatl for national identity, accessibility
<b>Discursive strategies</b>			
Nomination	224	277	110
Predication	232	266	107
Argumentation	94	82	27
Perspectivisation	79	314	171
Intensification/mitigation	94	321	173

Before moving on to the third layer of the integrated discourse-analytical framework, it is important to mention that the classification of discourse topics into Ruiz's orientations conveyed, in many instances, a dichotomous view towards IBE and language varieties. That is to say, in some instances more than one orientation was evident in discourse topics thereby contradicting the underpinning principles and objectives of IBE, as well as the value and uses of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English in public and private settings. For example, the discourse topics of 'standard Spanish use' and 'linguistic competence as commodity' exemplified the language-as-resource orientation as they constructed the development of literacy skills in Spanish as pivotal to social mobility. Concomitantly, they implicitly conveyed the language-as-problem orientation since they foregrounded the development of Spanish to the detriment of Náhuatl use in school and home settings. Not surprisingly, both discourse topics were underpinned by the SLI and neoliberal ideologies that underscore the value of dominant languages in public spheres such as education.

### **3.9.3 Third Layer of Analysis: Discursive Strategies**

The third layer of the discourse-analytical framework consisted of the DHA's discursive strategies (see Section 3.1.2 for an overview of discursive strategies). As can be observed in Table 5 above, the three data sets employed the five discursive strategies to talk about IBE and language varieties. Before providing a few examples of each discursive strategy, it is important to mention that in many instances, the examples provided may be representative of more than one discursive strategy.

Nomination was evident in the use of synecdoches such as '*escuela*' and '*profesores*' to ascribe unity in terms of having the same goal of homogenising linguistic practices in education ('monolingualism in Spanish'). Other examples of nomination were nouns such as '*lectura*,' '*oraciones*,' '*sujeto*,' and '*verbo*' that placed the development of Spanish literacy ('standard Spanish use') at the core of IBE hinting at the SLI (Lippi-Green, 1994).

In terms of predication strategies, metaphors such as '*la palabra de los ancestros*' and '*las bibliotecas de estas civilizaciones*' were employed to define ILVs as cultural heritage,



thereby assigning them a symbolic value that did not contribute to the revitalisation of Náhuatl in the classroom or at home.

With regard to argumentation, one useful illustration was the topos of authority' which made explicit reference to UNESCO so as to persuade the reader to adopt a positive view towards bilingual education as a (human) right given that a prestigious international institution suggested it. Another example of argumentation was the use of antithesis that was drawn on to set up a dichotomy between the mainstream and bilingual schools. The use of the adjective '*ricos*' vis-à-vis the adjective '*pobres*' constructed the discourse topic of 'socioeconomic status' that associated the mainstream school with the rich, whereas the bilingual school was linked to the poor, thereby exacerbating the social divide in Santa María.

Concerning perspectivisation, the use of direct speech was employed recursively to construct many discourse topics such as 'English for international migration.' In "*Voy a aprender inglés porque me quiero ir...*," T6 not only conveyed the younger's generation desire to learn English, but also his affinity with the idea of migrating to the United States at one point in his life when he was younger. The main reasons behind international migration were family reunion and social mobility. Another discourse topic that was constructed by perspectivisation strategies was 'monolingualism in Spanish.' The HSDS used direct speech to report what the headteacher had said to his father ("*Ya no les hables en náhuatl, háblales en español...*"), which showed the linguistic oppression that indigenous people experienced in the past by authoritative figures at school.

Finally, intensification and mitigation strategies were also employed for different purposes. For instance, the use of hyperbole (e.g. '*todo el mundo*') was employed by T2 to construct the discourse topic of 'inconsistency' and exaggerate the discrepancy between the widespread awareness of bilingual education and the concomitant apathy to grant the same status and use to ILVs. Also employed were modals verbs (e.g. '*tengo que*,' '*necesitamos*') that expressed obligation and/or necessity to underscore teachers' accountability and

responsibility to use Spanish as the medium of instruction to improve students' performance in tests and develop Spanish literacy.

### **3.9.4 Summary of the Analytical Process**

To analyse the data in Chapter 5, intertextual and interdiscursive links between macro-level LP texts, the institutional context (e.g. the school), and the historical and socio-political contexts from Chapter 4 were made. Similar to Chapter 5, the analysis in Chapter 6 followed the same procedure. First, the orientations were identified, followed by the discourse topics and the analysis of discursive strategies in Spanish. Once the discursive features were identified, intertextual and interdiscursive connections to official LP texts were made. This was done through cross-document coding that focused on prominent discourse topics related to IBE and language varieties. Whilst carrying out intertextual and interdiscursive analysis, the following questions were addressed. Which elements from the policy document (s) are appropriated and which are disregarded? How do/does the teacher/headteacher/HSDS/parents turn (s) his/her/their interpretation of the LP into actions (appropriation) (Johnson, 2011; 2015).

As for Chapter 7, the analysis of intertextual and interdiscursive links between macro, meso, and micro discourses was carried out to give an insight into the appropriation in home settings. Consistent with Chapters 5 and 6, the analysis followed the same order. In addition, the analysis was informed by the community's expectations of IBE, linguistic practices, and parents' language ideologies. Finally, whilst carrying out the analysis of Chapters 6 and 7, the field notes provided useful background information that enhanced the understanding of 1) the immediate level of the interview and 2) the sociological level of context (e.g. mothers' level of schooling). This chapter has described the methodological apparatus of the present study which is underpinned by the ELP and the DHA. The chapter that follows provides a critical review of the socio-political history of México in relation to language use and LPs.

## **Chapter 4 Socio-political History of Language Use and Language Policies in México**

This chapter provides an overview of the history of language use and LP decision-making in México. It is organised as a timeline of events that encompasses five main historical periods based on historical accounts of researchers. The first period briefly describes pre-Colonial times when ancient civilisations inhabited México, particularly the centre where Puebla is located. Additionally, it gives an overview of the social hierarchies that have existed since then as well as the prominence of Náhuatl as a lingua franca across the country and its daily use. This is followed by the Spanish conquest early in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Apart from suffering a political and military conquest, México experienced cultural and linguistic oppression (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016). Given the aims of the present study, the discussion focuses on the two approaches towards the use of ILVs, more specifically Náhuatl, as well as Spanish. The first approach, language maintenance, was noticeable during the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century as friars produced written works about pre-colonial life, as well as grammar books and dictionaries of dominant ILVs such as Náhuatl. What is more, the Spanish had to learn to speak Náhuatl as it was the lingua franca of the Aztec empire. The second approach, language shift, was evident during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries when emphasis was made on the dissemination of the Christian faith together with the development of literacy skills in Spanish, whereas the use of Náhuatl was constrained to religious plays and confession (Hidalgo, 2006b).

Following Mexican independence from Spain, an ongoing conflict between the conservative and liberal factions over the creation of a new independent nation took precedence, whilst education for indigenous people was neglected (Barriga Villanueva, 2018). The discussion in this period highlights the one-nation-one-language ideology that strengthened the link between Spanish and national unity (Blackledge, 2012), as well as the assimilationist approach to LP decision-making. The following period extends the discussion about the consolidation of a modern nation state and the assimilation of indigenous people to a unified education system (Martínez Buenabad, 2015). At the same time, the summary of

this period encompasses remarkable initiatives such as the creation of rural schools (Pacheco, 2013), the foundation of indigenous institutions (Martínez Buenabad, 2015), and the enactment of bicultural and intercultural bilingual education for indigenous people (Barriga Villanueva, 2018). Notwithstanding, the shortcomings of said initiatives and institutions are also considered based on recent critiques (e.g. Hamel, 2016).

In the final section, a synopsis of recent developments in education for indigenous people during the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is examined. Key events and documents such as the official recognition of the rights of indigenous people, the foundation of the General Coordination of Intercultural Bilingual Education, and the implementation of education reforms are reviewed (Barriga Villanueva, 2018; Díaz Barriga, 2016; Hidalgo, 2006a; LGDLPI, 2003). With regard to education reforms, the discussion provides a brief analysis of the structural, cultural, and political dimensions of reforms, paying particular attention to the political perspective as it sheds light on the origin of the reforms' underpinning ideologies, discourses, and their influence on LP implementation. Then a critical evaluation of the promotion of certain agendas, particularly UNESCO's and the OCED's, is carried out in light of recent research (e.g. Mendoza Zuany, 2017; 2020). What follows is a description of the Comprehensive Basic Education Reform in 2009, the Education Reform in 2013 and the Educational Model 2016, which directly contributed to the creation of the three macro-level LP texts analysed in Chapter 5. This chapter ends with an overview of the socioeconomic factors that have contributed to the social inequality that indigenous people have experienced, as well as the subordination of ILVs in México.

#### **4.1 Historical Period One ( -1518): Language Use in México prior to Colonisation**

The civilisations that occupied the central area of México, particularly the Valley of Puebla and its neighbouring states, were diverse, as were the cities that were built during this period. For example, Cholula, which is located thirty minutes away from Santa María was inhabited around 2,000 B.C., by unknown occupants and has remained inhabited until this day. During this period, it was a ceremonial centre dedicated to worshipping Quetzalcóatl, a

feathered-serpent image. Additionally, this ceremonial centre witnessed the coronation of kings as well as pilgrimages. Based on artifacts, it is thought that these civilisations were dedicated to hunting, scavenging, agriculture, amongst others (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016).

With respect to social classes, the warrior nobility, with religious functions, was part of the elite social class which enjoyed the highest level of power socially and politically speaking. Then, there followed the clergy, merchants, bureaucrats, artisans, and farmers at the bottom (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016).

The linguistic situation during pre-colonial times was diverse. Several language varieties were spoken, but the most prominent were Náhuatl varieties, which were used as the lingua franca throughout the Aztec empire (Barriga Villanueva, 2018; Hidalgo, 2006b). Amongst his detailed accounts of Náhuatl language use during pre-colonial times, friar Sahagún wrote:

the Nahuas:

...had no letters or any characters, nor did they know how to read or write;  
they communicated by means of images and paintings, and all their antiquities  
and the books they had about them were painted with figures and images in such a way  
that they knew and had memory of the things their ancestors had done and had left in  
their annals, more than a thousand years before the arrival of the Spanish. (Sahagún,  
1956, in López Austin, 1974, p. 116)

As can be seen in the above quotation, ILVs had pictorial and ideographic systems that enabled them to preserve historical data, worldviews, customs, and values throughout the centuries. Together with images and paintings, oracy was the main means to communicate and transmit knowledge, whereas writing was a foreign practice.

Finally, during this period, ancient civilisations engaged in bloody religious rituals and war conflicts. Amongst the reasons, there were commercial interests, invasion, and the search for victims for human sacrifices. Due to ongoing disputes and power struggles (e.g. land distribution) amongst different groups of people, there was a division that contributed to the

colonisation of México, or what the Spanish would call, the New Spain (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016).

#### **4.2 Historical Period Two (1519-1810): The New Spain**

At the beginning of October 1519, Hernán Cortés who was a Spanish conqueror crossed the Valley of Puebla to reach Tenochtitlán, México City today. As he passed through Puebla, reports suggest that he was responsible for the deaths of somewhere between 2,000 and 20,000 people. As a result, many swore allegiance to him and the Spanish army, whereas others resisted them (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016). Finally, in August 1521, a new social, political, and economic order was established, in which the Spanish became the oppressors and the indigenous people the oppressed. Unfortunately, the Spanish conquest not only brought oppression for indigenous people, but also death. The epidemics that the Spanish brought with them reduced the population significantly in the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, which contributed to the decline in the number of indigenous speakers. Coupled with military and political conquest, as well as epidemics, indigenous people suffered a cultural and religious conquest. Particularly in Puebla, their evangelisation began in 1524 commanded by Friar Martín de Valencia. This contributed to the foundation of Franciscan convents in cities like Atlixco and Cholula in the 1530s (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016).

In the 17th century, the population was characterised as mestizo, or people of mixed indigenous and European descent who followed indigenous traditions, as well as some cultural practices of the Asian continent and other Spanish colonies. The daily life of colonial México was severely dominated by the Catholic Church, resulting in the division of cities by parishes. Such was the religious imposition that hospitals, convents, and schools had their own church. This impacted the socio-political context as Puebla was used as a centre for beatification and canonisation of religious people who had lived there. The divisions between social classes, on the other hand, were heightened. However, the Spanish recognised the

elite who had indigenous ancestry and allowed them to keep their land and granted them some authority over the indigenous population (Lomelí Vanegas, 2016).

#### **4.2.1 Two Opposing Views to Languages: Maintenance or Shift**

As a result of the abovementioned economic, religious, and cultural conquest, México underwent a linguistic shift. In this regard, two views regarding the use of ILVs and Spanish during colonial México were evident. The first view was language maintenance whereas the second one was language shift. The former was evident especially during the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century when the Spanish were settling in Mexican territory. Such was the prominence of Náhuatl in day-to-day interaction amongst indigenous people that the prestige and uses assigned to Spanish were minimal. Consequently, the Spanish not only had to learn Náhuatl, but they had to use it for legal proceedings, administrative tasks, education, and religion which was conducive to the development of a written form of Náhuatl (Pellicer et al., 2006).

Early scholarship written by religious orders encompassed the production of 109 written works in Náhuatl, one Náhuatl-Spanish dictionary, one Spanish-Náhuatl dictionary, and two grammar books. Additionally, a comprehensive account of the lives of Nahua people before the Spanish conquest was authored by indigenous servants to the religious orders (Hidalgo, 2006b). As they continued to learn other ILVs (e.g. Otomí, Mixteco, Totonacu), they devoted their efforts towards illustrating, advocating for, using, and translating ILVs into Spanish in order to understand México's cultural and linguistic diversity. All this scholarship entailed an unprecedented endeavour, by religious orders, to preserve pre-conquest history, ethnography, religion, grammar as well as dictionaries. Interestingly, early religious writings written in ILVs included Latin and Spanish words (Hidalgo, 2006c).

Despite the abovementioned initial efforts to continue supporting ILVs and indigenous cultures, the ultimate intended purpose was to suppress indigenous beliefs and religious practices to then convert the indigenous population into Christianity (Heath, 1972). Consequently, in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the Spanish crown endorsed the

teaching of Spanish across the country, thus imposing a language shift that elucidates the second view regarding ILVs and Spanish. To accomplish this shift, religious orders sought help from indigenous youth as their teaching assistants and cultural mediators (Hamel, 2016).

#### ***4.2.2 The Consolidation of Spanish through Literacy***

Regarding education, in 1612, King Philip III ordered that the nobility, specifically girls, were taught literacy skills in Spanish so that they could learn about secular and religious literature. Later in 1634, King Philip IV commanded the teaching of Spanish to the rest of the population which would inevitably lead to the diminishing of ILVs. However, the implementation of this monolingual LP was resisted by some local authorities, friars, and indigenous people during the mid 1600s. Other decrees were issued by Charles II towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to further the dissemination of the Christian faith and the use of Spanish. The ongoing tensions between the Spanish Crown, some local authorities, and friars to implement the Spanish-only LP heightened the subordination of ILVs, thus constraining ILVs to religious purposes, particularly confession and religious plays (Hidalgo, 2006b). Nonetheless, it is highly likely that more than one ILV was drawn on in private situations (e.g. family reunions).

With respect to the writing system, Spanish had a Latin script which was used by friars to teach literacy skills in Spanish, as well as develop grammar and literacy skills in ILVs. Here, it is important to mention that access to learning how to write in Spanish and ILVs was limited to indigenous elites. Not surprisingly, the pre-colonial 'writing' system was gradually replaced by the colonial one promoting the development of Spanish literacy (Hamel, 2016). As for oracy, Hidalgo (2006a) stresses, it acquired a new use that detached from the transmission of indigenous values, norms, worldviews, and cultures that contributed to the consolidation of an indigenous identity. Instead, it was used for the dissemination of the Christian faith to the indigenous population in general.



In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the use of ILVs continued to decline as speaking, reading, and writing in Spanish was consolidated. This steady erasure of ILVs from daily interaction in public domains coupled with the development of a writing system in Spanish was powerful evidence of linguistic colonialism and decline of ILV use (Pellicer, 1993). In addition, a combination of Aztec and New Spain cultural practices and symbols brought about the development of a new national identity (Hidalgo, 2006b).

#### **4.3 Historical Period Three (1810-1900): The Mexican Independence and Nationalism**

The Spanish domination lasted three centuries until the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. On September 16, 1810, prominent figures such as Miguel Hidalgo and Costilla, an ordained priest who was against injustice towards indigenous people and peasants, started an insurrection in the streets of Dolores, Guanajuato. Together with Ignacio Allende who was a captain of the New Spain militia, and Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez who conspired to dethrone the Spanish king Ferdinand VII and warned the rebels about the discovery of the conspiracy to gain independence, they began the war of independence. The war ended on August 24, 1821, when the Treaty of Córdoba, which recognised México's independence from the Spanish Crown, was signed under the document 'Plan of Iguala.' This document encompassed three main principles: 1) México's independence; 2) Roman Catholicism as the only religion; and 3) the unification of the country without making a distinction between Europeans and Mexicans (Banco de México, n/d).

##### **4.3.1 The Emergence of the Nation-State: The Promotion of Spanish**

Given the ongoing conflict between the conservative and the liberal factions to create a new independent nation in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the development of schools for indigenous people was mainly neglected. It was during this period that a nation-state ideology emerged by bolstering the rejection of multilingualism and promoting Spanish as a symbol of unity, development, and culture (Blackledge, 2012). Hence, the LP of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century not only reflected the ambiguity towards multilingualism and cultural diversity that had permeated the

colonial period, but it also exacerbated the subordination of indigenous people, ILVs, and cultures, as well as the diminishing of ILVs and indigenous rights. In this respect, the ideal was to speak one language variety conducive to the development of national unity. That is to say, the promotion of Spanish was part of the nation-building strategy that would inevitably lead to the homogenisation of linguistic practices at least in public spheres such as schools. Barriga Villanueva (2018) posits that together with Spanish, education was employed as a political institution that sought to instill respect towards national institutions and traditions. This, in turn, would be conducive to a uniform society characterised by having a strong sense of national loyalty, albeit the economic divide between the rich, who spoke Spanish, and the poor, who spoke an ILV, would remain intact (Barriga Villanueva, 2018).

The overwhelming pressure to integrate indigenous people in the new Spanish-dominant nation-state brought about the creation and enactment of the Ley Orgánica de la Instrucción Pública en el Distrito Federal (Organic Law in Public Education in the Federal District, hereafter LOIPDF) on December 2, 1867. This act decreed that primary education was free for the poor, compulsory, and that Spanish literacy and grammar were taught in primary and secondary education (equivalent to Key Stages 1 to 4 in the UK education system) (LOIPDF, 1867).

As a result of the implementation of the abovementioned assimilationist law in public education, indigenous people were suppressed to the extent that they denied their indigenous identity, cultures, and language varieties. Concomitantly, the mestizo population regarded indigenous people as inferior who spoke incorrectly, and ILVs were labelled as dialects that were assumed to have neither a grammar or a literature that preserved indigenous history and cultures (Barriga Villanueva, 2018).

#### **4.4 Historical Period Four (1900-2000): The Consolidation of a Modern Nation-State**

Not surprisingly, ILVs and ILV speakers continued to experience a decline which gained momentum in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. During the presidency of Porfirio Díaz (1884-1911), the

consolidation of México as a modern and developed nation was prioritised. To achieve this, education was aimed at instructing and ‘civilising’ indigenous people who were seen as a hindrance to social, cultural, and economic development. Consequently, the teaching of Spanish was further endorsed by the Ley de Instrucción Rudimentaria (Basic Education Act, my translation) in 1911, which emphasised, among other things, the development of literacy in Spanish and basic mathematical operations such as additions and subtractions (Pani, 1912). Later in 1913, the Programa de Educación Integral Nacionalista (National Education Programme, my translation) further contributed to the primacy of Spanish and its association with a nation-state (Martínez Buenabad, 2015).

#### ***4.4.1 The Creation of Rural Schools: A Strategy for Education and Development***

In an attempt to counteract the disparity in the provision of education to indigenous people, construct a common culture, and educate the youth, the Secretaría de Educación Pública (Ministry of Public Education, my translation, hereafter SEP) was officially established in 1921. Under the lead of José Vasconcelos, the SEP created libraries, distributed books, designed programmes, and built ten rural teacher training schools as well as rural schools (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011). The overall aim of rural schools was to cater for the contextual needs of every community, specifically the improvement of local art and craft to heighten their life chances (Pacheco, 2013). To oversee the implementation of the programmes, particularly the learning of Spanish, rural teachers were recruited. They were seen as cultural missionaries who had to learn about the language variety that was spoken in the community where they were sent. In addition, they had recruitment knowledge and skills that aided in the recruitment of more potential cultural missionaries (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011). Most rural teachers had completed primary school, some secondary school, and some others had a technical-vocational qualification. As for their ethnicity, most of them were born to peasants or indigenous people themselves which allowed them easy access to the community since they were able to identify with the community’s needs (Pacheco, 2013). Overall, rural schools and teachers made a significant contribution to the development of

rural communities in terms of education, land distribution, agricultural development, and livestock farming (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011).

#### ***4.4.2 The Consolidation of Spanish: Government-Driven Institutions***

In the following decades, other institutions were created, albeit they contributed to the dichotomy between Spanish as a symbol of the nation-state and development vis-à-vis ILVs as cultural heritage. For instance, in 1937, the Department of Indigenous Education was instituted within the SEP during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas who advocated for socialist and secular education (Castillo Rosas, 2016). Even though he was the first Mexican president who acknowledged indigenous people's social autonomy and supported (transitional) bilingual education, there was mounting opposition towards its provision and the appreciation of cultural diversity (Martínez Buenabad, 2015).

#### ***4.4.3 The Increased Visibility of Indigenous Institutions***

Later in the 1970s and 1980s, indigenous movements became more influential bringing about the foundation of more indigenous institutions so as to have more indigenous representation in political processes. Amongst the multiple institutions that were established during these two decades, there was the Alianza Nacional de Profesionales Indígenas Bilingües, A.C. (National Alliance of Bilingual Indigenous Professionals, my translation, henceforth ANPIBAC). It advocated for education reforms, particularly, it provided the basis for Bilingual Bicultural Education (BBE) for indigenous people. Despite their influential role in public policy decision-making at national level, the above-mentioned institutions had marginal representation at the local level. What is more, they did not undertake projects that aided in the development of education in the communities (Mejía Piñeros & Sarmiento Silva, 1991, as cited in Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011).

Despite the abuse of power that those indigenous institutions underwent, the ongoing pressure from them led to the creation of the Dirección General de Educación Indígena (General Department of Indigenous Education- hereafter DGEI) as a subdivision within the Ministry of Education in 1978. Since its founding, the DGEI has overseen the implementation

of initiatives that are underpinned by the acknowledgement of cultural and linguistic diversity in México as well as the reclamation of ILVs as national languages (Hamel, 2016). Together with ANPIBAC, the DGEI continued to work on the foundations of BBE that was implemented in 1983.

#### ***4.4.4 Two Approaches to Education for Indigenous People: Bilingual Bicultural Education and Intercultural Bilingual Education***

The bilingual bicultural approach towards education, Barriga Villanueva (2018) criticises, was an ambitious LP that intended to incorporate the use of ILVs in the beginning stages of teaching and learning to then transition to Spanish because it was seen as the national language of development. Building on the evaluation of BBE in México, Hamel (2016) notes that amongst the programme's objectives, pupils were expected to develop biliteracy skills as well as learn about the Mexican and indigenous cultures. In Hamel's view, BBE conveyed a dichotomous view towards languages and cultures as bounded entities which would inevitably contribute to the alienation of ILVs in public spheres like schools. Although the BBE policy was seen as a major breakthrough in education for indigenous people, it encountered issues such as insufficient pre-service and in-service teacher training, shortage of teaching and learning materials, and lack of funding (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011).

Later in 1996, BBE was substituted by IBE, which has been in effect since then. Its appropriation has been the result of social and indigenous movements as well as the implementation of educational projects sponsored by international organisations such as UNESCO to achieve equality and justice in education (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011; Sayer & López Gopar, 2015). In contrast to BBE, IBE promotes the acquisition, development, and consolidation of ILVs and Spanish in an effort to avoid the hierarchisation of language varieties. In an attempt to achieve this, ILVs and Spanish are to be used as the medium of instruction and studied as subject content (Barriga Villanueva, 2018). Moreover, the recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity as an underlying feature of México is one of its overarching underpinnings. Despite its positive features, it has not been without its criticism.

For instance, Gasché (2008) is very critical about the utopian vision that IBE transmits given that it fails to account for unequal power relationships where one group of people dominates and the other one is subordinated. This inequality, according to Gasché (ibid), stems from social, political, and economic differences, as well as conflicting ideas, values, and attitudes that contribute to the creation or reinforcement of power imbalance instantiated in daily activities.

More recent critiques (e.g. Mendoza Zuany, 2017; 2020) underscore a shift from interculturality to inclusion, which is used as an umbrella term to include all pupils inclusive of indigenous backgrounds and vulnerable groups with special needs. In discussing the differences, Mendoza Zuany (2017; 2020) argues that the focus of IBE is placed on the development of literacy skills in Spanish, access to education that is not relevant to students' characteristics and contextual needs, and integration of all students to a linguistically and culturally homogenous education system. What is more, Mendoza Zuany criticises the appropriation of the term inclusion, endorsed by UNESCO, on the grounds of economic reasons such as the reduction of public expenditure. She concludes with the implications that entail, amongst other things, a regression to a homogenous approach to bilingual education that will result in the exclusion, marginalisation, and low academic achievement of pupils who attend bilingual schools.

#### ***4.4.5 The San Andrés Larráinzar Accords: A Step Towards the Acknowledgement of Educational Rights for Indigenous People***

Despite the creation of the abovementioned indigenous institutions and the implementation of initiatives to increase indigenous people's visibility and recognition, the ongoing inconsistencies between top-down policies and bottom-up demands led to the revolt of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista National Liberation Army, henceforth EZLN) against the federal government. The EZLN drafted the Acuerdos de San Andrés Larráinzar (San Andrés Larráinzar Accords, henceforth SALA) in 1996, which demanded a new alliance with the federal government based on the constitutional

recognition of indigenous rights grounded on self-determination and cultural and educational rights (Hidalgo, 2006a; Martínez Buenabad, 2015). Amongst the SALA's underpinning principles, there was equality, respect towards differences, and the preservation of indigenous cultures (Pellicer et al., 2006) which have contributed to discourse topics (e.g. bilingual education as right) that circulate in IBE today (See Chapter 5).

#### **4.5 Historical Period Five (2000- ): México in the 21st Century**

So far, the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century have witnessed significant progress in terms of official recognition of indigenous people and ILVs in laws, indigenous institutions, and education reforms so as to comply with the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, amongst others. Not surprisingly, however, said recognition continues to be overwhelmingly overlooked in practice due to neoliberal discourses such as global competence, development, and global citizenship from transnational institutions like UNESCO and the OECD (Mendoza Zuany, 2018; Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019).

##### **4.5.1 Contemporary Laws: Safeguarding Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People**

Building on the influence of the SALA introduced in the previous section, other laws have been enacted, and indigenous organisations have been established in this historical period. For instance, the Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas (General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples, hereafter LGDLPI) was passed in 2003. Terborg et al. (2006) describe it as “the single most significant language policy in the recent history of Mexico” (p. 143). Overall, this law acknowledges the linguistic rights of indigenous people, stipulates bilingual education as mandatory, and addresses the standardisation of ILVs and their use in legal proceedings and the media (LGDLPI, 2003). Notwithstanding, Pellicer et al. (2006) highlight that in many instances the rights contained in the LGDLPI neglect the status of ILVs in the public sphere (e.g. education) as well as the social, cultural, and economic disparity that people with an indigenous background struggle with. Building up on this, Pellicer et al. (ibid) underscore that the law overlooks the shortage of funding to

tackle discrimination, political alienation, and language shift which is essential to ensure that the rights are protected.

The enactment of the LGDLPI, in turn, prompted the reform to the Ley General de Educación (General Law of Education), particularly Article VII fraction IV, to address the promotion of linguistic diversity and respect towards the linguistic rights of indigenous people. Moreover, it mandates the provision of bilingual education to speakers of ILVs, but it excludes the wider student population who attend mainstream schools (Barriga Villanueva, 2018). In other words, a distinction is made between students with indigenous and non-indigenous backgrounds.

#### ***4.5.2 Recent Education Reforms: Their Dimensions and Underpinning Agendas***

Apart from the enactment of the abovementioned law and institutions, several reforms have been made to education. However, only two of them will be discussed in this section given that they had a direct bearing on the creation of the LP texts analysed in Chapter 5. Before providing a description of them, it is important to discuss briefly the essence of these education reforms as it is directly linked to their ideological foundations, their discourses, and their effect in LP implementation. According to Díaz Barriga (2016), education reforms have three dimensions: 1) structural which can refer to the design of the curriculum framework; 2) cultural which can relate to the ways activities are carried out; and 3) political which elucidate the political views and agenda(s) of a group of people or an organisation. Of the three dimensions, the political one is particularly useful to understand the origin of ideologies and discourses that these more recent reforms have appropriated.

As discussed below, the two reforms convey a global view towards education which seeks to prepare students to become global citizens who not only portray attitudes and values but have knowledge and abilities that seem to proffer mutual cooperation, equity, cultural awareness, and social mobility. This view exemplifies discourses of globalisation, development, (linguistic/human) rights, and cultural and linguistic diversity that have been bolstered by international organisations such as UNESCO and the OECD (Vaccari &



Gardinier, 2019). Albeit the discourses convey potential social and economic advantages, Braslavsky (2006) underscores the dichotomy that they create between local and global languages and identities as well as the hierarchisation of knowledge which undoubtedly influence an effective implementation of LPs in bilingual education. Equally preoccupying is the conflation of discourses (e.g. global citizenship and global competence) from UNESCO and the OECD as “their articulation of the roles and responsibilities emphasises supranational identity and belonging” which contradicts “the economic necessity of global competence” (Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019, p. 70). Thus, making an effective LP implementation virtually impossible.

#### ***4.5.3 Description of the Education Reforms***

Having addressed the essence of recent Mexican education reforms briefly, the discussion will now turn to the description of the reforms. The first reform was called the *Reforma Integral para la Educación Básica* (Comprehensive Basic Education Reform, my translation) implemented in 2009. Its overarching principles were the development of competences and acquisition of knowledge conducive to the incorporation to the global market, the continuity across preschool, primary, and secondary school, and teacher professional development and performance management. Here, it is important to note that the role of the teacher in the implementation of the reform was front and centre, thus making it appear as an employment reform more than an education one (Gutiérrez Lozano, 2020). Additionally, it was heavily influenced by the washback effect of PISA assessment that evaluates students’ literacy abilities in the language of schooling, mathematics, and science. As a result of this reform, two of the macro-level LP texts analysed in Chapter 5 were created. The first one was the NC (2011) which, as outlined in Section 5.1.1, promotes the development of competences such as IT skills. Concomitantly, the intercultural approach to bilingual education is introduced together with the incorporation of ILVs as subject content and medium of instruction. The second macro-level LP text, described in Section 5.1.2, was

the CFILSC (2011) that sets the foundations for IBE in basic education underpinned by cultural and linguistic diversity and linguistic rights.

The second reform was the Reforma Educativa (Education Reform) enacted in 2013. The president at that time was Enrique Peña Nieto, a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (hereafter PRI) which had ruled from 1929 to 2000. During his presidential campaign, he pledged to boost economic growth and tackle drug-related issues. Soon after he became president, he issued the Pacto por México (the Deal for México, my translation) which was signed by the three most prominent political parties, including the PRI (Moch Islas, Calef & Aparicio, 2021). This document addressed several points which led to major fiscal, energy, telecommunications, and education policy reforms. With respect to the education field, the reform in 2013 strengthened the quality of education and inclusivity, granted more school autonomy, consolidated free basic education in public schools, and reinforced performance management (GOB, 2013).

An accompanying document, el Modelo Educativo 2016 (Educational Model 2016, my translation), was drafted to provide guidance on curriculum development, pedagogical approaches, and school operation. Similar to the reform, the model included the abovementioned components, and it incorporated a humanistic approach towards education. In showing compliance to the law, the document addressed Article III from the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States that stipulates education as a right to all Mexican citizens. Then, it introduced the overarching aims of a humanist approach to education such as fostering respect towards diversity, seeking equality, developing problem-solving skills and creativity, and so on (SEP, 2016).

Together with the Education Reform, the Educational Model contributed to the design and enactment of the CLHE (2017) framework which is the third macro-level LP text analysed in Chapter 5. The CLHE (2017) appropriates a more humanistic approach towards education from UNESCO and detaches from the OECD's competence-based discourse. In achieving more inclusion, the CLHE homogenises the curriculum to include pupils with special needs and indigenous backgrounds, as well as migrants (see Section 5.1.3). In other words, there

is a noticeable shift back to the integration of a unified education system where Spanish is spoken (Mendoza Zuany, 2017; 2020), whereas discourses of social justice and rights are neglected together with the consolidation of IBE and the use of ILVs as medium of instruction and as subject content.

#### ***4.5.4 Overview of Socioeconomic Factors Related to Indigenous Speakers, Non-Indigenous Speakers and Language Varieties***

This section is devoted to providing an overview of socioeconomic factors such as socioeconomic context, migration, literacy rates, and education which have contributed to the social inequality that indigenous people have experienced as well as the subordination of ILVs in México.

**4.5.4.1 Socioeconomic Context of Indigenous People.** Due to the influence of indigenous movements and their demands toward the end of the 20th Century (see Section 4.4.5.), the population censuses in the 21st Century have begun to incorporate data on the education, healthcare, and income of indigenous peoples (Valdés, 2009). In the first decade of the 21st Century, indigenous communities reported experiencing multidimensional poverty, which affects various aspects of quality of life such as education, health, and economic resources. For example, 52.7% (n= 2,740,400) lacked access to healthcare and 50.8% (n=2,641,600) faced challenges related to housing quality and space (CONEVAL, 2010). Later in 2015, it was recorded that 34.9% of the indigenous population was living in extreme poverty as opposed to 5.9% of non-indigenous people who were in extreme poverty (CONEVAL, 2015).

The primary sources of income for many indigenous people have been agriculture, crafts, begging, and domestic work, largely due to limited Spanish literacy, which restricts access to higher-paying specialised jobs (e.g. engineering). In an attempt to integrate into the economy, many indigenous people have shifted to Spanish only, thereby contributing to the erasure of ILVs in recent decades. Additionally, apathy and discrimination based on language use, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status have contributed to the diminished use of

ILVs in everyday interaction and the rejection of an indigenous identity (Mesinas & Pérez, 2016). More recently, however, a slight improvement has been seen with the percentage of the indigenous population living in extreme poverty dropping to 46.16% (n=3.4 million including children who are less than 5 years old). This has been due to the redistribution of wealth to subsidise social programmes, amongst others, during the presidency of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (INPI, 2021).

**4.5.4.2. Internal and External Migration.** Another significant factor that has exacerbated the social inequality encountered by indigenous people and the erasure of ILVs is domestic and international migration. The social and economic disparity that indigenous people have grappled with since the Spanish conquest has led many to migrate to cities seeking better job opportunities. Concomitantly, the fall in product prices i.e. coffee and maize, demographic growth, and high labour demand in agriculture and tourism, to name but a few, have also influenced migration among the indigenous population. Previous censuses have shed light on the approximate number of indigenous people who have migrated. For example, as per the census in 2010, 174,770 ILV speakers had migrated to other states in México (e.g. Nuevo León, Baja California Sur), whereas 37,117 had migrated abroad, of which 35,405 were in the United States (e.g. Los Angeles, Phoenix) and 1712 had travelled to other countries. In discussing the data, Sánchez García (2015) argues that the number of migrants recorded in the censuses is inaccurate due to increased mobility and the denial of the indigenous identity owing to discrimination, which inevitably leads to the assimilation of the dominant language (e.g. Spanish, English) and culture, as well as the diminishing of ILV use.

**4.5.4.3. Literacy Rates.** A third factor that has promoted social inequality and subordination of ILVs is literacy. According to CONEVAL (2022), 19.8% (n=1.3 million) of the indigenous population were illiterate. That is, two in every ten indigenous people could neither read nor write in Spanish. The percentages varied according to the age group. For example, those aged 12 to 17 had an illiteracy rate of 3.2%, whilst adults aged 65 or older had an illiteracy rate of 53.6%. In other words, a significant gap between the younger and older generations is noticeable. This might have been influenced by the elderly's

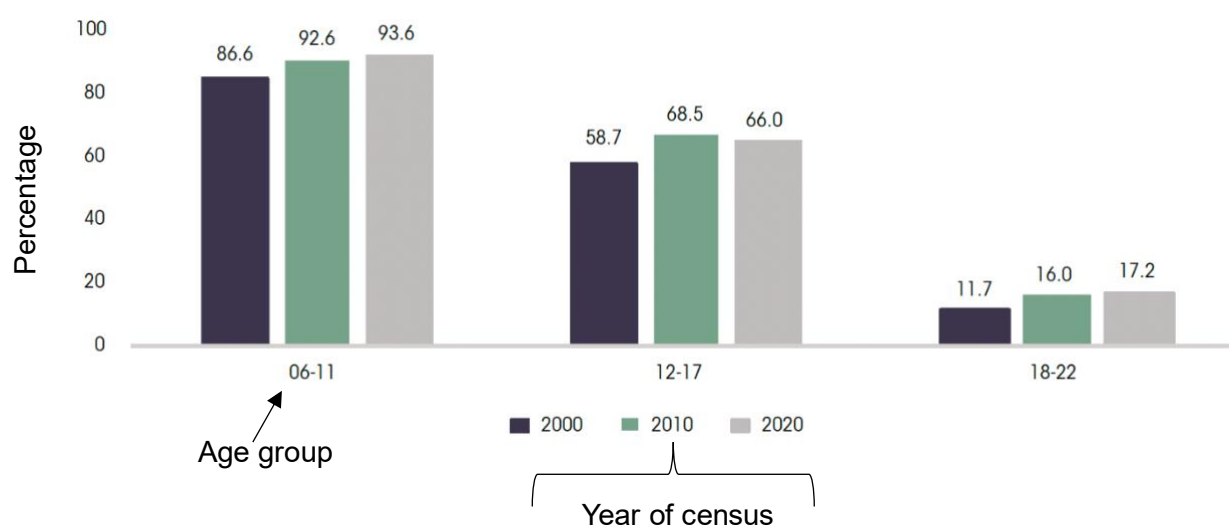
monolingualism in an ILV as well as the lack of provision of IBE across the country, especially in rural areas. In contrast, the illiteracy rate of Spanish speakers aged 12 to 17 was 0.7% (n=83,251), and 15.7% (n=1,472,772) for those aged 65 and over. In other words, the gap between ILV and Spanish speakers widened as the age increased (CONEVAL, 2022). Here a couple of points are worth noting. First, the contrast between the illiteracy rates of ILV and Spanish speakers is compelling evidence of the insufficient access to quality education that indigenous people continue to struggle with, which only exacerbates the social and economic disparity between them and Spanish speakers. Second, illiteracy rates are not always the most effective way to determine the role of written language in people's lives.

**4.5.4.4 Education.** Finally, a fourth factor that has played a pivotal role in the social inequality faced by indigenous people and the subordination of ILVs is education. According to the 2020 census, people aged 15 and older who spoke an ILV generally completed Year 6, whereas those who spoke Spanish and were aged 15 and older generally completed Year 10 (INEGI, 2022).

With reference to attendance rates, the 2020 census reported that 61.3% (n=1.2 million) of school-aged indigenous people attended school, whereas 38.7% did not attend school. That is, four in every ten indigenous people did not go to school. Figure 5 below compares the 2000, 2010, and 2020 censuses wherein a rise from 86.6% in 2000 to 93.6% in 2020 is noticeable among primary school students aged 6 to 11. For secondary education (ages 12 to 17), a 10% increase is also evident from 2000 to 2010, albeit a small decrease is seen from 2010 to 2020. As for higher education students aged 18 to 22, a slight improvement is seen across the three decades. (CONEVAL, 2022).

**Figure 5**

*School Attendance Rates of Indigenous People According to Age Group and Year*



The data show that the majority of primary school students attended school, but as the age and level of schooling increased school attendance declined. One of the reasons behind these results is that attendance to further and higher education is more difficult as community learning institutions and universities are located in big cities. In contrast, a marginal difference in attendance to primary school is evident between ILV and Spanish speakers aged 6 to 11 (see Table 6 below). As the age and level of schooling increased, the gap widened between Spanish and ILV speakers. While the former reported 40.7% of attendance to university, the latter reported 17.2% (CONEVAL, 2022). In other words, the disparity in access to further and higher education remains high among indigenous students.

**Table 6**

*School Attendance in 2020: Percentages According to Age Group and Ethnicity*

Age groups	ILV speakers	Spanish speakers
<b>Total 6-11</b>	93.6%	95.7%
<b>Total 12-17</b>	66%	82.7%
<b>Total 18-22</b>	17.2%	40.7%

In relation to the number of schools that provide education to the indigenous population, the 2020 census reported that there were 22,766 schools in indigenous regions across the country, of which 2,338 were early childhood education centres, 10,035 were pre-schools, and 10,393 were primary schools. Despite the large number of schools, the provision of IBE was not enough given that only 38.2 % (n=893) of early childhood education centres, 10.9% (n=1,094) of pre-schools, and 10.5% (n=1,091) of primary schools offered bilingual instruction (CONEVAL, 2022). Here, it is important to mention that the amount of exposure to instruction in an ILV differs from school to school due to the limited number of teachers who speak or have some knowledge of ILVs. Hence, those students who are monolingual in an ILV face greater challenges to access and/or complete primary school. Concomitantly, they are forced to shift to Spanish as it is used as the main medium of instruction (Hamel, 2016; McCarty, 2012).

#### **4.6 Summary**

Thus far, this chapter has reviewed a timeline of historical periods and events that not only account for the cultural and linguistic diversity that have characterised México throughout the time, but also provide a brief discussion about the ongoing tensions in LP decision-making and implementation at macro, meso, and micro levels. Since pre-colonial times, there have been linguistic hierarchies that favoured the use of Náhuatl as a lingua franca across México. Once the Spanish conquered México, the Spanish Crown sought to disseminate the Christian faith through the learning of Spanish, thus imposing a language shift. After three centuries of colonial oppression, México became independent again. During this period, a nation-state ideology was endorsed together with Spanish as a symbol of national unity, development, and culture. Later in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the LP sought to consolidate México as a modern nation-state, thus contributing to the legitimisation of Spanish. Concomitantly, as a result of indigenous movements, indigenous institutions were founded together with the implementation of BBE and IBE in education for indigenous people. Whilst the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century have shown progress in terms of

official recognition of indigenous peoples' rights as well as the creation of more indigenous institutions, there are still inequalities that need to be addressed.



## **Chapter 5 Analysis of Macro-level Language Policy Texts**

In this chapter, the discourses and language ideologies related to IBE and language varieties are explored in three documents that are curriculum frameworks. This entails unpacking the origin of discourses, the rationale, and the aims of IBE, as well as the value and uses given to language varieties that are constructed in said documents. In addition, it entails making intertextual and interdiscursive links seeking to show how discourses are linked to others. To achieve this, a detailed linguistic analysis is carried out showing how language is used as a powerful discursive tool to perpetuate power imbalance. Throughout the chapter, attention is paid to the orientations that underpin discourses, language ideologies that are salient, and intertextual and interdiscursive links that there are between discourses. In doing so, this study aims to illustrate how discourses and language ideologies can overtly or covertly give primacy to certain agendas that contribute to the revitalisation of ILVs or the exacerbation of monolingualism in school, home, and community settings.

At the beginning, a synopsis of the content of the three curriculum frameworks or macro-level LP texts is given. What follows is an overview of the coded instances under Ruiz's orientations and discursive strategies that were counted across the three macro-level LP texts during the coding phase. This is included as it gives a clear idea of what orientations are more prominent across the three LP texts and what discursive strategies the LP texts draw on to talk about IBE and language varieties. This is followed by the analysis of excerpts taken from said macro-level LP texts. In it, a linguistic analysis is carried out paying close attention to the use of the DHA's discursive strategies and how they contribute to foreground or background discourses associated with IBE and language varieties.

In the last part of the chapter, the discussion of the findings is carried out. In it, intertextual and interdiscursive links are made. Also included are the implications of the findings linking them to previous research.

## 5.1 Content of Macro-level Language Policy Texts

In this section, a general description of each macro-level LP text analysed in this chapter is outlined. The content of these LP texts (curriculum frameworks) includes the rationale, the subjects that are taught in primary school education, the skills and the knowledge required to achieve the expected learning outcomes, amongst others. The description of each LP text does not aim to be exhaustive as its depth and breadth are related to the text's relevance in the analysis and discussion. It provides background information about the theoretical underpinnings and socio-political agendas that the federal government have appropriated from international organisations like UNESCO and the OECD to achieve specific objectives. The organisation is as follows: An outline of the NC (2011) is provided first. Then, an overall description of the CFILSC (2011) followed by CLHE (2017) is presented.

### 5.1.1 National Curriculum (2011)

In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, education policies have appropriated a competence-based approach to education, including education for indigenous people (Díaz Barriga, 2016). One such illustration is the first LP text analysed in this chapter. The NC (2011) begins by providing an introduction that encourages main stakeholders to contribute to the consolidation of México as a multicultural, multilingual, democratic, and successful polity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (p. 12). Then, background information is provided. This is followed by Section One which is an overview of a series of accords conducive to the creation of the NC (2011) that are brought to the fore. Particularly crucial to the creation of the NC (2011) was the Reforma Integral de la Educación Básica (2009) (Education Reform in Basic Education, my translation, henceforth RIEB), which promoted a number of initiatives such as the development of competences in basic education, equality and accessibility to quality education, teacher autonomy and accountability.

In Section Two, the characteristics of the curriculum framework are described. Within this section, there are nine subsections. *Subsection One* outlines the underpinning principles.

Similar to the RIEB (2009), the NC (2011) foregrounds the development of competences and attainment targets which address the demands of international standards (e.g. PISA).

Subsection Two summarises the competences to be developed throughout compulsory basic education such as reading skills, speaking more than one language, and appreciating cultural and linguistic diversity.

Subsection Three provides attainment targets which focus on, amongst other things, the development of literacy skills in different registers in the students' mother tongues, the acquisition of basic knowledge of the English language, and the appropriation of an intercultural perspective to social interaction.

Subsection Four presents the curriculum for basic education which is divided into four areas such as language and communication, which introduces the English language as a L2 in the school curriculum. Particularly relevant to the present study, Subsection Five introduces the curriculum for indigenous education in which bilingualism and biliteracy skills are promoted, interculturality is perceived as a gain, inclusivity is encouraged, and the incorporation of indigenous knowledge and cultures is apprehended as invaluable to strengthen students' identity.

Subsection Six expands on the curriculum framework by establishing the guidelines for any ILV to be taught as subject content. The approach taken capitalises on language as social practice that takes place in four domains: 1) family and community, 2) oral tradition and literature, 3) intercommunity interaction, and 4) dissemination of indigenous knowledge.

Subsection Seven provides an overview of IT skills, whilst Subsection Eight deals with educational management.

Finally, Subsection Nine summarises the attainment targets that encompass knowledge and skills to be achieved at the end of basic education based on an international framework of reference, PISA. Overall, The NC (2011) is characterised by its broad introduction of a new curriculum for basic education that promotes the development of competences (Cuevas Cajiga, 2016; Mercado Marín, 2016). Additionally, and for the first time, the guidelines of an intercultural approach to education for indigenous people are outlined. This approach aims

to raise awareness about cultural and linguistic diversity, strengthen students' identity, value indigenous knowledge and traditions as cultural heritage, and promote bilingualism as a resource. The incorporation of ILVs as subject content and as a medium of instruction is included in the curriculum under the notion of human/linguistic rights that seeks to make education equally accessible to students and aspires to provide them with opportunities to develop their mother tongue and acquire Spanish as an L2. In this regard, the document briefly refers to Articles II (three times) and III (four times) of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, which acknowledge cultural diversity in México and the right to education, respectively. In general, the NC (2011) is mainly informed by the OECD's competence-based discourse that promotes the development of competences and their assessment based on an international evaluation (PISA).

### ***5.1.2 Curriculum Framework: Indigenous Language as Subject Content (2011)***

The second macro-level LP document analysed was the CFILSC (2011). The CFILSC (2011) was designed to be used in conjunction with the NC (2011). The introduction has an extensive scope that begins by stating that the use of mother tongue instruction is statutory, both as subject content and medium of instruction. This is followed by a brief paragraph on linguistic diversity in México, the creation of a flexible curriculum to suit multiple contexts within México, the benefits of having an indigenous language as school subject, and the need to incorporate the teaching of Spanish as L2 seeking to aid in nation-building. The introduction ends by making reference to the authors of the CFILSC who are bilingual teachers, speakers of indigenous languages (e.g. Náhuatl, Zapoteco), members of academies of indigenous languages, the Autonomous Metropolitan University, amongst others.

Section Two presents the rationale behind the CFILSC which foregrounds the linguistic rights of indigenous people. In this regard, the CFILSC recognises the cultural and linguistic diversity in México by making an explicit intertextual link to Article II of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States that stipulates that indigenous people have

autonomy to, among other things, “preserve and strengthen their languages, knowledge and all components that constitute their culture and identity” (p.2). Hence, the CFILSC positions itself within a rights-based approach to bilingual education for indigenous people and provides a framework based on respect of cultural differences, democracy, and equality. The appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversity is apprehended as the result of accords made between indigenous organisations such as the EZLN and the federal government (See Chapter 4, Section 4.4.5). For instance, the SALA not only promoted the preservation, promotion, and use of ILVs, but also encouraged the development of literacy skills in ILVs and the acquisition of Spanish.

Additionally, reference is made to the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention in 1989, the LGDLPI (2003), and the General Law of Education (see Chapter 4). The excerpts from these documents that are included in the CFILSC emphasise intercultural bilingual education as right, respect for diversity, identity construction or consolidation, and development or use of ILVs in the community, particularly literacy skills. International recommendations are also included in the rationale. Explicit intertextual references are made to the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996) and UNESCO (1953, 2003) regarding the use of indigenous languages as medium of instruction and as subject content. Bilingual education is seen as a means to achieve equality, intercultural understanding, promotion of human rights, and quality education. Finally, the early introduction of ILVs in the school curriculum is endorsed.

Section Three deals with background information. It describes education for indigenous people by drawing on the metaphor of a plant (student) that is autonomous to develop. The role of the teacher is to ensure that pupils develop in the best possible way. Then, languages are defined as social practice which entails an exchange of ideas, the creation or consolidation of relationships, and so on. In other words, language is seen as a mediating tool. This is followed by an overview of linguistic diversity in México whereby indigenous and Spanish language varieties are the result of intersecting socioeconomic, geographical, and historical factors in specific contexts. As stated before, the approach taken by the CFILSC

regards languages as social practices characterised by having a communicative objective that is bound to the context in which it takes place. Social practices occur in written and spoken interaction, hence, one of the overarching aims is to develop biliteracy skills in an ILV and Spanish.

Section Four outlines the aims of the framework, including raising awareness about the linguistic rights of indigenous people as Mexican citizens, appreciating bilingualism as a cultural and cognitive resource, fostering pride about ILVs, and strengthening a sense of belonging to an indigenous culture.

Section Five provides the structure of the content that is divided into four domains: 1) family and community, 2) oral tradition and literature, 3) intercommunity interaction and 4) dissemination of indigenous knowledge.

Section Six introduces the teacher job profile. For example, teachers are expected to teach ILVs as subject content and use them as medium of instruction adjusting their use according to students' proficiency in the ILV.

Finally, Section Seven addresses cross-curricularity which involves the interconnectedness of topics across different school subjects so that students make more in-depth associations and develop a thorough understanding of topics. The organisation of the content is divided into cycles in which written and oral practices take place in the four domains from Section Five. As an illustration, a suggested activity in the first cycle related to intercommunity interaction entails the exploration of the linguistic landscape at school and in the community.

On the whole, the CFILSC recognises that México is culturally and linguistically diverse. Hence, it positions itself within a rights-based approach to the incorporation of ILVs as medium of instruction and subject content whereby language is seen as social practice. As is shown in the analysis of excerpts, it is evident that the rights-based discourse is taken from UNESCO and is further endorsed by several laws such as the LGDLPI (2003) and the General Law of Education.

### **5.1.3 Core Learning for Holistic Education (2017)**

The third LP document that was analysed was CLHE (2017). It is divided into six main sections that encompass the curriculum framework and programmes of study of basic education (preschool, primary, and secondary school).

Section One highlights the crucial role of the Education Reform (2013) in making quality education and equality statutory and stresses the engagement of all stakeholders in the decision-making process.

Section Two presents the aims of education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Within this section, the attainment targets, the theoretical underpinnings, the resources to achieve the reform's objectives, amongst others, are outlined. For instance, the attainment targets for the language and communication area are found on page 22 and state that at the end of primary school students are expected to express thoughts about feelings, events, or ideas in their mother tongue (irrespective of whether they are an ILV or Spanish) in written and spoken forms. Directly associated with this, the development of literacy skills in the L2 is stressed. As for English, an overarching aim is the ability to talk about past events as well as current needs.

Section Three outlines basic education, specifically its structure and the attainment targets for each area (also described in Section Two).

Section Four deals with the curriculum framework that highlights the incorporation of an inclusive and flexible approach to the content that considers students' socioemotional development and their context in an attempt to cater for the local and global demands of society in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. In addition, the development of competences (e.g. knowledge, abilities, and attitudes) is stressed and the structure of the national curriculum is presented.

Section Five presents the programmes of study which follow the CFILSC's approach to bilingual education for indigenous people: the right to quality education to achieve a democratic, inclusive society that respects diversity and fosters democracy. This is evident on pages 160 and 161 on which an intertextual reference to the LGDLPI is made, specifically

Articles III and IX are quoted. Overall, ILVs are recognised as part of México's cultural and linguistic heritage and indigenous people have the right to communicate in their mother tongue in all domains. What follows is the introduction of Spanish and ILVs as subject content, either as mother tongue or L2. As for the English language, it is introduced as a FL. All language varieties are seen as social practices that involve written and spoken interaction. Hence, the content includes, but is not limited to, knowledge about different genres, spelling, punctuation, and syntax. In the case of ILVs, oral tradition is seen as the main means to transmit indigenous knowledge, values, and worldviews. However, a clear transition to written practices is noticeable. In the last part of this section, suggested learning and assessment activities are provided.

Finally, Section Six includes bibliography, a glossary of key terms and acknowledgements. Overall, CLHE's (2017) content is aspirational as it seeks to build or consolidate national consciousness capitalising on México's cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as connect students with the wider society by situating their local context within the global one. The approach taken to education for indigenous people and the use of ILVs as medium of instruction and as subject content is based on human and linguistic rights. Hence, CLHE's underpinnings are not innovative as they are basically the same as the NC (2011) and the CFILSC (2011). However, in contrast to the NC (2011), CLHE (2017) does detach from the OECD's guidelines (e.g. competence-driven curriculum) and subscribes to a humanistic curriculum that seeks the well-being of students and the country as a whole (Flores Martínez, 2019). Having provided a general overview of the content of each macro-level LP text, a detailed linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from them is carried out in the section below.

## 5.2 Analysis of Excerpts

Before moving onto the fine-grained analysis of excerpts taken from the abovementioned macro-level LP texts, it is important to consider the most salient findings in relation to the number of instances that were coded under Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive



strategies employed by the texts using MAXQDA. Table 5, on page 103, shows that the most salient orientation across the NC (2011), the CFILSC (2011), and CLHE (2017) is 'language as right' (n=236) followed by 'language as resource' (n=232). With reference to IBE, the language-as-right orientation is evident by intertextual links to UNESCO where direct quotations ("*la UNESCO apoya la educación bilingüe y/o plurilingüe...*") are employed to endorse its implementation. The 'language-as-resource' orientation, on the other hand, is noticeable by the approach taken towards education whereby the development of biliteracy skills in different registers in Spanish and ILVs is endorsed. As for language varieties, the 'language as resource' orientation is evident given that Náhuatl is apprehended as cultural heritage, whereas Spanish and English are seen as an advantage to migrate and access the global economy. In other words, Náhuatl, Spanish, and English are discursively constructed as resources for different purposes that only exacerbate the subordination of Náhuatl in both public (e.g. school) and private (e.g. home) domains.

With respect to the discursive strategies, macro-level LP texts show an extensive use of nomination (n= 224; e.g. '*el currículo*') and predication (n=232; e.g. '*un espacio también para la lengua originaria*') strategies. Argumentation is used to convey implicit or explicit premises that provide a solid justification for the legitimization of discourse topics. For instance, a discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' is discursively enacted by the topos of authority appropriating UNESCO's discourses of education and human rights. The prominence of these three discursive strategies can be due to the type of genre that these LP texts belong to, that of a curriculum framework that is characterised by being prescriptive and authoritative. Even though a deeper exploration of the genre of these macro-level LP texts could have yielded interesting findings, a focus on genre goes beyond the scope of the present study. Having provided a brief summary about the coded instances on MAXQDA, the analysis of the excerpts will be carried out. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (Sections 3.9.1 and 3.9.2), the analysis was carried out in Spanish. The original text in Spanish is found in italics and the English translation appears in bold text (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7).

### 5.2.1 Discourse Topics Related to Intercultural Bilingual Education

The first excerpt analysed in this section addresses the curriculum framework for education for indigenous people. In it, two discourse topics are noticeable. The first is 'linguistic homogenisation' and the second one 'development.'

*(1) Los Marcos Curriculares tienen como principios generales la contextualización y diversificación. Se pretende frenar la erosión cultural y lingüística que históricamente se ha dado en las escuelas de educación indígena, y en las que reciben población indígena y en situación migrante, donde ha predominado el currículo y la visión de una nación homogénea y urbana. (NC, 2011, p. 58)*

**(1) The Curriculum Framework is grounded on two principles:**

**Contextualisation and diversification. It is intended to stop the cultural and linguistic erosion that has historically taken place in schools under [the subsystem of] indigenous education, and in those [schools] that have indigenous and migrant populations, where the curriculum and the vision of a homogeneous and urban nation have prevailed.**

In this first excerpt, the authors highlight the key principles (*'contextualización y diversificación'*) of the curriculum framework for education for indigenous people and provide a justification for it, which explicitly addresses the issues indigenous people and migrants have faced (e.g. assimilation of the Spanish culture and language). Predicatively, the Framework's objective is constructed by a metaphor (*'la erosión cultural y lingüística'*). This metaphor is used here to map the characteristics of earth science (e.g. the gradual destruction of soil) onto the deterioration or disintegration of the inherent multiculturalism and multilingualism in México where ILVs are threatened.

This metaphor is extended by the authors' use of the perfect tense to signal a connection with the past (e.g. pre-colonial times) to stress the gradual destruction of indigenous

practices in schools where indigenous and migrant students study. Here, indigenous and migrant languages seem to appear together due to their subordination at school.

Expanding on what elements of education for indigenous people have contributed to the erasure of cultural and linguistic diversity, the adjective '*homogénea*' alludes to a dominant culture where similar ways of thinking, acting, and speaking are desirable to achieve national social cohesion. Additionally, the adjective '*urbana*' relates to towns and cities and sets up a dichotomy between the urban and rural, which has two implications. First, '*urbana*' relates to social and economic development, whereas rural connotes under-development. Second and more importantly, primacy is given to the dominant language variety (Spanish) whilst constraints are imposed on the use of ILVs. Hence, within education for indigenous people, monolingualism as the norm is foregrounded. In general, (1) gives background information that provides a strong rationale for the recognition of bilingual education as right, which is addressed in (2).

In the second excerpt, discourse topics of 'discrimination,' 'cultural and linguistic diversity,' 'bilingual education as right,' and 'ILVs as cultural heritage' are identified from the coded instances using MAXQDA. As shown below, language rights are implicit within broader categories such as educational rights that entail relevant and inclusive education. See Section 5.3 for a discussion on interdiscursive links.

*(2) La educación es un derecho fundamental.... Al reconocer la diversidad que existe en nuestro país, el sistema educativo hace efectivo este derecho al ofrecer una educación pertinente e inclusiva.*

*Pertinente porque valora, protege y desarrolla las culturas y sus visiones y conocimientos del mundo, mismos que se incluyen en el desarrollo curricular.*

*Inclusiva porque se ocupa de reducir al máximo la desigualdad del acceso a las oportunidades, y evita los distintos tipos de discriminación a los que están expuestos niñas, niños y adolescentes. (NC, 2011, p. 35)*

**(2) Education is a fundamental right... By acknowledging the diversity that exists in our country, the education system puts into effect this right by providing relevant and inclusive education.**

**Relevant since it values, protects, and promotes cultures and their visions and knowledge of the world, which are included in the curriculum.**

**Inclusive since it deals with reducing inequality in access to opportunities as much as possible and avoids the different types of discrimination that boys, girls, and adolescents are exposed to.**

At the beginning of (2), a discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' is constructed by a predication strategy that works by describing education not only as a human right legally entitled, but also as a core tenet of Mexican society.

Then, a discourse topic of 'cultural and linguistic diversity' is constructed by nomination strategies that show the authors' acknowledgement of México's diversity (which most likely refers to cultural and linguistic diversity). This strategy constructs this diversity as one of Mexico's inherent features and positions the authors and the readers of this document as part of the in-group (Mexican citizens- '*nuestro país*'). Being culturally and linguistically diverse not only contributes to national identity and belonging (which the authors share with the reader), but also defines Mexican citizenship at the national level.

Next, the authors shift back to the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' to legitimise their view on education. They draw on an argumentative strategy (the topoi of right and law) that serves as positive self-presentation since it constructs policy makers (e.g. the Ministry of Education) as compliant with the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States. Nonetheless, it implicitly conveys the reification of the education system that constructs a fallacy as systems are incapable to implement LPs as such, but stakeholders such as teachers can. Although short, the NC (2011) makes an implicit intertextual reference to Articles II and III, which are briefly outlined elsewhere in the document. The former addresses multilingualism and multiculturalism as inherent features of México, indigeneity as

part of México's national identity, as well as the right to intercultural bilingual education. The latter refers to the right to education of Mexican citizens.

Then, the authors continue to expand on the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' and the incorporation of cultural and linguistic diversity in the curriculum constructed in (1). Here, the authors define the type of education that all pupils should expect to receive. The adjective '*pertinente*' appears together with the verbs '*valora*,' '*protege*,' '*desarrolla*' that belong to the same semantic field that conveys a positive attitude towards cultural and linguistic diversity. These lexical items are conflated with the nouns '*culturas*,' '*visiones*,' and '*conocimientos*' to highlight a positive evaluation and incorporation of cultural heritage in the school curriculum as pivotal to the development of national identity and sense of belonging to México. The adjective '*inclusiva*,' on the other hand, appears in conjunction with the verbs '*reducir*' and the nouns '*desigualdad*,' '*acceso*,' and '*oportunidades*,' which evoke a discourse topic of 'discrimination.' Here, a few points are worth noting. First, these words convey an attempt to develop a non-discriminatory society where all students benefit from education to acquire knowledge and develop skills. Second, they suggest the aim of eradicating inequality from the Mexican context. Third, they indicate that the curriculum does not favour any discriminatory practices related to ethnicity, gender, language use, or disability within the classroom experienced by children in general. In other words, the NC (2011) sees discrimination in the broad sense and can be experienced by all students regardless of their ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and so on. All in all, (2) underscores bilingual education as right and conveys the appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversity and ILVs, at least in theory. However, it adapts the term inclusivity to shift back to homogenisation.

Similar to (2), (3) draws on a discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' to talk about ILVs and Spanish. What is more, it constructs cultural and linguistic diversity as an inherent feature of national identity.

*(3) No hay que perder de vista que la Asignatura de Lengua Indígena debe complementarse con la enseñanza del español como segunda lengua para cumplir con el mandato constitucional de ofrecer una educación intercultural y bilingüe y de avanzar hacia la construcción de una nación plural. (CFILSC, 2011, p.5)*

**(3) Must not lose sight of the fact that indigenous languages as subject content must be complemented with the teaching of Spanish as a second language to comply with the constitutional mandate of offering intercultural bilingual education and move towards the construction of a plural nation.**

The opening lines in (3) are a useful illustration of the discourse topic of ‘bilingual education as right’ that is constructed by intensification, argumentation, and predication strategies. At the beginning, it is unclear why the agent has been omitted. One possibility might be that the authors do not wish to assign a particular group of stakeholders with all the responsibility of implementing the bilingual programme. The use of epistemic modality (*‘debe complementarse’*) not only is employed to highlight the obligation of teaching ILVs, but also the complementary role of Spanish, the dominant language, as an L2. The rationale behind this could be that indigenous people are seen as lacking language skills in the dominant language. Consequently, education for indigenous people has to cater for these perceived needs.

Argumentatively, the authors draw on the topoi of law and right to make an implicit link to the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, particularly Articles II and III that address the right to intercultural bilingual education. This argumentation strategy contributes to the argument developed in this section by justifying the introduction of ILVs together with Spanish in the school curriculum as legally binding.

Predicatively, offering IBE is seen as a symbol of progress which the authors construct as an unfinished project (*‘avanzar hacia’*). Concomitantly, the construction metaphor (*‘la construcción de una nación plural’*) maps the features of erecting a building onto México so

as to construct it as a cohesive whole made up of multiple parts. In other words, (3) depicts the nation-building ideology that involves the integration of people from diverse sociocultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds into a unified polity. In summary, (3) illustrates the recognition of bilingual education as well as cultural and linguistic diversity in the jure policy. Notwithstanding, it juxtaposes these with a nation-state ideology that underpins the use of a dominant language as part of the nation-building strategy that covertly homogenises linguistic practices.

In (4), discourse topics of ‘competences’ and ‘inclusivity’ are employed to address the perspective taken towards indigenous knowledge and cultures in the curriculum framework endorsed in the NC (2011). Here, a neoliberal ideology underpins the view towards ILVs that constructs them as a resource.

*(4) Esto implica la inclusión de los saberes y la cosmovisión de pueblos y comunidades, de las competencias que el uso de estos saberes sustenta, y requiere concebir la contextualización de aquellas que se pretende desarrollar a partir del Plan y los programas de estudio nacionales, lo cual es inherente al propio enfoque de aprendizaje por competencias. (NC, 2011, p. 57)*

**(4) This involves the inclusion of knowledge and worldview of peoples and communities, the competences that this knowledge underpins, and requires the contextualisation of those that are intended to be developed from the NC and the national programmes of study, which are inherent to the competency-based learning approach itself.**

In the first part of the excerpt, a discourse topic of ‘inclusivity’ is constructed by drawing on the topos of cultural heritage, which is evident by the use of the nouns ‘*saberes*’ and ‘*cosmovisión*.’ The former implicitly conflates ILVs with the acquisition of knowledge through

study and (personal) experiences. The latter encompasses a particular way of conceiving the world, together with language ideologies and cultural views that include but are not limited to an awareness of the natural world and the way humans should relate to it. Due to their scope, indigenous knowledge and worldviews are constructed as pivotal in the preservation of cultural heritage in IBE.

Then, the incorporation of this knowledge and worldviews in IBE is connected to a discourse topic of '*competences*' that evokes a neoliberal ideology that links language use (e.g. reading and writing skills) to school performance, thereby underscoring accountability in education. That is to say, (4) provides an excellent illustration of the appropriation of OECD's agenda (Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019). Interestingly, the authors do not identify what competences are required or involved. Instead, they combine certain competences with certain kinds of knowledge, without specifying what kinds of knowledge they refer to.

Subsequently, the authors build on the discourse topics of 'inclusivity' and 'competences' to stress the need to take the students' contexts (e.g. culture, history, interests, needs) into account to adapt the competences already established in the NC (2011) and the curriculum frameworks. As outlined in Section 5.1.1, two of these general competences are the development of literacy skills in different registers and speaking more than one language, emphasising the acquisition of English (basic command). All in all, (4) shows an interdiscursive link between neoliberal ideologies that underscore the development of competences as well as the appropriation of education-related discourse topics such as accountability and inclusivity.

In (5), IBE is legitimised as right by discourse topics of 'equality,' 'inclusivity,' and 'gender equality' that construct it as a core tenet of society to achieve human development and preserve linguistic diversity.



*(5) La UNESCO apoya la educación bilingüe y/o plurilingüe en todos los niveles de enseñanza como medio de promover [a un tiempo] la igualdad social y la paridad entre los sexos, y como elemento clave en sociedades caracterizadas por la diversidad lingüística. (CFILSC, 2011, p.8)*

**(5) UNESCO supports bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting social and gender equality, and as a key feature of societies characterised by linguistic diversity.**

The rationale for the introduction of ILVs as school subjects in the CFILSC (2011) is heavily influenced by UNESCO. Argumentatively, the authors employ the topos of authority by starting the paragraph with the proper noun ‘UNESCO’ that is a well-known international institution that guides, coordinates, and monitors the implementation of education guidelines in the international community to ensure that all children and adolescents have access to quality education, among other things. This argumentation strategy serves to persuade the reader to adhere to a positive view of bilingual education as right that is espoused by an influential institution.

In terms of perspectivisation, an intertextual link to Principle II from UNESCO’s position paper ‘*Education in a multilingual world*’ is included to express an interest and commitment to fulfil said recommendations, specifically the provision of bilingual education as it promotes access to human rights (e.g. equality) that are of universal significance. That is, widely accepted values (e.g. education, equality) are turned into universal values, which means that they have the same worth for everyone, or almost all people. Consequently, the collective pursuit of these values becomes a powerful persuasive tool.

Predicatively, bilingual/multilingual education is said to have two benefits. The first one (‘*igualdad social*’) hints at a discourse topic of ‘equality’ not only as a human right, but as a benefit of bilingual education. It denotes the same access to social benefits and services (e.g. education), amongst others. That is, bilingual education is implicitly constructed as a

means to make education accessible to students irrespective of their ethnolinguistic background. On the other hand, a discourse topic of '*gender equality*,' which has been bolstered by the UN and the OECD, seeks to close the gap between men and women with regard to provision of education by addressing social issues that women face such as early marriage and geographical isolation. Here, these discourse topics of 'equality' and 'gender equality' are part of the broader discourse of human rights, which implicitly addresses social issues. Hence, it can be argued that (5) presents a twofold view of equality, as right and resource.

Concomitantly, the noun '*sociedades*' creates a dichotomy between different groups of people who live within the same country, state, or city, thereby constructing a social hierarchy implicitly. Nonetheless, no explicit reference is made as to whether linguistic or economic features are taken into account to make a distinction between groups of people.

Towards the end, (5) appeals to the topos of diversity that links bilingual education to societies (e.g. México) that are culturally and linguistically diverse. In other words, bilingual education is expected to be the norm, and this argumentation strategy contributes to validate or reinforce this idea. All in all, this excerpt provides an example of how rights are framed, in the Mexican context, with respect to discourses from international organisations such as UNESCO, the UN, and the OECD supporting the idea that language not only develops empathy amongst different communities, but it also aims to guarantee access to rights such as education. However, it also contributes to the hierarchisation of people in México.

Moving on now to analyse (6), discourse topics of 'interculturality,' 'discrimination,' and 'cultural and linguistic diversity' are drawn on together with terms such as self-esteem and self-affirmation.

*(6) Los contenidos de reflexión intercultural tienen por objetivo que los niños y niñas comprendan las semejanzas y diferencias entre sus modelos culturales con respecto a otros, especialmente el hispano, para abatir la discriminación y fortalecer su autoestima y autoafirmación en su cultura; pero también para reconocer el enriquecimiento que*

*significa la apropiación de elementos culturales que enriquecen sus culturas, considerando que la diversidad cultural, lingüística y natural es un motor del desarrollo humano y del conocimiento en su conjunto.* (CLHE, 2017, pp. 229-230)

**(6) The intercultural content is intended for boys and girls to understand the similarities and differences between their cultural models with respect to others, especially the Hispanic, to overcome discrimination and strengthen their self-esteem and self-affirmation in their culture, but also to acknowledge that the appropriation of cultural elements that enrich their cultures entails wealth/enrichment, considering that cultural, linguistic and natural diversity are an engine of human development and knowledge as a whole.**

The authors draw on a discourse topic of ‘interculturality’ at the beginning of (6) to address the first general aim and benefit of including intercultural content in IBE, which seeks to raise awareness about other cultures (*‘modelos culturales con respecto a otros’*). Interestingly, a dichotomy is constructed because what seems to be unique to indigenous cultures also separates them from others (*‘Hispanic’*). One possible reading might be that indigenous students are expected to be conscious, amongst other things, about the role that Spanish plays within their immediate surroundings and the wider community since it is the dominant language. Another more preoccupying reading is that rather than fostering respect towards diverse worldviews, beliefs, and values, the tendency continues to be towards marginalising indigenous cultures and language varieties, as well as perpetuating linguistic hierarchies.

Subsequently, a discourse topic of ‘discrimination’ is drawn on to introduce the second objective and benefit of the intercultural content. The noun *‘discriminación’* is very vague as it does not state what type of discrimination (e.g. ethnic, religious) the authors are referring to, nor implicit or explicit set of actions is outlined that will reflect that said discrimination has

been overcome. Additionally, the agent who overcomes discrimination is missing, which leaves the reader wondering who takes the initiative to overcome discrimination.

A third objective of the intercultural content is found in the terms '*autoestima*' and '*autoafirmación*' that construct indigenous boys and girls as the out-group that is implicitly characterised by having low self-esteem or self-affirmation in the indigenous culture and is the target beneficiary of this intercultural content. The presupposition here is that students who have an indigenous background need their self-esteem strengthening.

Then, the intercultural content is constructed by a wealth/enrichment metaphor ('*e/ enriquecimiento que significa la apropiación...*'). Although no explicit nor implicit intertextual reference to UNESCO is made in (6), an implicit connection to it emerges here as cultural diversity is one of UNESCO's most prominent institutional discourse (Kornblit, 2021). Here, this metaphor is used to map the characteristics of a treasure or riches onto cultural diversity which assigns a monetary or moral value. It conveys a demand for the recognition of interculturality that is discursively constructed as having material worth ('*enriquecimiento*'). However, it is unclear what type of worth is being assigned to it (e.g. existential, monetary). This metaphor evidences the authors' involvement in UNESCO's education initiatives that are, somehow, appropriated in the content of the curriculum. What is more, the metaphor's main function is advocacy. In summary, (6) shows how a discourse topic of 'interculturality' constructs a dichotomy between cultures that inevitably lead to their hierarchisation. The discourse topic of 'discrimination,' on the other hand, vaguely addresses the type(s) of discrimination that students experience and fails to provide clear guidance on how to overcome it. Finally, an intertextual link to UNESCO is made by employing its treasure metaphor to underscore the value of cultural diversity.

### **5.2.2 Discourse Topics Related to Language Varieties**

Having analysed the emerging discourse topics related to IBE, let us now consider what discourse topics and discursive strategies are employed to construct language varieties.

In the following paragraphs, the analysis in (7) shows how a discourse topic of 'linguistic diversity' is constructed vis-à-vis a discourse topic of 'linguistic discrimination.'

*(7) El mismo español ofrece una multiplicidad de variantes. Están los dialectos o variantes regionales: el español del norte, del centro, de las costas, del sur y el de la península de Yucatán. Existe también el español de contacto, que se habla en zonas donde conviven hablantes de una o más lenguas originarias, lenguas extranjeras e hispanohablantes y, por tanto, está sujeto a los préstamos e interferencias con las otras lenguas. Están, además, los sociolectos o variantes que dependen de la estratificación social y la escolaridad, o bien, de la necesidad de identificación de los diversos grupos sociales. (CLHE, 2017, p.159)*

**(7) Spanish itself has a range of varieties. There are the dialects or regional varieties: Spanish from the North, the Centre, the coasts, the South, and the Yucatan Peninsula. There is also contact Spanish that is spoken in areas where speakers of one or more native languages, foreign languages and Hispanic coexist and, therefore, is subject to borrowings and interferences with other languages. Moreover, there are the sociolects or varieties that depend on social stratification and schooling, or on the need to identify diverse social groups.**

The discourse topic of 'linguistic diversity' is constructed at the beginning where Spanish is predicated as having different varieties. Here, two readings are possible. The first one has a positive connotation that highlights linguistic diversity. The second one, however, creates a hierarchy in which the standard language (Spanish) is ranked first, and its varieties below it. The dichotomy continues as (7) not only elaborates on linguistic diversity and linguistic hierarchy, but also labels language varieties as social markers that are bounded to specific geographical and contextual factors. For instance, the use of cardinal directions ('*norte*,' '*sur*'), geographic regions ('*centro*,' '*costas*,' '*península de Yucatán*'), and adjectives

(‘*originarias*,’ ‘*extranjeras*’) contribute to the dichotomous view of multilingualism in (7). On the one hand, these lexical items are used to acknowledge linguistic diversity in México. On the other hand, they construct a hierarchy of prestige among different language varieties thereby emphasising the othering of specific varieties such as Náhuatl and English.

Later in (7), a discourse topic of ‘linguistic discrimination’ is constructed by the use of the nouns ‘*préstamos*’ and ‘*interferencias*.’ In this instance, both nouns seem to carry a negative connotation that indicates that when speakers use the target language (e.g. English) in conjunction with their L1 (e.g. Spanish) they have issues to communicate (e.g. lexical transfer- *sensible* in Spanish means quick to detect or respond to slight changes, whereas in English it means prudent).

In the last part of (7), the hierarchisation of language varieties is further developed, particularly in relation to social class (‘*sociolectos*,’ ‘*variantes*’) and level of schooling that undoubtedly convey a contrast between a high socioeconomic class that has unlimited access to education and learning opportunities to develop skills in comparison to those in lower socioeconomic classes. To sum up, (7) exemplifies a dichotomous view of multilingualism as it interweaves linguistic diversity with linguistic discrimination. Although linguistic diversity is recognised as an underlying feature of México, a distinction is made between varieties based on social structures, thereby imposing a hierarchy.

Like (5) and (6), the influence of international organisations is also evident in (8) where intertextual links are made to the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Emphasis is made on the development of literacy skills in students’ mother tongue as well as the right to education in the official language. In other words, the discourse topic of ‘bilingual education as right’ is endorsed.

**(8)** *El reconocimiento de la diversidad lingüística se sustenta también en el Convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional para el Trabajo sobre los Pueblos Indígenas y Tribales de 1989 –del cual México es signatario--, que expresa en su artículo 28 “que a los niños indígenas se les enseñe a leer y escribir en la lengua materna” y que se les ofrezcan*

*“oportunidades para que aprendan la lengua oficial de su país o nación con el fin de que se apropien de ambos instrumentos comunicativos”.* (CFILSC, 2011, p. 6)

**(8) The recognition of linguistic diversity is also supported by the International Labour Organisation Convention 169 regarding Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, 1989 -of which Mexico is a signatory-, in Article XXVIII states:**

**‘That indigenous children be taught to read and write in their mother tongue’ and that they be offered ‘opportunities to learn the official language of their country or nation in order to appropriate both communicative instruments.’**

Drawing on the topoi of linguistic diversity, authority, rights, and usefulness, (8) advocates for bilingual education in México. At the beginning, cultural diversity is briefly acknowledged. This is followed by an intertextual link to the ILO that not only advocates for the promotion of rights at the workplace, dialogue related to employment issues, among others, but is part of the United Nations. Additionally, the ILO is concerned with the promotion of social justice and human rights. This internationally binding agreement was signed by a number of countries such as México, Perú, and Norway, and it seeks to protect the human rights of indigenous peoples, their self-determination, amongst others. It is important to note that by looking at the original source, the text within the quotation marks is not a direct quote. The CFILSC (2011) paraphrases some parts of Article XXVIII and adds some more text within the quotation marks perhaps in an attempt to show the appropriation of ILO’s discourses, specifically, education rights.

The first part of the quotation not only constructs the out-group as coming from a different ethnic background, but as lacking literacy skills in the L1 that are needed to participate in social practices. In other words, a dichotomy is constructed where speaking is downplayed thereby evoking a similar view towards oracy in previous historical periods when emphasis was made on the written form of ILVs (See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2). The term *‘lengua*

*materna*’ stands metonymically for all ILVs and is used here to show an inclusive approach to mother-tongue instruction irrespective of students’ L1 which suggests, at least in theory, that provision will be made for all ILVs to be taught.

The second part of the quotation elaborates on the topoi of linguistic diversity, rights and usefulness constructed in this section, and addresses students’ right to acquire knowledge and develop literacy skills in the dominant language (Spanish) that is used in education, official or legal documents, and government proceedings.

At the end of (8), the metaphor ‘*instrumentos comunicativos*’ builds on the development of literacy skills. It does so by mapping the features of tools that are used to accomplish a goal or task onto languages so as to portray them as a means to achieve an objective.

Specifically, the ability to interact in written and spoken communication in ILVs and Spanish. In brief, (8) makes an intertextual link to the ILO Convention that underscores the importance of developing literacy skills in the students’ L1 as part of the broader discourse of human rights. Concomitantly, it implicitly associates language use to work which evokes a neoliberal ideology.

Similar to (8), (9) argues in favour of bilingual education as right by drawing on the topoi of rights, law, and responsibility. In addition, it stresses the dominant role of Spanish in public and private spheres drawing on a discourse topic of ‘the prestige of Spanish.’

*(9) Por otra parte, dada la preminencia del español como lengua de la mayoría de los mexicanos y su importancia en la administración pública y privada, en los medios de comunicación, la enseñanza y difusión de la ciencia en todos los niveles educativos, así como de la cultura nacional e internacional, se ha decidido apoyar su aprendizaje como segunda lengua, con la asignatura Segunda Lengua. Español...*

*La enseñanza del español como segunda lengua a la población indígena se respalda en el Artículo 11º de la Ley general de los derechos lingüísticos de los pueblos indígenas, que dispone la obligación de las autoridades educativas federales y de las entidades*



*federativas de garantizar que la población indígena tenga acceso a la educación obligatoria, bilingüe e intercultural.* (CLHE, 2017, p. 161)

**(9) On the other hand, given the pre-eminence of Spanish as the language of most Mexicans and its importance in public and private matters, in the media, in instruction, and in the dissemination of science at all educational levels, as well as national and international culture, it has been decided to support its learning as a second language, with the subject Second Language. Spanish...**

**The teaching of Spanish as a second language to indigenous people is endorsed by Article XI of the General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples that decrees the obligation of federal and state education authorities to guarantee that the indigenous population have access to obligatory, bilingual, and intercultural education.**

In the first part of (9), the rationale behind the implementation of bilingual education, particularly the prestige and usefulness of Spanish as the L1 of the vast majority of the population and its use in public and private settings is stressed. The authors' use of antithesis ('*pública*' vs '*privada*,' '*nacional*' vs '*internacional*') here is evident and it contributes to strengthen the prestige of Spanish in the home setting, in the wider Mexican society, and in Spanish-speaking countries.

In addition, the nouns '*medios*,' '*enseñanza*,' '*difusión*,' '*ciencia*,' and '*cultura*' identify specific areas where Spanish is used. Particularly important to the present study, the noun '*enseñanza*' suggests the use of Spanish as the medium of instruction, learning, and assessment, as well as the language in which textbooks are written. Also included is the role of Spanish in knowledge-based societies ('*difusión de la ciencia*') that are characterised by the creation and transmission of practical and scientific knowledge in textbooks and high-impact journals, for example.

Given the usefulness of Spanish across all spheres of life, (9) justifies its introduction as L2 and school subject in IBE by drawing on the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right.' The use of the passive form of the sentence ('*se ha decidido apoyar...*') conceals the agents of decision making perhaps in an attempt to focus on the initiative itself (the introduction of Spanish in the school curriculum), or to avoid assigning responsibility for the homogenisation of the curriculum.

Furthermore, the authors draw on the topos of right not only to legitimise the introduction of Spanish as mother tongue or L2, but to comply with the law that addresses the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly education rights. In this regard, an intertextual link to Article XI of the LGDLPI is made. The excerpt contains the exact same words from Article XI, albeit it does not include the quotation marks. This might be to show that the authors orient to the discourse without acknowledging the intertextuality with quotation marks. This perspectivisation strategy appears in conjunction with an argumentation strategy whereby the topos of responsibility is employed (e.g. '*autoridades educativas federales*') to stress the federal and state authorities' duty to provide education.

Building on the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right,' the authors identify three core features of IBE ('*obligatoria*,' '*bilingüe*,' and '*intercultural*') that encompass the provision of education in the students' L1 irrespective of whether they speak Spanish or an ILV, and awareness about other language varieties and their value. Not surprisingly, however, the concept of interculturality is vaguely addressed and it conveys a utopian view towards IBE that fails to account for disparate relationships where one group of people that speaks the dominant language controls those who speak an indigenous language (Gasché, 2008). Overall, (9) is a useful example of the prominence that Spanish is given across macro-level LP texts provided that it is used in all areas of life (e.g. education, the media), thereby constructing it as a right for all school-aged children who study preschool education, primary school education, and secondary education.

Delving into the peculiarities of what bilingual education as right entails in the curriculum frameworks, discourse topics of 'linguistic competence as commodity' and 'modernity' are

employed in (10) to address one of the overarching aims: The development of reading abilities to access the global economy.

*(10) La habilidad lectora en el siglo XXI está determinada por significados diferentes. En el siglo XX, la lectura traducía predominantemente secuencias y lineamientos convencionales, y en la actualidad es la base del aprendizaje permanente, donde se privilegia la lectura para la comprensión, y es necesaria para la búsqueda, el manejo, la reflexión y el uso de la información. Es el acceso a ámbitos especializados que garantizan el aprendizaje permanente y la inserción en las nuevas economías. (NC, 2011, pp. 43-44)*

**(10) Reading skills in the 21<sup>st</sup> CE are determined by different meanings. In the 20th CE, reading predominantly translated sequences and conventional guidelines, and nowadays they are the basis of lifelong learning, where reading comprehension is privileged, and it is necessary for the search, management, analysis, and use of information. They are the way in to specialised areas that guarantee lifelong learning and incorporation to the new economy.**

A discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity' is noticeable at the beginning of (10). In terms of nomination, '*habilidad lectora*' takes prominence as the subject of the sentence where a comparison is constructed. The prepositional phrase '*en el siglo XXI*' is used here to distinguish the type of reading skills from a particular generation that lives in the era of technological revolution where knowledge generation and information exchange among people, from different parts of the world, has advanced at unprecedented rates.

Then, the aims of reading in '*el siglo XX*' are introduced. Given the authors' combination of words (e.g. '*secuencias*,' '*lineamientos*'), the aim(s) of reading is/are unclear as they do not expand on what '*secuencias*' (sequences in English) or '*lineamientos*' (guidelines in English) they refer to. However, it could be speculated that they refer to silent print reading

that would be carried out individually and extensively to memorise and acquire information, not to promote reading comprehension.

Then, a discourse topic of 'modernity' is drawn on to elaborate on reading skills in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. What is more, it is used as an evaluative strategy to assess the value of reading skills. The term '*aprendizaje permanente*,' which evokes a neoliberal ideology that often associates the term with work, indicates an approach to education that promotes learning throughout adulthood via technology, for example. Consequently, reading skills are constructed as a resource. Additionally, they are used to establish a hierarchy that positions students with literacy skills as having an advantage over those who are illiterate. However, the type of advantages the authors refer to are not revealed.

The evaluative strategy is extended as the authors build on the fundamental role of reading (e.g. '*búsqueda*,' '*manejo*,' '*reflexión*') where an implicit reference to critical reading is argued to be essential to understand, think about, and use written texts to acquire knowledge, engage in society, pass standardised tests, amongst others.

At the end of (10), the advantages of developing reading skills are stressed underscoring the importance of reading abilities to access specific knowledge or training. Nonetheless, the authors fail to specify which these specialised areas are. The advantages (e.g. '*aprendizaje permanente*') not only convey a neoliberal ideology but are used to legitimise the incorporation of reading activities in the school curriculum. Here, an explicit reference to the OECD's recommendation to engage in a global economy is noticeable. Approaching education from a global economic perspective entails the amendment of education policies based on students' and the education system's performance in standardised tests like PISA. In the case of México, in 2009, its performance in reading was the lowest with an average score of 425 points as opposed to the OECD's average score of 493 points (OECD, 2009). Thus, it is unsurprising that the NC (2011) foregrounds the development of reading skills in Spanish. Overall, (10) appropriates the OECD's agenda by focusing on the importance of reading abilities given their potential benefits (e.g. lifelong learning). This focus, it is argued, is the result of México's low performance in reading in PISA, amongst other reasons.

The pivotal role of the school in LP implementation is evident in (11) where an emphasis is made on the development of writing skills. The discourse topics that are employed to support such emphasis are 'linguistic competence as commodity,' 'migration,' and 'globalisation.'

*(11) En las comunidades indígenas la escuela es una institución de gran relevancia tanto para la escritura de la lengua como para el desarrollo en los niños y niñas de los usos del lenguaje que los capacitarán mejor para participar en los procesos actuales de migración, comunicación a distancia y globalización. (CFILSC, 2011, p.7)*

**(11) In indigenous communities, the school is an institution of great relevance to write in the tongue and the development [in children] of the uses of language that will prepare them better to take part in migration, online communication, and globalisation.**

The school's fundamental role in the development of writing skills, one of the main objectives of the CFILSC (2011), takes prominence at the beginning. Although no explicit reference is made to any language variety, it is assumed that the authors refer to Spanish given that at the end of (11) writing is said to be beneficial for migration and globalisation in which Spanish is used. The authors use very vague terms ('usos') to talk about the types of writing that students are expected to develop or refine. Nonetheless, it may be possible that they refer to learning different genres (e.g. essays, questionnaires, newspaper articles), their layout, their purposes, and so on.

The use of the noun '*lengua*' ('tongue' in English) can be read as a metonym for different language varieties, which allows for more than one interpretation. For instance, the development of writing skills in ILVs could be useful for students to maintain a close relationship with their grandparents if they live in a different state. However, ILVs were initially oral languages, thus making this reading somewhat unrealistic (See Chapter 4).

Another reading could be the development of different registers in Spanish to enable students to participate in national commerce selling household cleaning products (jarciería) to national companies.

Subsequently, the advantages of developing writing skills in different genres are briefly addressed. In contrast to the noun '*lengua*' used above, the noun '*lenguaje*' denotes the human system of communication that encompasses all semiotic resources at a persons' disposal. It is the development of learning how to use these semiotic resources that creates a hierarchy that places students with developed writing skills at a higher, more advantageous position in the hierarchy since they are constructed as able to communicate more effectively.

In the last part of (11), discourse topics of 'migration' and 'globalisation' are employed to highlight three areas ('*migración*,' '*comunicación a distancia*,' and '*globalización*') where written abilities are useful. Here, two points are worth noting. First, the authors implicitly refer to Spanish and English as they are the most prominent languages used for migratory purposes. Second, undoubtedly the influence of the writing system has permeated the aims of IBE attempting to enhance students' academic development in a globalised world. In sum, to comply with the demands of a globalised world, the school is constructed as an important institution that facilitates opportunities to develop writing skills that are said to be useful to migrate and participate in a global world.

In (12), neoliberal ideologies are also noticeable given that Spanish is constructed by a discourse topic of 'Spanish as an international language,' whereas English is constructed as a global language.

**(12)** *Asegurar el acceso a una lengua de comunicación internacional constituye otra prioridad de la educación básica. Una de esas lenguas es el español, pues es utilizada por casi 470 millones de hispanohablantes en el continente americano y europeo. La otra es el inglés, que se ha convertido en la lengua de comunicación predominante en el mundo, no solo en el plano del turismo y los negocios, sino de la comunicación cultural y científica.* (CLHE, 2017, p. 161)

**(12) Ensuring access to a language of international communication constitutes another priority of basic education. One of those tongues is Spanish as it is used by almost 470 million Spanish speakers in the American continent and Europe. The other one is English that has become the main tongue of communication in the world, not only in terms of tourism and business, but of cultural and scientific communication.**

At the beginning of (12), the provision of learning opportunities to acquire a language of international communication is foregrounded as it is one of the main aims of the area of language and communication for basic education, apart from the teaching of ILVs as L1 or L2 (see Section 5.1.3). In the Mexican context, basic education encompasses preschool, primary, and secondary school. This means that Spanish is introduced since the early school curriculum as an L1/L2, English is taught as a FL, and literacy skills are developed.

Argumentatively, the authors legitimise the introduction of Spanish by drawing on the topos of numbers ('470 millones') to highlight its prestige and persuade the reader that it is an important language to learn. The adjectives '*americano*' and ' *europeo*' together with the plural noun '*continentes*' build on the influence and use of Spanish in different parts of the world such as México, Chile, and Spain.

Then, the authors draw on the topos of usefulness to legitimise the introduction of the English language in the school curriculum given that it is a global language. They make an implicit connection to the past (specifically the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries) when English flourished and its visibility increased in communication technologies, business, and the industry.

At the end of (12), the authors build on the usefulness of speaking English by using the nouns '*turismo*,' '*negocios*,' and '*comunicación*,' together with the adjectives '*cultural*' and '*científica*' to make an explicit association between English and globalisation. In brief, (12) is

an excellent illustration of how Spanish and English have acquired more prestige given their role in communication. On the one hand, Spanish is constructed as an international language due to the large numbers of Spanish speakers across several countries. English, on the other hand, is constructed as a global language due to its prominent role in areas such as tourism.

Finally, the value of ILVs is addressed in (13). In contrast to the prominent roles assigned to Spanish and English in global communication, ILVs are constructed as cultural heritage.

*(13) Desde el punto de vista de los pueblos originarios, la tradición oral se concibe como la palabra de los ancestros, figuras de autoridad máxima en el establecimiento del orden social y la transmisión de valores y enseñanzas. Es la vía de transmisión de la cosmovisión, de conocimientos filosóficos, religiosos, económicos, artísticos, tecnológicos, políticos, que las generaciones adultas transmiten a las jóvenes. Los relatos, junto a los tejidos, pinturas, diseños gráficos, danzas, música, son las bibliotecas de estas civilizaciones. (CLHE, 2017, p. 231)*

**(13) From the point of view of native people, oral tradition is perceived as the word of the ancestors, authority figures in the establishment of social order and the dissemination of teachings and values. It is the way cosmovision, philosophical, religious, economic, artistic, technological, and political knowledge are passed on from older generations to the youth. Tales, together with textiles, paintings, graphic designs, dances, music, are the libraries of these civilisations.**

At the beginning of (13), a perspectivisation strategy is noticeable as it explicitly states that the approach taken to oral tradition is adopted from the perspective of indigenous peoples. Then, oral tradition is defined as ‘*la palabra de los ancestros*.’ This metaphor is used here to evoke a connection to pre-colonial times when indigenous knowledge, values, and historical facts were transmitted through images and paintings that were explained



orally. In other words, oracy is taken up by the authors in an attempt to preserve indigenous knowledge through the revitalisation of oracy (see Chapter 4). Then, ancestors are defined as having a 'real or apparent authority over others' which motivates or requires imitation, respect and obedience. Hence, oral tradition acquires a significant value due to the authoritative source it comes from, as well as the knowledge and history from past generations that it transmits.

Then, the pivotal role of oral tradition is addressed. The use of the noun '*cosmovisión*' and adjectives such as '*filosóficos*,' '*religiosos*,' and '*económicos*' elaborate on the type of knowledge that is made accessible through oral tradition. This knowledge includes indigenous worldviews, religion, trade, art, watering systems, agricultural knowledge, social organisation, to name but a few. Strikingly, an implicit hierarchy is constructed here by assigning particular functions to ILVs: The dissemination of cultural heritage. In other words, ILVs are apprehended as separate codes particularly useful to transmit culture-bound practices, whereas Spanish and English are constructed as resources for business, tourism, and so on (see Excerpt (12)).

Towards the end of (13), the authors provide a list of elements (e.g. '*relatos*,' '*textiles*,' '*pinturas*,' '*música*') that constitute history and art and that are characterised by enduring time. These components are predicated as '*las bibliotecas de estas civilizaciones*.' The library metaphor used here evokes the image of a building where students can access periodicals, magazines, books, and media resources that contain literature, art, reference materials, amongst others. All these resources provide information about the history and culture of ancient communities at a particular point in time. In other words, oral tradition is recursively depicted as a means to transmit and preserve knowledge from the past. In conclusion, ILVs are highly valued due to the connection they have with the past and ancient civilisations.

This section has aimed at providing a detailed analysis of excerpts from the NC (2011), the CFILSC (2011), and CLHE (2017). Particular attention has been paid to the discourse topics and language ideologies that the aforementioned macro-level LP texts draw on in

relation to IBE and language varieties. Careful consideration has also been paid to the way language is used to appropriate said discourse topics and language ideologies. In the next section, a discussion is provided making intertextual and interdiscursive links between discourse topics. It also links the findings to previous research and discusses the implications of said findings.

### **5.3 Discussion**

As stated in Chapter 2, research to date has not yet explored the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between macro, meso, and micro levels of LP in the context of Puebla, México. Particularly, the appropriation of discourses related to IBE and language varieties in official policies, at school and home has not been explored. Consequently, this chapter sought to explore how dominant discourses related to IBE and language varieties are constructed in curriculum frameworks and how they contribute to the revitalisation of ILVs or perpetuate their subordination.

The findings at the macro level provided an insight into the orientations, discourses that they orient to, underlying language ideologies, as well as discursive strategies that the curriculum frameworks employ to construct them. This was achieved by making intertextual and interdiscursive links across the multiple layers of LP in Santa María, Puebla, while similar appropriation, it can be assumed, occurs beyond this setting.

Following a top-down perspective to investigating LP appropriation, the first research question sought to unpack the dominant discourses related to IBE and the value and uses assigned to language varieties. Additionally, it aimed at identifying the intertextual and interdiscursive links at the macro level. As noted in the previous section, the excerpts provided a sample of discourses and dominant ideologies at the national level. Rather than allowing for a generalisation, the analysis sought to provide a thorough examination of discursive strategies (e.g. perspectivisation) and linguistic realisations (e.g. comparative

adjectives) that the authors of the macro-level LP texts employ to disseminate certain language ideologies and discourses.

The analysis revealed the juxtaposition of opposite discourse topics (e.g. ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ vis-à-vis ‘inclusivity’) that attempt to compensate for the discrimination that indigenous people have faced throughout the years. This dichotomy undoubtedly has permeated the value and use of language varieties. For instance, a discourse topic on ‘migration’ that implicitly refers to the usefulness of Spanish or English for geographic mobility contributes to the legitimization of a discourse topic of ‘Náhuatl as cultural heritage.’

### **5.3.1 Discussion about Intercultural Bilingual Education**

Regarding IBE, one important discourse topic that emerges from the analysis is ‘discrimination.’ This discourse topic is employed to set the background of the implementation of bilingual education in México that not only addresses the mistreatment of (indigenous) people based on the language variety they speak, but it also serves as a useful illustration of the ‘language-as-problem’ orientation that links language with particular ethnicities and socioeconomic status. Consistent with previous research (e.g. Mendoza Zuany, 2017), this broad approach towards discrimination fails to identify the type of discrimination (e.g., linguistic) that pupils experience, and does not articulate a series of explicit actions to tackle it, which is a recurrent feature across macro-level LP texts in other contexts (e.g. Paulsrud et al., 2020). Instead, a discourse topic of ‘inclusivity’ is appropriated to counteract discrimination in education in México. Nonetheless, the implications entail a shift back to the homogenisation of linguistic practices in the classroom that inevitably lead to (linguistic) discrimination (Mendoza Zuany, 2020).

The discourse topic of ‘discrimination’ is interdiscursively associated with a discourse topic of ‘linguistic homogenisation’ that hints at the process of constraining the uses of ILVs to private settings (e.g. home), whereas Spanish is given prominence in public domains (e.g. education). The use of this discourse topic depicts the language-as-problem and language-

as-resource orientations simultaneously. The former is evident by the misconception of multilingualism as a threat to social cohesion and national unity (Ruiz, 1984), whereas the latter implicitly foregrounds the usefulness of Spanish for social mobility and economic development. This twofold view of this discourse topic is useful to understand the rationale behind the erasure of ILVs at school and home settings, as well as the prominence of Spanish in public and private settings. Spanish has been used as the medium of instruction to homogenise linguistic practices in an attempt to achieve social cohesion and consolidate a national identity (Gellner, 1983; Vogl, 2018). This invokes the nation-state ideology (Blackledge, 2012; Savski, 2016a) that developed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century when discourses of 'modernity' and 'development' bolstered the creation of the National Education Programme and the CDI that endorsed the development of literacy in Spanish (Barriga Villanueva, 2018; Martínez Buenabad, 2015). The perpetuation of this nation-state ideology in IBE not only has led to the erasure of ILVs in public spheres, but has restricted the teaching and learning of ILVs, indigenous knowledge, and cultures to IBE only. This has negative implications for the revitalisation of ILVs and awareness raising of ILVs in mainstream schools. Rather than implementing IBE (ILVs as subject content) across mainstream schools, the tendency continues towards the homogenisation of linguistic practices and the perpetuation of the lack of knowledge of ILVs in the wider population.

In acknowledging that indigenous people have suffered discrimination and linguistic homogenisation, IBE appropriates the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right,' which is part of the broader discourse of education rights bolstered by UNESCO, to comply with the LGDLPI, the General Law of Education, amongst others (see Chapter 4, section 4.5.1). In making provision for all pupils, including indigenous and immigrant students, IBE is grounded on discourse topics of 'interculturality' and 'inclusivity' which evoke the juxtaposition of a humanistic and an intercultural approach to bilingual education. The implication here is that whilst macro-level LP texts include a discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' in theory, the programmes, textbooks, and classroom practices contribute

to the integration of all students to a culturally and linguistically homogenous education system (Mendoza Zuany, 2017; 2020).

The foregrounding of this discourse topic ('bilingual education as right') in the Mexican context contrasts that of the Australian context where Thomas (2022) showed that macro-level LP texts construct bilingual education as an obstacle to develop literacy skills in English. These contradictory findings could be due to the fact that UNESCO's discourse of education rights was recontextualised in Australia as a means to assimilate the dominant language to eventually transition to English(ibid). In comparing the Mexican and Australian contexts and their appropriation of this discourse, it can be said that regardless of its incorporation in de jure policy, the integration to the dominant culture and language remains uncontested in classroom settings.

In the Angolan (Manuel & Johnson, 2018) and Finnish (Paulsrud et al., 2020) contexts, the influence of UNESCO's and the UN's discourses in LP has also been reported. However, in the Angolan context, de jure policy does not recognise the use of minority languages as medium of instruction, whereas in the Mexican context ILVs not only are recognised as national languages, but as right. As for the Finnish context, similar to the Mexican one, the curricula are underpinned by discourses of linguistic rights, multilingualism and social justice, with the latter discourse being absent from the macro-level LP texts analysed in this chapter. Taken together, the abovementioned findings suggest that despite the appropriation of powerful discourses from international organisations the extent to which these discourses influence the status and use of ILVs and minority languages in the education sector differ from setting to setting perhaps due to the governments' socio-political agendas and the different (language) ideologies that shape these agendas.

Another outstanding discourse topic at the macro level is 'cultural and linguistic diversity' that alludes to the coexistence of multiple cultures and language varieties in México and constructs this diversity as one of its underlying features, thereby conveying an essentialist view towards culture and a link between language and national identity. Additionally, this discourse topic evokes UNESCO's view towards cultural and linguistic diversity (Vaccari &

Gardinier, 2019) as a source of power to acquire skills and abilities that proffer social and economic development in a knowledge-based economy, thus constructing language varieties as a commodity. Consequently, this discourse topic of ‘cultural and linguistic diversity’ reflects the language-as-right and language-as-resource orientations. The fact that these two orientations are explicit within this discourse topic might contribute to foster an equal value and use of all language varieties in public domains such as education. Nevertheless, seeing ILVs as an identity marker and right does not necessarily mean that they will be used in the same ways as dominant languages (e.g. medium of instruction).

The recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity in *de jure* policy, as an underpinning component of LPs, has also been reported in other studies (e.g. Alstad & Sopanen, 2021; Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Savski, 2016a) where multiculturalism has been foregrounded to support mother-tongue instruction as an individual right, and multilingualism has been linked to national identity and economic advantages. The consistency with which this discourse topic is drawn on shows the pervasiveness of political correctness (avoid excluding people based on language use) that permeates a number of multilingual countries in an attempt to preserve cultural and linguistic diversity. Notwithstanding, despite governments’ efforts to legitimise cultural and linguistic diversity, the value and uses assigned to ILVs still have a symbolic value that carries a small value in the global market. This may be due to the dichotomy created between global and local languages and the hierarchisation of knowledge (Braslavsky, 2006), but other reasons might be possible.

An interdiscursive link between the aforementioned discourse topics and a discourse topic of ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ is also evident across the three macro-level LP texts. In the Mexican context, this discourse topic is drawn on to link language varieties with a neoliberal ideology that sees language skills as commodities that become quantifiable, or as Holborow would argue, “units of economic wealth” (2012b, p. 48). In this case, the development of literacy skills in Spanish and ILVs for academic success and social mobility is foregrounded, thus implicitly constructing schools as a “producer” that oversees the provision of skilled individuals that successfully meet the demands of a complex economic

market. As a result of the economic value bestowed upon education, language varieties are turned into a by-product of a neoliberal agenda that seeks to measure knowledge, skills, and competences against a standard (e.g. PISA), albeit the approach(es) to measuring them are often questionable (Heller, 2003).

Undoubtedly, this discourse topic is an excellent illustration of the influential role of international organisations such as the OECD in LP decision-making in México, particularly in the creation of the NC (2011). Hence, it is no surprise that this discourse topic is prominent given that the NC was enacted as a result of the RIEB (2009) that promoted, among other things, the development of competences in basic education conducive to a successful performance in PISA. It is possible that this discourse topic ('linguistic competence as commodity') is drawn on to convey equality in terms of the programmes' objectives related to Spanish and Náhuatl (e.g. ILVs and Spanish as L1 or L2; language as social practice). However, the fact that the aims are very similar does not necessarily mean that the same allocation of resources (e.g. funding, teaching, and learning materials) is provided for both language varieties, neither that the programmes' objectives are achieved.

All in all, the circulating discourse topics at macro level discussed above (e.g. 'discrimination') show that the federal government have acknowledged, at least in de jure policy, that indigenous people have faced discrimination. In an attempt to counteract this discrimination, provide equality of opportunities, and become part of the global economy, macro-level LP texts have uncritically appropriated a socio-political agenda driven by neoliberal discourses (e.g. 'inclusivity,' 'linguistic competence as commodity') that come from transnational institutions such as UNESCO and the OECD. The matter in question, however, is not the legitimacy of the rationale behind IBE, but how the orientations, discourse topics, and discursive strategies discussed above convey a dichotomous view between the underlying principles (e.g. cultural and linguistic diversity), components (e.g. bilingual education as right), and objectives (e.g. linguistic competence as commodity) of IBE (Gasché, 2008). What is more, this dichotomous approach to IBE influences the programmes' objectives which, for example, seek to develop biliteracy skills despite the

disparity in value and use of ILVs as the main medium of communication in official domains such as education.

### **5.3.2 Discussion about Language Varieties**

Now, moving onto the discourse topics related to language varieties found in macro-level LP texts, an interdiscursive link between ‘migration,’ ‘Spanish as an international language,’ ‘English as a global language,’ and ‘ILVs as cultural heritage’ is prominent. The discourse topic of ‘migration’ refers to the geographical movement of a person or a group of people from one place of residence, town, estate, or country to another. This discourse topic exemplifies the language-as-resource orientation given that writing skills are constructed as a key ability to be able to succeed in a global new economy where individuals migrate for social mobility. This interesting finding might be explained by the fact that writing skills are necessary to, amongst other things, fill in migratory forms to travel abroad, or do homework in the official language. Another point worth discussing is the fact that ‘*lengua*’ (tongue) seems to be used as an umbrella term to refer to all language varieties, including ILVs, perhaps in an attempt to assign them with the same value and uses in de jure policy. Concomitantly, the vague notion of this noun also obscures what language variety the authors refer to, albeit the noun ‘*migration*’ implicitly connotes the use of Spanish or English which are predominantly used across México and abroad. Consequently, an inherent value is given to dominant language varieties, whereas ILVs are backgrounded.

Another salient discourse topic is ‘Spanish as an international language’ that underscores the overwhelming prestige of Spanish as the dominant language across several countries. This discourse topic constructs Spanish as a resource to communicate with millions of people who speak it as their L1. Here, a clear link to the discourse topic of ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ is also found. In order to be able to interact effectively with other Spanish speakers, literacy is needed.

Similar to Spanish, English is constructed as a global language. This discourse topic (‘English as a global language’) evokes a neoliberal ideology that sees English as a



commodity to travel, work, share, and access information. In other words, English is constructed as a basic need to take part in the global economic market. These rather unsurprising discourses in *de jure* policies have been reported in other studies particularly highlighting the pivotal role of English in science and technology (Manuel & Johnson, 2018) and in the global economy (de Jong et al., 2016; Pennycook, 2006b; Poudel & Choi, 2022; Thomas, 2022). What is troubling about the consistency of this neoliberal ideology across several multilingual contexts (e.g. Angola, Nepal, México) is that more and more LPs overtly and covertly yield to the commodification of language varieties, and this results in their hierarchisation (e.g. Sharma & Phyak, 2017). Consequently, colonial languages are given more value and uses in public spheres such as education, whereas ILVs are disregarded and constrained to private domains such as home settings.

Finally, a prominent discourse topic that emerges in relation to ILVs is ‘ILVs as cultural heritage.’ This discourse topic, which addresses the symbolic value of knowledge, cultural artifacts, and ways of social and political organisation of past generations, is another illustrative example of the language-as-resource orientation albeit to a different extent and purpose. In contrast to Spanish and English, ILVs are seen as cultural heritage that is part of national identity. In other words, ILVs are constructed as a symbolic resource, which is particularly discouraging given the present and future implications. First, one of the issues with this discourse topic is that it perpetuates the notion of ILVs, indigenous knowledge and cultures as cultural tradition and identity (Zavala, 2018) that are not necessarily useful to study, work, travel, and communicate with other people daily, only on special occasions (e.g. the celebrations on the Day of the Dead). As a result, the use of ILVs within the classroom and home settings may be minimal, if at all, as they are not seen as a means to communicate, but as part of the Mexican national identity and symbolism of the Mexican culture. Second, this discourse topic (‘ILVs as cultural heritage’) implicitly positions ILVs lower in the hierarchy by assigning them a specific function: the dissemination and preservation of cultural tradition. Put differently, ILVs are seen as separate codes that are employed to transmit cultural norms, beliefs, and traditions (Zavala, 2018). Finally, the fact

that this discourse topic is appropriated here implies missed opportunities for intercultural communication which is one of the underlying components of IBE.

#### **5.4 Summary**

This chapter attempted to unpack the dominant discourses related to IBE and language varieties instantiated in the NC (2011), the CFILSC (2011), and the CLHE (2017). In order to do this, this chapter provided a detailed analysis and discussion of the underlying orientations that underpin macro-level LP texts together with the discourse topics that exemplify said orientations, as well as the discursive strategies or linguistic realisations that were employed to enact said discourse topics. In relation to the orientations, the two most salient were the language as right and language as resource. The former was drawn on to foreground IBE as right, whereas the latter addressed the acknowledgement of cultural and linguistic diversity as an underlying feature of México. With respect to the dominant discourse topics, a dichotomy was noticeable for both IBE and language varieties, consistent with previous research (Gasché, 2008). For instance, whilst one of the underpinning principles of IBE was bilingual education as right, the discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity' that underscored the development of skills in the dominant language contributed to the homogenisation of linguistic practices in the classroom.

In relation to IBE, it was particularly interesting to note that the three macro-level LP texts showed an awareness about the social and linguistic discrimination that indigenous people have experienced. This was evident in the use of discourse topics such as 'discrimination' and 'linguistic homogenisation' that acknowledge the discrimination of people who speak ILVs and the homogenisation of linguistic practices in school settings, respectively. It can be argued that these two have set the foundation for the appropriation of discourse topics such as 'cultural and linguistic diversity' and 'bilingual education as right' that address the acknowledgement of multilingualism and multiculturalism, and the provision of education in the students' L1. Finally, the discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity,' which

dominates in OECD documents, was also appropriated to foreground the development of literacy skills as one main aim of IBE.

A second aim of this chapter was to provide an insight into the discourse topics related to language varieties and how these contribute to their value and use, or their neglect in school and home settings. An interdiscursive link between discourse topics of 'migration,' 'Spanish as an international language,' 'English as a global language,' and 'ILVs as cultural heritage' was evident. Migration was drawn on to talk about the usefulness of writing in Spanish and English to be able to migrate to other cities or states within México, or the United States. In addition, 'Spanish as an international language' and 'English as a global language' addressed the role of Spanish and English in a globalised world. Concomitantly, ILVs were constructed as cultural heritage that conveys a symbolic value that is directly associated with a Mexican national identity characterised by being multicultural and multilingual.

All in all, the discourse topics analysed and discussed in this chapter hint at the federal government's attempts to compensate for the social and linguistic discrimination that indigenous people have confronted throughout the last centuries. By acknowledging the cultural and linguistic diversity that characterise México and bilingual education as right, macro-level LP texts give an indication of covert discrimination that permeates the political domain. However, given the dichotomy constructed by opposing discourse topics (e.g. 'globalisation' vis-à-vis 'cultural and linguistic diversity') and the vagueness to provide clear guidance on the uses of ILVs in the classroom, the attainment of the objectives of IBE seems very ambitious and highly unattainable.

Additionally, this chapter also showed that macro-level LP texts can be explored as texts and discourses given that the NC (2011), the CFILSC (2011), and CLHE (2017) have appropriated powerful discourse topics (e.g. 'inclusivity,' 'linguistic competence as commodity') from transnational organisations such as UNESCO and the OECD. Concomitantly, cultural and linguistic diversity and inclusivity have been appropriated in an attempt to offer equality and quality education. Nonetheless, they are minimised given the emphasis on the instrumentality of Spanish and English for migration and globalisation.

## Chapter 6 Meso-level LP texts

This chapter explores the appropriation of discourses related to IBE and language varieties at the meso or school level. This involves delving into school authorities' and teachers' perceptions of the rationale and objectives of IBE, the challenges of implementing IBE in the classroom, the benefits of IBE, as well as the values and uses that are given to Spanish, Náhuatl, and English at school and in the community based on their experiences. This is done by conducting an analysis of school authorities' and teachers' use of language to appropriate macro-level discourses and language ideologies. In order to achieve this, a detailed linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews is carried out by investigating the use of the DHA's five discursive strategies and their linguistic realisations. As texts or co-texts, excerpts from semi-structured interviews are analysed and discussed in conjunction with macro-level LP texts from Chapter 5, the socio-political level of context from Chapter 4, and the sociological variables from Chapters 1 and 3.

The chapter is organised as follows. The first section begins with an overview of the coded instances of Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive strategies found in semi-structured interviews with the HSDS, the headteacher, and teachers. They are useful to shed light on the rationale behind the discourses that circulate at the school level as well as the ways in which participants use language to construct IBE and language varieties thereby contributing to the revitalisation of ILVs or their subordination in school settings. This is followed by a linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews. In it, the DHA's discursive strategies are explored. In the last section, the discussion is carried out seeking to unpack the intertextual and interdiscursive links between macro (national) and meso (school) levels. The findings are triangulated with the socio-political level of context (Chapter 4), the sociological variables (Chapters 1 and 3), and macro-level LP texts (Chapter 5). What is more, the findings are discussed in light of recent research. The implications are also addressed.

## 6.1 Analysis of Excerpts

Before analysing the excerpts, the most salient findings related to the coding of the semi-structured interviews at the school level will be considered. The second column in Table 5 in Chapter 5 (page 103) shows the data from semi-structured interviews with school authorities and teachers.

One significant finding is that the language-as-resource orientation stands out ( $n=237$ ). This orientation is evident in discourse topics such as ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ appropriated from the OECD that focuses on the development of skills in Spanish to pass standardised tests (PISA), amongst other things. This, as discussed below, shows how this powerful discourse topic is legitimised, whereas the development of Náhuatl is backgrounded by a discourse topic of ‘the uselessness of Náhuatl’ (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). This orientation (resource) and the discourse topics related to it (e.g. ‘globalisation’) show a strong tendency towards seeing IBE and language varieties as having an extrinsic value that contributes to foreground the socio-political agenda of macro-level LP texts.

As for the language-as-problem and language-as-right orientations, the number of coded segments is slightly lower ( $n=195$  and  $n=189$ , respectively), but still significant. One illustrative example of the language-as-problem orientation is the discourse topic of ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ that addresses the homogenisation of linguistic practices in school and home settings bolstered by powerful stakeholders such as the headteacher. As shown below, this discourse topic is linked to a discourse topic of ‘cognitive and linguistic disadvantage’ that addresses the misconception of ILV speakers as having a cognitive and linguistic deficiency. The language-as-right orientation, on the other hand, is evident in discourse topics such as ‘inclusivity’ that highlight the need to incorporate students’ ethnolinguistic backgrounds, learning needs and interests, amongst others. Another interesting finding is that, in contrast to macro-level LP texts, the most prominent discursive strategies that the aforementioned stakeholders employ are intensification (e.g. hyperboles- ‘*todo el mundo*’), mitigation (e.g. ‘*algunos*,’ ‘*poco*’) and perspectivisation strategies (e.g. ‘*mis hermanas siempre decían...*’). However, the other discursive strategies

are also drawn on to construct discourse topics related to IBE and language varieties. These results might be explained by the fact that spoken Spanish, transcribed from semi-structured interviews, is characterised by several discourse-pragmatic features (e.g. what is said, how something is said). That is to say, the way these transcriptions are constructed provide a useful illustration of the complexity of LP texts and discourses in terms of the linguistic means that are used, by stakeholders, to accomplish a particular linguistic, social, or political objective (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Having provided an overview of the most important findings in relation to the coding of the data under Ruiz's orientations and the DHA's discursive strategies, the following section deals with the analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews.

### **6.1.1 Discourse Topics Related to Intercultural Bilingual Education**

In (14), recalling past-time experiences, the HSDS reminisces the suppression of Náhuatl at school that influenced interaction at home by drawing on discourse topics of 'monolingualism in Spanish' and 'cognitive and linguistic disadvantage.'

**(14)**

*R: ¿En qué idiomas le hablaban sus padres cuando usted era niño?*

*HSDS: Por ejemplo, mis hermanas siempre decían: “no hables náhuatl, habla español” porque los profesores de la escuela decían eso que no nos hablaran en náhuatl que nos hablaran en español porque se tenía esa creencia, muy errónea, de que si hablábamos nuestra lengua no podíamos aprender a hablar y a escribir en la segunda lengua, en español. Entonces esa fue la creencia y nos decían eso y alguna vez mi padre viajando de Atlixco a la localidad con el director de ese entonces dice que le platicó y le dijo lo mismo: “Tus hijos, ya no les hables en náhuatl, háblales en español porque eso no les ayuda”. Entonces mi padre llega muy preocupado con mi madre y le dice “No les vuelvas a hablar en náhuatl a los hijos, tiene que ser en español porque el director me dijo que eso es una dificultad que les va a generar para que puedan aprender a leer y escribir”.*

(14)

**R: What languages did your parents speak to you when you were a child?**

**HSDS: For example, my sisters always said, “Don’t speak Náhuatl, speak Spanish” because the teachers at school said that they don’t speak to us in Náhuatl, that they speak to us in Spanish because there was that very mistaken belief that if we spoke our language we couldn’t learn to speak and write in the second language, in Spanish. So that was the belief, and they would tell us that, and once my father was travelling with the headteacher from Atlixco to my town, my father says that he talked to him and said the same thing, “Your children, don’t speak to them in Náhuatl anymore, speak to them in Spanish because that doesn’t help them.” Then my father gets home very preoccupied and tells my mother, “Don’t speak Náhuatl to your children again, it has to be in Spanish because the headteacher told me that that will cause difficulties for them to learn to read and write.”**

At the beginning of (14), the HSDS draws on a discourse topic of ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ to share some of his childhood experiences, which evoke instances where he, together with his family, were encouraged to speak Spanish at home to consolidate the development of literacy skills at school. The HSDS’s use of perspectivisation strategies is noticeable at the beginning where he makes use of direct speech to show that some of his family members would adopt a monolingual view that promoted Spanish-only at home.

In terms of nomination, the synecdoches ‘*profesores*’ and ‘*escuela*’ are used here to refer to the public education system in general as a pivotal institution in the dissemination and perpetuation of the homogenisation of linguistic practices at school and home, which is an illustration in situ of (1) from Chapter 5.

Then, the HSDS introduces a discourse topic of ‘cognitive and linguistic disadvantage’ with an intensification strategy to strengthen the illocutionary force of the HSDS’ disagreement towards the misconception of speaking Náhuatl as a hindrance to develop

skills in Spanish. Building on this discourse topic, the HSDS employs a perspectivisation strategy to position himself as part of the out-group, those who speak Náhuatl as their L1 and who are labelled as having “intellectual limitation” and “linguistic deficiency” (Ruiz, 1984, p. 20) to acquire or develop literacy skills in Spanish, which are apprehended as pivotal for social cohesion and national unity.

Next, an agent mystification strategy is used to obscure who is responsible for the dissemination of bilingualism as problem and the need to homogenise linguistic practices at home and school. However, given the background information provided above, the HSDS seems to emphasise the responsibility of the education system, in general, in the dissemination of bilingualism as cognitively and linguistically detrimental to the development of Spanish.

Elaborating on ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ and ‘cognitive and linguistic disadvantage,’ a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) is employed for some reasons. First, it provides an illustrative example of the misconception of ILVs in school and home settings. Second, it affords the HSDS to distance himself from the prevailing influence to shift to monolingualism as he identifies himself as an indigenous speaker. Consistent with the intensification and perspectivisation strategies above, the HSDS implicitly asserts that bilingualism proffers advantages rather than disadvantages. Third, this strategy clearly demonstrates that main stakeholders such as the headteacher regarded speaking an ILV as a communicative disadvantage that had to be overcome to succeed academically. In other words, this subtractive notion of bilingualism was espoused by authoritative figures within the school.

In the last part of (14), the HSDS employs an intensification strategy to evoke negative emotions (*‘muy preocupado’*) that not only convey anxiety or concern but pose unfavourable implications for Nahuatl’s use within the home setting. This is followed by the HSDS’ use of direct speech to convey the effect of the headteacher’s words on the perception of home interaction and the implications for decision making. Consistent with the paragraphs above, the use of deontic language (*‘tiene que’*) adds emphasis to the command that the HSDS’s father gives to his mother of avoiding the use of Náhuatl to communicate at home in the long



term. Then, a justification is given. Here, two points are worth analysing. First, the use of direct speech conveys the headteacher's negative view towards bilingualism which serves as a useful illustration of the influential role of the school, particularly school authorities, in the dissemination of monolingualism. Second, the use of the noun '*dificultad*' and the verbs '*leer*' and '*escribir*' hint at the notion of bilingualism as a cognitive hindrance that hampers the development of literacy skills which, in turn, results in low educational attainment. Essentially, (14) provides an insight into the nation-state ideology that contributes to the homogenisation of linguistic practices at home and school. Not surprisingly, authoritative figures such as the headteacher have contributed to the exacerbation of ILVs at school and home in an attempt to promote development. Notwithstanding, there are still school authorities like the HSDS who are committed to revitalising ILVs.

In (15), the HSDS is asked to expand on what he means by revitalising ILVs in IBE, as he employs the verb '*revitalizar*' (revitalise) several times throughout the interview. In order to address the main objectives of ILVs as subject content, he employs discourse topics of 'revitalisation,' 'teacher accountability,' 'reality,' 'globalisation,' and 'cultural and linguistic diversity.'

**(15)**

*R: Cuando usted habla sobre revitalizar la lengua, o recuperar la lengua ¿En qué ámbitos se refiere usted?*

*HSDS: En el ámbito escolar. La idea es recuperar. Si hemos, de alguna manera, logrado porque hay familias que empiezan a ver esto como valioso. Pero necesitamos empezar desde sus niños de tal manera que esto que hacemos con los niños, pueda también tener una repercusión en sus familias. Digo, no vamos a lograr todo, eso también lo sabemos. Hay familias que dirán: "No pos es que no...". Estamos en ese momento de revalorar ¿No? De realmente ver qué sentido tiene ¿No? Esta parte de la globalización nos ha bombardeado tanto, digo, tiene cosas muy buenas, pero hay cosas que han como*

*que un poco movido, queriendo borrar ésta situación de la diversidad y de los idiomas y de todo un poco... ¿Qué hacer? Decirles que esto también vale.*

(15)

**R:** When you talk about revitalising the language, or recovering the language, what areas are you referring to?

**HSDS:** In the school environment. The idea is to recover. We have, in a way, achieved [it] because there are families who begin to see this as valuable. But we need to start with their children so that what we do with the children can also have an impact on their families. I mean, we won't achieve everything, we also know that. There are families that will say, "No, it's just not...." We are at that moment of revitalisation, right? To really see what sense it makes, right? This part of globalisation has bombarded us so much, I mean, it has very good things, but there are things that have kind of, like, a little, want to eradicate this situation of diversity and languages and a little bit of everything... What to do? Tell them that this is also worthy.

The HSDS begins by naming the school environment as the place where he is responsible for the revitalisation of ILVs. He introduces the main aim of indigenous languages as subject content in IBE by drawing on a discourse topic of 'revitalisation' to address the importance of making ILVs more visible in public and private settings conducive to their use in interaction.

In assessing the revitalisation of Náhuatl, the HSDS employs a positive evaluative strategy to position himself as part of the in-group composed of school authorities and teachers who work in favour of the revitalisation of ILVs. His use of the present perfect tense ('*hemos...logrado*') makes a connection between the past and the present to show that some progress has been made. However, being realistic about this progress towards the acknowledgement and use of ILVs among pupils and the wider school community, he draws

on a mitigation strategy (*'de alguna manera'*). He provides more information about the reason behind his positive, yet realistic evaluation of the impact of the in-group's revitalisation initiatives beyond the school setting. The indicative mood of the verbs *'empiezan'* and *'ver'* written in the third-person plural hint at the fact that the revitalisation of ILVs is in progress, particularly that parents, children, and the wider community are becoming aware of the value of ILVs. In this respect, the adjective *'valioso'* is used here as a positive evaluation of ILVs that implicitly evokes one of UNESCO's treasure or wealth metaphors, albeit they are employed to talk about cultural diversity not linguistic diversity (Kornblit, 2021). That is to say, the HSDS appropriates UNESCO's metaphor to give a specific value to ILVs, although it is unclear what type of worth is being assigned to them (e.g. ethical, monetary).

Subsequently, the HSDS provides more information about the revitalisation process by drawing on a discourse topic of 'teacher accountability.' In terms of intensification, he employs the modal verb *'necesitamos'* (written in the first-person plural) and the verb *'empezar'* to underscore school authorities' and teachers' obligation to promote the use of ILVs at school among students (*'niños'*) as he is aware of the influential role of the school in the revitalisation process.

Then, he draws on a discourse topic of 'reality' that is constructed by an intensification strategy (*'no vamos a lograr todo'*) to emphasise his awareness about what is realistically plausible in terms of the CFILSC's (2011) objectives. Building on this discourse topic of 'reality,' the HSDS employs a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to report some parents' apathy towards the value and use of ILVs in the school setting. That is, he acknowledges that some parents do not support the teaching and learning of ILVs, but he fails to provide specific reasons behind this lack of parental support. He contrasts this discouraging reality by meditating on the aims of the CFILSC (2011). His use of questions instead of assertions intensify the illocutionary force of the HSDS's reflection to the feasibility of said objectives and the value of ILVs.

Subsequently, he draws on a discourse topic of 'globalisation' that is constructed by predication and intensification strategies. Predicatively, the bombardment metaphor ('*nos ha bombardeado tanto*') is used to map the features of war, particularly the use of missiles, shells, or bombs onto the influence of globalisation and its heightened devastation ('*tanto*'), which conveys a negative evaluation. However, this is mitigated by the discourse marker '*digo*' which is used to reformulate the negative statement and shift to a positive evaluation ('*...cosas muy buenas*') which the HSDS stresses very vaguely and briefly.

Then, he returns to the negative impact globalisation has made not only in education, but in other areas of life albeit his use of the noun '*cosas*' (things in English) obscures what aspects of globalisation are unfavourable. His use of mitigation strategies is evident by phrases like '*un poco*' that ameliorate the negative evaluation of globalisation that he addresses briefly by appropriating the discourse topic of 'cultural and linguistic diversity' found in, for example, (6) and (7) (See Chapter 5). Here, the HSDS implicitly seems to refer to the dominant role that Spanish and English, as international or global languages, have acquired to the detriment of ILVs in school and home settings. This negative impact, he adds, affects other areas of life as well but he does not account for those.

At the end of (15), the HSDS builds on the discourse topic of 'revitalisation.' By asking a question ('*¿Qué hacer?*') rather than making an assertion he implicitly invites the listener to consider the significance of such undertaking like the revitalisation of ILVs given the overwhelming influence of globalisation. Then, once again, he reiterates his positive evaluation of ILVs and the importance of increasing their visibility at school given the value that they have, implicitly evoking UNESCO's wealth or treasure metaphor. In essence, (15) addresses the overall aim of indigenous languages as subject content from the HSDS's perspective. He hints at increasing ILVs' visibility at school among students so that parents recognise their value at home. He acknowledges that some progress has been made but is also realistic about it given the lack of parental support, coupled with the negative influence of globalisation on cultural and linguistic diversity. Whilst (14) and (15) provide insights into

the discourse topics that circulate at the district level (meso level), the following excerpts will delve into teachers' views towards IBE and language varieties.

A complex view towards the rationale and objectives of IBE is seen in (16). An interdiscursive link between discourses topics of 'impracticality,' 'teacher accountability,' 'lack of interest in Náhuatl,' 'the uselessness of Náhuatl,' 'advantages of Náhuatl,' 'inconsistency,' and 'linguistic competence as commodity' is evident.

**(16)**

*R: Y hablando del programa intercultural bilingüe ¿Qué opina usted?*

*T2: Que está safoado, pienso que, yo, yo pienso que a lo mejor yo no he entendido ¿verdad? Tal vez mi ignorancia, pero yo no entiendo cómo a veces queremos enseñar algo y ponemos otras cosas. O sea, queremos, por ejemplo, en mi grado se dice que tienen que hacer textos ¿Cómo los voy a poner a escribir si no saben hablar? O sea, mis textos han sido de: "yo me llamo, tengo tantos años y vivo en tal lugar y a lo mejor mi mamá se llama tal y mi papa...", pero es muy poquito. O sea, realmente es como una pequeñita presentación ¿No? pero como escribir un texto, describir una casa con colores y con todo, yo estoy consciente que no llegan a eso.*

*Tal vez es porque no todos le damos la importancia a la lengua y aparte de eso, si usted ya revisó los programas, o sea al final te lleva la política a darle prioridad a otras cosas. O sea, si usted se fija en el SisAT es evaluar español y matemáticas solamente, en todas las pruebas que hacen es español y matemáticas. Entonces se supone que debemos ir dedicando ciertas horas al náhuatl o a la lengua que se hable, pero sí su presión es que entiendan español y matemáticas, y por ejemplo, yo le pongo otra teoría de que no hablan bien, lo que hace rato dije, con faltas de ortografía, no comprenden bien.*

*Entonces hay que ir, yo lo que he hecho es más bien como ir, como darle significados a las palabras: "Miren esto significa esto, esto significa esto", o lo explico en mis palabras y ya ellos lo van entendiendo y entonces cuando lo vuelven a leer pues ya tienen más o menos idea de qué se trata. Imagínese si no hablan bien el español y no comprenden o*

*no llegamos a esas habilidades que deberían tener en español es más complicado en náhuatl porque pos si no se habla es, bueno a mí a mí, a lo mejor alguien que hable náhuatl dirá lo contrario. Pero para mi gusto es esa parte, o sea se vuelve complicado porque el programa te va guiando a que te preocupes, español, matemáticas, español, matemáticas. Y entonces el náhuatl no es que lo dejes a un lado, pero como realmente no se le da tanto, las personas prefieren, bueno eso no fue en esta escuela, pero en otra escuela en algún momento a mí me dijeron: “No maestra ¿Para qué les enseña náhuatl? O sea, ¿Cuál es el sentido? Si no lo hablamos, mis abuelos lo hablaron, pero yo ya no y ellos no, y yo quiero que aprendan mejor otras cosas”. Yo lo que les dije en ese momento, yo tenía primer grado y yo les dije: “Bueno es que el náhuatl sirve para también la fluidez de la lectura”, porque sirve para la fluidez al final del día. O sea, hay que verle las ventajas, a lo mejor no entendemos nada de lo que dice, pero sí ayuda a destrabar la lengua. Entonces yo le comentaba: “Usted no se preocupe, el niño va a aprender y está abriendo sus hemisferios”, y ya le empecé a hablar de otras cosas y dijo: “Ah bueno, pues si es así pues sí”. Pero también hay papás que también no les interesa. Entonces todo el mundo, si usted se da cuenta, pues dicen que les importa lo indígena pero no es cierto. Como políticamente hablando yo siento que más es puro bla bla bla, si realmente les interesara no tendrían simplemente 2 niveles. Todos serían iguales, claro que se trataría en equidad.*

(16)

**R:** And talking about the intercultural bilingual programme, what do you think?

**T2:** That’s bonkers I think that, I, I think that perhaps I haven’t understood, right?

Perhaps my ignorance, but I don’t understand how sometimes we want to teach something, and we put [teach] other things. I mean, we want, for example in my year, it’s said that they have to write texts, how am I going to get them to write if they don’t know how to speak? I mean, my texts have been, “My name is,” “I am

\_\_\_ years old and I live in a given place,” and perhaps “My mum’s name is such and my father....,” but it’s very little. I mean, it really is like a little presentation, right? But like writing a text, describing a house with colours and everything, I am aware that they don’t get to that. Perhaps it’s because not all of us give importance to the tongue and apart from that, if you’ve already checked the programmes, I mean, in the end, the policy leads you to prioritise other things. I mean, if you look at the SisAT, it only assesses Spanish and Mathematics. All the tests they develop are Spanish and Mathematics. Then, we are supposed to devote certain hours to Náhuatl or the tongue that is spoken, but if their concern is that they understand Spanish and Mathematics?

And for example, I have another theory that they [students] don’t speak well, which I said a while ago, with misspellings, they don’t understand well. What I’ve done is more like giving meanings to words, “Look, this means this, this means this,” or I explain it in my own words, and they start to understand it and then when they read it again, well, they already have more or less an idea of what it’s about. Imagine if they don’t speak Spanish well and they don’t understand, or we don’t develop those skills that they should have in Spanish, it’s more complicated in Náhuatl because if it isn’t spoken, well to me, to me, perhaps someone that speaks Náhuatl will say the opposite. But to me it’s that part, I mean, it becomes complicated because the programme leads you to worry about Spanish, Mathematics, Spanish, Mathematics. And so, it’s not that you leave Náhuatl aside, but since it really isn’t given much, people prefer, well, that wasn’t at this school but at another school at some point they told me, “No teacher, why do you teach them Náhuatl? I mean, what’s the point if we don’t speak it, my grandparents spoke it, but I don’t and they don’t, and I want them to learn other things.” What I told them at that time, I was teaching Year One and I told them, “Well, Náhuatl is also useful to read fluently,” because it is useful for fluency at the end of the day. I mean, we have to see the advantages, perhaps we don’t understand anything of what it is being said, but it

**does help to untwist the tongue. So, I commented, “Don’t worry, the child is going to learn and is opening his hemispheres,” and then I started talking about other things and the parent said, “Oh, ok. Well, if that’s the case, then yes.” But there are also parents that aren’t interested. So, the whole world, if you notice, well, they say that they care about the indigenous, but it’s not true. Politically speaking, I feel that it’s merely blah blah blah. If they were really interested, they would not simply have 2 levels. All would be equal, there would certainly be equity.**

T2’s evaluation of IBE begins with a predication strategy wherein the phrase ‘*está safo*’ is used as a negative evaluative strategy to describe the objectives of the programme(s) (e.g. the CFILSC (2011) as nonsensical. In other words, a discourse topic of ‘impracticality’ is introduced. She expands on her evaluation of IBE by drawing on a discourse topic of ‘teacher accountability’ to direct the responsibility on teachers and alleviate the critique of the programmes that is to follow. She questions the rationale behind the programme(s) that she as a teacher implements in the classroom. She positions herself as part of the in-group who have the intention to implement the CFILSC (2011) to promote the learning of ILVs, but who prioritise content from other school subjects. Subsequently, she draws on a perspectivisation strategy to elaborate on the discourse topic of ‘impracticality.’ Here, T2 makes an intertextual link to the macro-level LP texts analysed in Chapter 5 that focus on the development of biliteracy skills in Spanish and ILVs as well as language as social practice.

Building on ‘impracticality,’ T2 makes a question (‘*¿cómo los voy a poner a escribir...?*’) rather than an assertion to problematise the objectives of the CFILSC (2011) such as reading and writing in Náhuatl given that her students have not developed their listening and speaking abilities previously. In other words, T2 conveys her view of the programme’s objectives as absurd.

T2 continues expanding on the discourse topic of ‘teacher accountability’ and provides an illustration of the types of writing activities that she has implemented in her Náhuatl language



classes in the past. She talks about a writing prompt (*'yo me llamo...'*) that illustrates the low level of difficulty of her writing exercises, which she downplays with an evaluative strategy (the diminutive *'poquito'*) as they are unsatisfactory to meet the CFILSC's (2011) and CLHE's (2017) goals (e.g. the production of written texts in different genres). Elaborating on the evaluation of the writing activities implemented in her classroom, T2 continues with an intensification strategy wherein the adverb *'realmente'* and the tag question *'¿no?'* stress that she designs basic controlled writing activities that are not as cognitively demanding and lengthy as others (e.g. writing a summary of a story).

Next, T2 makes a comparison between her activities and those suggested by the programmes (e.g. CFILSC, 2011). She employs a predication strategy to focus on the development of writing skills in Spanish which point towards a higher level of lexical and syntactic sophistication that is part of registers of narration (*'escribir'*) and description (*'describir'*) that she should be implementing.

Expanding on the discourse topic of 'impracticality' constructed in the first part of (16), T2 emphasises that students' current literacy abilities in Náhuatl do not account to the development of writing genres such as description (e.g. writing about a place) and exposition (e.g. how to assemble something).

Then, T2 employs a discourse topic of 'lack of interest in Náhuatl' to address one of the causes she believes contributes to the erasure of Náhuatl from the community. Here, T2 talks about the in-group (*'us,'* a group of Mexican citizens), which she fails to identify, as not appreciating *'la lengua.'* Metonymically, the noun *'lengua'* encompasses all ILVs, which are frequently positioned lower in the hierarchy as they are not apprehended as languages, but as vernacular that lack a standard, widely accepted form. Hence, this can be a powerful reason to lose interest in speaking ILVs.

A second cause for the erasure of Náhuatl is found in an implicit intertextual link to the CFILSC (2011) and CLHE (2017). Drawing on an agent mystification strategy, the synecdoches *'programas'* and *'la política'* refer to the curriculum frameworks, policy makers, amongst others. These lexical items obscure who gives priority to Spanish and other school

subjects such as Mathematics. An explicit example of a system that is used to monitor students' progress is SisAT which provides tools, indicators, and procedures to check students who are at risk of failing to achieve the expected learning outcomes of the programmes, particularly '*español*' and '*matemáticas*'. Here, an interdiscursive link to the OECD's 'linguistic competence as commodity' discourse topic and a neoliberal agenda that privileges instruction, learning, and assessment in a standard variety is evident (See Chapter 5), and this narrow focus on assessment is emphasised ('*solamente, "todas las pruebas"*').

Talking about the allocation of hours to Náhuatl, T2 sets up a dichotomy between theory and practice and elaborates on the 'linguistic competence as commodity' discourse topic and neoliberal ideologies. She vaguely addresses the number of hours ('*ciertas horas*') devoted to Náhuatl and uses an agent mystification strategy ('*su presión es que entiendan...*') recursively to hide whose interest prevails, which favours the development of literacy skills in standard Spanish, as well as the development of problem-solving and reasoning abilities.

A third cause that T2 believes that contributes to the prevalence of Spanish in the classroom is students' lack of or partial development of literacy abilities in Spanish (e.g. '*faltas de ortografía*'). This hints at the SLI that promotes the idea that a language has fixed writing conventions, syntax, and spelling guidelines that are necessary to communicate effectively. The implicature here is that given the students' lack of linguistic competence in Spanish, priority is given to developing language skills in the dominant language consistent with (12) where literacy in Spanish is foregrounded.

Given her students' lack of knowledge of Náhuatl and the emphasis on Spanish, T2 continues to build on the activities she has implemented in the Náhuatl class and expands on the discourse topic of 'teacher accountability.' Her use of the present perfect tense ('*lo que yo he hecho...*') signals a connection between the past and present where she has carried out basic language learning activities ('*darle significados a palabras...*'). She employs direct speech ("'*miren esto significa esto...*'") to give an illustration of a translation exercise from Náhuatl to Spanish that gives an indication of the initial stages of language learning that account for basic levels of human cognition where learning is more receptive.

Then, T2 makes an evaluation of these activities but is realistic about the outcome and employs a mitigation strategy (*'ya tienen más o menos idea'*) to show that students have a limited idea of what a reading passage/lesson is about.

She continues elaborating on 'teacher accountability' and draws on an intensification strategy where the zero conditional (*'imagínese si no hablan bien el español y no comprenden...'*) is used to highlight students' current underdeveloped literacy skills in Spanish as well as teachers' moral obligation to meet the programmes' (e.g. NC (2011)) objectives.

Once T2 provides the reasons for the prominence of Spanish within the curriculum and the classroom, she shifts to the status of Náhuatl in IBE. To reinforce the dichotomy between the Spanish and Náhuatl programmes, she employs a negative evaluative strategy of the Náhuatl programme (*'es más complicado en Náhuatl'*) and she provides a reason for it emphasising the erasure of Náhuatl language use in written and spoken forms (*'si no se habla'*), although no clarification is given as to which domains she is referring to. She then mitigates her view on the difficulty of implementing the Náhuatl programme and introduces a counterview that represents the out-group (*'alguien que hable Náhuatl'*). T2 distances herself from the out-group as she acknowledges her lack of knowledge and skills in Náhuatl, irrespective of whether she and/or the out-group have indigenous heritage. In other words, she acknowledges that from an ILV speaker's perspective revitalising Náhuatl might be an easier endeavour as he/she can speak Náhuatl.

In addition to the lack of knowledge and use of Náhuatl, T2's recursive use of 'linguistic competence as commodity' and 'teacher accountability' contribute to the dichotomy between implementing the Náhuatl and Spanish programmes. In terms of nomination, the synecdoche '*programa*' is used here to represent part of the education system (e.g. school authorities, curriculum frameworks), which collectively follow a neoliberal agenda that homogenises teaching, learning, and assessment. In addition, the influential role of the synecdoche on the in-group's (teachers) focus of attention (e.g. '*matemáticas*') is

emphasised, thereby resulting in the homogenisation of classroom practices and the prioritisation of certain school subjects over others.

Building on ‘teacher accountability’ and the status of Náhuatl at school and in the community, T2 employs an argumentation strategy (topos of responsibility) to deviate the attention from teachers, including herself, who give Náhuatl a more subordinate role in teaching and learning processes. Rather than assigning the responsibility onto someone else, T2 employs a discourse topic of ‘the uselessness of Náhuatl.’ She invokes the topos of uselessness to explain the subordination of Náhuatl in home and community settings and highlights the current erasure of Náhuatl as a major reason. What is more, her use of the metonym ‘*personas*’ refers to people from all age groups and generalises the tendency towards using another language variety (e.g. Spanish). In other words, T2 implicitly places the responsibility of the erasure of Náhuatl onto members of the community (e.g. parents, older generations). To illustrate her argument about the uselessness of Náhuatl, T2 employs a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to convey parents’ views verbatim that not only show that they question (‘*¿para qué les enseña Náhuatl?...*’) the rationale behind the teaching of Náhuatl, but also highlight the erasure of Náhuatl from their linguistic repertoire. In addition, the perspectivisation strategy makes a distinction between the older (‘*abuelos*’) and younger (‘*nosotros*,’ ‘*ellos*’) generations, the past and the present highlighting a shift from Náhuatl to Spanish. The perspectivisation strategy and the emphasis on the shift from Náhuatl to Spanish is extended and emphasised. The younger generations’ inability to understand, speak, or write in Náhuatl is heightened. Coupled with this inability, parents’ interest focuses on the pursuit of subject knowledge and language abilities that are thought to enhance students’ language abilities and academic attainment (‘*aprendan*’).

Counteracting the parents’ negative view towards the learning of Náhuatl, T2 resorts to a discourse topic of ‘the advantages of Náhuatl’ and draws on a positive evaluative strategy (‘*la fluidez de la lectura*’) to talk about the positive effect on students in the early years of schooling that enables them to learn to read with good intonation, accurately, and smoothly. T2 highlights this positive evaluation by employing an intensification strategy (‘*hay que verle*

*las ventajas*') that allows her to reiterate the usefulness of bilingualism. In this respect, she stresses a perceived benefit of Náhuatl given that it is an agglutinative language variety, and reading in Náhuatl is seen as reading tongue twisters that can aid to read accurately and with good intonation. Concomitantly, she also employs a mitigation strategy ('*a lo mejor no entendemos nada*') to acknowledge the lack of knowledge of Náhuatl.

Building on the advantages of bilingualism, T2 draws on the topos of usefulness and supports her argument with a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) wherein she implicitly assures the parent that bilingualism is not a hindrance, for example, to learn to read and write in Spanish neither to understand other subjects. Additionally, she highlights the cognitive benefits of bilingualism ('*hemisferios*') implicitly referring to, amongst other things, the development of creativity, complex problem-solving, and communication abilities. As a result, the parent gives his/her approval given that there is a potential benefit for the student that can yield academic success.

T2 does not end her evaluation of IBE with the usefulness of Náhuatl as she juxtaposes it with parents' lack of interest in Náhuatl addressed earlier. At the end of (16), T2 draws on the discourse topic of 'inconsistency' to reinforce her appraisal of IBE. She draws on an intensification strategy (hyperbole- '*todo el mundo*') to emphasise the widespread awareness of bilingual education and its importance, particularly the familiarity with this approach in the Mexican context. Despite this alleged concern and attention to the provision of bilingual education to indigenous people ('*dicen que les importa lo indígena*'), T2 emphasises the inconsistency by stating that it is not true ('*pero no es cierto*'). The lack of a subject or a pronoun here implies a collective that conceals the stakeholders who claim to be concerned about the revitalisation of ILVs perhaps to avoid assigning the responsibility to certain groups, or to generalise her statement. However, a specific group of stakeholders is then brought to the fore. The adverb '*políticamente*' identifies political parties and the federal and state governments who are responsible for enacting laws. The noun '*blah*', that is repeated three times, is used to evaluate and stress the politicians' initiatives as simply nonsense given the inconsistencies between de jure and de facto LPs.

Argumentatively, T2 supports her view by employing the topoi of inequality and equity. Here, several points are worth analysing. First, this argumentation strategy is written in the second conditional (*'si realmente les interesara...'*) which is used to talk about imagined present or future situations that are highly unlikely to happen or unattainable. That is to say, T2 denies the idea that IBE is achieving or will achieve the same value and rank as mainstream schooling. Second, the plural noun '*niveles*' refer to the General Education System and the Subsystem of Indigenous Education, which T2 argues that contribute to inequality. Implicitly, T2 talks about achieving equality by fusing the Subsystem of Indigenous Education with the General Education System. However, she seems to suggest the unification of the curriculum to offer the same content to all students throughout the country irrespective of their ethnolinguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, it is unclear whether in her view the content would be contextualised, if ILVs would be included, and if so, which ILVs would be taught.

Lastly, the topos of equity employed in the last part can be seen as a euphemism given that unifying the curriculum would inevitably lead to the hierarchisation of knowledge about language varieties, exacerbating power asymmetries. On the whole, (16) shows the complexity of implementing IBE given teachers' accountability towards meeting the programmes' aims, particularly the development of linguistic competence in Spanish. Concomitantly, the objectives of the Náhuatl subject are contested due to students' lack of knowledge of Náhuatl and parents' lack of interest. In an attempt to counteract the apathy towards it, T2 addresses some benefits of Náhuatl. She concludes her evaluation by highlighting the inconsistencies between de jure and de facto policies given the status of the Subsystem of Indigenous Education. Having explored the views on IBE, let us now turn to the ideas and values related to language varieties.

### 6.1.2 Discourse Topics Related to Language Varieties

Turning now to the views and value assigned to language varieties, (17) exhibits the juxtaposition of discourse topics of ‘the erasure of Náhuatl’ and ‘English for international migration’ amongst the younger generations in Santa María.

(17)

*R: Y en base a su experiencia de maestro en la primaria ¿qué idiomas prefieren sus alumnos y por qué?*

*T6: La mayoría de nuestros niños prefieren el español y el inglés porque tenemos niños que han llegado del extranjero, tenemos varios niños y yo creo que se han enfrentado a que una, no entienden el náhuatl y otra es que como ya no, casi no se usa, no es muy usual, también, este, luego: “Maestro es que no entiendo, y eso ¿Qué es?” “¿Por qué?” O sea, como que en sus casas también no les han desarrollado, por ejemplo, pues el interactuar con el otro lenguaje, aunque a veces algunos abuelitos si hablan. Casi prefieren el español o el inglés en este caso porque algunos niños ya tienen ideas, así como le decía yo que tenía ideas de irme, los niños dicen: “Voy a aprender inglés porque me quiero ir y voy a ir a buscar a mi papá”.*

(17)

**R: ¿And based on your experience as a primary school teacher, what languages do your students prefer and why?**

**T6: Most of our children prefer Spanish and English because we have children that have come from abroad, we have many children, and I think they have faced the fact that one, they don’t understand Náhuatl and another is that like it’s not anymore, it’s hardly used, it’s not very usual. Also, erm, then, “Teacher, I don’t understand, and that, What’s that? Why?” I mean, like, in their homes they haven’t developed, for example, well, the interaction with the other language, although**

**sometimes some grandpas/grandmas do speak it. They mostly prefer Spanish or English in this case because some children already have ideas, just as I told you that I had ideas of leaving, the children say, “I’m going to learn English because I want to leave and I’m going to look for my dad.”**

At the beginning, T6 uses a nomination strategy wherein the use of the metonym ‘*niños*’ stands for the younger generations and the proper nouns ‘*español*’ and ‘*inglés*’ identify the most prominent language varieties in Santa María. Predicatively, some of the children are described as being foreign to the Mexican context and unfamiliar with the use of ILVs at home and in the community. This predication strategy provides some background to the discourse topic of ‘English for international migration’ that is employed to talk about the interest in learning English amongst the younger generations.

Later in (17), T6 continues describing the linguistic situation in Santa María and draws on a discourse topic of ‘the erasure of Náhuatl.’ In terms of intensification strategies, he stresses the large number of children who are unable to understand written or spoken Náhuatl. Further developing the status of Náhuatl in the community, T6 underscores the lack of Náhuatl use to communicate at home and in the community on a regular basis (‘*no es muy usual*’). To illustrate this, he draws on a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to convey students’ remarkable unfamiliarity (‘¿*Qué es?* ¿*Porqué?*’) with Náhuatl and their need of specific information about the meaning, identity, or origin of content (e.g. vocabulary words).

The perspectivisation strategy is extended as T6 associates the unfamiliarity with Náhuatl at school with the home setting. The use of the metonym ‘*casas*’ implicitly imposes the responsibility of the erasure of Náhuatl onto parents in home settings. Additionally, his use of the present perfect tense signals a connection with the past to stress a gradual and consistent neglect of Náhuatl use at home in daily interaction.



A contrast is then introduced with a mitigation strategy (*'a veces,' 'algunos'*) that denotes an occasional use of Náhuatl at home among the older generations (e.g. *'grandpas'*) who still communicate in Náhuatl during personal or intimate situations with people who are their age.

In the last part of (17), 'English for international migration' is notable. Argumentatively, T6 invokes the topoi of usefulness and migration to talk about the language varieties that appeal the most to the younger generations (e.g. primary-school aged children). The proper nouns *'español'* and *'inglés,'* which refer to two colonial language varieties, are given a higher status amongst the students because they are useful to achieve specific objectives (e.g. migration). Drawing from his own childhood experiences, T6 relates to his students interests to migrate to the United States and draws on a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to illustrate exactly what students associate English with. Although he loosely conveys the reasons behind migration, the direct quote provides an insight into students' desire to reunite with family members who have already migrated to the United States. This is consistent with answers to background questions where some participants (e.g. T5, T6, T8) reported that many community members have emigrated to the United States to seek better job opportunities and reunite with parents, spouses, and other relatives. In short, (17) offers an insight into the younger generations' unfamiliarity with Náhuatl due to their upbringing in the United States and the lack of Náhuatl use at home. Concurrently, a growing interest in learning English to reunite with family members is underscored as many community members have migrated to the United States to seek improved life chances.

In (18), talking about the objectives of the Spanish subject, T8 draws on discourse topics of 'Spanish as the medium of instruction,' 'globalisation,' 'inclusivity,' and 'equity' to address the value of Náhuatl.

(18)

*R: ¿Qué pretende transmitir con respecto al español?*

*T8: Desgraciadamente va a seguir siendo nuestra lengua de instrucción o sea, aunque sea nahua hablante si ellos no lo son, yo no puedo enseñarles en náhuatl tengo que hacerlo en español y estamos en un mundo globalizado. Ellos tienen que entender también los conceptos nuevos: Internet, computadora, laptop, incluso las palabras que ya hemos adaptado del inglés: Selfies, screenshot, o sea todas esas y eso solamente lo puedo hacer en español. Hacerles entender y transmitirles que es importante, que lo vamos a seguir usando. O sea, ya es la lengua nacional, pero en todo eso que ellos van a aprender y que van a hacer y que van a practicar hay un espacio también para la lengua originaria. Entonces enseñarles que el español es igual que una lengua originaria. No es más ni es menos, es lo mismo.*

(18)

**R: What do you intend to transmit with regard to Náhuatl?**

**T8: Unfortunately, it will continue to be our language of instruction, I mean, even if I am a Nahua speaker if they are not, I can't teach them in Náhuatl, I have to do it in Spanish, and we are in a globalised world. They also have to understand the new concepts: Internet, computer, laptop, even the words that we've already adapted from English: Selfies, screenshot, I mean, all of those and I can only do that in Spanish. Make them understand and transmit to them that it's important, that we will continue to use it. I mean, it already is the national language, but in all that they're going to learn and do and practice, there is also a space for the native/indigenous tongue. So, teach them that Spanish is the same as a native/indigenous tongue. It's not more or less, it's the same.**

The discourse topic of 'Spanish as medium of instruction' is evident at the beginning of (18). It is constructed with an intensification strategy wherein the adverb '*desafortunadamente*' conveys sorrow and regret that Spanish continues to dominate the interaction at school. Additionally, the intensification strategy reinforces the illocutionary force of the prediction ('*va a seguir siendo nuestra lengua de instrucción*') that anticipates the future of IBE where the use of Spanish as the medium of instruction is maintained.

In supporting his unfavourable evaluation, T8 extends the intensification strategy as he identifies as a Nahua speaker who has had to learn Spanish to succeed at school and work. In other words, he positions himself as part of the out-group (speakers of Náhuatl) vis-à-vis the in-group that is composed of students whose L1 is Spanish. This distinction has negative implications for teaching as he expresses his impossibility to use Náhuatl as medium of instruction or as social practice given that his students do not have the necessary linguistic knowledge to understand subject content. Hence, using Spanish as the medium of instruction is constructed as an obvious necessity or obligation (modal verb '*tengo que*').

Apart from highlighting the linguistic differences between the in-group (Spanish speakers) and out-group (Nahua speakers), T8 employs the topos of globalisation to talk about the pivotal role of Spanish in IBE. The discourse topic of 'globalisation' analysed in (11) is appropriated here to talk about the important role of Spanish to access knowledge. T8's use of technology-related concepts (e.g. '*Internet*,' '*computadora*') not only construct Spanish and English as commodities to access knowledge, but also stress their popularity from the bottom-up (Phillipson, 2008). Building on his argument about the need to use Spanish in the classroom, T8 implicitly draws on the concept of 'glocalisation' (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007) to indicate that English lexis ('*selfies*,' '*screenshot*') has been appropriated gradually as social media becomes more popular amongst the younger generations.

Further legitimising the instrumental value of Spanish, T8 draws on an intensification strategy to assert the role of Spanish for specific contexts (e.g. school) and uses (e.g. medium of instruction). The implicature here is that Spanish and Náhuatl are

compartmentalised in terms of language use, fixed to particular cultural practices; hence, a dynamic interaction between language varieties is not possible.

Once T8 has justified his use of Spanish as the medium of instruction and the role of Spanish in globalisation, he addresses his objectives regarding the teaching of Spanish. Predicatively, his use of verbs such as '*transmitirles*' implicitly conveys T8's sense of accountability towards meeting the programmes' aims, hence the obligation to contribute to students' literacy development in Spanish. Concomitantly, his use of the simple future tense ('*vamos a seguir usando...*') establishes a connection with the future where the position of Spanish in the hierarchy will remain high. What is more, the prestige of Spanish is directly linked to its status in de jure policy in México ('*lengua nacional*'). However, it is unclear whether T8 is linking the national status of Spanish with its use in education as the medium of instruction, or if he is referring to the prominence of Spanish in terms of the number of speakers in the country. It is important to mention that ILVs are recognised as national languages, at least in de jure policy, since October 2020. Nonetheless, having a national status does not necessarily set ILVs as a priority in education.

Subsequently, T8 shifts towards the role of ILVs within IBE by appropriating the discourse topic of 'inclusivity' from (2) where the provision of inclusive education is constructed as right. Predicatively, the metaphor '*un espacio también para la lengua originaria*' is used to talk about the role of ILVs within the classroom. The space metaphor maps the features of a physical region, where material objects are found, onto ILVs position in the hierarchy. That is, ILVs are assigned a value, but it is unclear whether the value is social, functional, or monetary. What is more, it implicitly draws boundaries for Náhuatl use (Paechter, 2004) contributing to the notion of languages as bounded entities.

In the last part of (18), T8 conveys a strong position in relation to the value he assigns to both language varieties. He underscores that he values Spanish and Náhuatl in the same way ('*no es más ni menos, es lo mismo*'). However, the fact that he employs the discourse topic of 'equity' here seems to contradict what he says earlier about Spanish as medium of instruction since the uses he assigns to it are more prominent in daily life. To sum up, (18)

illustrates T8's resistance to the dominance of Spanish in IBE as the medium of instruction. However, he also shows compliance with the dominant role of Spanish by pointing out its usefulness in globalisation given its role to access knowledge in English. He also evokes the discourse topic of 'inclusivity' from UNESCO analysed in (5) in an attempt to legitimise the value of Náhuatl in education. Concomitantly, he employs the discourse topic of 'equity' to assign the same value to Náhuatl, which contradicts its current status in the classroom.

Throughout the interview, T8 talks recursively about the cultural value of Náhuatl. In (19), he expands on what objectives he seeks to achieve in the Náhuatl class and draws on a discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage.'

**(19)**

*R: Cuando dice usted que lo entiendan ¿se refiere usted solo en un ámbito hablado, escrito, que puedan leer?*

*T8: No, en realidad a mí no me interesa tanto que lo escriban, sino que lo, y más que entenderlo que lo comprendan, que entiendan que esos rituales que tenemos en nuestra vida diaria significan algo y están ahí implícitos un montón de valores. Por ejemplo, ¿Por qué cuando...? Ejemplo de mi pueblo, ¿Por qué tenemos las puertas abiertas todo el tiempo, pero eso no significa que cualquiera puede entrar o no significa que aunque sea la casa de mi tío, de alguien cercano a mí yo puedo llegar y entrar? O sea ¿Porqué es que el café es tan importante para nosotros? Que comprendan esa parte y cuando ellos hayan entendido eso van a entender el por qué están diciendo esta palabra. El porqué, por ejemplo, no es lo mismo decir 'xikalaki' que 'xipano' que en realidad los 2 son 'pasa', estás afuera de la puerta y las 2 palabras significan entra, pero uno es muy agresivo y el otro es como un recibimiento agradable. Entonces que entiendan esa parte. La escritura es importante, sí, pero tomando en cuenta que ellos son monolingües en español, me preocuparía más por la parte de la oralidad y la comprensión de la oralidad.*

(19)

**R: When you say that they understand it are you only referring to speaking, writing, that they can read?**

**T8: No, in fact, I'm not so interested in them writing it, but rather in, and more than understanding it, discerning it, that they understand that those rituals that we have in our daily life mean something and a lot of values are implicit there. For example, Why when...? Example of my town, why do we have the doors open all the time but that doesn't mean that anyone can enter, or it doesn't mean that even if it's my uncle's house, someone close to me, I can come and enter? I mean, why is coffee so important to us? That they understand that part, and when they have understood that they will understand why they are saying this word. Why, for example, it's not the same to say 'xikalaki' as 'xipano,' that in fact both mean 'come in.' You are out at the door and the two words mean 'come in,' but one is very aggressive and the other one is like a pleasant welcoming. So, that they understand that part. Writing is important, yes, but considering that they are monolingual in Spanish, I would be more concerned about oral tradition and comprehending oral tradition.**

Expanding on what objectives he intends to achieve in the Náhuatl language class, T8 appropriates the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' from CLHE (2017) analysed in (13). He makes an implicit intertextual connection to the CFILSC (2011) where the development of literacy skills and cultural practices in Náhuatl are encouraged. However, he foregrounds the promotion of understanding social and cultural practices (e.g. '*rituales*,' '*valores*') and backgrounds the development of literacy in Náhuatl ('*escriban*').

To justify the appropriation of rituals, T8 provides three illustrations (daily activities, natural resources, greetings). The first example is an illustration of a cultural practice from his hometown, San Miguel, where Náhuatl is still spoken by most of the population. To

prompt reflection about the meaning of this cultural practice, T8 formulates his first example as a question rather than an assertion. He conveys a sense of ownership, familiarity, and an individual appropriation of his community's cultural practices. Concomitantly, he conveys a sense of belonging to his community, a collective that follows specific cultural practices ('...*tenemos las puertas abiertas...*'). Here, T8 implicitly highlights the value of respect towards others' possessions and privacy, as well as courtesy when arriving at someone else's house, even if they are relatives ('*mi tío*').

Like the first illustration, the second one begins with a question rather than a statement. In terms of predication, T8 uses as a positive evaluative strategy to refer to coffee as an economic and environmental aid to México's development and sustainability. Hence, T8 believes it is important for students to acknowledge the value of coffee. The presupposition here is that based on their awareness of the cultural and/or economic significance of lexis and (natural) resources, students are expected to use lexicon in their written or spoken interactions. Interestingly, coffee is a non-native plant to the Mexican context that was imported by French immigrants in 1795. Hence, this is a clear example where Náhuatl, as a school subject, has a symbolic value related to cultural practices where cultural borrowings such as the growing of coffee and lexis related to this practice have been appropriated by most of the population, including indigenous people.

Like in the previous two examples, the third illustration is formulated as a question instead of an assertion to prompt reflection. In this example, T8 talks about the meanings of words (Semantics) such as Nahua greetings like '*xikalaki*' and '*xipano*' that have the same meaning: Come in. He uses the second-person singular ('*estás*') to make a personal connection with the listener and briefly sets the background ('*afuera de la puerta*') where the two greetings can be used. He juxtaposes the connotations of both greetings ('*agresivo*' vs '*agradable*') and emphasises the importance of distinguishing when to use each of them.

Loosely acknowledging the development of literacy skills in ILVs, T8 employs the nominalisation of the verb write ('*la escritura*') to construct the development of literacy skills as an underpinning component of the programmes. However, due to students'

monolingualism in Spanish attaining certain aims, i.e. the development of literacy in Náhuatl, is highly unlikely.

The children's monolingualism provides great leverage for the appropriation of a particular aim '*tradición oral*.' The subjunctive mood of the sentence is used as an intensification strategy to convey an imagined or desired focus, where priority is given to the development of oral skills and their use to pass on and share cultural knowledge. Paradoxically, it also suggests that T8 is not implementing activities that develop oral skills. Overall, (19) provides three useful illustrations of T8's appropriation of the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' that addresses the value of cultural practices and oral tradition also analysed in (13). Not surprisingly, this discourse topic is appropriated whereas the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl is backgrounded due to students' monolingualism in Spanish. Having explored the most salient discourse topics associated with IBE's rationale and objectives, as well as the value and uses assigned to Náhuatl, Spanish, and English, the section below provides a discussion of the intertextual and interdiscursive links. It also discusses the findings in light of recent research.

## 6.2 Discussion

In this section, a discussion of the salient discourses regarding IBE and language varieties amongst the HSDS, the headteacher, and teachers is provided linking them to previous studies. Following the top-down perspective to exploring LP appropriation in Santa María, Puebla, the second research question sought to unpack the circulating discourses among meso-level stakeholders (e.g. headteacher and teachers) regarding IBE and language varieties (e.g. Spanish, Náhuatl). In addition, it aimed at identifying the interdiscursive links between these meso-level discourses and the discourses in macro-level LP texts.

Overall, the findings demonstrated that although the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl is foregrounded in the CFILSC (2011), its use in the classroom is minimal and



teachers use the discourse topic of ‘teacher accountability’ to support their minimal use of Náhuatl. Concomitantly, discourse topics of ‘inclusivity’ and ‘equity’ are drawn on to counteract the erasure of Náhuatl in the classroom and promote its value. Not surprisingly, dominant discourse topics (e.g. ‘linguistic competence as commodity,’ ‘globalisation’) from macro-level LP texts are appropriated at school as priority is given to a sociopolitical agenda, specifically the attainment of the NC’s (2011) and CLHE’s (2017) objectives. Finally, some discourse topics that have not been previously discussed are ‘impracticality’ and ‘inconsistency.’ These are employed to challenge the objectives of IBE given the lack of knowledge and use of Náhuatl in the school and community. In other words, a discrepancy between de jure and de facto policies is perceived at both ideological and practical levels. Let us now turn to the discussion of discourse topics that school authorities and teachers use to talk about the rationale behind IBE, its objectives, as well as the value and uses assigned to language varieties.

### **6.2.1 Discussion about Intercultural Bilingual Education**

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.6), LPs are noticeable in all domains of life, for instance in school settings and classroom practices (Spolsky, 2004). Excerpt (14) is a good illustration of this as it evidences the pivotal role of the school in the dissemination of a monolingual pedagogy towards education based on the misconception of ILVs as a cognitive and linguistic deficiency that hinders the development of literacy skills in Spanish. Strikingly, (14) shows how the language-as-problem orientation influenced teachers’ perceptions of ILVs’ use in the classroom and how this, in turn, affected the interaction at home in the past. Two prominent discourse topics related to education for indigenous people are noticeable. The first is a discourse topic of ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ which promotes the homogenisation of linguistic practices in school and home settings. Consistent with previous research, the homogenisation of linguistic practices in and out of school has been encouraged by authoritative figures such as the headteacher prompted by feelings of prejudice towards ILVs and their speakers (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen et al., 2023; Gallo &

Hornberger, 2019; Hollebeke, 2023). As a result, linguistic interaction at home is limited to speaking the dominant language given the sense of inequality and marginalisation that children and parents experience at school and in the wider community. Undoubtedly, this discourse topic is an excellent illustration of how discourses are socially created, socially disseminated, and socially constrained by the socio-political context where they emerge (Fairclough, 1992; Reisigl, 2017).

The discourse topic of 'monolingualism in Spanish' is interdiscursively linked to a discourse topic of 'cognitive and linguistic disadvantage' that underscores ILV speakers as having a cognitive and linguistic deficiency that interferes with the acquisition of Spanish, development of literacy skills, and students' performance at school. Hence, a shift to homogenous linguistic practices is encouraged. This discourse topic evokes the nationalist period when an assimilationist ideology disseminated swiftly provoking the suppression of indigenous people and the misconception of ILVs as inferior (Barriga Villanueva, 2018). Like the previous discourse topic ('monolingualism in Spanish'), the dissemination of this one ('cognitive and linguistic disadvantage') has been pivotal to perpetuate the othering of ILVs and their speakers contributing to social and economic disparity, as well as discrimination on the grounds of language use (Curdts-Christiansen et al., 2023).

In previous studies in other multilingual settings (e.g. Howard, 2012), this discourse topic ('cognitive and linguistic disadvantage') has been drawn on by teachers and parents to associate local language varieties with decreased intelligence and confusion. Not surprisingly, the use of dominant language varieties has been endorsed at school and home seeking 'higher' academic achievement and social mobility. All in all, these findings are discouraging as they suggest that the erasure of ILVs from home settings will likely continue and that the development or consolidation of an indigenous identity will likely wane amongst the younger generations.

Before moving on to other discourse topics, it is worth mentioning that although the two discourse topics discussed above do not necessarily refer to the current view of ILVs in IBE in Santa María, they did provide a pessimistic rationale for the pedagogical approach taken

towards education for indigenous people in the past. Inevitably, these discourse topics give primacy to Spanish as the medium of instruction today, as is the case in other multilingual countries where dominant language varieties are the medium of instruction (e.g. Manuel & Johnson, 2018).

Apart from providing some background to the enforcement of a homogenous pedagogical approach to education for indigenous people in the past, the HSDS employs discourse topics of 'revitalisation,' 'teacher accountability,' 'reality,' 'globalisation' and 'cultural and linguistic diversity' to address the main objective of ILVs as subject content in IBE.

The discourse topic of 'revitalisation' alludes to the development, teaching, and cultivation of language varieties that are no longer used to communicate daily, or that are restricted to specific settings. In other words, it addresses the reincorporation of ILVs in daily communication. This discourse topic exemplifies the language-as-resource and language-as-right orientations as it not only assigns value to ILVs, but also provides some evidence that provision is being made to introduce them in the school curriculum. The emergence of this discourse topic is unsurprising as the HSDS identifies as an indigenous person and throughout his career he has promoted revitalisation initiatives wherein teachers have worked collaboratively to develop and use materials that include ILVs and indigenous cultures. The HSDS's mention of this discourse topic ('revitalisation') echoes similar efforts towards intergenerational transmission of ILVs underpinned by language reclamation efforts that seek to increase the number of uses and users of ILVs (Hornberger et al., 2016). The emergence of this discourse topic ('revitalisation') is reassuring as it shows how some district-level authorities resist linguistic homogenisation and the misconception of ILVs as a hindrance to learn subject content, amongst other things, and in doing so open spaces in the curriculum to foster the consolidation of an indigenous identity, ILVs use, validation and inclusion of local knowledge. This is conducive to the provision of a safe space to negotiate identity and language use, as well as develop a deeper understanding of indigenous cultures that encompass social and cultural practices tied to the environment.

An interdiscursive link between discourse topics of ‘revitalisation’ and ‘teacher accountability’ is noticeable. The latter discourse topic underscores the teachers’ obligation to report on students’ academic performance and justify their teaching and assessment activities in alignment with the programmes’ expectations and goals. In this case, the HSDS employs it to talk about his and teachers’ responsibility to promote ILVs at school in alignment with the CFILSC (2011) and UNESCO’s recent calls for bilingual education, which hints at the language-as-right orientation. It is possible that he mentions this discourse topic (‘teacher accountability’) to convey his profound commitment to making ILVs more visible in school settings as he is an indigenous person who has implemented revitalisation initiatives, as mentioned above. Additionally, he probably wishes to stress the importance of raising awareness of ILVs amongst the younger generations as they are the first point of contact with families which is conducive to parental engagement in language revitalisation efforts at home and school.

Whilst the HSDS underscores teachers’ accountability to provide spaces for ILVs in the school curriculum, he juxtaposes this with a discourse topic of ‘reality’ that refers to real-life circumstances or the ‘state of things’ as they really are. This discourse topic (reality) hints at the language-as-problem orientation as it addresses some parents’ reticence about the teaching and learning of Náhuatl. The emergence of this discourse topic (‘reality’) contrasts previous findings (e.g. Chimbutane & Benson, 2012) that delved into parents’ unwavering support towards bilingual education. A potential reason for this might be that students spoke a Mozambican language as their L1 whereas Portuguese, the dominant language, was their L2. By contrast, students in Santa María speak Spanish as their L1, whilst Náhuatl is no longer spoken by the younger generations as a result of the homogenisation of linguistic practices at home and school. This finding poses negative implications for the revitalisation of ILVs at home and school. For instance, it might mean limited support at home to speak Náhuatl in intimate situations or maintain ties with social and cultural practices wherein Náhuatl is used.

Together with the previous discourse topics, the HSDS draws on the discourse topic of ‘globalisation,’ which conveys the commodification of language varieties for migration and social mobility thereby exemplifying the language-as-resource orientation and neoliberal ideologies bolstered by the OECD. However, in (15), this discourse topic is also underpinned by the language-as-problem orientation. From his perspective, globalisation affects the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity, which directly influences the linguistic practices of indigenous communities and those who have an indigenous background. Rather than using ILVs to communicate in public (e.g. classrooms) and private (e.g. family gatherings) settings, a shift towards using Spanish is endorsed as emphasis is made on “the economic necessity of global competence” (Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019, p.70). Notwithstanding, the HSDS recognises that globalisation has advantages for education, although he does not mention any of them perhaps because he is addressing the objectives of the CFILSC (2011), particularly his interest in revitalising ILVs. The fact that he addresses the negative influence of globalisation confirms local authorities’ awareness of the adverse effects of globalisation in education and foreseeable tensions between dominant and local languages (Poudel & Choi, 2022). For example, the demand of literacy skills in Spanish may diminish the use of ILVs in the classroom and hamper students’ equal access to schooling and employment opportunities.

Moving on to teachers’ discourse topics, the complexity of T2’s view towards IBE is evident given that she draws on the three orientations and all the discursive strategies. She mediates LP decision-making from the top by challenging certain discourse topics and adopting others as she exercises her agency to accommodate the policy to her own teaching context and meet some of the programmes’ objectives. Interdiscursive links between discourse topics of ‘impracticality,’ ‘teacher accountability,’ ‘inconsistency,’ and ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ are evident.

The discourse topic of ‘impracticality’ implicitly evokes an interdiscursive link to the discourse topic of ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ as it underscores the lack of sense regarding the objectives of IBE such as the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl. That is

to say, the objectives are seen as idealistic, or imaginary given the erasure of Náhuatl at home and in the community. This discourse topic is an example of the language-as-problem orientation given that it points out that monolingualism in Spanish has become the norm in Santa María. Therefore, the aims of the CFILSC are considered illogical since students lack knowledge of Náhuatl, which is a recurrent feature amongst younger generations with an indigenous or minority language background (e.g. Lagunas 2019; Smith-Christmas, 2014). In other words, an overwhelming homogenisation of linguistic practices across several multilingual countries is implied.

Concomitantly, the language-as-right orientation is also noticeable in this discourse topic ('impracticality') as it conveys the idea that some provision is made to achieve some of the programme's (CFILSC, 2011) aims, which corroborates that spaces for bilingual education are provided in de jure policy (e.g. Johnson, 2010a; Wyman et al., 2010). Nonetheless, the extent to which the programmes' aims are met are contingent upon contextual features (e.g. support from district-level officials, allocation of hours in the timetable).

A third discourse topic that T2 employs is 'teacher accountability.' Although she reports implementing activities in the Náhuatl class, she underscores their low level of difficulty due to students' lack of knowledge of Náhuatl, the emphasis that the curriculum frameworks make on Spanish and Mathematics, and students' poor literacy in Spanish. The inconsistency between de jure and de facto policies could also be due to T2's lack of knowledge of Náhuatl given that she was born to a Spanish monolingual family, and she has not taken regular Náhuatl classes. Not surprisingly, the shortage of teachers who are native speakers of ILVs or who speak ILVs well is a recurrent challenge that bilingual education faces in multilingual settings around the world (e.g. Bazai et al., 2023; Slaughter et al., 2019). One possibility of counteracting this can be that teachers, who are new speakers of ILVs, use ILVs flexibly in new situations with people who have different backgrounds, thereby creating new opportunities and domains for ILVs to be used meaningfully (Ting, 2024).

A second reason for the inconsistency between the jure and de facto LPs is teachers' accountability towards the development of literacy in Spanish which is clearly linked to the

OECD's 'linguistic competence as commodity' discourse topic that highlights the usefulness of Spanish literacy in different genres to access social mobility, pass standardised tests, and so on. The prominence given to dominant languages for high-stakes testing has also been reported in the American context (e.g. Henderson, 2017; McCarty, 2009, Wyman et al., 2010). For instance, Henderson (2017) showed that classroom interaction was heavily influenced by the objectives of the dual language bilingual programme that sought to prepare students for high stakes testing in English. These rather unsurprising findings clearly show that neoliberal ideologies have become institutionalised in macro-level LP texts that constrain the uses of ILVs at the classroom level (Fairclough, 1989). Put differently, neoliberal ideologies that underscore the development of language abilities as commodities dominate classroom interaction and activities in IBE and promote the development of literacy skills only in dominant languages (See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3). Undoubtedly, this discourse topic ('linguistic competence as commodity') not only evokes the SLI that underscores the need to acquire a correct and superior language at school (e.g. Çavuşoğlu, 2021; Davila, 2016), but also hints at teachers' responsibility to improve students' literacy in Spanish. Here, it is important to remember that México's low ranking in PISA's test in 2009 served as a catalyst for the emphasis on the development of reading and writing abilities in Spanish (OCDE, 2009). Consequently, teachers have endorsed a stronger focus on literacy skills in Spanish since then (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3 and Chapter 5, Excerpt 10).

Finally, T2 employs a discourse topic of 'inconsistency' to conclude her evaluation of IBE. This discourse topic affords her to highlight the discrepancy between what is said in LP texts (e.g. ideologies and discourses) and what is done in favour of IBE (e.g. status of IBE). Additionally, it proves useful to show that LP texts consist of contradictory ideas that attempt to control other ideas (Johnson, 2007; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Savski, 2023b). In other words, the language-as-right and language-as-problem orientations are juxtaposed. The former is evident as T2 implicitly evaluates IBE and its objectives in light of Article III of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States that addresses the right to education. The latter is obvious as she stresses the federal authority's lack of commitment to give the same

status to IBE which evokes UNESCO's call for equity. According to T2, the distinction between the General Education System and the Subsystem of Indigenous Education has triggered or exacerbated the social and economic inequality that indigenous people and communities have experienced throughout the last decades. Interestingly, her notion of equity suggests having a unified education system that would likely heighten the subordination of ILVs.

Altogether, the intertextual and interdiscursive links discussed above have proven that semi-structured interviews, as LP texts, are heterogenous as they draw from different, often contradictory discourses and texts (Fairclough, 1992). It is this heterogeneity and juxtaposition of discourses that makes the implementation of IBE ineffective, particularly the revitalisation of Náhuatl. Although some discourse topics are positive ('revitalisation'), the majority (e.g. 'teacher accountability,' 'globalisation,' 'linguistic competence as commodity') are underpinned by neoliberal ideologies that commodify language skills in dominant languages. This, undoubtedly, results in the provision of more material resources and opportunities to develop skills in Spanish. To counteract this, greater efforts should be directed towards increasing the number of opportunities to use ILVs at school, teacher supply and teachers' professional development, particularly the consolidation of Náhuatl skills by providing more Náhuatl classes throughout the year (Slaughter et al., 2019).

Another point worth commenting here is the emergence of the discourse topics of 'impracticality' and 'inconsistency' that also provide evidence of the discrepancies between *de jure* and *de facto* policies. The former discourse topic stipulates the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl, whereas the latter discourse topic shows that the CFILSC's objectives are unattainable due to the erasure of Náhuatl. These two discourse topics have not been previously discussed in the Mexican context. Consequently, they are one major contribution of this study, particularly at the school level.



### **6.2.2 Discussion about Language Varieties**

Turning now to the emerging discourse topics related to language varieties, three prominent discourse topics are employed to talk about Náhuatl. The first discourse topic is ‘the erasure of Náhuatl’ that evokes the language-as-problem orientation since it addresses the lack of interest in Náhuatl amongst the younger generations due to its gradual erasure from the linguistic practices at home and in the community, which is a recurrent feature in many communities in México (Gomashie 2021; 2022; 2023; Messing, 2007; Terborg & Landa, 2011). Not surprisingly, this shift has been caused due to preference for Spanish and English given the instrumental benefits they proffer such as migration. It is interesting to note that T6 provides illustrations about the home setting and does not address the value and use of Náhuatl at school. This suggests that he attributes home interaction a more prominent role in the erasure of Náhuatl, which reflects the findings of other studies (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2016; 2023; Pérez Báez, 2013) that stress the pivotal role of family LPs in language shift or maintenance.

As a result of the erasure of Náhuatl and the prominence given to Spanish as the main medium of instruction, discourse topics of ‘inclusivity’ and ‘equity’ are drawn on to address the objectives regarding the Náhuatl subject and counteract the subordination of Náhuatl at school. Inclusivity refers to the incorporation of students’ learning needs and interests, ethnolinguistic backgrounds, cultural practices, amongst others, and explicitly conveys an intertextual link to the NC (2011) that addresses the inclusion of ILVs and cultures in basic education for the first time in the history of policymaking in México (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1). Interestingly, the appropriation of this discourse topic (‘inclusivity’) constructs a utopian view of IBE as a strategy to achieve a benevolent and unified society (Çavuşoğlu, 2021). However, if inclusivity is seen through the lens of the multiplicity of discourses that construct society as a class system characterised by being exclusive, discriminatory, and poverty stricken, it can then be seen as an ideology that not only downplays the needs of the

less advantaged (e.g. indigenous students), but implicitly removes the state's obligation to guarantee equitable access to education and resources (Fairclough, 2006).

With regard to the discourse topic of 'equity,' an explicit intertextual link to CFILSC (2011) and UNESCO (1953, 2003) is evident. As outlined in Chapter 5 (Section 5.1.2), said documents foreground the provision of bilingual education in an attempt to counteract the erasure of Náhuatl as well as achieve equality and quality education. In other words, L1 provision in teaching and learning is believed to proffer similar opportunities to achieve the same learning outcomes. Additionally, the value and functions assigned to Spanish and ILVs is the same. However, it is important to note that the discourse topic of 'equity' used here differs from the discourse topic of 'equality' espoused by UNESCO (Vaccari & Gardinier, 2019). The difference lies in that the former entails the recognition of differences between individuals and the allocation of resources according to people's needs to achieve the same results. The latter, in contrast, involves the same allocation of resources. Hence, the disparity between groups of people is perpetuated.

The previous discourse topics ('inclusivity,' 'equity') are interdiscursively linked to 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage,' which refers to community practices that are underpinned by indigenous values, social norms, and so on. This discourse topic ('Náhuatl as cultural heritage') conveys a shift from the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl to understanding the rationale behind community practices. That is to say, T8 appropriates the discourse topic of 'equity,' which is interdiscursively linked to the discourse topic of 'equality' in (5), to express that Spanish and Náhuatl have the same value for different reasons. In this case, Náhuatl has a symbolic value that is linked to cultural knowledge. He further endorses his view of Náhuatl as cultural heritage by making an interdiscursive link to a discourse topic of 'monolingualism in Spanish' that underscores students' use of Spanish in public and private settings as a result of the homogenisation of linguistic practices in school and home settings prompted by homogenous language ideologies (Bettney, 2022). Inevitably, this contributes to backgrounding some of the CFILSC's objectives such as Náhuatl as social practice and the development of literacy skills.

Due to students' monolingualism in Spanish, another salient discourse topic associated with Spanish is 'Spanish as the medium of instruction' that not only conveys concern about the dominance of Spanish but expresses the usefulness and importance of Spanish in the classroom to achieve the programmes' aims. Given that T8 identifies as a Nahuatl speaker with a solid indigenous identity, which he stated during the interview, his attitude towards Spanish in the classroom provides a clear illustration of the way powerful discourses can overtly convey exclusion (Blackledge, 2012; Manuel, 2022; Wodak, 2009). That is, T8's appropriation of this discourse topic shows how language can perpetuate social and ideological domination that undoubtedly exacerbates the use of ILVs in the classroom.

Apart from the fact that teaching and learning take place in Spanish, the emergence of the discourse topic of 'Spanish as an international language' exhibits compliance with a neoliberal ideology that perceives Spanish as a commodity to understand new knowledge related to technology, interact with other people, and share information virtually. What is more, it contributes to the perpetuation of monolingual practices in the classroom wherein Spanish is useful for teaching and learning subject content, whereas Nahuatl is valuable as cultural heritage, as discussed above. Here, the contrast between the value and uses assigned to Spanish and Nahuatl is an example of the notion of languages as bounded entities with specific uses (Zavala, 2018) that still permeates the Mexican context.

Finally, a discourse topic of 'English for international migration' seems to prevail amongst teachers due to its instrumental value in the community. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 4, the prestige of English in Santa María has been growing given that many members of the community have migrated to the United States to seek better job opportunities and reunite with family members. Consequently, this discourse topic is drawn upon to support the usefulness of English for social mobility which exemplifies the language-as-resource orientation. Although the reasons behind migration are brief, they provide an insight into the issues associated with the students' socioeconomic situation in Santa María. On the one hand, leaving Santa María is seen as an opportunity for improved life chances given that the majority of the population works in *jarciería* and their income level is low (see Chapter 1,

Section 1.6). On the other hand, many parents who have migrated to the United States to provide for their families have not returned to the community. Hence, many students express their intentions to reunite with them. This role of English for international migration confirms the association between English, discourses of migration, and potential economic benefits in other multilingual contexts (e.g. de Jong et al., 2016). Similarly, other studies (e.g. Joseph & Ramani, 2012) have reported its pivotal role in higher education, as medium of instruction, making it accessible to economically disadvantaged students to enable them to participate in a globalised world.

Given the prominence of English at the school level, it is important to discuss some of the implications. One implication is the perpetuation of limited language development that entails confining Náhuatl to very basic uses such as giving commands and greeting people (Van Raemdonck et al., 2023). Another possible implication is cultural erasure that contributes to devaluing students' cultural practices and identity, whilst favouring the appropriation of cultural practices from English speaking countries such as the celebration of Halloween. Yet another implication is the reinforcement of power imbalance between those students who speak English and those who do not, thereby prompting school authorities and teachers to allocate time to teach English and devote less time for Náhuatl (Han & Dong, 2024).

Taken together, the discourse topics that circulate at the school level are generally underpinned by the language as resource orientation. Nevertheless, they do not reconcile the disparities between Náhuatl, Spanish, and English since teachers struggle with lack of material opportunities to learn and use Náhuatl in the classroom (Slaughter et al., 2019). In seeking to counteract this, Náhuatl needs to be seen as a powerful language variety with equal status in the curriculum (e.g. allocation of more hours in the timetable). Moreover, more professional development (e.g. Náhuatl language classes) is needed for teachers who do not speak Náhuatl, or who have very basic knowledge of it.

### 6.3 Summary

This chapter explored the salient discourses among school authorities and teachers in relation to IBE and language varieties. In addition, it attempted to identify the intertextual and interdiscursive links between macro and meso LP texts. Similar to Chapter 5, this chapter carried out a linguistic analysis and discussion that shed light on the appropriation of macro-level discourses at the school level and how they were linguistically realised. The most important orientation was seeing language varieties as valuable resources to different ends. For example, Náhuatl was seen as cultural heritage whereas English was useful to migrate to the United States. As for the circulating discourse topics, the appropriation of discourse topics (e.g. ‘linguistic competence as commodity,’ ‘globalisation’) bolstered by a neoliberal agenda outweighed those (‘inclusivity,’ ‘equity’) that were drawn on to criticise or disagree with macro-level LPs (e.g. Heller, 2003; Poudel & Choi, 2022).

In relation to the emerging discourse topics associated with IBE, two disturbing discourse topics that were drawn on to provide the rationale behind the monolingual approach towards education for indigenous people were ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ and ‘cognitive and linguistic disadvantage’ (e.g. Howard, 2012). The former was disseminated by powerful stakeholders, particularly the headteacher. The latter, on the other hand, conveyed the misconception of ILV speakers as having a cognitive or linguistic disadvantage. These two discourse topics seem to have been employed to appropriate discourses of ‘discrimination’ and discourse topics like ‘Spanish as the medium of instruction’ that privileged the use of Spanish for teaching and learning. Consistent with macro-level LP texts, powerful discourse topics such as ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ were legitimised given the teachers’ obligation to meet the programmes’ aims, particularly the development of literacy skills in Spanish to pass standardised tests (e.g. McCarty, 2009; Wyman et al., 2010). This discourse topic was a useful illustration of how international institutions like the OECD can exert ideological domination without contestation in school settings (van Dijk, 2015).

Interestingly, discourse topics of ‘impracticality’ and ‘inconsistency’ were drawn on to challenge the programmes’ aims and activities. T2 employed them to construct a utopian

view of IBE's aims given that students neither understand nor speak Náhuatl. In this regard, she provided examples of basic activities that she had implemented in the classroom to suit her students' low level of Náhuatl. Additionally, she highlighted the discrepancies between *de jure* and *de facto* policies by drawing on the discourse topic of 'equity' from UNESCO (2003) to criticise the federal authority's apathy to grant the same status to IBE. The fact that these discourse topics were employed to talk about IBE seem to predict the programmes' ineffectiveness and the exacerbation of the erasure of ILVs in school and home settings.

As for the discourse topics related to language varieties, teachers employed 'the erasure of Náhuatl' to underscore the lack of knowledge and use of Náhuatl at home. Similar to the discourse topics related to IBE, the discourse topic of 'equality' from UNESCO was adapted ('equity') in an attempt to counteract the subordination of Náhuatl. Another prominent discourse topic was 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' that shifted the focus from the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl to understanding the underlying value of cultural practices. Not surprisingly, the influential role of Spanish in education as the medium of instruction and resource in a globalised world to access technology remained uncontested (e.g. Manuel & Johnson, 2018). Finally, the usefulness of speaking English was linked to social mobility and migration.

On the whole, the discourse topics at the school level show that LP texts such as semi-structured interviews were imbued with power imbalance wherein neoliberal ideologies (e.g. 'globalisation,' 'English for international migration') and aspirational discourse topics (e.g. 'equity') from UNESCO were conflated seeking to compensate for the erasure of Náhuatl. Although teachers showed awareness about the powerful role of Spanish and English, the dominant discourse topics exhibited compliance with the use of these dominant language varieties at school since priority was given to tackling issues related to social mobility. Consequently, revitalising Náhuatl was subordinated.

## Chapter 7 Micro-level LP texts

The following chapter accounts for the DHA's first level of context. In it, a linguistic analysis using the DHA's five discursive strategies is carried out seeking to shed light on how mothers use language to appropriate macro-level language ideologies and discourses. By understanding semi-structured interviews with mothers as texts or co-texts, prominence is given to their linguistic dimension and how language can perpetuate power dynamics circulated in language ideologies and discourses associated with IBE and language varieties. The section below provides a brief summary about the general remarks from Table 5 in Chapter 5 related to the integrated discourse-analytical framework of the study at the home level. Then, a linguistic analysis is carried out aiming to show how mothers use language to appropriate discourses and language ideologies related to IBE and language varieties.

In the last section, the discussion of the most prominent discourses and language ideologies is carried out. In it, intertextual and interdiscursive links are made with macro-level discourses (Chapter 5), the socio-political level of context (Chapter 4), and participants' sociological variables (Chapters 1 & 3). Also included is a discussion relating the findings to previous research studies. The implications are also addressed.

### 7.1 Analysis of Excerpts

Consistent with federal and school levels, the language-as-resource orientation is significantly higher ( $n=186$ ) than the other two. This prominence shows that mothers' views towards IBE and language varieties are mostly favourable as they are seen as having intrinsic (e.g. identity construction) or extrinsic (e.g. social mobility) values. This orientation is evident by discourse topics such as 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity' that underscores the value of learning vocabulary in Náhuatl to develop a Mexican identity. A discourse topic that also conveys this orientation is 'development' that addresses parental aspirations towards the improvement of their living standards by speaking English. Clearly, this juxtaposition of opposing discourse topics associated with language varieties exemplifies the plurality of discourses that form an LP text (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

With respect to the language-as-problem orientation, two striking discourse topics are drawn on to provide background information that has a direct bearing on school choice. One of them is a discourse topic of 'socioeconomic status' that not only makes a distinction between the higher and lower socioeconomic levels that parents and children belong to, but also conveys social exclusion (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) in Santa María. As a result, the bilingual school has been labelled as the school for the poor (Torres Corona, 2013), thereby associating Náhuatl with poverty. The language-as-right orientation, on the other hand, is noticeable in discourse topics like 'standard Spanish use' that underscores the importance of developing literacy skills in different genres. This discourse topic ('standard Spanish use') exemplifies the interactional dimension (Reisigl, 2017) of discourses as it influences the appropriation of the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity' that restricts the uses of Náhuatl at home and school to basic activities such as singing the national anthem.

Finally, in relation to mothers' use of discursive strategies (see Table 5, Chapter 5), the findings show consistency with teachers' use of intensification, mitigation, and perspectivisation strategies. As argued in Chapter 2, in this study LP texts such as semi-structured interviews are seen as language use in social interaction (Spolsky, 2004). Consequently, mothers draw on more discourse-pragmatic features to support their stance(s) on IBE and language varieties (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) in comparison to macro-level LP texts. Having provided a brief overview of the salient findings from Table 5 in Chapter 5 regarding the orientations and discursive strategies employed by mothers, what follows is a linguistic analysis of excerpts taken from semi-structured interviews with them.

### ***7.1.2 Discourse Topics Related to Intercultural Bilingual Education***

The first excerpt analysed in this chapter delves into the reasons behind parental school choice; that is, it provides a glimpse into parents' views on bilingual education, its benefits, amongst others. To talk about the reasons to enrol her children at the bilingual school, M3 employs opposing discourse topics of 'socioeconomic status,' 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage



and national identity,' 'monolingualism in Spanish,' 'the past,' 'the uselessness of Náhuatl,' and 'the usefulness of Náhuatl.'

(20)

*R: ¿Por qué decidió traer a su hija a esta escuela en particular y no por ejemplo a la otra que es general?*

*M3: Mmm lo que pasa que yo estudié allá, pero mi esposo estudio acá, dice: "No", dice: "Allá es la de ricos", porque muchos dicen que allá es la de ricos y acá de pobres*

*R: ¿Cuál es la de ricos?*

*M3: La del centro. Entonces dice: "No, yo no quiero ir, llévenme a estudiar allá", desde mi hijo porque le digo que no vivíamos acá. Mi esposo dijo: "Pa[ra] que aprenda el himno nacional en náhuatl, sólo eso". Le digo: "Bueno pos sí, y algunas palabras que le enseñen". Por eso la metimos acá, por el himno nacional.*

*R: ¿Cuáles son las ventajas de este programa que se maneja aquí de enseñarles 2 idiomas?"*

*M3: Pos que los niños aprendan igual náhuatl porque más 100% todos hablan español, póngale como unos 10 o 20% son los que tienen ese idioma. Pero más antes, unos de acá de acá, de más antes de mi esposo, hora sí sus contemporáneos, sí hablaban más náhuatl, sí. Pero ya ve como ahorita pos hay niños que la verdad les interesa hablar en náhuatl, pero hay unos: "¡No! ¿Para qué?" esa es la frase: "Es para los indios, para los nacos". Pero realmente no porque el náhuatl es bonito, aprender y tener comunicación con la persona que ella sepa, ya le hacen una pregunta le contesta igual y entonces ya hay esa comunicación entre náhuatl.*

(20)

**R:** Why did you decide to bring your daughter to this school and not, for example, the other one that is general?

**M3:** Hmm, what happens is that I studied there, but my husband studied here. He says, “No,” he says, “there is for the rich,” because many say that there is for the rich and here is for the poor.

**R:** Which one is for the rich?

**M3:** The one in the centre. Then she says, “No, I don’t want to go, take me to study there,” since my son because I tell you that we didn’t live here. My husband said, “So that she learns the national anthem in Náhuatl, that’s all.” I tell him, “Well, yes, and that they teach her some words.” That’s why we enrolled her here, for the national anthem.

**R:** What are the advantages of this program that is implemented here, that of teaching them 2 languages?

**M3:** Well, that children also learn Náhuatl because more, 100% all speak Spanish. Let’s say about 10 or 20% are the ones who have that language. But before, some from here here before my husband, his contemporaries, they did speak more Náhuatl, yes. But you see how right now there are children who really are interested in speaking Náhuatl, but there are some, “¡No! What for?” That’s the phrase, “It’s for the Indians, for the nacos.” But not really because Náhuatl is beautiful, learning and communicating with the person that she knows, they ask her a question, she replies, and then there is that communication in Náhuatl.

In the first part of (20), a discourse topic of ‘socioeconomic status’ is initially constructed by a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) wherein the deictic expressions ‘*allá*’ and ‘*acá*’ set up a dichotomy between the learning experiences of both parents at the mainstream and bilingual schools, which directly influence school choice. Interestingly, M3 conveys her

husband's authority in decision-making perhaps because he experienced some form of discrimination at the mainstream school and decided to go to the bilingual school instead. However, other reasons might be possible.

Argumentatively, M3 employs antithesis as a rhetorical device to elaborate on the dichotomy between them (mainstream school) and us (bilingual school) constructed in this part. Here, M3 juxtaposes the adjectives '*ricos*' and '*pobres*' and the deictic expressions '*acá*' and '*allá*' to reinforce the social divide that exists in Santa María (see Chapter 1), which permeates education, and results in the negative view of ILVs within the community. The implicature here is that public bilingual schools, where ILVs are expected to be taught, are aimed at those who are underprivileged, whereas mainstream public schools provide education for those with a higher socioeconomic status, irrespective of their ethnolinguistic background.

Seeking clarification, M3 was asked about the school she was referring to. Instead of explicitly naming the school, she employs an agent mystification strategy ('*La del centro*') to conceal the name of the school perhaps to avoid exposing the school that promotes discrimination. Then, she employs a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to report what her daughter said regarding school choice. It seems that the parents' awareness of their socioeconomic situation, as well as the bad reputation that the mainstream school has due to discrimination have been transmitted to their child who shows preference for the bilingual school.

Building on the reasons for choosing the bilingual school, M3 mentions the bad reputation of the mainstream school, their socioeconomic status, and previous school choices they had to make. In addition, she introduces another reason for choosing the bilingual school, which evokes the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity.' She constructs this discourse topic with a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to express her own point of view with regard to learning Náhuatl. Here, the noun '*himno*' and the adjective '*nacional*' refer to the patriotic song sung in Náhuatl that used to be the most prominent language variety in México before the colonial period (see Chapter 4). Clearly,

emphasis is made on the symbolic value of Náhuatl linked to national identity and linguistic heritage, not on the development of literacy skills in different registers as foregrounded in (4) and (8) in Chapter 5.

In expanding on the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity,' M3 extends the perspectivisation strategy to show her approval of her husband's view of the symbolic value of Náhuatl. She employs the plural noun '*palabras*' to refer to basic vocabulary such as colours, family members, numbers, and greetings. In other words, the symbolic value of Náhuatl associated with a national identity is stressed. Strikingly, parental expectations of IBE are reduced to the acquisition of very basic knowledge of Náhuatl that contributes to raise awareness about the linguistic diversity in México and the symbolic value of Náhuatl as cultural heritage and national identity. This symbolic value, however, does not contribute to the development and use of written and spoken Náhuatl at school, at home, or in the community.

Once M3 has clarified which school is for the rich and has justified her school choice as a parent, she briefly addresses the benefits of bilingual instruction to then underscore the dominance of Spanish. In terms of intensification strategies, the percentage '*100%*' and the adjective '*todos*' are used to stress that the dominant language variety amongst the younger generations is Spanish, which evokes a discourse topic of 'monolingualism in Spanish' drawn on by the HSDS in excerpt (14). Immediately after, M3 employs a mitigation strategy ('*como unos 10 o 20%*'). Her use of percentages ameliorates the previous statement by acknowledging that a small number of children '*tienen*' Náhuatl. Here the verb '*tienen*' indicates the possession of something. However, it is unclear what M3 means by '*tienen*' ('*have*' in English); whether these children understand a few words or phrases in written or spoken Náhuatl, or if they can literally converse in Náhuatl.

Next, a dichotomy is created between the younger and older generations regarding Náhuatl language use. The adverb '*antes*' together with the adjective '*contemporáneos*' signal a connection with the past when "older" people, who are approximately in their 50s and 60s, used Náhuatl to interact. The fact that older generations used Náhuatl in oral

communication is emphasised (*'sí hablaban más Náhuatl, sí'*). In other words, M3 draws on a discourse topic of 'the past' to talk about the steady erasure of Náhuatl. Even though the time when Náhuatl was still widely spoken is imprecise, a language shift from Náhuatl to Spanish in Santa María in the last decades is constructed.

M3 elaborates on the dichotomy between Náhuatl language use or the lack thereof between the older and younger generations. She categorises younger generations into two groups. The first group is constructed with a positive evaluative strategy (*'les interesa'*) where M3 implies that there are kids and teenagers who show curiosity to learn Náhuatl at school or home. This implies that even though Spanish is predominantly spoken in the community, children or young people might hear older people speak Náhuatl and that triggers their interest. The second group within the younger generations is described as being discriminatory. Here, a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) is employed to reveal an unfavourable mood and tone that elucidate a negative evaluation of Náhuatl, which evokes a discourse topic of 'the uselessness of Náhuatl.' The adjectives *'indios'* and *'nacos'* contribute to the negative evaluation of Náhuatl since the former denotes a relationship with American Indians and their languages, whereas the latter connotes an unsophisticated or uneducated person in Mexican Spanish. These negatively connoted lexical items show how Náhuatl is associated with lack of education or ignorance. Hence, it has lost prominence amongst the younger generations.

Towards the end of (20), M3 introduces her own evaluation of Náhuatl where a discourse topic of 'the usefulness of Náhuatl' is evident. Here, the adjective *'bonito'*, which denotes something that has beauty or that is nice, is employed to convey a positive evaluation of Náhuatl. The reason behind her positive view on Náhuatl is noticeable in her use of the verbs *'aprender'* y *'tener'* which highlight the importance of acquiring knowledge and skills, as well as exchanging information in spoken forms. Here, her adaptation of the noun *'comunicación'* implicitly links back to (8) where a discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right,' particularly the ability to communicate orally in Náhuatl is addressed. Rather than concentrating on the development of literacy skills in Náhuatl, M3 seems to

focus on the development of oracy (*'pregunta,' 'contesta'*) and the ability to communicate with people such as relatives in private settings. In sum, (20) provides an insight into parental school choice that seems to be influenced by socioeconomic status. Strikingly, bilingual education is associated with a low socioeconomic status, whereas mainstream schooling is linked to a higher socioeconomic status. Apart from this, parental decision-making is influenced by the symbolic value of Náhuatl as national identity and linguistic heritage due to the prominence of Spanish amongst the younger generations. In this regard, she highlights the negative evaluation of Náhuatl, whereas she attempts to counteract it by addressing the advantages of oracy.

In contrast to M3, M2 and her husband went to the mainstream primary school, and she does not make reference to the socioeconomic level of parents as a reason to enrol their children at the bilingual school. Whilst she does refer to learning Náhuatl, she mainly draws on discourse topics of 'accessibility,' 'maltreatment,' and 'a nurturing school atmosphere' to talk about the reasons for choosing the bilingual school.

**(21)**

*R: Ahora usted comentó hace un rato atrás que usted los había traído aquí a la escuela bilingüe. ¿Cuáles fue las razones por las cual es usted los trajo aquí a la escuela bilingüe y no los llevó a la escuela general?*

*M2: Bueno yo estudié en la primaria, la general, este mi esposo fue en la tarde ya ve que hay 2 turnos y después dijimos: "¿Por qué no los metemos acá en la primaria bilingüe?" "Ok" "Les va a enseñar todavía el náhuatl aparte de que está cerca de mi casa" y este tanto vimos tanto como los maestros porque nosotros ahí sí nos enseñaban, no digo que no, pero en cierto modo también se pasaban, o sea les pegaban a los niños y todo eso. Entonces, y los papás todavía como que lo aceptaban ajá, y este mmm y acá son más pacientes, la verdad tengo que reconocer que son estrictos pero también este los recompensan, o les dicen: "Mis chiquillos, échenle ganas y fin de semana si gustan una hora nos podemos dedicar a ver una película", y los niños se motivan a, no es cuestión*

*de que digan: “Ay no, lo hago rápido” sino que el maestro les explica: “Entréguenlo bien, pintadito, todo esto sin faltas de ortografía, la mejor letra que puedan”.*

(21)

**R:** A while ago you mentioned that you had brought them here to the bilingual school. What were the reasons why you brought them here to the bilingual school and not to the mainstream school?

**M2:** Well, I studied in the primary school, the mainstream one, erm, my husband went in the afternoon, and you see that there are 2 shifts and then we said, “Why don’t we enrol them here in the bilingual school?” “Ok” “They are still going to teach them Náhuatl, apart from the fact that it’s close to my house.” And erm, we saw, the teachers, like, because they did teach us there, I’m not saying that they didn’t, but in a way, they also crossed the line. I mean, they hit the children and all of that, and the parents still kind of accepted it, uh-huh, and erm and here they are more patient. The truth is that I have to admit that they are strict but they also erm reward them. They tell them, “My little ones, do your best and at weekends, if you like, we can spend an hour watching a movie,” and the children become motivated to, it’s not a matter of them saying, “Oh no, I’ll do it quickly,” and the teacher explains to them, “Hand it in well, coloured, without spelling mistakes, the best handwriting.”

In the first part of (21), the use of direct speech allows M2 to express her own view on bilingual education. She employs a discourse topic of ‘bilingual education as right’ to introduce the first reason for choosing the bilingual school. She conveys her expectations about the transmission of knowledge and the development of skills in Náhuatl, although she does not expand on which skills specifically. Here, an implicit intertextual link to (5) from the CFILSC (2011) and (9) from CLHE (2017) is evident wherein bilingual education as right is

endorsed. Interestingly, the second reason is supported by a discourse topic of ‘accessibility’ to address the close proximity of the school to M2’s house, which is not related to bilingual education.

Then, M2 shifts the attention from the bilingual to the mainstream school. She employs an intensification strategy to stress that teachers fulfilled their moral obligation of transmitting knowledge (*‘sí nos enseñaban’*). However, in the following lines, M2 sets up a dichotomy regarding the way students were treated at the mainstream and bilingual schools. She extends the intensification strategy by using the hyperbole *‘se pasaban’* (in English something similar would be *‘cross the line’*) which in Spanish connotes abusing someone or taking advantage of someone. She elaborates on what she means by *‘se pasaban’* and draws on a discourse topic of ‘maltreatment’ wherein the verb *‘pegar’* (*‘hit’*) indicates physical punishment, albeit she fails to mention what other types of abuse students could have experienced at the mainstream school. What is more, it is unclear if all students suffered from physical abuse, or only those who identified as indigenous or of indigenous descent. Building on the discourse topic of maltreatment, M2 mitigates parents’ reaction towards teachers’ offensive behaviour which indicates the overwhelming subordination and discrimination of indigenous people and those with indigenous backgrounds.

To emphasise the dichotomy between the mainstream and bilingual schools, M2 employs a discourse topic of ‘a nurturing school atmosphere.’ Predicatively, teachers, and implicitly the bilingual school, are positively evaluated (*‘más pacientes’*). M2 extends her positive evaluation of teachers at the bilingual school and juxtaposes two features of teachers. On the one hand, the adjective *‘estrictos’* conveys the teachers’ code of practice that not only safeguards the students’ physical integrity but enforces principles within the classroom to ensure students’ learning and progress. On the other hand, the verb *‘recompensan’* written in the first-person plural conveys an indicative mood that expresses a fact, in this case, that teachers use different strategies such as extra time to play so as to motivate students to make progress. To illustrate her point, M2 draws on a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) that provides the reader with an idea of the instructions given by teachers that



include words of encouragement, followed by a reward. Overall, (21) provides M2's reasons for enrolling her children at the bilingual school. She briefly addresses the teaching and learning of Náhuatl. This is coupled with the school's close proximity to their house. Then, she juxtaposes the bilingual school with the mainstream school and highlights the nurturing school atmosphere at the bilingual school and the maltreatment experienced at the mainstream school. Having explored the discourse topics related to IBE, the section below delves into the emerging discourse topics associated with Spanish, Náhuatl, and English.

### **7.1.3 Discourse Topics Related to Language Varieties**

Whilst (22) does not elicit information about the value of language varieties per se, it does give an insight into the activities that students work on for the Spanish subject which, in turn, provide an illustration of the importance of Spanish at school and home. Reporting on the exercises, M2 solely mentions the development of reading and writing skills that children, who are in Year Four in the Mexican system, are expected to develop. She employs discourse topics of 'linguistic competence as commodity' and 'standard Spanish use.'

**(22)**

*R: Ahora cuando vemos por ejemplo pensando en las actividades que les están enviando los maestros ahorita, por ejemplo los cuadernillos, ¿Qué tipo de actividades realizan en la clase de español?*

*M2: En la clase de español lectura, oraciones, leer párrafos, este hacer oraciones, separar el este verbo, sujeto, predicado y hacer oraciones diferentes a cualquier persona, bueno de tercer año todo es eso.*

(22)

**R: Thinking about the activities that teachers are sending them right now, for example the booklets, what kinds of activities do they do for the Spanish class?**

**M2: In the Spanish class, reading, sentences, reading paragraphs, erm writing sentences, separating erm the verb, subject, predicate, and write different sentences, well, Year Four, all of that.**

The nouns '*lectura*,' '*oraciones*,' '*párrafos*,' '*verbo*,' '*sujeto*,' and '*predicado*' allude to the development of literacy skills in different genres, as well as the acquisition of basic knowledge (parts of speech). These two are made the main focus of the Spanish programme and evoke the discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity.' Whilst no explicit intertextual nor interdiscursive links are made here, M3's answer reflects one macro-level discourse topic mainly: 'Bilingual education as right' found in the NC (2011, Excerpt (2)). Particularly, the development of one of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century skills: Reading abilities such as reading comprehension (NC, 2011, Excerpt (10)), as well as the development of language proficiency in the dominant language (CFILSC (2011), Excerpt (8)); CLHE (2017), Excerpt (9)). Although (22) gives evidence of the implementation of Spanish reading activities, it is unclear to what extent they are useful to meet the students' needs (e.g. comprehend what they read) given that T2 reported that students' reading and writing abilities are underdeveloped (see Chapter 6, Excerpt 16).

Later in the interview, talking about the challenges she has faced to speak in Spanish, her L1, M2 draws on discourse topics of 'literacy deficit' as well as 'standard Spanish use' in (23). These two evoke the SLI (Lippi-Green, 1994) that is expressed in the CFILSC (2011) and CLHE (2017) since language as social practice requires the development of language abilities in different registers.

(23)

R: *Ahora como madre, ¿Qué desafíos ha enfrentado cuando habla en español? ¿Ha tenido tal vez en algún momento, no sé, dificultad para poder darles una definición a sus hijos o que les hable de tal o cual forma y que no le entiendan?*

M2: *Falta de preparación, porque ya mandándolos a la escuela se dice de otra manera y nosotros de rápido le decimos: “Hay hijo escríbelo así” y ya. Pero no, de hecho nos tenemos que comunicar bien con exactitud, o sea, este, aclararles qué significa cada palabra o hablarles bien en cada oración, sí.*

R: *Cuando usted dice “hablarles bien en cada oración”, se refiere usted que a veces, ¿Cómo dicen las cosas?*

M2: *Sí, porque bueno ahorita que mis niños ya están grandes, este sus propios amigos les dicen de otra manera ‘váyase’. “No hijo, no se dice ‘váyase’, se dice ‘vaya usted’, o depende de la persona que le estás diciendo. Si es tu amigo, ‘ven’, ‘vamos’, o ‘vaya’”, o así. Entonces son oraciones que le tengo que explicar: “No hijo, no se dice así, se dice así”, ajá.*

(23)

R: Now as a mother, what challenges have you faced when you speak Spanish? Have you, perhaps, had at some point, I don't know, difficulty to give your children a definition, or to speak to them in such and such a way that they don't understand you?

M2: Lack of preparation because once they are sent to school it's said in another way and we quickly tell him, “Son, write it like this,” and that's that. But no, in fact, we have to communicate well, accurately. I mean, clarify what each word means or speak to them well in every sentence, yes.

R: When you say ‘speak well to them in each sentence,’ do you mean that sometimes, how do you say things?

**M2: Yes, because, well, now that my children have grown up, erm, their own friends tell them “Go” in a different way. “No, Son. You don’t say ‘go,’ you say, ‘You go,’ or it depends on the person you’re talking to. If he is your friend, ‘Come, let’s go,’ or ‘Go,’” or the like. So, there are sentences that I have to explain to him, “No, Son, you don’t say it like that, you say it like this,” uh-huh.**

At the beginning of (23), a discourse topic of ‘literacy deficit’ is constructed wherein the nouns ‘*falta*’ and ‘*preparación*’ hint at M2’s lack of education, particularly the lack of knowledge about different registers in Spanish (e.g. formal, casual) (see Chapters 1 and 3 for parents’ level of schooling). In this regard, she juxtaposes the use of different registers in school and home settings. The synecdoche ‘*escuela*’ (school) used here represents part of the whole (e.g. teachers, headteacher) which promote the use of written and spoken Spanish with different degrees of formality.

Building on the discourse topic of ‘literacy deficit,’ M2 draws on a perspectivisation strategy (direct speech) to illustrate the ways in which she and her husband support their child with homework. The implicature here seems to be that parents give impromptu answers in order to fulfil their parental duties (e.g. help their child with homework) without understanding what the homework is about or having the necessary knowledge to answer “correctly.”

In expanding on the dichotomy between the use of different registers at school and home, M2 employs the discourse topic of ‘standard Spanish use’ that evokes the SLI. She uses an intensification strategy wherein the modal verb ‘*tenemos*’ and the adverb ‘*bien*’ emphasise the idea that parents have a moral obligation to communicate their ideas correctly. That is, M2 conveys her belief that her use of written Spanish has to be free from mistakes, aligned with standard Spanish. She continues building on the discourse topic of ‘standard Spanish use’ and implicitly talks about having the knowledge to explain definitions or connotations of words based on the situation(s) in which they are used, as well as using oral abilities proficiently to convey a message clearly and avoid miscommunication with her child(ren).

Subsequently, M2 explicitly elaborates on what she means by '*hablarles bien*' and this time she draws the attention to Spanish as social practice (e.g. registers). In the second part of (23), M2 draws on a perspectivisation strategy to provide an illustration of registers in situ. In this instance, M2 sets up a familiar, intimate situation where an informal register is used ('*ven*,' '*vamos*,' '*vaya*') to say 'go' to different people. She reports what she has previously told her child and highlights the fact that there are different registers to address different speakers depending on the relationship her child has with them.

Further developing the discourse topic of 'standard Spanish use,' M2 employs the modal verb '*tengo*' in first person and the verb '*explicar*' to convey an imperative mood that stresses her responsibility to teach her child(ren) different ways of saying "Go." Overall, in (23), M2 acknowledges her lack of education, particularly her lack of proficiency in Spanish, which she implicitly constructs as the standard language variety used for interaction with people from different ages. Additionally, she makes herself accountable for her child(ren)'s literacy development in Spanish, as well as their awareness about the different registers that they can use to address older people such as grandparents and younger people like friends.

Talking about the languages she believes her children should learn, M4 juxtaposes the value of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English with discourse topics of 'standard Spanish use,' 'the usefulness of English,' 'Náhuatl for national identity,' 'the erasure of Náhuatl,' 'Spanish for national identity,' and 'development' in (24).

**(24)**

*R: Pasando a las expectativas que usted tiene como madre y tal vez también a esos desafíos que se ha enfrentado ahorita durante la pandemia, ¿Qué idiomas cree que son importantes que aprendan sus hijos y por qué?*

*M4: Bueno para mí yo creo que es el español que lo aprendan bien y el inglés más adelante podría servirles, y náhuatl pues para que no olvidemos de dónde venimos, pero lo malo es que por eso, porque ya no les enseñamos a hablar así, y es que pues también no podemos hablarles así, pero aquí en la escuela les están enseñando un poco.*

*R: Entonces por ejemplo el español, ¿Para qué considera usted que lo deben aprender ellos?*

*M4: Pues para mí, pues, yo digo, pues ese lo tienen que aprender porque es lo que nosotros hablamos, los mexicanos, el español*

*R: ¿Y el inglés?*

*M4: Para, pos, porque digo yo que más adelante les podría servir a ellos*

*R: ¿En qué sentido?*

*M4: En que pueden llegar más lejos que nosotros*

*R: Y, cuando dice usted: “que pueden llegar más lejos que nosotros”, ¿se refiere a?*

*M4: A que estudien, a que ya no sean como nosotros que estemos en los tendaderos, en los estropajos, que sean mejores en todo, sí*

**(24)**

**R: Turning to the expectations that you have as a mother and perhaps also to those challenges that you have faced right now during the pandemic, what languages do you think are important for your children to learn and why?**

**M4: Well, to me, I think that it's Spanish, that they learn it well and English could help them later, and Náhuatl so that we don't forget where we come from. But the bad thing is that's why because we no longer teach them to speak like that, and well, we can't talk to them like that, but here at school they are teaching them a bit.**

**R: So, for example, Spanish, why do you think they should learn it?**

**M4: Well, for me, well, I say, well, they have to learn that one because it is what we speak, Mexicans, Spanish.**

**R: and English?**

**M4: To, well, because I say that it could be useful to them later**

**R: In what sense?**

**M4: In that they can go further than us**

**R: And when you say, “that they can go further than us,” you mean?**

**M4: That they study, that they are no longer like us that are on the clothes lines, in the scouring pads, that they are better in everything, yes.**

In (24), M4 talks about the languages she thinks are important for her children to learn. Not surprisingly, the language variety that takes precedence is Spanish ('standard Spanish use'). Her use of the verb '*aprendan*' conveys the subjunctive mood that expresses her wish that her children develop literacy skills in the dominant language, and this is underscored by her use of the adverb '*bien*' (well).

The second language variety M4 mentions is English. Argumentatively, she draws on the topos of usefulness to convey a future potential benefit of the English language in her child(ren)'s life. However, she fails to specify the benefits English could provide students with. Here, it is important to note that her use of the modal verb '*podría*' expresses a conditional mood that evokes a degree of uncertainty of the usefulness of English, or contingency upon certain circumstances. For instance, unless her children have the opportunity to learn English, it will proffer advantages. However, given her low socioeconomic level, it is highly unlikely that she will be able to pay for English classes.

The third and last language variety M4 refers to is Náhuatl and she legitimises its symbolic value by drawing on the topoi of history and national identity that assign Náhuatl a symbolic value that explicitly associates language with social cohesion ('Náhuatl for national identity'). M4 expands on Náhuatl, particularly its status in the home setting and draws on a discourse topic of 'the erasure of Náhuatl.' Her use of the adverbs '*ya*' and '*no*' and the verb '*enseñamos*' written in the first-person plural convey an indicative mood that states the fact that she, like other parents, no longer pass on Náhuatl to their children. She further emphasises the erasure of Náhuatl at home by using the modal verb '*no podemos*' written in the first-person plural to affirm that she, like other parents, is unable to speak Náhuatl. Hence, it seems highly unlikely that Náhuatl is spoken among the younger generations.

To expand on her argument about the importance of learning Spanish, M4 employs a discourse topic of 'Spanish for national identity.' First, she draws on an intensification strategy where the modal verb '*tienen que*' underscores the younger generations' obligation to learn Spanish. Then, she employs the topoi of national identity and definition (argumentation strategy) to talk about the value of Spanish. The topos of national identity is the 'sense of a nation as a cohesive whole' depicted by having a unified culture and language. As for the topos of definition, it argues that if a person is given a particular name, he/she is expected to possess specific characteristics that are implied in the name. In this instance, for example, if M4 states that she identifies as Mexican she is expected to speak Spanish. By using the modal verb '*tienen que*,' M4 conveys a sense of obligation that links speaking Spanish with a sense of belonging conducive to social cohesion.

Turning now to English, M4 employs a metaphor ('*llegar más lejos*') to hint at a discourse topic of 'development' that highlights the benefits of learning English. The metaphor used here maps the characteristics of physical distance between two objects, where one is ahead of the other, onto the academic and professional progress that students can achieve if they learn English in comparison to their parents. To elaborate on the discourse topic of 'development' constructed in this last part of (24), M4 draws on a predication strategy to describe English as a resource that gives students the opportunity to access knowledge through formal education ('*estudien*') which, in turn, potentially heightens their chances of social mobility.

Then, an intensification strategy is employed to set up a dichotomy between educated and uneducated people. M4, identifies with the latter group and highlights that her lack of education has led her, like many other parents, to work in manual jobs such as *jarciería* ('*tendederos*,' '*estropajos*') where the pay is very poor (see Chapter 1). Hence, she stresses her desire for her children to have improved life chances. The comparative form of the adjective '*bueno*' ('*mejor*') and the indefinite adjective '*todo*' contribute to the dichotomy constructed in this last part as they convey a potential advantageous position in all areas of life as a result of education in English. Here, it is important to note that the discourse topic of



‘development,’ which was at first associated with Spanish during the emergence and the consolidation of the nation-state (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.3 and 4.4), is appropriated here to talk about the potential benefits of speaking English, another colonial language. All in all, (24) is a useful illustration of the tensions at the home level in terms of LP decision-making. Like M2, M4 implicitly foregrounds the importance of developing literacy skills in standard Spanish which evidently shows compliance with the SLI. Concomitantly, M4 links Spanish and Náhuatl to a Mexican identity, whereas English is linked to development in life.

Similar to (22), (25) does not directly elicit the value assigned to Náhuatl as such, but it does provide a glimpse into the activities that pupils work on for the Náhuatl subject which, in turn, display the value of Náhuatl in the classroom and at home. Throughout (25), discourse topics of ‘Náhuatl as linguistic heritage’ and ‘the erasure of Náhuatl’ are obvious.

**(25)**

*R: ¿Qué ejercicios realizan para la clase de náhuatl?*

*M3: Como se dice “buenos días”, como se dice “buenas tardes”, “buenas noches”, este, cómo se dice “papá” en náhuatl, “mamá”, este, cómo se dice “niño”, “niña”, de esas palabras.*

*R: ¿Alguna otra?*

*M3: Este, las frutas, cómo se dice en náhuatl la “caña”, cómo se dice el “plátano” y así.*

*Entonces dice: “Mamá me dejaron estas palabras en náhuatl”. Le digo: “Ay hija, ¡Es que yo no sé!”. Entonces dice: “¿Pos si busco en el teléfono?”. Le digo: “Pos sí”. O hasta eso la vecina habla náhuatl, es una tía que habla náhuatl, y le digo: “No pos vamos a decirle cómo se dice...”, le digo: “Porque yo no sé”. O, a veces dice: “¿Cómo se dice ‘morado’? Los colores, ajá, los colores”. Le digo: “Bueno pos el ‘amarillo’ pos no, no sé, el ‘negro’ pos es, este, ‘tlilic’, este otro color, ‘rojo’”. Le digo: “No pos no sé, vamos a preguntarle”.*

(25)

**R: What exercises do you do for the Náhuatl class?**

**M3: How to say “good morning,” how to say “good afternoon,” “good night,” erm how to say “dad” in Náhuatl, “mom,” erm how to say “boy,” “girl,” those words.**

**R: Any other?**

**M3: Erm fruits, how do you say “cane” in Náhuatl, how do you say “banana” and the like. Then she says, “Mom, they asked me to look for these words in Náhuatl.” I tell her, “My child, I don’t know!” Then she says, “Well, if I look on the phone?” I say, “Well, yes.” Or even the neighbour speaks Náhuatl. She is an aunt who speaks Náhuatl, and I tell her, “No, well, let’s go to ask her how to say it,” I tell her, “because I don’t know.” Or sometimes she says, “How do you say ‘purple’? The colours, yes, the colours.” I tell her, “Well, erm, ‘yellow,’ well no, I don’t know. ‘Black,’ well, is erm ‘tlilic.’” “Erm another colour, ‘red,’” I tell her, “No, I don’t know, let’s ask her.”**

At the beginning of (25), M3 draws on nomination and predication strategies whereby a discourse topic of ‘Náhuatl as linguistic heritage’ is constructed. The phrases ‘*buenos días*’ and ‘*buenas tardes*’ as well as nouns such as ‘*niña*,’ ‘*papá*,’ and ‘*mamá*’ allude to basic vocabulary words related to greetings and the semantic field of family members. The activity that M3 describes here is consistent with the example activity that T2 provides in (16) where rather than developing literacy skills in Náhuatl, as endorsed by the CFILSC (2011), the activities revolve around introducing oneself, learning vocabulary words related to food, amongst others. In other words, these activities are aimed at developing lower order thinking skills such as memorising, identifying, or labelling which do not contribute to the revitalisation of ILVs, particularly the development of literacy skills. On the contrary, they illustrate learning activities that only raise awareness about Náhuatl as linguistic heritage, thereby ascribing a symbolic value unto it.

In providing an illustration of the interaction that takes place between M3 and her daughter while doing homework for the Náhuatl subject, she draws on a perspectivisation strategy. Her use of direct speech gives an insight into a typical conversation between mother and daughter. Consistent with the type of learning activities that students are asked to work on described in the previous paragraph, M3's daughter tells her that she has to look for vocabulary in Náhuatl. M3's reply evokes the discourse topic of 'the erasure of Náhuatl' that T2 employs in (16) to point out that the younger generations are unfamiliar with Náhuatl. In other words, Náhuatl is not spoken at home or in the community. Given said unfamiliarity and M3's approval, M3's daughter resorts to technology ('*teléfono*'). Here, it is important to mention that based on the semi-structured interviews and field note entries during staff meetings, Internet was reported to be used by teachers, parents, and students to search for vocabulary words and their spelling as the majority of them do not know how to write in Náhuatl.

Apart from resorting to the Internet, M3 addresses another source of information. In terms of nomination, the nouns '*vecina*' and '*tía*' are used here not only to refer to a relative who lives nearby, but to older generations. Predicatively, the older generations are viewed as having the ability to communicate in Náhuatl ('*habla Náhuatl*'). Here, a couple of points are worth noting. First, M3, like other mothers who participated in the study, implicitly acknowledges that the older generations are a source of knowledge that is capitalised on to do homework. Second, M3's recursive use of direct speech illustrates her lack of knowledge of Náhuatl and her difficulty to complete basic learning activities.

Building on 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage' and 'the erasure of Náhuatl,' M3 extends the perspectivisation strategy. Here, she not only continues to provide examples of basic vocabulary words (e.g. '*morado*,' '*colores*'), but also conveys her hesitancy to provide basic answers ('*este*,' '*pos*,' '*no sé*'), which undoubtedly exhibits her lack of knowledge of Náhuatl. Altogether, (25) gives an insight into the types of activities that children are expected to work on at home. Despite their low level of difficulty, most students and their parents struggle to recall basic Náhuatl words (e.g. colours, animals) as can be seen in the interaction between

M3 and her daughter. To tackle this issue, they rely on the Internet or the elderly who are known to speak Náhuatl.

So far, this section has focused on analysing how mothers use language to talk about the reasons behind school choice, the benefits, and the expectations regarding IBE, together with their view about the value and use of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English. What follows is a critical discussion of the most prominent discourse topics linking them to Chapters 4, 5, and 6, as well as to previous studies.

## **7.2 Discussion**

In this section, a discussion of the emerging discourses associated with IBE and language varieties in the home setting is carried out. As outlined in Chapter 1, the third research question of this study sought to explore the influence of macro-level language ideologies and discourses related to IBE and language varieties in semi-structured interviews with mothers. That is, it explored the views related to the rationale and objectives of IBE, as well as the value and functions of Náhuatl, Spanish, and English at home. In addition, it intended to identify the interdiscursive links between micro and macro-level LP texts.

As analysed in the previous section, the excerpts showed that the dominant discourse topics at micro level are in some ways contrary to those at macro and meso levels concerning IBE. Most of the discourse topics that emerged are not related to the underlying principles of IBE neither its benefits. On the contrary, they mainly address social factors (e.g. socioeconomic status) that have negatively affected the reputation of the general school and have prevented parents from enrolling their children there. Additionally, some of the mothers delve into the positive features (e.g. 'accessibility') of the bilingual school that have made the bilingual school a better choice to enrol their children.

In relation to language varieties, the findings show consistency with macro and meso levels as discourse topics of 'development' and neoliberal ideologies are foregrounded highlighting the value of literacy skills in Spanish and English for social mobility. Not

surprisingly, the value of Náhuatl is backgrounded by discourse topics of ‘the past,’ ‘ignorance,’ and ‘Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity’ that underscore its symbolic value.

### ***7.2.1 Discussion about Intercultural Bilingual Education***

In relation to IBE, one pivotal discourse topic in LP decision-making at home is ‘socioeconomic status’ that describes people based on their level of schooling, type of employment, and income. In Santa María, this discourse topic exemplifies the language-as-problem orientation given that some community members have employed it to label other members based on their low income. That is, it provides an illustration of the second level of Kroskrity’s (2004) cluster concept that talks about the variety of (opposing) language ideologies within a community (see Chapter 2). What is more, it sheds some light on the type of discrimination that many community members have faced. The fact that M3 points out the higher socioeconomic level of some of the students who attend the mainstream school is unexpected as the mention of the underlying principles of IBE or the benefits of bilingualism are completely absent. What is more, her husband’s response conveys a shared notion of bilingual education aimed at students who have a low socioeconomic level. Here, it is worth commenting that in the private sector in México bilingual education is very popular given its inherent academic and economic benefits. Unsurprisingly, the teaching of international languages such as English and French is endorsed, whereas the teaching of ILVs is only applicable to state schools where IBE is implemented (Mendoza Zuany, 2018).

Additionally, this discourse topic (‘socioeconomic status’) is an excellent illustration of the association between language and social problems such as poverty, which inevitably construct ILVs “as an underlying problem” (Ruiz, 1984, p. 19), and perpetuate the subordination of ILVs in the community and at home. Moreover, it suggests that parents may not be aware of the advantages of speaking Spanish and ILVs, or more preoccupying, the economic precarity of many families only heightens the social divide in the community which is transferred to the school and home settings (see Chapter 1). Rather than seeing Náhuatl

as linguistic capital and promoting the development of literacy, the focus is placed on acquiring cultural capital (skills, knowledge, education) that is accessible through Spanish seeking access to social and economic advantages (Bourdieu, 1991). Consequently, a shift from learning Náhuatl to tackling the socioeconomic disparity and its underlying consequences become the parents' priority.

Perhaps the most disturbing discourse topic that emerges at the micro level is 'maltreatment.' Although it was not related to IBE, it laid the foundation for discriminatory practices against students at the mainstream school in the past which, in turn, led many parents to enrol their children at the bilingual school. This discourse topic ('maltreatment'), like the previous one, is an example of the language-as-problem orientation that not only exemplifies the consequences of discriminating against people who spoke an ILV but points out the hostile environment at the mainstream school where some teachers would adopt an aggressive behaviour towards some of the students. Here, it is important to mention that M2 did not elaborate on what type of (corporal) punishment students received neither the ethnicity of those students who experienced maltreatment.

In investigating discrimination, other studies have shown how migrant languages are seen as a hindrance to academic success thereby promoting inequality and monolingualism at school (Dlugaj & Fürstenau, 2019), and how language skills and immigrant status have been key to discriminate against students (Rojas-Sosa, 2016). Taken together, these findings have implications for the mental and social well-being of those students who have indigenous heritage or who are migrants. On the one hand, they are likely to continue to be marginalised thereby contributing to the rejection of their (indigenous) identity and the discontinuation of the indigenous or minority language at home and school. On the other hand, they are likely to continue struggling with unequal access to education and economic resources, thus perpetuating social stratification.

To counteract the two unfavourable discourse topics discussed above, an interdiscursive link is made between discourse topics of 'convenience' and 'a nurturing school atmosphere' to talk about IBE and the bilingual school. The discourse topic of 'convenience' addresses

the school's proximity to M2's house, which is suitable to fulfil her needs, albeit it is unclear what types of needs are met. Nevertheless, a possible explanation might be that she, like other parents, save time to commute to school given that many of them do not own a vehicle and walk their children to school. Another explanation could be related to the flexibility to admit students at the bilingual school (see Chapter 1).

Together with this discourse topic of 'convenience,' M2 loosely addresses the learning of Náhuatl that exemplifies the language-as-right orientation, specifically M2's awareness of IBE's provision of opportunities to learn Náhuatl that implicitly evokes the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right.' This brief mention of Náhuatl is useful to demonstrate that whilst some mothers express interest in preserving or revitalising Náhuatl, they mainly address aspects that benefit them socially and economically.

As for the discourse topic of 'a nurturing school atmosphere,' it points out the positive school environment, particularly the values promoted by teachers and the cordial interpersonal relationships between teachers and students at the bilingual school. Here, some points are worth noting. First, these discourse topics ('convenience' and 'a nurturing school atmosphere') are perhaps the most unexpected finding as they are not related to bilingualism neither to IBE, nor have they been reported in any other studies. Hence, they are another major contribution of this study, particularly at the home and/or community level(s). Notwithstanding, Dorner (2015) discussed slightly similar parental discourse topics regarding multilingual education in the USA. For instance, 25% of the parents highlighted increased social growth, i.e. respect towards others and access to safe spaces where young children were protected from bullying and the influence of gangs.

Second, these discourse topics underpin the rationale behind the apathy towards the revitalisation of Náhuatl. Rather than highlighting the teaching of ILVs and the value of cultural and linguistic diversity like macro-level LP texts, they address socioeconomic and affective factors that contribute to the family's economy and the students' positive or negative wellbeing respectively.

Third, these discourse topics can be explained in part by the low socioeconomic level that most families in Santa María belong to, coupled with their low levels of educational attainment (see Chapters 1 and 3). Taken together, these micro-level discourse topics show a striking shift where socioeconomic factors prevail, whereas educational aspects, particularly the learning of Náhuatl, are backgrounded. Their prominence at the micro level not only may help us to understand the reasons behind the erasure of Náhuatl in school, home, and community settings, but also suggest that Náhuatl will continue to be neglected in daily interaction amongst the younger generations. Having discussed the discourse topics related to IBE at the home level, I will now move on to discuss the salient discourse topics related to Náhuatl, Spanish, and English.

### ***7.2.2 Discussion about Language Varieties***

As analysed earlier, an interdiscursive relationship between discourse topics of ‘the past,’ ‘ignorance,’ and ‘Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity’ is noticeable at the micro level. The discourse topic of ‘the past’ evokes the use of Náhuatl to interact amongst the older generations at an earlier point in time, as well as its erasure from the linguistic practices amongst the younger generations (parents and children) in the present. It indirectly evidences the language-as-problem orientation since it shows a steady shift from Náhuatl to Spanish over time. Here, it is important to highlight that this discourse topic can be seen as the result of discourse topics of ‘monolingualism in Spanish’ and ‘cognitive and linguistic disadvantage’ drawn on by the HSDS in (14) to address the suppression of Náhuatl at home due to the misconception of speaking Náhuatl as an intellectual limitation. This discourse topic (‘the past’) is similar to the one discussed by Lagunas (2019) who reported that young people viewed Náhuatl as old fashioned. Worryingly, these views serve as an ideological tool to shape the perspective towards Náhuatl as belonging to a time in the past, and further neglect its value and use at home and in the community in the present.

A second prominent discourse topic that is interdiscursively linked to the past is that of ‘ignorance.’ It associates Náhuatl to people who lack knowledge, information, education, or



who are uncivilised. In other words, it implicitly conveys the idea of Nahua speakers as savages who need to be domesticated or educated as if they were animals, degrading their inherent value as human beings. It overtly conveys the social exclusion of ILV speakers (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) contributing to their social domination by L1 Spanish speakers and the exacerbation of social inequality. Strikingly, this discourse topic reflects the consequences of the nation-state and assimilationist ideologies that emerged after the Mexican independence when the government aimed at creating a new independent nation (Barriga Villanueva, 2018; Blackledge, 2012). As a result, the older generations experienced the homogenisation of linguistic practices at school which was passed on to the younger generations.

This discourse topic of ‘ignorance,’ which serves as a negative evaluation of Náhuatl and speakers of ILVs, contributes to the appropriation of the discourse topic of *menosprecio* reported by Messing (2007) that conveys the underestimation of ILVs, indigenous people and cultures based on the conflation of being indigenous with poverty and lack of education. The association between these two discourse topics is troubling given that it shows that the view towards ILVs and their speakers has been perpetuated across a number of indigenous communities in México. Consequently, these discourse topics (‘the past,’ ‘ignorance’) have contributed to the subordination of ILVs and their use in daily interaction at home and in the community (Gomashie, 2023; Terborg & Landa, 2011).

Finally, a third prominent discourse topic is that of ‘Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity’ that not only addresses parents’ interest in the acquisition of basic vocabulary related to colours, greetings, animals, and the national anthem, but also the consolidation of a sense of belonging to México and its indigenous roots (Gellner, 1983; Walsh, 2021). This discourse topic depicts the language-as-resource orientation as Náhuatl is, to some extent, expected to be used in the classroom, albeit its uses are limited to very basic activities that do not account for the development of literacy skills outlined in macro-level LP texts. On the contrary, they contribute to the symbolic value of the history and traditions of México in the consolidation of national unity, identity, and pride at home. This

discourse topic (Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity) is a useful illustration of the fifth level of Kroskrity's (2004) cluster concept outlined in Chapter 2 (Section 2.7) that describes the pivotal role of language ideologies in the construction of a Mexican national identity that is characterised by, amongst other things, speaking the same language. Interestingly, the fact that Náhuatl is acknowledged as part of México's linguistic heritage and identity shows some progress towards the revitalisation of ILVs as opposed to the dissemination of Spanish as the only symbol of Mexican culture and identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (see Chapter 4).

The increasing visibility of ILVs has also been reported in other studies that have discussed the link between ILVs, cultural heritage, and national identity (e.g. Bubikova-Moan, 2017; De Korne et al., 2019; Poudel & Choi, 2022; Thomas, 2022). For example, De Korne et al. (2019) found that Zapoteco, an ILV, was apprehended as an identity marker that bolstered the appreciation of indigenous linguistic and cultural roots and the use of ILVs in higher education. However, Zapoteco and its varieties were not given the same value when compared to some European languages. In another study, Poudel and Choi (2022) found that the teaching of minority languages as subject content and medium of instruction was underpinned by a discourse of ethnolinguistic identity. Nonetheless, the teaching of dominant languages was given primacy due to a discourse of 'globalisation.' The consistency with which the discourse topic of 'ILVs as cultural heritage and national identity' has been employed across different contexts is worth discussing for a number of reasons. First, the fact that macro-level LP texts have drawn on this discourse topic to support the teaching of ILVs shows accountability towards international initiatives espoused by powerful organisations such as UNESCO. This undoubtedly shows political correctness as some provision has been made to revitalise ILVs by increasing their visibility, appreciation, and use within the school setting. Nonetheless, as reported in the studies above, this discourse topic (Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity) does not seem to exert much influence when it appears in conjunction with dominant languages and discourses of globalisation, and when material resources are limited (Slaughter et al., 2019). Consequently, the fact that this

discourse topic has been appropriated at every layer in this study suggests that the value of Náhuatl in the classroom and at home will remain symbolic. Simply put, Náhuatl will continue to be used marginally to teach vocabulary or phrases or sing the national anthem during school assemblies.

In relation to Spanish, the analysis of the semi-structured interviews with mothers shed light on the overwhelming pervasiveness of neoliberal ideologies that are the most obvious finding to emerge from the data. In this regard, a discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity' is prominent. This discourse topic, although broad in its scope, in this setting is employed to talk about the development of literacy skills, particularly academic reading and writing in different genres to communicate 'correctly' with different interlocutors in diverse situations. Regarding this discourse topic some points should be considered. First, the appropriation of this discourse topic at the home level clearly demonstrates how the SLI (Lippi-Green, 1994), endorsed by macro-level LP texts (e.g. Excerpts (10) and (11)), has become institutionalised through the development of literacy skills in the dominant language (Fairclough, 1989). Strikingly, this discourse topic exhibits compliance with the SLI due to parents' lack of education and their deficient literacy in Spanish (see Chapter 1, Section 1.7 and Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4.3).

Second, this discourse topic is closely associated with T2's discourse topic of 'teacher accountability' and mention of the need to strengthen students' literacy in Spanish given that their reading comprehension is poor, and their writing is characterised by having spelling mistakes. Hence, parental concern focuses on the child(ren)'s academic performance and success in the dominant language, Spanish.

The emphasis placed on the acquisition and development of the standard version of the dominant language has been observed across multilingual countries. For instance, in the Thai context, Howard (2012) reported that middle-class parents followed a monolingual approach to home interaction where Standard Thai was spoken due to perceived economic development. Likewise, parents from lower social classes viewed Standard Thai as the means to upward social mobility. However, some other parents who lived in rural areas

regarded it as unnecessary for day-to-day interaction. These rather unsurprising findings can be attributed to the fact that dominant languages are constructed as linguistic commodities in official policy texts and at school. However, there might be other reasons such as future parental expectations.

Another salient discourse topic related to Spanish is ‘Spanish for national identity.’ This discourse topic maintains that speaking and writing in Spanish is a defining feature of Mexicans. Regarding the orientations, this discourse topic exemplifies the language-as-resource orientation as it assigns Spanish an intrinsic value associated with the consolidation of a Mexican identity and the development of a sense of belonging (Blommaert, 2005a). The emergence of this discourse topic is consistent with previous research that has explored the association between speaking a dominant language with having a national identity or achieving social cohesion (e.g. Shen & Gao, 2019).

As can be seen, the discourse topic of ‘Spanish for national identity’ appears vis-à-vis the discourse topic of ‘Náhuatl for national identity’ discussed earlier. In other words, at the home level, Náhuatl and Spanish compete for the same value. Nonetheless, Spanish is given more prominence due to its instrumental value as it is used to communicate in the public sphere (e.g. government, education), whereas Náhuatl is assigned a more symbolic value that is associated with the construction of a Mexican identity characterised by being multicultural and multilingual (Curdts-Christiansen 2016).

These discourse topics (Náhuatl and Spanish for national identity) resonate with those found at the macro level, particularly in (2) where an implicit interdiscursive link to the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States is evident. In this case, the acknowledgement of multilingualism as an underlying feature of México or Mexicaness. Hence, speaking Spanish and Náhuatl is apprehended as part of a Mexican identity. The difference between the values assigned to Spanish and Náhuatl may partly be explained by the fact that Spanish is spoken by the majority of the community in all spheres of life, whereas Náhuatl is mostly spoken amongst the elderly in private situations.

Now moving on to English, mothers employ discourse topics of ‘usefulness’ and ‘development’ to talk about the value and uses of English. The discourse topic of ‘usefulness’ conveys the idea of English as proffering an advantage, fulfilling an objective, or having a positive effect in students’ lives. In other words, English is seen as a resource as it is believed to have an extrinsic value that facilitates social mobility, amongst other things. Here, it is important to mention that the teaching of English had been discontinued at the bilingual school for approximately five years, according to the HSDS at the time of the interview. However, the salience of this discourse topic at home is prominent given that many community members have migrated to the United States for economic and personal reasons (see Chapter 1). Not surprisingly, the added value assigned to English has been reported in other studies where discourses of globalisation and neoliberalism (e.g. Nelson et al., 2023; Poudel & Choi, 2022) as well as heightened opportunities for social mobility (e.g. Joseph & Ramani, 2012) have bolstered its use. Consequently, indigenous and/or minority languages have either been assigned a symbolic value that is inextricably related to national identity (De Korne et al. 2019) or cultural heritage (see Excerpts (4), (20), (24)).

The discourse topic of ‘development,’ also discussed in Chapter 5, highlights the importance of the growth of the standard of living, amongst other things. What is more, it evokes the discourse of ‘modern development’ that has underpinned efforts to bolster economic growth and sociocultural change since the mid-1990s (Dietz & Mateos Cortés, 2011) (See Chapter 4). Although this discourse topic is not directly related to the value or use of English itself, it does implicitly construct it as a means to achieve one of the main interests of the NC (2011) and the CLHE (2017), that of becoming an economically and socially developed country. In other words, it clearly exemplifies Kroskrity’s (2004) notion that language ideologies about language varieties are tied to socio-historical and socio-political agendas (see Chapters 2 and 4). This discourse topic is consistent with that of Messing (2007) who found that the discourse of ‘pro-development’ was employed to talk about the advantages of speaking Spanish such as social mobility. The fact that this discourse has been drawn on over two decades is worth noting as it proves that although it

has underpinned LPs to eradicate underdevelopment and poverty in indigenous communities, it has failed to meet its original objectives such as equal economic growth and equity in education. Taken together, these findings suggest that the prestige of Spanish and English in Santa María is related to the community's underlying features, particularly the low socioeconomic level of many community members. Hence, rather than revitalising Náhuatl, mothers voice their concerns related to improved life chances as that has been a major need in Santa María.

### 7.3 Summary

This chapter sought to shed light on the appropriation of macro-level discourses and ideologies associated with IBE and the value and functions assigned to language varieties at home. Similar to Chapters 5 and 6, a comprehensive linguistic analysis of semi-structured interviews with mothers was carried out. Consistent with macro and meso LP texts, the language-as-resource orientation was the most prominent. In the case of Náhuatl, the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity' was employed to assign it a symbolic value. Concomitantly, the discourse topic of 'linguistic competence as commodity' was used to foreground the development of literacy skills in different genres, which inevitably gave priority to the teaching of Spanish. English, similar to Spanish, was given more prominence by a discourse topic of 'development' that constructed it as a way to achieve social mobility.

In relation to the discourse topics associated with IBE, a strong persistence towards the appropriation of neoliberal ideologies and their resulting discourse topics (e.g. 'development') was evident. However, some new discourse topics emerged in relation to IBE which is another major contribution of this study at the home level. In this respect, four discourse topics were employed to construct a dichotomy between the mainstream and bilingual schools. The first two ('socioeconomic status' and 'maltreatment') provided an insight into the social divide that exists in Santa María as well as the resulting discrimination

that influences parental school choice. The other two discourse topics ('convenience' and 'nurturing school atmosphere') constructed a positive view about the bilingual school. The use of these rather contradictory discourse topics clearly showed how the ideas behind IBE were not related to the value of bilingualism per se, but to the socioeconomic and sociocultural reality of Santa María (Woolard, 1998). What is more, they hinted at the social problems that still prevail despite the government's efforts to tackle underdevelopment and poverty in México by uncritically appropriating a neoliberal agenda from international organisations such as the OECD.

The fact that the bilingual school was seen as a better school choice for those students who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds has negative implications for an effective implementation of the programmes. For instance, the bilingual school may continue to bear the stigma of the school for the poor (Hawkey & Mooney, 2021; Torres Corona, 2013), which may perpetuate the discrimination towards students, parents, and the school itself, thus exacerbating the social divide in Santa María. As a result, parents and students may show reluctance towards the bilingual school and the revitalisation of Náhuatl due to its association with a low socioeconomic level (Ruiz, 1984).

As for the discourse topics related to language varieties, the value and uses assigned to Náhuatl, Spanish, and English remained uncontested. Although Náhuatl was associated with discourse topics of 'the past' and 'ignorance' that inevitably subordinate its value and use at home, the discourse topic of 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity' was drawn on to resist the hegemony of Spanish and assign it a symbolic value. In this case, it clearly demonstrated how language ideologies exert influence on the construction of national identity (Kroskrity, 2004). Spanish, on the other hand, was discursively constructed by discourses of standardisation and national identity that not only exemplified the appropriation of the SLI (Lippi-Green, 1994), but also the symbolic value of Spanish to develop a sense of belonging to México. Finally, the value of speaking English was underpinned by discourse topics of 'usefulness' and 'development' that evoked the appropriation of a neoliberal agenda from the OECD to bolster social mobility.

In conclusion, the discussion presented in this section showed that discourse topics such as 'standard Spanish use' and 'development' prompted the legitimization of discourse topics of 'the past' and 'Náhuatl as linguistic heritage and national identity.' These discourse topics were appropriated by mothers given the erasure of Náhuatl from the linguistic practices at home and in the community, as well as their current socioeconomic contextual needs. Not surprisingly, neoliberal ideologies that foreground language varieties as commodities for economic development and heightened visibility in the global economy were legitimised.



## Chapter 8 Conclusion

To address recent calls for multidisciplinary approaches to exploring LP appropriation, I combined the ELP with the DHA. This enabled me to triangulate ethnographic data with discursive analyses of LP texts and discourses. Additionally, it allowed me to explore dominant discourses related to IBE, as well as the value and uses assigned to language varieties in official LP texts. Equally important, it enabled me to shed light on the appropriation of said discourses in school and home settings in Santa María, Puebla, by means of semi-structured interviews with school authorities, teachers, and mothers.

### 8.1 Summary of Main Research Findings

#### 8.1.1 Research Question 1

Following a top-down organisation, the first research question sought to unpack the discursive construction of IBE and language varieties in three official LP texts (NC, 2011; CFILSC, 2011; CLHE, 2017). Not surprisingly, the language-as-right orientation was the most prominent across the three macro-level LP texts, which might have been due to the fact that they were curriculum frameworks that had been created to comply with the LGDLPI (2003), Article III of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States, amongst others. This orientation was evident in discourse topics of ‘bilingual education as right,’ ‘inclusivity,’ and ‘equality’ which conveyed implicit and explicit intertextual links to UNESCO’s agenda and discourses that promote the introduction of indigenous or minority languages in the school curriculum. Concomitantly, a shift back to a unified education system that homogenises language use was implicitly endorsed.

The second most prominent orientation was language as resource which was drawn on to address the benefits of bilingual education. This orientation was evident in discourse topics such as ‘cultural and linguistic diversity’ and ‘linguistic competence as commodity’ that have been promoted by UNESCO and the OECD, respectively. In this regard, IBE was expected to cater for the linguistic demands of pupils from various ethnolinguistic backgrounds, whilst contributing to the development of literacy skills in Spanish and ILVs.

As for language varieties, the most outstanding orientation was seeing language varieties as resources, albeit to different extents and for different purposes. Interdiscursive links between discourse topics of 'Spanish as an international language,' 'English as a global language,' and 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' were employed thus commodifying English and Spanish as an asset in the global market for social mobility, whereas Náhuatl was assigned a symbolic value associated with national identity.

### **8.1.2 Research Question 2**

The second research question aimed at shedding light on the school level's discourses associated with the rationale, aims and challenges of IBE, as well as the value and uses of language varieties at the bilingual school and in the community. Additionally, it intended to identify the intertextual and interdiscursive links between these discourses and those instantiated in macro-level LP texts.

In relation to Ruiz's orientations, the most outstanding one was seeing languages as resources for different ends. For instance, discourse topics like 'Spanish as the medium of instruction' that privileged the use of Spanish for teaching and learning contributed to the appropriation of 'Náhuatl as cultural heritage' that focused on understanding the underlying value of cultural practices, but that disregarded the development of literacy in Náhuatl. The juxtaposition of these discourse topics, amongst others, showed compliance with dominant discourse topics (e.g. 'Spanish as the medium of instruction') and their underpinning ideologies (e.g. SLI) as priority was given to meeting the programmes' objectives (e.g. CLHE's (2017)).

Amongst the discourse topics employed to talk about IBE, 'monolingualism in Spanish,' which served as the foundation of linguistic homogenisation in the classroom since the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, contributed to the appropriation of discourse topics of 'linguistic competence as commodity' and 'teacher accountability.' The use of these discourse topics bolstered neoliberal ideologies that not only circulate in institutions such as the OECD, but also tend to overlook the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity espoused by UNESCO.

However, agentic decision-making by some stakeholders (e.g. HSDS) was evident as they drew on the discourse topic of 'revitalisation' to resist the overwhelming influence of dominant languages in education.

Another two emerging discourse topics were 'impracticality' and 'inconsistency' that were employed to disapprove of the aims of the Náhuatl programme due to the erasure of Náhuatl from the home setting and teachers' lack of knowledge of Náhuatl. Also prominent were the tensions between the jure and de facto LPs as IBE is only implemented in schools that belong to the Subsystem of Indigenous Education, thereby exacerbating social inequality.

The value and uses assigned to Spanish, Náhuatl, and English at school were invariably the same as those constructed across official policy documents in Chapter 5. Spanish and English were constructed as an advantage to accessing knowledge (e.g. 'Spanish as medium of instruction') and for migrating to the United States ('English for migration'). Náhuatl, on the other hand, was perceived as 'cultural and linguistic heritage' due to its steady erasure from the community and home settings. However, teachers tried to counterbalance it with the discourse topic of 'equality' suggesting that the same status given to the General Education System and Spanish be given to the Subsystem of Indigenous Education and Náhuatl.

### **8.1.3 Research Question 3**

The third research question delved into local appropriation. That is to say, whether mothers adopted, adapted, or resisted the views about the rationale and objectives of IBE, as well as the value and functions of Náhuatl, Spanish, and English at home. In addition, it explored the intertextual and interdiscursive links between micro and macro-level LP texts.

In terms of the emerging discourse topics linked to IBE, they countered those at the federal and school levels in some ways. Interestingly, they were shaped by social and economic aspects such as a low socio-economic level, accessibility, a nurturing school atmosphere, amongst others, which differentiated between the mainstream and bilingual schools, thus exacerbating the social divide in the community. Strikingly, the discourse topics

employed detached from the value of bilingualism as priority was given to tackling the families' financial problems. Concomitantly, there was clear evidence of the appropriation of neoliberal ideologies and their resulting discourse topics (e.g. 'development') owing to a low socioeconomic level.

Like school authorities and teachers, mothers showed a tendency towards looking at languages as resources to different extents and purposes. On the one hand, the use of Náhuatl at school and in the community was backgrounded due to its steady erasure from the community and its association with being ignorant and the past. Consequently, Náhuatl was seen as a symbol of national identity and linguistic heritage thereby assigning it a symbolic value. The hegemony of Spanish and English, on the other hand, was noticeable as mothers highlighted the importance of learning the standard version of Spanish and associated English with development. In other words, the SLI and neoliberal agendas from the OECD were appropriated in domestic settings due to academic and socio-economic factors that had a direct bearing on the community such as deficient Spanish literacy skills, low-level of schooling, and low income.

## **8.2 Implications of the Findings**

Based on the above findings, it can be argued that two overarching forces are seen contending over the rationale of IBE and the value and uses of Spanish, Náhuatl, and English. One of them is UNESCO's agenda that has bolstered the discourse topic of 'bilingual education as right' seeking to compensate for the social inequality experienced by indigenous people and those of indigenous backgrounds. Whilst this discourse topic, together with others (e.g. 'equality,' 'inclusivity,' 'cultural and linguistic diversity') informed the creation of the CFILSC (2011), a tension is evident as one of the main aims of the Náhuatl and Spanish programmes is the development of biliteracy skills. The implicit rationale behind this is the consolidation of the nation-state and its ongoing development whereby literacy skills are constructed as an asset to have social mobility and partake in a globalised society.

This suggests that the second dominant force is OECD's agenda which implicitly constructs development as a national interest thus foregrounding high-stakes testing, teacher accountability, standard language use, amongst others.

Unsurprisingly, the tension between UNESCO's and the OECD's agendas has resulted in the hierarchisation of language varieties thereby foregrounding Spanish literacy skills and backgrounding the revitalisation of Náhuatl. Consequently, the implications of the findings address the revitalisation of ILVs (e.g. Náhuatl) in classroom and/or home settings.

The first implication is the decolonisation of IBE in official documents and classroom practices. Following Kramsch (2019), decolonisation entails the "ethical and political capacity to engage in dialogue with speakers from other educational cultures on their own terms, and the willingness to enter the slow and difficult process of linguistic and cultural translation" (p. 69). In other words, for IBE to become decolonised, stakeholders at the macro level (e.g. policy makers) need to recognise and include other stakeholders' views into the creation of ILV programmes thereby striking a balance between the community's resources (including languages), pupils' contextual needs and interests, and the wider demands of society.

A second implication is that IBE programmes might need to include detailed guidance on inclusive pedagogical approaches aiming to use ILVs (e.g. Náhuatl) and community resources in meaningful interaction (e.g. work in pairs or small groups to answer an activity in Náhuatl). One such approach is the kind of multilingual pedagogy that advocates of 'translanguaging' have suggested. García (2019), for example, has called for pedagogies that capitalise on students' cultural and linguistic repertoires whereby all semiotic resources at their disposal are drawn on in the classroom. By taking advantage of said cultural and linguistic repertoires, Náhuatl would be revitalised amongst teachers, students, and parents. Rather than seeing Náhuatl as cultural and linguistic heritage that only has a symbolic role (e.g. sing the national anthem), it would be drawn upon to perform classroom activities and communicate with family members, even if basic Náhuatl is spoken.

A third implication that is directly linked to the second implication is the possibility of reshaping the rationale of IBE and the way cultural and linguistic diversity are seen and

promoted. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 showed the overwhelming influence of the one-nation-one-language ideology and the SLI. Concomitantly, the idea of languages as bounded entities was not only promoted by macro-level LP texts, but uncritically endorsed by teachers and mothers. For ILVs to be revitalised in the classroom and at home, it is of utmost importance that the circulating language ideologies and discourses are reshaped. As a way of illustration, rather than adopting the OECD's discourses, i.e. 'linguistic competence as commodity,' that covertly contribute to monolingualism in one language, more inclusive approaches (e.g. translanguaging) (Wei & García, 2022) that do not ascribe specific values or uses to language varieties, but instead allow for local stakeholders' creativity and freedom should be endorsed.

A fourth implication has to do with assessing Náhuatl in the IBE curriculum. As noted in Chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7, a strong emphasis is made on the development of literacy skills in standard Spanish, its assessment in teacher-made tests, national testing, and/or standardised tests, as well as teachers' accountability in prioritising the Spanish programme's aims. By contrast, Náhuatl is part of non-exam assessment as it does not contribute to summative assessment, neither is it part of the end-of-year reports. Consequently, a step forward would entail the allocation of more hours to Náhuatl in the school timetable, formal assessment of skills in Náhuatl, and the incorporation of marks in students' overall performance and school reports. By doing this, the revitalisation of ILVs would be consolidated leading to the transmission of indigenous knowledge, values, and cultures at school and at home, amongst others.

A fifth implication emerging from the findings that would contribute to the revitalisation of ILVs is the community's more active engagement in school activities. As outlined in Chapter 1, in some occasions, the elderly are invited to tell stories in Náhuatl, amongst other activities. However, these kinds of activities do not take place regularly. Therefore, it would be helpful to promote greater community involvement (e.g. Bhattacharjee, 2019) on a regular basis so that students become accustomed to listening to and speaking Náhuatl whilst learning about traditions and customs.

A sixth implication that would contribute towards the revitalisation of ILVs in IBE has to do with consolidating pre-service and in-service teacher development. As stated in Chapters 1 and 3, the large majority of teachers who implement the IBE programme at the bilingual school speak Spanish as their L1 and have very limited knowledge about Náhuatl. Therefore, pre-service and in-service teacher development could include regular ILV classes throughout the school year, offering progression and continuity to the development of ILVs. A good first step would be to develop oracy. This would be conducive to the promotion of ILV use in spoken interaction thereby creating a genuine need to learn them.

Apart from offering ILV classes, teacher development could focus on inclusive approaches (e.g. *traslanguaging*) to teaching and learning. This would require the reconfiguration of teachers' misconceptions about bilingual education wherein separate languages are seen and used for different purposes. Instead, a flexible use of all semiotic resources could be promoted where students' creativity and cultural and linguistic repertoires are used for meaningful interaction and psycho-social support (Capstick & Ateek, 2021; García, 2019; García & Wei, 2015). Additionally, teacher development could promote language ownership in flexible ways by encouraging the use of ILVs in domains that are not considered indigenous, opening up opportunities to interact with new speakers (Ting, 2024).

Lastly, the socioeconomic level of families' needs to be improved. As stated in Chapters 1, 3, and 4, the socioeconomic level of the community is low. Strikingly, in Chapter 7, mothers showed more concern about their immediate needs such as having social mobility, whilst they completely ignored the benefits of bilingual education. Once their pressing needs are met, parents and children might be more interested in revitalising Náhuatl at home. However, its revitalisation or the advocacy of bilingualism at home may not gain more prominence in the short term.

### 8.3 Contributions to the Field

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, this study was underpinned by the ELP and the DHA seeking to unpack how language can be used to appropriate language ideologies and discourses at federal, school, and home levels. By following the ELP, this study makes a valuable contribution to the growing number of studies that have focused on LPP decision-making at different levels (e.g. Bettney, 2022; Hansen, 2016; Hornberger, 2020; Howard, 2012; Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Messing, 2007; Nelson et al., 2023; Poudel & Choi, 2022). Particularly, this study provided good illustrations of stakeholders' agency at the school and home levels that contribute to understanding how LP appropriation is constrained by contextual factors. For instance, at school, teachers were agentive despite the limitations imposed by the curriculum frameworks as they exercised their ability to make decisions (e.g. prioritise Spanish) that turned into actions (e.g. the development of Spanish writing activities). Whilst teachers could have given more prominence to Náhuatl, they decided to prioritise Spanish due to their lack of knowledge about Náhuatl, students' need to have social mobility, and so on.

At home, an illustration of LP appropriation and agentive decision-making that this study provided was the way in which mothers validated the role of Spanish as pivotal for social mobility. Not surprisingly, the hegemony of Spanish has moved into domestic settings due to socioeconomic reasons (e.g. low income). In this sense, mothers exercised their agency as they promoted Spanish use at home and devoted time and efforts to helping their children to develop literacy skills in Spanish. That is to say, they appropriated discourses about Spanish and English based on their child(ren)'s needs (e.g. develop or refine literacy skills in Spanish), interests (e.g. learn English to migrate), and limitations (e.g. low socioeconomic level). These findings contribute to the broader discussion of the pivotal role of the school (e.g. Gallo & Hornberger, 2019; Pérez Báez, 2013) and the family (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen et al., 2023; Howard, 2012) in language revitalisation or language shift.



Another contribution this study makes to the LPP field is the deconstruction of discourses at different levels of LP implementation by taking into account the DHA's four levels of context. As stated in Chapter 2 (Section 2.1.5.1), there is little published research that explores the relationship between local actions and critical discursive analyses of LP texts and discourses at macro, meso, and micro levels (Johnson, 2010b; Krzyżanowski, 2011a; Weinberg, 2021). By considering LP texts, participants' sociological background, and a critical historical overview of language use and LPs in the Mexican context, I was able to make intertextual and interdiscursive links between the levels of context and discourses. Concomitantly, I was able to unpack the appropriation of language ideologies and discourses related to IBE and language varieties at home and school settings, discussing how contextual features influence LP appropriation.

Additionally, the DHA's five discursive strategies shed light on the intricate ways in which LP texts constructed discourses and language ideologies. What is more, the use of these discursive strategies showed how language transmits ideas that undoubtedly influence decision-making and action on the ground (Hart, 2010; Macedo, 2019).

Another contribution this study makes is the combination of discursive analyses with ethnographic empirical data. As stated in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5.1), only a handful of critical discourse studies (e.g. Barakos, 2012; Johnson, 2010a; Rogers, 2011) have triangulated discursive analyses of LP texts with local appropriation. In this sense, this study contributes to CDS by exploring LP appropriation by means of semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders and field note entries. The former allowed me to get an insight into participants' appropriation of discourses, whereas the latter allowed for a deeper understanding of participants' lived experiences as well as my researcher positionality and reflexivity. By using field notes, I was able to ponder upon my different positionalities (e.g. researcher from CONAHCYT) and how they could influence participants' behaviours. In addition, they allowed me to record some of the peculiarities of Santa María (e.g. selling of cleaning products) and the bilingual school (e.g. interaction during staff meetings).

A final contribution that this study makes is the use of Ruiz's orientations as a heuristic to explore the rationale and underpinning values of the circulating language ideologies in macro, meso, and micro LP texts. To my knowledge, this is the first study in the Mexican context that employs them to discuss the implications for LP appropriation. In this sense, this study contributes fresh insights to the wider discussion of how these orientations have been used to different extents and purposes (e.g. Aktürk-Drake, 2023; Alstad & Sopanen, 2021; de Jong et al., 2016; Easlick, 2022; Paulsrud et al., 2020).

#### **8.4 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research**

As stated in the previous section, this study makes a valuable contribution to the field of CDS as it is, to my knowledge, one of a handful of studies that have followed the ELP approach to investigating LPs. In this regard, however, there lies one of the limitations of this study. Prior to data collection (April to July, 2021), the Covid-19 pandemic had spread around the world affecting my level of interaction with the research setting as well as with participants which is key in ethnographic studies. As a result, the length of data collection (three months) and my level of engagement with the community and the school was minimum. I visited the town centre three times (e.g. Patronal feast to San Bernardino) and the school six times (e.g. attend face-to-face staff meetings, carry out semi-structured interviews with mothers). Most of the contact was made via Zoom or WhatsApp audio calls and messages. Consequently, I was treated as an outsider in town (see Chapter 3 for my positionalities). What is more, I was not able to develop close relationships neither with teachers nor with mothers. This could have affected a better understanding of teachers' and mothers' decision-making and appropriation of discourses and language ideologies at school and home.

A second limitation also linked to the ethnographic approach taken in this study concerns the potential influence of my presence in LP implementation, specifically lesson planning. As stated in Chapter 3, when I attended the first in-person staff meeting with the headteacher

and teachers at school, I explained the overarching purpose of this study which was the implementation of the bilingual programme. Given that teachers were aware of my interest in exploring the value and use of Náhuatl at school, some of them included a few activities for the Náhuatl class, albeit their level of difficulty was low. Aside from this, the headteacher commented that he had noticed that some of the teachers had incorporated activities where Náhuatl was expected to be used to translate the newspaper. He added that those activities were irrelevant to students' learning needs and interests, and that a sequence should be followed alluding to a progression of the level of difficulty of activities consistent with students' ability and knowledge. In other words, it could be argued that the teaching of Náhuatl was being neglected and that some teachers were not following the guidelines provided in the CFILSC (2011). However, it seems that some of the teachers included some activities so that I would report that the Náhuatl programme was being implemented. However, there might have been other reasons.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, a third limitation is the small number of data sets. Originally, I had planned to triangulate discursive analyses of LPs with interviews, classroom interaction, and field notes. However, given the pandemic, in-person teaching and learning shifted to remote interaction. Consequently, I had to reduce the number of data sets to official LP texts, semi-structured interviews, and some field note entries. By observing classroom interaction, I would have been able to explore children's use of ILVs and Spanish enabling me to understand children's views and use of languages.

Owing to the scope of the study and time constraints, another limitation is the small number of genres under investigation. Other useful genres could have been laws such as the General Law of Education, political debates that address the passing of bills or their amendments, and various websites such as forums, social media, or educational websites that discuss bilingual education related themes. The incorporation of these genres would have provided a more comprehensive view of LP appropriation, thereby broadening the triangulation of the data.

One last potential limitation of this study relates to the definition of LPs that this study adopted. Whilst Spolsky's broader view of LPs was helpful when taking an ethnographic approach and letting my experiences in the field shape my working definition of LP, it has been criticised due to its vagueness to define what LPs are and its lack of specific features to distinguish between LPs and other events (Savski, 2023a).

In seeking to address the above limitations, research studies that are situated at the intersection of the ELP and the DHA need to engage with the research setting for longer periods of time, not only allowing the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the research context and participants but also enhancing the relationship between participants and the researcher.

In addition, future studies in the Mexican context should incorporate classroom interaction so as to give an insight into linguistic practices amongst teachers and children. This data would allow researchers to triangulate discourses and language ideologies (instantiated in interviews with teachers') with teachers' and children's language use in the classroom.

Moreover, further work needs to incorporate more recent approaches to LPs. This could entail exploring LP texts through an entextualisation lens, as with Savski's (2023a) recent work, whereby LP appropriation undergoes transformation across three main levels: 1) individual and institutional ownership, 2) global and local meanings, and 3) the universality of practice and the situatedness of LP action. This more recent approach would enhance our understanding of the dynamicity and nonlinearity of policymaking. What is more, it would provide detailed accounts of policy actors' actions to transform LP texts.

Another potential avenue of research, which is not linked to the limitations, is the latest educational policy called the New Mexican School that took effect in 2021 under the current president Andrés Manuel López Obrador. This education reform seeks to detach from neoliberal ideologies and agendas that are believed to exacerbate racism, promote classism, bolster science and colonialism. In an attempt to counteract social inequality across the country and offer support to the less advantaged, including indigenous people, this

education reform is underpinned by humanist approaches and democratic values. Studies that delve into the reform's discursive construction, as well as stakeholders' perceptions of this new reform would prove useful to see whether there has been a shift in ideologies, discourses, and attitudes in comparison with previous education reforms.

Additionally, it would be interesting to investigate how social media and news channels construct this new school reform and how they influence viewers' perceptions and attitudes. As it is widely known amongst the Mexican population, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador has criticised the media and several prominent journalists for protecting the interests of influential groups. What is more, he has cut back the bribes that previous presidents gave to television production companies and specific journalists to maintain a good reputation. Consequently, the media have constantly criticised him and his initiatives, including the education reform. By looking into this, we would get an insight into how news channels and social media in México use language and discourses to contribute to the reform's evaluation and its implementation in classrooms.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix A- Semi-structured Interview Schedules (English version)**

#### **Interview schedule- Head School Zone Supervisor**

Good morning/afternoon \_\_\_\_\_. My name is Rosalba Ortiz. I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is very important.

I am researching the implementation of the language programmes in schools in Puebla. Today, I will ask you some general questions about yourself, your academic and professional life, the school context(s) where you work, and the language programmes that are implemented in the schools you supervise, and the challenges of implementing the language programmes during the COVID pandemic.

All the information you will provide me with is going to remain anonymous.  
If you wish to withdraw from the interview and the study at any point, you are free to do so.

Before we begin the interview, would you like to ask me any questions?

#### **Biographical/background questions**

- 1) Where were you born?
- 2) Where were you raised?
- 3) What languages did your parents speak when you were a child?
- 4) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Spanish?
- 5) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Náhuatl?
- 6) What languages did/do you speak?
- 7) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Spanish?
- 8) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Náhuatl?
- 9) What languages do/did your friends speak?
- 10) Do you have children?
- 11) What language(s) do you speak to your children?
- 12) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Spanish?
- 13) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Náhuatl?
- 14) How long have you lived in Puebla?

#### **Education/ Professional**

- 1) Where did you do your teacher training?
- 2) How long have you worked as a school zone supervisor?
- 3) Where did you work before you became a supervisor?
- 1) Why did you decide to work in a school that belongs to indigenous education?
- 2) What is your opinion about the bilingual intercultural programme in your school?
  - Teaching of Náhuatl- what does it mean to you here?
  - Teaching of Spanish- what does it mean to you here?
- 5) What are the advantages of this programme?
- 6) What are the disadvantages?



### **School context/ programmes/ administration**

- 1) What languages are spoken in the school zone you supervise?
- 2) What are the students' linguistic and ethnic backgrounds?
- 3) What languages are spoken at school?
- 4) What languages are spoken in the community?
- 5) What languages are spoken at the students' homes?
- 6) What is/are the curriculum/curricula that the schools, under your supervision, follow in relation to the teaching of Spanish?
- 7) What is/are the curriculum/curricula that the schools, under your supervision, follow in relation to the teaching of Náhuatl?
- 8) What is/are the curriculum/curricula that the schools, under your supervision, follow in relation to the teaching of English? (*if applicable*)
- 9) Who provides this/these curriculum/curricula?
- 10) Who creates this/these curriculum/curricula?
- 11) What involvement do you have in designing this/these curriculum/curricula?
- 12) When does this happen?
- 13) How does this happen?
- 14) Can you show me the curriculum/curricula of Náhuatl and Spanish?
- 15) What are the aims of these curriculum/curricula?
  - Náhuatl
  - Spanish
- 16) What classroom-based materials are teachers currently working with?
- 17) Does someone provide them with the classroom-based materials you just mentioned?
- 18) Do teachers need to change some of the materials sometimes?
  - If so, what kind of changes have they made?
- 19) Why have they made those changes?
- 20) How long does it take them to change the materials?
- 21) Do teachers receive any help to change the materials?
- 22) How do parents get the materials?
- 23) What kind of guidance are the parents given to work on the materials?
- 24) How does the guidance help them to work on the materials?
- 25) How are the lessons taught?
- 26) What do the parents do with the materials?
- 27) What do students do with the materials?
- 28) How do the materials (the coursebook) help to meet the aims of the programme?
- 29) If not, why not?
- 30) How do teachers follow up the students' progress?
- 31) Do they meet with parents? If so, how and how often?
- 32) What things do they discuss?
- 33) What type of feedback do they provide parents with?
- 34) How often?
- 35) Have teachers had any issues to communicate with parents?
- 36) How will students be assessed at the end of the school year?
- 37) Since the pandemic began, what activities have you been involved in as the school zone supervisor?

- |  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>38) What are the greatest challenges in teaching Náhuatl during the COVID pandemic?</li><li>39) What are the greatest challenges in teaching Spanish during the COVID pandemic?</li><li>40) What are the greatest challenges in teaching English during the COVID pandemic?<br/><i>(if applicable)</i></li><li>41) How have you dealt with these challenges?</li><li>42) How have headteachers dealt with these challenges?</li><li>43) How have teachers dealt with these challenges?</li></ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Would you like to add anything else?</li></ul>  |

Thank you so much for participating and for giving me the opportunity to interview you!  
Once again, I would like to reassure you that the purpose of this study is academic and that the information you have shared with me will remain anonymous.

You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at [r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

You can also contact me if you wish to know the findings of the study.

### Interview Schedule- Headteacher

Good morning/afternoon \_\_\_\_\_. My name is Rosalba Ortiz. I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is very important.

I am researching the implementation of the language programmes in schools in Puebla. Today, I will ask you some general questions about yourself, your academic and professional life, the school context where you work, and the language programmes that are being implemented during the COVID pandemic.

All the information you will provide me with is going to remain anonymous. If you wish to withdraw from the interview and the study at any point, you are free to do so.

Before we begin the interview, would you like to ask me any questions?

#### Biographical/background questions

- 1) Where were you born?
- 2) Where were you raised?
- 3) What languages did your parents speak when you were a child?
- 4) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Spanish?
- 5) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Náhuatl?
- 6) What languages did/do you speak?
- 7) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Spanish?
- 8) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Náhuatl?
- 9) What languages do/did your friends speak?
- 10) Do you have children?
- 11) What language(s) do you speak to your children?
- 12) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Spanish?
- 13) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Náhuatl?
- 14) How long have you lived in Puebla?

#### Education/ Professional

- 3) Where did you do your teacher training?
- 4) How long have you worked as the headteacher of the school?
- 5) Why did you decide to work in a school that belongs to indigenous education?
- 6) What is your opinion about the bilingual intercultural programme in your school?
  - Teaching of Náhuatl- what does it mean to you here?
  - Teaching of Spanish- what does it mean to you here?
- 7) What are the advantages of this programme?
- 8) What are the disadvantages?

#### School context/ programmes/ administration during PANDEMIC

- 1) What languages are spoken at school?
- 2) What languages are spoken in the community?
- 3) What language(s) is/are spoken at the students' homes?

- 4) What is the curriculum that the school, under your supervision, follows in relation to the teaching of Spanish?
- 5) What is the curriculum that the school, under your supervision, follows in relation to the teaching of Náhuatl?
- 6) What is the curriculum that the school, under your supervision, follows in relation to the teaching of English (*if applicable*)?
- 7) Who provides these curricula?
- 8) Who creates these curricula?
- 9) What involvement do you have in designing these curricula?
- 10) When does this happen? How does this happen?
- 11) Can you show me the curricula of Náhuatl and Spanish?
- 12) What are the aims of these curricula?
  - Náhuatl
  - Spanish
- 13) What classroom-based materials are teachers currently working with?
- 14) Does someone provide them with the classroom-based materials you just mentioned?
- 15) Do teachers need to change the materials?
  - If so, what kind of changes have they made?
- 16) Why have they made those changes?
- 17) How long does it take them to change the materials?
- 18) Do teachers receive any help to change the materials?
  
- 19) How do parents get the materials?
- 20) What kind of guidance are the parents given to work on the materials?
- 21) How does the guidance help them to work on the materials?
- 22) What do the parents do with the materials?
- 23) What do students do with the materials?
- 24) How do the materials (the coursebook) help to meet the aims of the programme?
- 25) If not, why not?
- 26) How do teachers follow up the students' progress?
- 27) Do they meet with parents? If so, how and how often?
- 28) What things do they discuss?
- 29) Have teachers had any issues to communicate with parents?
- 30) How will students be assessed at the end of the school year?
  
- 31) Since the pandemic began, what activities have you been involved in as a school principal?
- 32) What are the greatest challenges in teaching students Náhuatl during the COVID pandemic?
- 33) What are the greatest challenges in teaching students Spanish during the COVID pandemic?
- 34) What are the greatest challenges in teaching students English during the COVID pandemic? (*if applicable*)
- 35) How have you dealt with these challenges?
- 36) How have teachers dealt with these challenges?
- 37) How have parents dealt with these challenges?

1) Would you like to add anything else?
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Thank you so much for participating and for giving me the opportunity to interview you!  
Once again, I would like to reassure you that the purpose of this study is academic and that  
the information you have shared with me will remain anonymous.

You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at [r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

You can also contact me if you wish to know the findings of the study.

### Interview Schedule- Teacher

Good morning/afternoon \_\_\_\_\_. My name is Rosalba Ortiz. I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is very important.

I am researching the implementation of the language programmes in schools in Puebla. Today, I will ask you some general questions about the current situation in the midst of the COVID pandemic, yourself, your life as a teacher, the training you receive, the challenges you have encountered as a teacher, and the support you have received from parents and the school principal.

All the information you will provide me with is going to remain anonymous. If you wish to withdraw from the interview and the study at any point, you are free to do so.

Before we begin the interview, would you like to ask me any questions?

#### **Introductory questions (how are the programmes being implemented during the COVID pandemic)**

- 1) Since the pandemic began, what activities have you been involved in as a teacher?
- 2) What curriculum/curricula are you following?
- 3) Who designs that curriculum/curricula?
- 4) What involvement do you have in designing the curriculum/curricula?
- 5) When does this happen?
  - How does this happen?
- 6) Do you use (a) specific textbook(s)?
- 7) Can you show me the curriculum/curricula and/or the textbooks?
- 8) Who designs the textbook(s)?
- 9) What are the aims of the curriculum?
  - Spanish
  - Náhuatl
- 10) What classroom-based materials are you currently working with?
- 11) Does someone provide you with the classroom-based materials you just mentioned?
- 12) Do you change (some of) the materials sometimes?
  - If so, what kind of changes have you made?
- 13) Why have you made those changes?
- 14) How long does it take you to change the materials?
- 15) Do you receive any help to change the materials?
- 16) How do parents get the materials?
- 17) What kind of guidance are the parents given to work on the materials?
- 18) How does the guidance help them to work on the materials?
- 19) How are the lessons taught?
- 20) What do the parents do with the materials?
- 21) What do students do with the materials?
- 22) How do the materials (the coursebook) help them meet the aims of the programme?

- 23) If not, why not?
- 24) How do you follow up the students' progress?
- 25) Do you meet with the parents? If so, how and how often?
- 26) What things do you discuss?
- 27) What type of feedback do you provide parents with?
- 28) How often?
- 29) Have there been any issues in communicating with parents?
- 30) How will students be assessed at the end of the school year?
- 31) As a teacher, what are the challenges you have faced during this COVID pandemic?
- 32) What are your greatest concerns with regard to the learning of Náhuatl?
- 33) What are your greatest concerns with regard to the learning of Spanish?

### **Biographical/background questions**

- 1) Where were you born?
- 2) Where were you raised?
- 3) What languages did your parents speak when you were a child?
- 4) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Spanish?
- 5) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Náhuatl?
- 6) What languages did/do you speak?
- 7) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Spanish?
- 8) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Náhuatl?
- 9) What languages did/do your friends speak?
- 10) Do you have children?
- 11) What language(s) do you speak to your children?
- 12) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Spanish?
- 13) In which situations did/do you speak to them in Náhuatl?
- 14) How long have you lived in Puebla?

### **Education/ Professional/ teacher training**

- 1) What is your level of education?
- 2) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **primary school**?
- 3) What were the expectations of your generation with regard to the learning/speaking of náhuatl?
- 4) What were the expectations of your generation with regard to the learning/speaking of Spanish?
- 5) What educational struggles did you face in **primary school**?
- 6) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **secondary school**?
- 7) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 8) What educational struggles did you face in **secondary school**?
- 9) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **high school**?
- 10) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 11) What educational struggles did you face in **high school**?
- 12) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **university**?
- 13) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 14) What educational struggles did you face in **university**?

- 15) How long have you worked as a teacher?
- 16) Where did you do your teacher training?
- 17) Why did you decide to work in a school that belongs to indigenous education?
- 18) What is your opinion about the bilingual intercultural programme in your school?
  - Teaching of Náhuatl- what does it mean to you here?
  - Teaching of Spanish- what does it mean to you here?
- 19) What are the advantages of this programme?
- 20) What are the disadvantages?
- 21) What classes do you teach?
- 22) Has being an indigenous/non-indigenous teacher had an impact on your teaching?
- 23) Has being an indigenous/non-indigenous teacher had an impact on the materials you adapt/design?
- 24) Has being an indigenous/non-indigenous teacher had an impact on the way you relate to your students?
- 25) Has being an indigenous/non-indigenous teacher had an impact on the way you relate to the parents?
- 26) How is Náhuatl used in the materials you create/adapt?
- 27) What does Náhuatl mean to you here?
- 28) How is Spanish used in the materials you create/adapt?
- 29) What does Spanish mean to you here?
- 30) How is English used in the materials? (if applicable)
- 31) What are you trying to transmit with regard to Náhuatl?
- 32) What are you trying to transmit with regard to Spanish?

### **Community context**

- 1) What languages are spoken in the community?
- 2) When is Náhuatl used in the community?
- 3) When is Spanish used in the community?
- 4) Which language(s) do you prefer?
- 5) Why?
- 6) Which language(s) do your students prefer?
- 7) Why do you think so?
- 8) In which situations do your students use Spanish?
- 9) In which situations do your students use Náhuatl?
- 10) In which situations do your students use English (*if applicable*)?
- 11) Which languages do you think your students should learn?
- 12) Why?
- 13) What are the greatest challenges you have encountered while teaching Náhuatl to students?
- 14) What are the greatest challenges you have encountered while teaching Spanish to students?
- 15) How have you dealt with these challenges?
- 16) Do you have support from parents/ grandparents/school principal?
- 1) Would you like to add anything else?

Thank you so much for participating and for giving me the opportunity to interview you!



Once again, I would like to reassure you that the purpose of this study is academic and that the information you have shared with me will remain anonymous.

You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at [r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

You can also contact me if you wish to know the findings of the study.

### Interview Schedule- Parents

Good morning/afternoon \_\_\_\_\_. My name is Rosalba Ortiz. I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is very important.

I am researching the implementation of the language programmes in schools in Puebla. Today, I will ask you some general questions about yourself, your academic and professional life, the languages you speak with your family and children, the challenges and expectations you have as a parent, and your experience helping your child with schoolwork during the COVID pandemic.

All the information you will provide me with is going to remain anonymous. If you wish to withdraw from the interview and the study at any point, you are free to do so.

Before we begin the interview, would you like to ask me any questions?

#### Biographical/background questions

- 1) Where were you born?
- 2) Where were you raised?
- 3) What languages did your parents speak when you were a child?
- 4) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Spanish?
- 5) In which situations did/do they speak to you in Náhuatl?
- 6) What languages did/do you speak?
- 7) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Spanish?
- 8) In which situations did/do you speak to your parents/family members in Náhuatl?
- 9) How long have you lived in Puebla?
- 10) Have you lived anywhere else?

#### Education/ Professional

- 1) What is your level of education?
- 2) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **primary school**?
- 3) What were the expectations of your generation with regard to the learning/speaking of náhuatl?
- 4) What were the expectations of your generation with regard to the learning/speaking of Spanish?
- 5) What educational struggles did you face in **primary school**?
- 6) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **secondary school**?
- 7) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 8) What educational struggles did you face in **secondary school**?
- 9) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **high school**?
- 10) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 11) What educational struggles did you face in **high school**?
- 12) What language(s) did you speak when you were in **university**?
- 13) What were the educational expectations of your generation?
- 14) What educational struggles did you face in **university**?
- 15) What do you do for a living?

**Family**

- 1) What language(s) do you speak to your children at home?
- 2) When do you speak Spanish?
- 3) Why Spanish?
- 4) When do you speak Náhuatl?
- 5) Why Náhuatl?.
- 6) When do you speak English (if applicable)?
- 7) Do you have books/movies/games in Spanish?
- 8) Do you read/watch/play with them with your children?
- 9) Do you have books/movies/games in Náhuatl?
- 10) Do you read/watch/play with them with your children?
- 11) Do you have books/movies/games in English? (if applicable)
- 12) Do you read/watch/play them with your children?

**Expectations/Challenges**

- 1) What is your opinion about the bilingual programme at school
  - Teaching of Náhuatl
  - Teaching of Spanish
- 2) To you, what are the advantages of the bilingual programme?
- 3) To you, what are the disadvantages of the bilingual programme?
- 4) Which languages do you expect your children to speak at home?
- 5) Why?
- 6) Which languages do you expect your children to speak at school?
- 7) Why?
- 8) Which languages do you expect your children to speak in the community?
- 9) Which languages do you think are important for your children to learn?
- 10) Why Spanish?
- 11) Why Náhuatl?
- 12) Why English?
- 13) What challenges, as a parent, have you faced when speaking in Náhuatl?
- 14) What challenges, as a parent, have you faced when speaking in Spanish?
- 15) What challenges, as a parent, have you faced when speaking in English?
- 16) What challenges have your children faced to learn Náhuatl?
- 17) What challenges have your children faced to learn Spanish?
- 18) What challenges have your children faced to learn English? (If applicable)

**Experience during COVID**

- 1) Since the pandemic began, what school activities have you had to do with your child/children?
- 2) Do you follow a specific textbook for Spanish and Náhuatl?
- 3) Can you show me the textbooks?
- 4) What classroom-based materials are you currently working with?
- 5) Does someone provide you with the classroom-based materials you just mentioned?
- 6) How do you get the materials?
- 7) What kind of guidance are you given to work on the materials?
- 8) How does the guidance help you to work on the materials with your child?
- 9) How long do you spend supporting your child with schoolwork?
- 10) How are the lessons taught?

- 11) What learning activities does/do your child/children have to do- Spanish programme?
- 12) What languages do you speak when you work on the activities for the Spanish programme?
- 13) What languages does your child speak- Spanish programme?
- 14) Are the activities relevant- Spanish Programme? Why/why not?
- 15) What learning activities does/do your child/children have to do- Náhuatl programme?
- 16) What languages do you speak when you work on the activities- Náhuatl programme?
- 17) What languages does your child speak- Náhuatl programme?
- 18) Are the activities relevant- Náhuatl Programme? Why/why not?
- 19) How will your child be assessed at the end of the school year?
- 20) As a parent, what are the challenges you have faced during this COVID pandemic?
- 21) What are your greatest concerns with regard to the learning of Náhuatl?
- 22) What are your greatest concerns with regard to the learning of Spanish?

1) Would you like to add anything else?

Thank you so much for participating and for giving me the opportunity to interview you! Once again, I would like to reassure you that the purpose of this study is academic and that the information you have shared with me will remain anonymous.  
 You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at [r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:r.ortizsaenz@pgr.reading.ac.uk)  
 You can also contact me if you wish to know the findings of the study.

## Appendix B- Field Note Entry- Examples

### Field Notes # 1 April 26th, 2021

**Title of Study:** “An ethnography of language policy: Investigating discourses about bilingual education and language varieties in Puebla, México” **Date:** April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2021 **Researcher:** Rosy Ortiz **Place:** Primary School

**Participants:** 13 in total- the headteacher, the deputy headteacher and the teachers

**Activity:** 1st meeting with the researcher- briefing on the nature of the study as well as its aims, the expected sources of data collection and the implications of the study

**Linguistic varieties drawn on:** Spanish only

**Additional information- context (optional):** I met with the school staff at 8 am in the morning, prior to their meeting with the parents to provide them with the learning activities children were expected to work on for the next two weeks. Also, teachers were going to collect the activities from the previous two weeks. We met at the headteacher’s office for the briefing. The headteacher greeted me kindly and briefed me on what was going to happen (the length of our meeting, the aim of the meeting with the parents). Also, he started introducing me to the teachers as they arrived. They were reserved at first, before the meeting. No one would talk to me. But once the headteacher introduced me and gave me the opportunity to talk about the project, they all paid attention to what I said. Once I finished briefing them, I encouraged them to ask questions. We discussed the reasons why they thought Santa María is and is not a suitable context to the research study.

<b>Visual map:</b> <div style="display: flex; flex-wrap: wrap; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Me</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Female teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Female teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Female teacher (Paty)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Female teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Female teacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Deputy headteacher</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male teacher (Adrian)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Headteacher’s desk (Mr. Pascual)</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Headteacher’s office</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Male</div> </div>		
Time	Notes/description	Researcher’s remarks
8:00 am	-The headteacher, a female teacher and I entered the headteacher’s office where the meeting was going to be held. We waited for approximately 10 minutes until almost all teachers arrived.	The encounter felt as if we had known each other already. Mr. Pascual was very friendly, yet professional.
8:10 am	-The headteacher introduced me to the staff (teachers) and reminded them about the agreement they had made to invite me to the school so that they could hear, directly from me, what the research is about.	At first, I was feeling a complete stranger since as it can be seen in the visual map, I was sitting right on the corner and the teachers who arrived on time chose the seats on the other side of the room. None of them came to sit close to me,
8:12 am	-I first thanked them for giving me the opportunity to meet them and allowing me to spend time with them at school to witness the great job they have been doing throughout the	except for the last two teachers

	<p>pandemic. Then, I explained that while working on my research proposal, I had come across the bilingual programme a neighbouring school zone has been implementing in a research document that had been released by the Ministry of Education together with the HSDS. I told them that I wanted to carry out research on a topic that would make a positive impact on society, particularly in education. I drew on our shared teacher identity and our love for our profession. I also drew on my indigenous heritage from my paternal grandfather, by saying that he was from Zapoteco descent and that I learned that he spoke Zapoteco while he struggled with Alzheimer. But that unfortunately, he never taught us anything. Then, I told them that although our Mexican education system has its strengths, it also has its shortcomings, and one of them is indigenous education. The importance of their (teachers') role in indigenous education in the Mexican context was highlighted. I told them that my sponsor had chosen my proposal because of them and the nature of the study. Also, I highlighted that people from abroad (UoR) are interested in knowing more about what they do. The data collection procedure was then given. First, I told them about the analysis of language policy documents such as the school's mission (some of them looked at each other, and said that they did not have one), the language programmes, etc. Followed by the semi-structured interviews with them, the headteacher, the school zone supervisor. I explained that the aim was to know how each of them, at their level understand and implement the language policy. I highlighted that initially, the plan was to observe classroom interaction, but that due to COVID I had to change it for home-based interactions. I told them I knew observing home practices was the most challenging part, but that my aim is to observe how parents and children use the languages while they work on the activities for the Náhuatl and Spanish programmes. I ended by encouraging them to ask any questions or make comments about the project.</p>	<p>who arrived late and did not have any other choice.</p>
8:30 am	<p>-The first one to raise the hand was a female teacher, Mrs. Paty. She was sitting across the room. She smiled and congratulated me for</p>	<p>Once, I finished explaining the research study, many of them took the floor to express the</p>

the project. She said that it sounded very interesting and lovely. However, she hesitated and said “students are monolingual in Spanish.” They do not use the language outside of school neither their parents, or even their grandparents. She commented that during the pandemic the activities they have been developing are very simple. They include vocabulary words and simple phrases such as “tell me your name and how old you are.” Thus, again, she hesitated and said, “if you want to see how náhuatl is spoken, this is not the place. You have to go to the communities that are up in the mountains. There, they mainly speak náhuatl.” Referring to her command of Náhuatl, Miss Paty said that she was not an indigenous person herself, therefore, she only knew some vocabulary and a few phrases.

Two male teachers and the deputy headteacher, spoke about their own experiences teaching these children (L1 Náhuatl monolinguals) and not being able to speak the language fluently. One of them said that he had taught L1 Náhuatl monolinguals in a community located up in the mountain. He had to force himself to learn the language, otherwise he would not be able to communicate, let alone teach students. In this regard, the deputy head teacher commented, “I had to review what I was going to say and how I was going to say it so that they (students) would understand me.” While they spoke, their colleagues would nod as a sign of agreement. Additionally, the deputy headteacher mentioned that even though the members of the community do not speak Náhuatl, they have deeply rooted the Nahua culture.

In unison, they pointed to Mr. Adrian as the only teacher with a good level of Náhuatl and a sound understanding of the Nahua culture. They suggested that he is the teacher I can work with (borrow his lesson plans and materials for analysis). Every time the teachers would point to him, he would move his head in disapproval and laugh uncomfortably, followed by, “why me, why not you?” Even the headteacher would smile and say, “Well Adrian, it seems you have been selected.” Again, he would move his head in disapproval and laugh uncomfortably. In the midst of making a decision whether Mr. Adrian would be the chosen one, I said, “and you will

reasons why Santa María is and is not a desirable place to carry out my research.

Whilst teachers emphasised that students are Spanish monolinguals; Mr. Pascual would remain quiet.

Some teachers commented that those parents and grandparents who do know Náhuatl, deny speaking it. They simply avoid speaking in Náhuatl. One of them said, “if you ask them, do you speak Náhuatl, they say no.”

Mr. Pascual later acknowledged that Náhuatl is being lost and said that the study would shed light on why Náhuatl is being lost.

What I also noticed is that except for Mr. Adrian, teachers do not speak Náhuatl well. They identified themselves as non-indigenous. One of them commented that his father was an indigenous teacher and he persuaded them to pursue any career except teaching. He further commented, “even though my dad attempted to discourage me from becoming a teacher, here I am, teaching indigenous children. However, I do not speak much.”

With regard to Mr. Adrian, a very enthusiastic teacher, it seemed as if he did not want to be the centre of attention. He would encourage others to share their work with me. I learnt, from him, that he has recently completed a bachelor’s degree and his dissertation centred on the teaching of Náhuatl as L2. He seems to be a useful

8:50 am	<p>be awarded a car,” and everyone started laughing.</p> <p>Mr. Adrian then expressed his view by saying that if I wanted to look at his lessons plans, they would be incomplete. He has not been including the lesson aims, amongst other components of lessons plans. He focuses on the activities themselves; on the social domain of them. He said, “if you ask me, I know why I am doing what I am doing, but I have not written it down.” Additionally, he mentioned that what they are doing currently does not reflect what they do when teaching takes place face to face.</p> <p>They suggested that I stay in México until October to get a real feeling of the kinds of activities that are implemented in the classroom.</p> <p>After voicing their points of view, I told them that I knew this might happen (students not speaking Náhuatl). Although, that is the case, I told them, “you are implementing a bilingual programme, you are developing materials, and if parents work on the activities in Spanish only, then it is important to discover why they are not using Náhuatl.” I also told them that I really want to see classroom interaction, but that my stay until October may not be possible.</p>	<p>collaborator, but I still need to develop a cordial relationship with him to gain his confidence and be able to access his teaching world.</p> <p>I have to admit that at this point, I felt frustrated. Even though they expressed their desire to help me, they seemed to be concerned with the quality of teaching they have been delivering throughout the pandemic. Also, they stressed their low level of Náhuatl. At this point, I also stressed the great endeavour they are engaged in to revitalise a language despite their low level in Náhuatl. My frustration increased when they suggested that I stay until October to observe face to face lessons at school- they told me I would get a better idea of all the activities they implement in the classroom to encourage children to speak. As a final note, a few minutes before I left school, I was talking to Mrs. Paty and the deputy headteacher while parents arrived to collect the learning activities for the following weeks. I could clearly see that a great majority of mothers who had attended were in their early 20s. I asked the teachers about the average age of parents and they said that most of them are really young. They get married at age 13/14 and many of them have not even completed</p>
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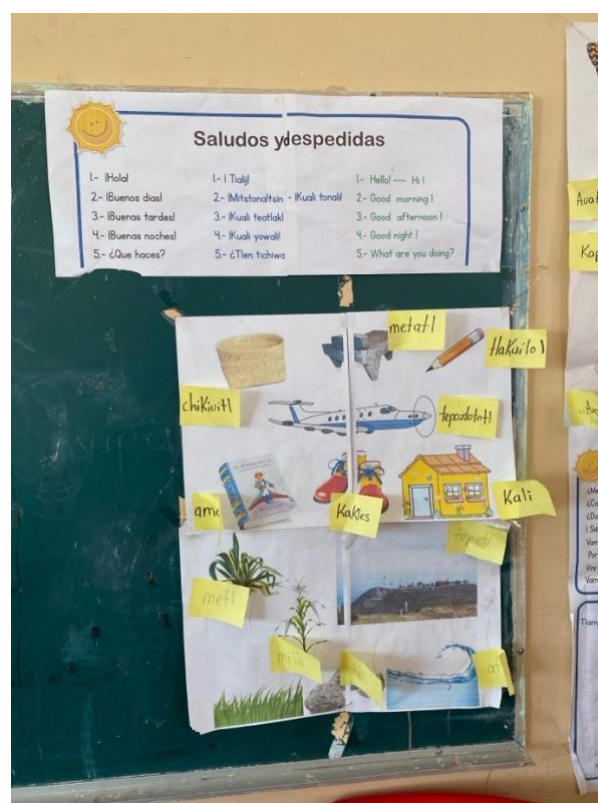


		primary school. They said, “when we ask them to help their children with homework they reply, ‘Miss, how can I help my child if I didn’t even get to complete primary school.’”
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(School grounds)





(Inside classrooms)

### Field Notes # 11 May 21st, 2021

**Title of Study:** “An ethnography of language policy: Investigating discourses about bilingual education and language varieties in Puebla, México” **Date:** Tuesday, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2021

**Researcher:** Rosy Ortiz

**Place:** WhatsApp call

**Participants:** 6<sup>th</sup> grade teacher, 3 Ss and I

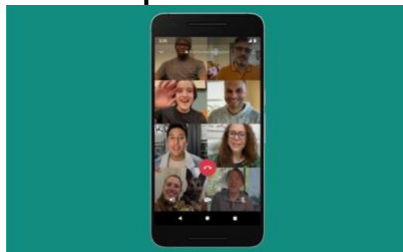
**Activity:** Online support- WhatsApp class

**Linguistic varieties drawn on:** Spanish and Náhuatl

#### Additional information- context (optional):

I learnt that the 6<sup>th</sup> grade teacher was providing Ss with online support when I told him it would be very fruitful to discuss his BA dissertation (bilingual strategies to teach Nahua Ss) at some point in the future. The teacher told me that he would appreciate if I told him in advance since he was offering online support to his Ss via WhatsApp. As soon as he mentioned the online support, I seized a good opportunity to witness what the support was like. He agreed but commented that he had to ask parents for permission. This week, on Monday, he sent me a message saying that he would have “classes” with his Ss, that I could join them on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, at 10.00am. As expected, I gladly accepted the invitation. Four minutes past ten, the teacher called me on WhatsApp and I joined the class.

#### Visual map:



First of all, I would like to highlight that the picture on the left was downloaded from Google since I do not have permission to take pictures. Although the Internet connection was good, sometimes there would be a lot of background noise such as loud music, young children playing/crying in the background. Children were very attentive throughout the lesson.

Time	Notes/description	Researcher's remarks
10:10 am	The class began with a poem written in Náhuatl. The teacher began reading a line and then would call on a specific S to read the following line. After every S, the teacher would reread the line. While they were reading the poem the teacher asked, “En qué idioma creen que está escrito? Ss replied that it was not written in English neither in Spanish. One of the Ss said that it was written in Náhuatl and the T replied,	The teacher would monitor Ss understanding and progress by asking them direct yes/no/open questions.  The reading of the poem was in Náhuatl only. Whilst reading, the teacher would resort to the use of <b>recasts</b>

	<p>“muy bien X”. The Teacher continued, “¿Cómo saben que está en náhuatl?”</p> <p>The Teacher kept asking questions. For instance he asked, “¿Porqué no lo (poema) pueden leer bien?”</p> <p>¿Ven alguna letra que conozcan?</p> <p>¿Entonces porqué creen que nos cuesta trabajo?</p> <p>Ss replied that they struggled to read the poem because they do not study in that language.</p> <p>The teacher then asked, “¿En qué escuela estudiamos?”</p> <p>¿Qué significa eso de bilingüe?</p> <p>Ss replied that bilingual alludes to another language; that they learn Náhuatl.</p> <p>Then the Teacher asked, “¿Porqué creen que yo si lo pude leer?”</p> <p>Teacher- “¿A qué te suena kualtzin?”</p> <p>One of the Ss went to ask someone from his household and came back and said, “bonito”.</p> <p>The Teacher replied that the student was right, that kualtzin means bonito (<i>pretty</i>). Then, the teacher told the student to go and ask about the meaning of moixco to translate the whole phrase. Then the teacher provided Ss with the meaning of the word by saying that it means “tu cara” (<i>your face</i>) and added, “entonces ahí dice tu cara es bonita” (<i>then it says your face is pretty</i>).</p> <p>Once the Teacher translated the poem, they (Teacher and Ss) started answering some questions about the poem. First, he asked, “¿Porqué comparan a la mujer con una milpa?”</p> <p>The teacher then asked, “¿Porqué creen que la gente no quiere hablar en las lenguas originarias?”</p> <p>One of the Ss said that people forget (indigenous) languages. The teacher replied with a question, “¿por qué olvidamos el náhuatl?”</p> <p>Ss replied that it (Náhuatl) is not used any more and that people speak Spanish now.</p>	<p>(repeating the lines that Ss had previously read). Additionally, all the questions were asked in Spanish.</p> <p>As expected, there was minimum interaction between Ss and the teacher. Most of the session, the teacher would have to ask questions to elicit information from Ss. Otherwise, they would remain quiet most of the time.</p> <p>To my view, the open questions were profound. They elicited current language practices and usage,</p>
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A student even said that although people speak it, he does not understand it.

In the midst of the discussion, Ss commented that their grandparents speak Náhuatl and the teacher asked them why their grandparents do not teach them Náhuatl. One student asked his grandma, who was at home, and she replied that she did not teach them Náhuatl because she did not speak it well and that her father would speak to her in Spanish.

The teacher then asked, “¿Porqué creen que ya no les quieren hablar en español?” (*“Why do you think they no longer want to talk to them in Spanish?”*)

“¿Les gustaría hablar náhuatl?” (Would you like to speak Náhuatl?), the Teacher asked. Ss nodded and one of them even said that people feel shame when they speak Náhuatl. To what the teacher asked, “¿Por qué creen que les da vergüenza?” (*“Why do you think they feel shame?”*)

The Teacher then explained why some Nahua speakers feel shame by saying, “Porque prefieren aprender inglés que náhuatl... Mucha gente piensa que somos tontos, que la gente (que habla náhuatl) es burra, que no sabe leer, que siempre anda en burro, que es ignorante...” (*“Because they prefer to learn English than Náhuatl... A lot of people think that we are foolish, that people (who speak Náhuatl) are stupid, that they do not know how to read, that they always ride on a donkey, that they are ignorant...”*)

The teacher also mentioned that “hay mucha gente prejuiciosa” (*“there are many people who are prejudiced”*). He continued asking questions. “¿Ustedes se burlarían de mí por hablar náhuatl?” They said they would not.

Once they finished answering the questions, they moved to the Spanish class. First, Ss were exposed to vocabulary in náhuatl that has a “Spanish” version. One by one, the teacher called on their names asking them what the word meant. For instance, xitomatl (jitomate/tomate- *tomato*); chilaquilli (chilaquiles- no translation to English); etc.

	<p>The teacher highlighted that those Nahua words have been borrowed by Spanish.</p> <p>He then asked them to tell him the name of a place that comes from Náhuatl.</p> <p>He then read a paragraph that talked about indigenous languages, multiculturalism, etc.</p> <p>Based on the reading, Ss had to answer questions such as the one below.</p> <p>1-How many indigenous languages there are? 68</p> <p>They read another poem.</p>	
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**Appendix C- Complete Record of Field Note Entries-Adapted from McCarty (2015)**

<b>Field Notes</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Mode</b>
FN# 1	April 26th, 2021	1 <sup>st</sup> meeting with headteacher and teachers	F2F
FN# 2	May 4th, 2021	Staff meeting	Online- Zoom
FN# 3	May 8th, 2021	Staff meeting (improvised meeting)	Online-Zoom
FN # 4	May 10th, 2021	1 <sup>st</sup> face-to-face meeting with HSDS	F2F
FN # 5	May 13th, 2021	Semi-structured interview with HSDS	F2F
FN # 6	May 19th, 2021	7ma sesión de CTS (Supervisors' meeting)	Online-Zoom
FN # 7	May 20th, 2021	Visit to the Town Hall	F2F
FN # 8	May 21st, 2021	Interaction at the market	F2F
FN # 9	May 21st, 2021	Staff meeting	WhatsApp Video
FN # 10	May 23 <sup>rd</sup> , 2021	Patronal Feast to San Bernardino de Sienna	F2F
FN # 11	May 25 <sup>th</sup> , 2021	Online support- WhatsApp class	WhatsApp Video
FN # 12	May 27 <sup>th</sup> , 2021	Online support- WhatsApp class	WhatsApp Video
FN # 13	June 21 <sup>st</sup> , 2021	Distribution of workbooks to students	F2F

**Appendix D- Written Consent and Information Sheet Forms (English Version)**

**School of Literature and Languages  
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics**



ETHICS COMMITTEE

Consent Form

Project title: **“An Ethnography of Language Policy in [REDACTED] investigating policy discourse and home-based practices during COVID”- working title**

I have read and have explained to me by **Rosalba Karina Ortiz Sáenz** the Information Sheet relating to this project.

She has explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

I understand that my/my child’s participation is entirely voluntary and that I have / he/she has \_\_\_\_\_ the right to withdraw from the project any time.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:



**Researcher:**

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**INFORMATION SHEET**

This research project is about how teachers and school principals are responding to COVID restrictions in their language teaching. The participants in this study are teachers, parents and their children, the school principal and the school zone supervisor who are part of a preschool/primary school in [REDACTED]. When we meet, I will explain the study and the procedures in detail. Anonymity will be assured at this point. Your identity will be anonymised by using pseudonyms. In addition, you will be assured that you may withdraw from the study at any time. Once you have signed the ethical consent, classroom/home-based observations will take place whilst you communicate at school/home and I, the researcher, will audio record you and take field notes of your spoken interactions. Semi-structured interviews will also be carried out. The interviews will be recorded with the "Voice Record" App and will be kept securely on One Drive for three years for academic purposes only. At the end of the interview, the protection of your identity will be reassured.

This project has been subject to ethical review by the School Ethics and Research Committee and has been allowed to proceed under the exceptions procedure as outlined in paragraph 6 of the University's *Notes for Guidance* on research ethics.

If you have any queries or wish to clarify anything about the study, please feel free to contact my supervisor at the address above or by email at [tony.capstick@reading.ac.uk](mailto:tony.capstick@reading.ac.uk)

Signed:

Date: