Plurilingual education in diglossic contexts

Primary school teachers' voices on the Galician plurilingual education policy

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Abstract

Language education policy is at the heart of current discussions on Europe's integration strategy, which sees in language a powerful tool to continue tightly interweaving the threads that make up the European fabric. Plurilingual education policies are now flourishing across the continent to address the dual objective of incentivizing foreign language learning while protecting and promoting linguistic diversity. This is however a rather complex matter given the diverse multilingual realities present in the region. The Galician plurilingual education policy provides an interesting case to examine how this two-fold European goal is reconciled at the local level in a diglossic multilingual context. A qualitative case study of Galician primary school teachers' perceptions and experiences with the plurilingual education policy has been carried out in order to explore the policy from the local stakeholders' perspective. Data was obtained from a total of twenty-seven participants and then examined through qualitative content analysis. A critical language education framework has been used to assess the results from a more situated and context-sensitive approach, and to evaluate the implications that implementing such a policy might entail for the Galician sociolinguistic landscape. The results highlight how teachers' perceptions of the policy respond mainly to personal linguistic ideologies, rather than to the comparative dimensions identified in the study. Teachers' experiences with the policy's implementation process are however heavily influenced by school habitat and education model. Key findings also point to the linguistic domination dynamics the plurilingual policy reinforces, and to the detrimental effect that its 'aseptic' distribution of the vehicular use of each language might have for the region's minority language. Policy recommendations include a reformulation of the concept of 'plurilingualism' based on notions of linguistic complementarity and sociolinguistic considerations, and a more active involvement of teachers in the policy's decision-making process.

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Acronyms

BNG – Bloque Nacionalista Galego

BOE – Boletín Oficial Español

CEFRL – Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning

DOG – Diario Oficial de Galicia

ECML – European Centre for Modern Languages

ECRML – European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages

EU – European Union

GSM – Galician Sociolinguistic Map

HT – Head Teacher

IGE – Instituto Galego de Estadística

LEP – Language Education Policy

LNL – Lei de Normalización Lingüística

LOMCE – Ley Orgánica para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa

LPU – Language Policy Unit

MLR – Minority Language Rights

NSD – Norwegian Social Science Data Services

OLG – Observatorio da Lingua Galega

PP – Partido Popular

PXNL – Plan Xeral de Normalización Lingüística

RML – Regional Minority Language

TLA – Third Language Acquisition

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background and significance of the study

In spite of being the poorest continent linguistically speaking, accounting for only 288 of the approximately 7,000 languages spoken in the world (Simons and Fenning, 2018), Europe has made significant collective, legislative efforts to protect its diverse linguistic heritage. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002; Arzoz, 2008) Integration, the ethos of the European Union, has progressively evolved from a merely economic strategy into a sweeping approach aimed at harmonizing all aspects of European societies. Multilingualism has consequently emerged in the last few decades as "one of the cornerstones of the European project" (European Comission Website), and the key to continue tightly interweaving the threads that make up the European fabric. As Ziegler (2013) explains, "Europe is at the forefront of the development of policies that promote multilingualism in its member states, both on the social and the institutional level, as well as plurilingualism on the individual level." (p.1) This is reflected in the growing number of official and working languages of the EU – currently twenty-four – and the numerous policy recommendations and initiatives carried out on the topic.

This EU's multilingualism campaign has largely targeted the education sector, as schools are the primary site for language learning (discussed more in detail in Chapter 2). Plurilingual education approaches are thus seen as a fundamental element of any successful multilingual policy, and an effective way of "strengthening the life chances of citizens" (European Comission Website). Perhaps, such efforts to promote individual plurilingualism are best illustrated by the EU's flagship multilingualism policy – the "1+2" languages approach, which encourages citizens to learn two European languages in addition to their mother tongue. This strong institutional support for plurilingual educational models has spurred the development of new language education policies continent-wide that emphasize effective foreign-language learning.

In addition to multilingualism, the EU's efforts to promote language diversity have also focused on the protection of autochthonous minority languages. A number of official documents and bodies establish the legal basis for such protection. The most significant development on this matter has been the adoption of the European Charter for Regional and

Minority Languages (ECRML) in 1992, a treaty that compels member states to "protect and promote [their] regional or minority languages". (Council of Europe, 1992) The document includes a specific article on education listing a number of recommendations for the integration of RMLs in the classrooms. However, an important shortcoming of the Charter, as Extra and Gorter (2001) note, is that "the degree of protection is not prescribed; thus a state can choose for light or tight policies." (p. 20) In the end, it is up to each member state to decide how closely they follow European guidelines, which is also ultimately determined by their own interests and priorities.

Among all these developments towards the defense and support of linguistic diversity, a new debate has inevitably emerged. The spread and entrenchment of the multilingualism rhetoric across institutional Europe and its member states is complicating the harmonization of educational efforts to promote both foreign language learning and RMLs protection. Education systems must therefore adapt to the twofold goal that endorsing the EU's linguistic diversity guidelines requires. But are governments interested in making such adaptations? Extra and Gorter (2001) maintain that the objective of protecting RMLs is in reality being neglected,

"In the last few decades some of these RM languages have become relatively well protected in legal terms, as well as by affirmative educational policies and programmes, both at the level of various nation-states and at the level of the EU. In practice, however, such provisions still leave much to be desired." (p. 3)

Galicia, one of Spain's autonomous communities with its own regional language, presents an interesting case to study how clashes between such linguistic efforts manifest themselves. Galicia counts with two official languages: Galician, the regional one, which has been granted co-official status by the state, and Spanish, the official language of the country. However, the two languages coexist in Galicia under a situation of diglossia, or linguistic conflict, in which – following Fishman's (1967) conceptualization of the term – Galician occupies the low status (L) language, and Spanish the high status (H) one. Fishman described diglossia as "the characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different languages" (Fishman, 1972, p. 145), which translated to the Galician case means the official languages of the region have clearly differentiated social roles and levels of prestige. This can pose intricate, yet intriguing challenges when it comes to education, as it is in the classrooms where the administration's intentions are most visible. In the

particular case of Spain, it is up to each autonomous community to manage its educational provision, and so, Galicia's education system has directly borne the consequences of the tensions that the region's conflictive sociolinguistic context generates. But what makes the Galician context an interesting case to examine how these dynamics play out from an education perspective is that the regional government has recently adopted a plurilingual educational model that introduced the use of foreign languages as media of instruction in the public school.

Language education policy (LEP), a regular subject in Comparative and International Education research, has been widely studied in contexts marked by sociolinguistic struggles. Scholarship examining language conflict and education has of course generally included Spain (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Romaine, 2002; Tochon, 2015); however, the vast majority of such research has predominantly focused on the regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country (Vila i Moreno, 2008; Cenoz, 2009; May, 2012; Arnau, 2013). This is perhaps due to the wider scope of the political and linguistic struggles in these regions, which have gained much more attention from international scholars and audience in general. Nonetheless, these two regions' sociolinguistic contexts are far from similar from Galicia's (also discussed more in detail in Chapter 2). Additionally, research on Galicia's plurilingual education system is still quite scarce, probably due to its recent adoption. The limited scholarship on the topic, mainly carried out by Xavier San Isidro, focuses primarily on students' cognitive aspects at the secondary school level (San Isidro, 2009, 2010, 2011; San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2018), and excludes sociolinguistic aspects as a key factor in the implementation of any language education policy. Moreover, existing research on plurilingual education in Galicia is still failing to take into account stakeholders' perspectives from a qualitative point of view, which has been increasingly regarded as a central element in LEP implementation (Menken and García, 2010). This investigation strives therefore to contribute to research on this topic by 1) focusing on Galicia's barely studied plurilingual educational model, 2) comprehensively examining teachers' perceptions from a qualitative approach, and 3) incorporating the complex sociolinguistic context where plurilingual LEP implementation is taking place in Galicia as a key aspect of this study.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Language education policy is at the heart of current discussions on Europe's integration strategy, but also a complex topic given the diverse multilingual realities present in the region. As the previous section has pointed out, current developments in LEP have generated a need to investigate from a more situated and qualitative approach the effects that 'the multilingual push' is having across Europe. Education systems do not exist in a vacuum; they affect, and are affected by, the external settings where they operate. This interaction is even more acute in the case of language education policies. This research seeks to shed light on the highly understudied case of the Galician plurilingual education policy. For that reason, this study will focus on the experience of primary school teachers in Galicia with the plurilingual model and its implementation process. Particularly, this project strives to better grasp teachers' perceptions of the current education model and its interplay at different levels with the sociolinguistic contexts of their schools, fully delving into the personal and contextual factors influencing teachers' individual perceptions of, and experiences with, the policy. Understanding how teachers perceive the policy and why they perceive it the way they do, how they interpret it, negotiate it, or resist it, and how they justify their choices will provide a space to examine areas that are not so commonly covered in research on Galician plurilingual education, such as how contextual sociolinguistic dynamics influence, and are influenced by, educational aspects.

The Spanish autonomous community of Galicia provides a particularly unique multilingual landscape to study how a plurilingual education policy is implemented in a conflictive, diglossic sociolinguistic setting. This investigation therefore presents a qualitative case study of the experience of primary school teachers with the Galician language education policy. The ultimate purpose of this project is *to explore the Galician plurilingual education policy from the perspective of primary school teachers, and to critically examine the implications that implementing such a policy in the Galician diglossic context might entail.* The following research questions will guide the investigation:

1. How do teachers perceive the Galician plurilingual education policy across urban and rural, plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools?

2. How do teachers experience the implementation process of the plurilingual education policy across urban and rural, plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools?
3. What are teachers' perceptions and experiences regarding languages in Galicia?

1.3 Scope and limitations of the study

This study seeks to explore teachers' individual perceptions and experiences regarding the Galician plurilingual education policy and its implementation process within the school setting. The investigation exclusively focuses on the language education component of the Galician education system, and therefore, leaves out other policy features of the region's educational provision. Teachers' perceptions, beliefs, and experiences are at the core of this project, which makes this study's results inherently ungeneralizable. Nonetheless, the goal of this investigation is to provide thick descriptions of teachers' perspectives, which can then be used to shed light on broader policy issues beyond their own experienced reality. A total of twenty-seven teachers from fifteen different schools were interviewed during fieldwork, which yielded an amount of data large – and manageable – enough to carry out in-depth qualitative analysis. The study's participants were selected from multiple schools across two of the four provinces of the region, and although this represents a geographically extensive area, the results cannot, and should not, be extrapolated to the entire territory. School context is one of the two main variables used for case comparison; however, differences within categories are not taken into account. Thus, all rural schools, for example, are treated as one single category, and variations between different rural schools are not considered. This would be an interesting point to take into consideration for further research on the topic. Additional practical limitations associated with this type of qualitative studies are further examined in Section 5.5.1.

1.4 Definition of key terms

The terms multilingualism and plurilingualism have originally been used interchangeably by official European institutions in a wide number of documents to refer both to the ability of a speaker to express himself in several languages, and to the coexistence of several languages within the same society (ECML, 1998; European Commission, 2003). This is still the case among some scholars today (Elorza and Muñoa, 2008; Pérez-Vidal, 2008; Cenoz, 2013; Coste, 2014; Lasagabaster, 2014; Ruiz de Zarobe

and Ruiz de Zarobe, 2015); however, in the last two decades, there has been an effort within the European institutional context to establish a clearer difference between the two terms. **Plurilingualism** is nowadays frequently reserved for, as Beacco (2005) describes, "the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages" (p. 19), whereas **multilingualism** is used to denote the presence of different languages in a given territory (Council of Europe, 2001; Jessner, 2008). Research shows some scholars have adopted this custom too (Madrid, 2006; Spolsky, 2008; Moore and Gajo, 2009; Enever, 2011; Lin, 2013). This study finds it useful to establish a difference between the two concepts, and will therefore follow the recent, aforementioned EU and Council of Europe convention. When the study discusses LEP aimed at developing the ability of pupils to interact in several languages, it refers to **plurilingual LEP**. It is possible then, especially in Europe, as this study will show, to talk about plurilingual LEP in multilingual settings. Nonetheless, this study acknowledges the different uses afforded to these concepts in past research, and therefore, still refers to work that employs them as synonyms.

Briefly defined in the introductory chapter, the term **diglossia** is also an important one to elaborate on due to its centrality to this project. First introduced in sociolinguistics by Charles Ferguson, diglossia was originally used to designate "societal arrangements in which one variety of a language is used for prestigious or high functions, whereas the other variety is used for informal or low functions." (García, 2013, p. 156) This study utilizes Joshua Fishman's (1967) extended approach to the term, which also includes sociolinguistic situations where the different allocation of functions is distributed between two different languages. In one of his multiple essays on the Galician sociolinguistic context, Álvarez Cáccamo provided a comprehensive definition of the concept that reflects the potential intricacies of the term:

> "Diglossia is the conflictive coexistence in a community of two languages defined as dominant language A, and dominated language B, based on their social uses, their degrees of officialization and normalization, their quantitative diffusion and distribution along the different social groups, and on other factors, such as: the linguistic self-consciousness of speakers, attitudes towards the language, etc." (Álvarez Cáccamo, 1983, p. 23)

Essentially, Galicia's diglossic context is characterized by a visible divergence in the social prestige that the Spanish and Galician languages project. Arising from specific

historical and economic developments in the region during the past century (which will be examined in detail in Section 2.2.2), this divergence generally relegates Galician to functions of low social status, and promotes Spanish for more formal situations, and more prestigious functions. (Lorenzo Suárez, 2009) Although some scholars who have examined the linguistic contact between Galician and Spanish in the region criticize the simplistic and imprecise perspective the use of the term diglossia offers (Del Valle, 2000; Herrero-Valeiro, 2002), the majority of authors still defend its use. (Hannum, 2016; Nandi, 2017)

Finally, the term **vehicular language** is used in this study as synonym for medium of instruction; that is, the language utilized to teach a subject or to carry out an educational activity. Although many authors have used the same concept in broader ways, many scholars still adhere to the meaning the term adopts in this investigation. (Harrop, 2012; Arnau, 2013; Aiello, et al. 2017)

1.5 Structure of the study

After the introduction provided in *Chapter 1*, *Chapter 2* presents important background information regarding the Galician education system, and the legal aspects behind the 2010 plurilingual education policy, as well a comprehensive overview of the region's sociolinguistic context. *Chapter 3* introduces the scholarly contributions other authors have made on the topic under investigation, and the theoretical approaches most relevant to the focus of this project. *Chapter 4* describes the methodology used in this study, offering detailed information on the chosen research strategy and design, comparative dimensions, participant selection and investigative approach. *Chapter 5* presents the analytical framework used to interpret the obtained data, defining the interpretivist-phenomenological stance from where this research was carried out, and the critical theory lens guiding the study's analysis of the findings. *Chapter 6* presents the results obtained from the fieldwork, displaying them according to the established research questions and comparative dimensions. *Chapter 7* delves into an assessment of the findings based on the selected analytical framework, formally answering the research questions formulated in the introductory chapter. Lastly, *Chapter 8* concludes by reviewing broader questions and themes arising from the study's findings, providing recommendations based on such findings, and identifying potential opportunities for future research.

2 Context

The following chapter presents an overview of the legal, political and sociolinguistic context where the Galician education system is situated. It first lays out the European stance on multilingualism already introduced in the previous chapter, focusing on the legal developments on the promotion of plurilingualism across the continent, particularly of the Content-and-Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) model. The second part introduces Galicia's educational context, delineating its current language education policy framework and describing the sociolinguistic particularities of the region.

2.1 European plurilingualism

Since its creation, the European Union has advocated for increased integration and cohesion among its member countries through a wide variety of institutions, programmes, and guidelines. Such efforts were initially aimed at ensuring social and economic stability and prosperity. In the wake of the globalization phenomenon, however, these initiatives evolved to incentivize the development of a more solid European identity, which would allow for greater individual mobility and stronger economic ties (Dombi, 2010). Education policy, and specifically language education policy, have become key aspects of this objective in the last thirty years, beginning with the early acknowledgement of the multilingual character of Europe as one of the Union's most important assets. (Marsh, 2002; Juan-Garau and Salazar-Noguera, 2015)

Following the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht, language learning and individual linguistic skills "became a corner stone of the EU's educational policy" (European Commission, 2007, p. 5). An illustration of this is the European Commission's 1995 White Paper on Education and Training, which established the famed "1+2" principle:

"In line with the resolution of the Council of Education Ministers of 31 March 1995, it is becoming necessary for everyone, irrespective of training and education routes chosen, to be able to acquire and keep up their ability to communicate in at least two Community languages in addition to their mother tongue." (European Commission 1995, p. 47)

This publication is widely identified by scholarship as the institutionalization of plurilingualism as the main goal of the EU's language education policy guidelines (Glaser,

2005; Coyle, 2008; Jessner, 2008; Dombi, 2010). Since the 1995 White Paper, the concept of plurilingualism (referred to as multilingualism in the early EU publications) has been the focus of most language education policy recommendations by not only the EU, but also other European organizations, such as the Council of Europe. A number of initiatives and publications presented after 1995 expose these organizations' call for bolder action from its member states to promote plurilingualism across the continent: the European Commission's official declarations on language learning (2003, 2008); the 2005 Conference on Plurilingualism with the subsequent establishment of the European Observatory on Plurilingualism; the Council of Europe's Guides for de Development of Language Education Policies in Europe (Beacco, 2005; Council of Europe, 2007; Beacco et al. 2010; Beacco et al. 2016), etc. Enever (2011) explains how such promotion of plurilingualism was carried out "with a remit to construct Europe as a globally competitive unitary region, underpinned by a perception that Europeans need to be equipped with the linguistic capital to communicate in Europe and beyond" (p. 206). The goal here was, as Marsh (2002) contends, "to harness education, and specifically the learning of languages, so as to support socio-economic goals and visions" (p. 52). This responds to a very neoliberal conception of education, characterized by highly economistic views of knowledge and skills – in this particular case, linguistic ones – and the predominance of principles such as competitiveness, efficiency, and performativity (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010), which will be discussed more in detail later on.

The most significant development in the sponsorship of plurilingualism at the European institutional level – and what primarily concerns this study - has been the recent inclination of European guidelines towards the adoption of "dual language education" approaches, specifically the Content-and-Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) one (Dalton-Puffer, 2008). CLIL essentially describes "an educational approach where curricular content is taught through the medium of a foreign language, typically to students participating in some form of mainstream education" (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 183) (see Section 3.2.1). CLIL has appeared in EU guidelines for more than two decades now, as the 1995 White Paper already hinted at the potential of this approach: "It could even be argued that secondary school pupils should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned" (p. 44). Since then many other publications have directly addressed the benefits of

CLIL (European Commission, 2003, 2008), recognizing it as having “a major contribution to make to the Union’s language learning goals” (European Commission, 2003, p. 8). As Nikula et al. (2013) explain, “CLIL has received ample political support in the European Union, as it is seen as a means to achieve the 1+2 policy aim put forward in the 1995 White Paper” (p. 70). Other European institutions also support this educational strategy, such as the Council of Europe and its languages institutions - the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), the Language Policy Unit (LPU) and the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) (Árkossy et al. 2011, Barnaus et al. 2011; Marsh et al. 2011; Beacco et al. 2016).

Although the EU has zero direct legislative power over national education strategies and policymaking is the responsibility of each member state, EU policy recommendations still exert a significant amount of pressure on national policy formulations (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). This process, sometimes prompted by economic incentives, produces great levels of correspondence between EU guidelines and EU states’ education policy developments, a phenomenon widely studied by scholars (Dale, 1999; Lange and Alexiadou, 2010; Novoa, 2010; Batory and Lindstrom, 2011; Jakobi, 2012). Such dynamics are an important factor driving language education policy in the case under consideration here and therefore, it is worth taking them into account. And even more so because the language education policy developments of this Spanish region can be affected by European guidelines in two ways: indirectly, through changes in Spain’s national education policy, and directly through their impact on Galician legislation. In the next section, the Galician language educational context will be analyzed more closely.

2.2 Galician case

Galicia is one of the seventeen autonomous communities (the official geopolitical territories) of Spain. With a population of near three million people (IGE, 2017), it extends roughly throughout the easily identifiable northwestern corner of the Spanish map. Galicia is also one of the six officially bilingual communities of the state recognized by the Spanish Constitution (BOE, 1978), as it counts with its own regional language – *galego* (Galician) – in addition to Spanish. As a result of the decentralization process that took place with the restoration of democracy in the late 1970s, Galicia, as well as the other regional

governments, possesses a great degree of administrative autonomy. This autonomy is officially established in the Galician Statute of Autonomy (1981), which lists the powers devolved to the region by the Spanish government. Among these powers, the Statute confers to the region the administration of the educational provision, established in Article 31:

> "It is within the full competence of the Galician Autonomous Community to regulate and administer education in all its extension, levels and degrees, modalities and specialties." (BOE, 1981)

Nonetheless, the autonomous communities are not in exclusive control of the educational system in their regions, as the central government is still in charge of "the overall organization of the education system, the regulation of academic and professional titles, the establishment of educational qualifications and the inspection of the system" (Pereyra, 2002, p. 668). Essentially, the Spanish government stipulates the general educational framework and each region regulates how that framework is applied in their specific context.

The regulation of the educational provision in the case of the bilingual communities such as Galicia also involves handling the teaching of the regional language. Article 27 of the Statute of Autonomy grants to the Galician autonomous community exclusive competence over "the promotion and teaching of the Galician language" (BOE, 1981). This power is also ensured by the Constitution, which leaves "the teaching of the Self-governing Community's language, where applicable" in the hands of each bilingual autonomous community (BOE, 1978, Sec. 148, Art.17). Currently, the policy framework shaping the educational provision in Galicia is established at two levels: the national and the regional. The first level is determined by the general state law applicable in all seventeen regions, stipulated in the *Organic Law on the Improvement of the Quality of Education* (LOMCE by its Spanish acronym) passed by Congress in 2013 (BOE, 2013), and by specific decrees regulating the curriculum for each educational level. The second level is established by a series of statutory decrees with specific provisions for different educational levels as well but passed by the Galician Parliament instead. The most significant pieces of legislation for the study of plurilingual primary education in Galicia are: the LOMCE (BOE, 2013), the *Royal Decree 126/2014 establishing the basic curriculum for Primary Education* (BOE, 2014), the *Decree 105/2014 establishing the curriculum for primary education in the*

Galician Autonomous Community (DOG, 2014) and the *Decree 79/2010 for plurilingualism in non-university education in Galicia* (DOG, 2010). In the following section, these documents are analyzed a bit more in detail in order to further examine how they affect the language education provision in Galicia.

2.2.1 Written education framework

The LOMCE reform of 2013 was fundamentally envisioned as a response to the main weaknesses of the education system identified by international organisms' tests in the last decade. (Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport Website) In his analysis of the major changes brought about by the new law, Bernardo Bayona (2013) highlights the economistic reorientation of the educational model towards the increase of students' employability and competitiveness, and the adjustment of learning goals according to international assessments results. Regarding language education provision, the biggest change the law adopts is a much stronger commitment to the promotion of plurilingualism, which is included as one of three areas "the LOMCE puts emphasis on in order to transform the educational system" (BOE, 2013, p. 9). The new law frames its focus on plurilingualism in the following way:

> "Mastering a second, or even a third, foreign language has become a priority in education as a result of the globalization process in which we live and because it is one of the main shortcomings of our educational system. The European Union regards the promotion of plurilingualism as an inalienable objective for the construction of a European project. The law strongly supports plurilingualism, doubling the efforts to ensure students achieve fluency in at least one first foreign language, as their level of oral and reading comprehension and oral and written expression proves decisive to enhance employability and professional ambitions." (BOE, 2013, p. 10)

This passage shows not only the labor-oriented conception of language competence but also the great consideration the Spanish government gives to EU-proposed guidelines. Finally, although the LOMCE does not mention specifically the potential adoption of CLIL models of plurilingual education, it does hint at the possibility of using such approach:

> "The education administrations can establish systems in which non-linguistic subjects are taught exclusively in Spanish, in a co-official language or in a foreign language" (BOE, 2013, p. 54)

Essentially, the law establishes the general rules of the Spanish education system, dictating aspects such as the mandatory subjects to be taught, how students are to move

through the system, the assessment criteria for each level and general educational objectives. Regarding the teaching of the co-official languages in bilingual regions like Galicia, the law maintains the overall autonomy granted to each region by the Constitution. Consequently, the law only makes broad statements regarding the right to use the co-official languages within the system, without specifying how that right is to be enforced:

"The educational administrations will guarantee the right of students to receive class in Spanish - the official language of the state - and in the rest of the co-official languages in their respective territories. Spanish is the vehicular language in the entire state and so are the co-official languages in their respective Autonomous Communities, according to their Statutes and the applicable legislation." (BOE, 2013, p. 54)

Decree 126/2014 establishing the basic curriculum for Primary Education (BOE, 2014) more precisely defines the curriculum to be followed for core and specific subjects at the primary level across the country. In terms of language education, the decree recognizes as a main educational objective knowing the regional languages in the Autonomous Communities where they are official. However, most importantly, the decree emphasizes plurilingualism as a goal of Spain's education system, following the general law's prescriptions. It frames the need for foreign language competence the following way:

"The learning of foreign languages is of special relevance, since the capacity of communication is the first requisite that the individual has to fulfill in order to cope with an increasingly pluricultural and plurilingual context. This has been recognized by all the governments of the European Union, which over the last few years have programmed various community actions in the field of education with the ultimate aid of making it possible for each citizen to have a working knowledge of at least two languages in addition to their mother tongue. (BOE, 2014, p. 37)

Additionally, in its section on "The learning of Foreign Languages", the decree references the potential use of language-and-content integrated methods:

"The educational Administrations can regulate that part of the curriculum subjects be taught in a foreign language without it modifying the basic aspects of the curriculum regulated in this decree." (BOE, 2014, p. 10)

As it will be shown in the next section, it is however the different educational decrees promulgated at the regional level what truly determines how language education is organized in each Autonomous Community, and in the case of bilingual ones, how the co-official language is used in it. In the case of Galicia, these are the decree regulating the primary education curriculum and the decree regulating the promotion of plurilingualism across the region.

A new decree regulating the curriculum of primary education in Galicia was passed in 2014 following the adoption of the new educational framework at the national level (the LOMCE) in 2013 (DOG, 2014). This decree, named *Decree 105/202 establishing the primary education curriculum in the Autonomous Community of Galicia* closely follows its national equivalent (BOE, 2014), including passages directly taken from the state-level decree and translated into Galician. The most relevant difference is the contextualization of the document within the Galician reality, and therefore, the inclusion of a detailed description of the curriculum for the Galician Language and Literature subject (DOG, 2014, p. 37979). Additionally, this decree directly references a previous one passed in 2010, *Decree 79/2010 for plurilingualism in non-university education in Galicia*, which established a plurilingual educational model through the use of content-and-language integrated approaches. (DOG, 2010) This decree serves as the current, official language education policy governing language learning and teaching in Galician public schools and is precisely what this study will be focusing on.

Promulgated three years earlier than the new general education law, the *Decree for plurilingualism* justifies its relevance in economistic terms very similar to those used in the LOMCE. The policy therefore portrays itself as responding to governmental concerns mainly framed in the context of the increasing economic globalization Spain is part of, which stresses notions such as practicality, employability and competitiveness:

"The European social reality we live in, a context of globalization and social mobility places us in an international space characterized by multilingualism. This new reality requires an educational framework that responds to this social need, facilitating the effective training of students in the two official languages and in one or more foreign languages" (DOG, 2010, p. 9242)

In a chapter dedicated to the teaching of subjects in a foreign language, this decree establishes for the first time in Galicia the possibility of teaching non-language subjects in a language other than Galician or Spanish in all public schools[1]:

[1] An experimental CLIL method had been introduced by the Galician government in 2002, referred to as "bilingual sections", in which participating secondary schools could teach one non-linguistic subject in either Spanish or Galician AND one foreign language (DOG, 2002). This programme was extended to primary education in 2007 with the establishment of the "bilingual classrooms" (DOG, 2007). (Barreiro Gundín and San Isidro, 2009)

> "The educational Administration will promote the teaching of subjects in foreign languages, mainly in English, with the aim that, progressively and voluntarily, schools are able to offer up to a maximum of one third of their weekly class time in foreign languages." (DOG, 2010, pp. 9246-7)

This is the legislative basis that gave rise to the introduction of content-and-language integrated learning (CLIL) methods in Galician public primary schools and, as it has been mentioned already, the official language education policy framework that will be analyzed in this study. But before proceeding to examine the state of research on this topic, it is fundamental to illustrate the particular sociolinguistic and political context within which this policy emerged and is currently being implemented.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic idiosyncrasy of Galicia

It is absolutely impossible to provide a comprehensive historical account of the two official languages of Galicia in such limited space. However, it is important to situate the reality in which these languages – particularly Galician - currently exist, and the intricate sociolinguistic dynamics that characterize said reality. The most important contextual aspect of Galician is, as it was briefly explained in the introductory chapter, its diglossic relationship with Spanish. This imbalanced coexistence, which has led to a continued decrease in the number of Galician speakers, has its roots in a complex process of language substitution. Loureiro-Rodríguez (2007) describes that process, identifying the arrival of Castilian nobility in Galicia during the formation of the early Spanish state around the 15th century as the beginning of the Galician language's decline. The Spanish monolingualism of these nobles began eroding the use of Galician, and the aristocratic replacement was thus followed by a linguistic replacement as well. (Mariño Paz, 1997) Mariño Paz elaborates on this:

> "Spanish became not only the paradigm of the courtiers and the elegant people, but also the only language in which power was expressed in Galicia. Thus, although this language of elites took a long time to penetrate the Galician social fabric - which was largely foreign to power and written culture -, the great Galician-speaking mass of the population was governed in a foreign language at least since the second half of the fifteen century." (1997, p. 463)

Deemed unfit for 'high culture' purposes, Galician remained the primary means of communication among the population, which was largely rural and uneducated. (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2007) These conditions, as Loureiro-Rodriguez explains, "led to the stigmatization of the Galician language and its association with the very factors that helped

maintain it: isolation, illiteracy, rurality and poverty." (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2007, p. 121) The majority of Galicians did not have neither "real possibilities of learning Spanish, nor an objective need of speaking it, as their life expectations were almost entirely circumscribed to the scope of their village" (Mariño Paz, 1997, p. 464). However, the social and economic transformation initiated during the 19th century across the continent profoundly impacted Galicia's sociolinguistic landscape. Although the Galician language began experiencing a period of cultural cultivation thanks to the nationalist movement that emerged during this time, a number of key factors prompted the filtering down of the aristocratic, Spanish-speaking habits into lower stratum of the social pyramid. (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2007) By the beginning of the 20th century, the industrialization phenomenon and the subsequent migratory influx towards the cities had led the newly formed middle-classes to adopt Spanish as a way of gaining social acceptance.

The institutionalization of the legal repression of Galician peaked during the Franco dictatorship (1936-1975), which prohibited the oral use of the language and officially treated it as a dialect of Spanish instead of a full-status language. (Beswick, 2002) The compulsory use of Spanish in education and the media also contributed to this language shift, further pushing Galician away from accessing spaces of formal expression. (Loureiro-Rodriguez, 2007) These dynamics kept feeding back into each other, reinforcing the stigmatization of Galician as an inferior and useless dialect, even among those rural classes who used it as mother tongue. (Monteagudo, 2009; Costas, 2010; Pardo Vuelta, 2015) These developments eventually took a toll on the intergenerational transmission of Galician, as families who spoke it did not consider it worth teaching to their children, or even regarded it as detrimental to their social mobility.

Such linguistic conditions slightly improved with the reinstatement of democracy in Spain and the constitutional endorsement of the country's linguistic diversity. A process of language revitalization was thus officially initiated by the regional government through the approval of the Linguistic Normalization Law (LNL) in 1983, and revisited later on in the General Plan for the Linguistic Normalization (PXNL) in 2004. Both documents legally protect and promote the use of Galician in society, especially in the domains of education, the administration and the media, (Costas and Expósito Loureiro, 2016) spelling out the

minimum language revitalization objectives agreed upon by all political groups in the region. However, such relatively solid, legal framing has not led to a coordinated and effective normalization strategy, nor has it yielded radically optimistic results. In fact, the question of how the use of Galician should be maintained and enhanced in society has remained a great source of conflict at the political level. (Herrero-Valeiro, 2002; Van Morgan, 2006)

Most scholars who have written about the struggles around the revitalization process of the Galician language identify a clear divide between two ideological currents in the region that defend two well-differentiated linguistic discourses: the 'centralist' one and the 'nationalist' one. (Del Valle, 2000; Herrero-Valeiro, 2002; Maiz, 2003; Dávila Balsera, 2005; Regueira, 2009) The fact that new political groupings have emerged in the past few years and yet these two contrasting discourses remain discernible speaks to the appropriateness of this discursive division beyond political parties.

The centralist linguistic discourse, almost exclusively associated with the conservative parties, derives from a political current that emerged in a context of autonomic rearrangement and democratic transition. It is therefore associated to the liberal-conservative movement, even though it progressively became more "Galicianized" (Maiz, 2003), defending the inextricable link between a solid education plan for Galicia and the development of the regional language (Maiz, 2003; Regueira, 2009; Monteagudo, 2012). This is to some extent reflected in its support for the promulgation of the aforementioned legislation on the revitalization of Galician (Beswick, 2007), at least on paper. Nonetheless, the centralist linguistic discourse has been distinctively based on a notion of 'harmonious bilingualism' (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008a; Beswick, 2007); that is, the 'non conflictive coexistence' of Spanish and Galician in society. (O'Rourke, 2014) This approach has primarily led to the promotion of educational policies meant to "stimulate the use of Galician without interfering in the vitality of Spanish or altering the hypothetic sociolinguistic equilibrium of the region" (Lorenzo Suárez, 2008b, p. 135). A particularly important factor shaping this political current and its linguistic discourse has been the extended governmental control its main advocate, the People's Party (PP), has maintained in the past thirty years (Monteagudo, 2012). Since the first elections after the reinstatement

of democracy, the conservative party has pretty much ruled in Galicia uninterruptedly. This political progression has therefore significantly shaped the language education policy developments in the region, as they have been almost exclusively determined from this centralist conservative perspective (Monteagudo, 2012).

The other linguistic discourse present in the region, termed the 'nationalist' one, because it has been almost exclusively advocated by Galician nationalist parties, stands in stark opposition to the already discussed centralist one. Traditionally linked to the left wing nationalist parties, this discourse has been most visibly espoused by the Galician Nationalist Block (BNG), "a political front amalgamating various small nationalist parties, all of which initially supported radical calls for self-determination and self-government for the 'Galician Nation' " (Maiz, 2003, p. 20). Although the BNG still firmly represents this political perspective, new political formations exhibiting this philosophy have arose in the region in the past few years. (El País, 2016; Pastor Verdú, 2017) Contrary to its counterpart, the nationalist linguistic discourse places the Galician language at its core. Author Jaine Beswick defends this, explaining how "the role of language as a clear expression of Galician identity has been a fundamental component of regional nationalistic political rhetoric since the early 1980s." (Beswick, 2007, p. 176)

The nationalist linguistic discourse focuses therefore on the need for increased protection of the regional language, due to the imbalance between Spanish and Galician, in which the first is socially regarded as a high status language, and the second, as a low status one. (Del Valle, 2000; Herrero-Valeiro, 2002; Iglesias-Álvarez and Ramallo, 2002; Beswick, 2007; Regueira, 2009; Monteagudo, 2012) This discourse stresses the problem that the decrease in the number of monolingual Galician-speakers poses for society (González González, 2010), which coupled with "the current unstoppable wave of economic and cultural globalization, always in favor of the most extensive and consolidated languages" makes the case for Galicia even gloomier. (Bouzada Fernández, 2003, p. 322) In this discourse's eyes, as Del Valle (2000) illustrates, "the co-existence of Galician and Spanish perpetuates the decline of the former; and therefore they demand affirmative actions that guarantee the dominance of Galician in all domains and the reversal of the on-going shift towards Spanish" (p. 206). Such positive discrimination actions are reflected in

this discourse's proposed language education policy reforms, which call for an increased use of Galician as vehicular language in school. (Rey, 2012) Unlike the centralist one, the nationalist discourse has had very limited influence over the actual development of language policies in the region mainly due to its reduced access to the administrative power.

The key to understanding the importance of these discourses for the Galician society is the fact that even though they mostly emanate from the political field, they permeate all corners of the social sphere. They have essentially shaped Galicia's contemporary sociolinguistic imaginary, blurring the boundaries between the political and the social, problematically circumscribing the linguistic 'conflict' exclusively to the political realm, and frequently playing down the social dimension of the language struggle. Nonetheless, these two discourses exist within a shared linguistic reality: although the Galician language enjoys an official protection it did not enjoy decades ago, particularly in domains such as the administration and education, the language substitution process has not receded. (Pardo Vuelta, 2015) As Ramallo (2014) claims, "attitudes towards the Galician language are favorable, yet Galician language use decreases year after year." (p. 97) Several government-backed sociolinguistic studies illustrate the little progress made towards the social revitalization of Galician. Although almost the entire population of Galicia self-reports to be able to understand and speak Galician (Linguistic Census 1991, 2001, 2011 as illustrated by Loredo, 2015; OLG, 2007), the numbers regarding language use are not that optimistic. A comparison between three surveys carried out by the Galician Institute of Statistics (IGE) on people's use of the Galician language in a ten-year span throw quite revealing results.

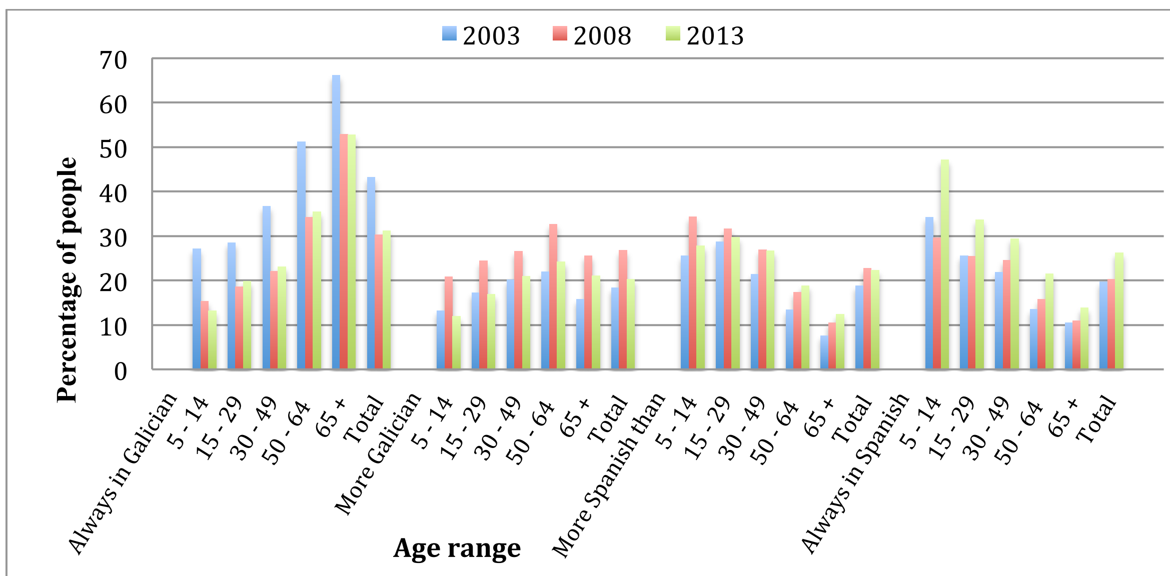

Figure 1: *Galician population's usual language according to age range. (Obtained from IGE's Website)*

While the percentage of people who report to speak always in Galician has most significantly decreased for all age ranges, the percentage of people who report to speak more Spanish than Galician or always in Spanish has constantly increased for all age ranges too. Authors who have comprehensively analyzed the same survey data or who have carried out individual research on language use also identify a clear trend marked by the general spread of Spanish speaking and the decline of Galician speaking. (Loredo, 2015; Monteagudo et al. 2016) Other important longitudinal studies such as the Galician Sociolinguistic Map (Seminario de Sociolingüística 1994, 1995, 1996; González González et al. 2004) also back this finding.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of the European, state and local legislative context within which the plurilingual Galician education model is located. It has closely examined the particularities of the Galician sociolinguistic reality, paying attention to its diglossic dynamics, to the most prevalent political-ideological linguistic discourses in society, and to some crucial aspects regarding the Galician language use. This chapter has traced the complex linguistic context of Galicia for readers to begin to understand how relevant it is for the study of the language education policy of the region.

3 Literature Review

The following section discusses the scholarly work and theoretical approaches most relevant to the focus of this study. For that purpose, this chapter starts with an overview of the overarching theme of this project - Language Education Policy (LEP) implementation - in which it considers the origins of this field of research, its current trends, and key aspects of the subject, such as the role of teachers and the specific subfield of plurilingual LEP. An important part of this review involves the introduction of Content-and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) as a specific type of plurilingual LEP and the state of research in Spain, and particularly, in the region this study focuses on Galicia. This review of existing literature seeks, first, to provide a description of how scholars have studied and written about the aforementioned topics, and second, to theoretically situate this study in order to illustrate its potential contribution to the academic field of LEP implementation.

3.1 Language education policy (LEP) implementation

Research on education policy and education policy implementation is extremely abundant. Research on *language* education policy and *language* education policy implementation not so much. In one of the few books dedicated to this topic, Menken and García (2010) acknowledge this, claiming that "little research exists about the complex process of language policy implementation within educational contexts." (p. 1) The majority of traditional LEP implementation research has focused on top-down approaches and official policy statements (Menken and García, 2010); however, studies have increasingly approached the topic from bottom-up and dialectical perspectives (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Ball, 1998; Ozga, 2000; Shohamy, 2006; Bell and Stevenson, 2006; Levinson et al. 2009; Menken and García, 2010; Forman, 2016). This is most likely a reflection of the same developments in the general field of education policy implementation (Tochon, 2015), which has been progressively conceptualized by scholars as a process. (Honig, 2006) This perspective endorses a very constructivist interpretation of LEP, which as Plüddemann (2015) describes, is "[ceasing] to be a static, reified construct; rather, it is dynamic, processual, and in motion; not monolithic, but a social practice and a situated sociocultural process." (p. 187) Such approach has also had

important implications for LEP implementation stakeholders, particularly those on the frontlines of teaching, as they are increasingly regarded as central players of the implementation process.

3.1.1 The role of teachers in LEP implementation

As the previous section mentioned, the key about conceptualizing language education policy implementation as a dynamic process is the possibility of treating every single stakeholder involved as a major actor with power to reinterpret and modify the policy. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) presented in their research a useful analogy that referred to policy planning agents, levels and processes as layers of an 'onion' "that permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees." (p. 402) Since their introduction of the 'onion' parallel, several other authors have taken it up in their own research to attempt to illustrate how policy processes and dynamics take place (Evans and Hornberger, 2005; García and Menken, 2010; Roux, 2013; Plüddemann, 2015). Hornberger and Johnson (2007), for example, refer to the "slicing through the onion's layers" as a way of revealing "agentive spaces in which local actors implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy initiatives in varying and unique ways." (p. 509) This focus on the agency of individuals throughout the LEP implementation chain has paid special attention to teachers (Hopkins, 2016). In their very recent compilation of work on education policy and implementation research, Lester et al. (2017) affirm how research has now "positioned teachers, administrators, and other 'street-level bureaucrats' as sense-makers in their own rights, who understand and implement policy ideas through unique lenses which have been shaped by their particular knowledge, experiences, and contexts." (p. 3) Other scholars have followed the same path, placing teachers at the epicenter of the LEP implementation process (Flemming, 1998; Ricento, 2000; Menken and García, 2010; Johnson, 2013; Hamid and Nguyen, 2016; Wiley and García, 2016).

An important feature of some of the academic work on the role of teachers in the implementation process of LEP is the cognitive dimension of teachers' agency. Hopkins (2016) acknowledges, "Research on language policy implementation tends to focus at the individual level, on the ways in which teachers implement policy according to their backgrounds, prior experiences, and beliefs" (p. 574). Here, he refers to a particular strand

of research that regards teachers' mental processes as a key component of their behavior, and therefore, of the way they act upon policy mandates, which other authors have investigated as well (Olson, 2009; Johnson, 2010; Menken and García, 2010; Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech, 2014; Forman, 2016). Here, policy receptivity – and especially one extreme of the receptivity spectrum: policy resistance - adopts a particularly important role. The complexity of the topic has led a growing number of scholars to maintain that it "must be considered within the multifaceted ecology of teachers' working lives." (Pease-Alvarez and Thompson, 2011, p. 280) What this means is that more and more authors support the idea that "teachers' interpretations of and decisions made relating to the implementation of top-down curricular initiatives are mediated within the network of contexts, experiences, and relationships that constitute their professional and personal lives." (Pease-Alvarez and Samway, 2008, p. 33) Regarding the specific case of resistance, Norman Long (2008), for example, calls for greater focus on "the social embeddedness of specific acts of resistance", arguing that we need to explore "the ways in which existing institutional constraints, knowledge/power processes, and material affordances shape possibilities for engaging in particular actions, counteractions, and discourses." (pp. 71-72) This trend has therefore translated into researchers increasingly pushing for a deeper analysis of the nature and the meaning of teachers' reactions to policy changes, focusing on a wider variety of cognitive aspects such as identity, ideology, values, discourses, socio-political contexts, etc. (Gitlin and Margonis, 1995; Datnow and Castellano, 2000; Coburn, 2001; Achinstein and Ogawa, 2006) Research focusing on the role of teachers' cognitive characteristics (beliefs, values, knowledge, ideologies, etc.) and the specific topic of LEP implementation has flourished across the globe, in many different sociocultural contexts (Farrell and Tan Kiat Kun, 2007; Wang, 2008; Fallon and Rublik, 2012; Razfar, 2012; Nero, 2014; Al Blooshi, 2017), which attests to the importance of further developing this thread of research.

3.2 Research on plurilingual LEP

As it was noted in Chapter 2, plurilingualism has been increasingly advocated by the European Union as the means to boost integration across the continent. (Glaser, 2005) A large amount of LEP research in Europe has therefore focused on educational developments that foster plurilingualism, including a wide variety of models, strategies, and concepts

across a broad range of sociocultural and linguistic contexts. (Grommes and Hu, 2014) It is common to find studies that deal with specific approaches or dimensions within plurilingual LEP such as third language acquisition (TLA), immersion programs, bilingual sections, content-and-language integrated learning (CLIL), etc. (Jessner, 2008; Cenoz, 2013; Cummins, 2014) All of these seem to have as their ultimate goal addressing the challenge identified by Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2007):

> "how an education system can endow learners with the language skills necessary first to profit from the education on offer, and second to participate in social and economic life in ways that are advantageous for the individual and society at large." (p. 7)

However, the most favored approached by governments across Europe (Järvinen, 2006; Lorenzo, et al. 2009; Coyle et al. 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe et al. 2011), and particularly, the one adopted by the Galician administration, is the content-and-language integrated learning (CLIL), which has essentially become the star of plurilingual educational models.

3.2.1 Content-and-language integrated learning (CLIL)

Content-and-language integrated learning (CLIL) is an umbrella term that describes any "educational programme and initiative based on the transmission of academic content by using a foreign language in the classroom" (Méndez García and Pavón Vazquez, 2012, p. 573). The main difference between CLIL and other plurilingual approaches resides in its use of a foreign language, not a second language. As Dalton-Puffer et al. (2010) explain, in CLIL "the language of instruction is one that students will mainly encounter at school since it is not regularly used in the wider society they live in", which means, "teachers imparting CLIL lessons will normally not be native speakers or the target language." (p. 1) Scholars document how since the late 1990s, the adoption of CLIL models skyrocketed (Marsh, 2002; Coonan, 2007; Lorenzo et al. 2007; Pérez-Cañado, 2012), "and from 2003 onwards, a truly international research scene focusing on CLIL started to evolve" (Pérez-Cañado, 2012, p. 315). It was due to the growing interest this topic has attracted in the last few decades and to the increasing number of publications devoted to it that CLIL has emerged as a key area of research within the LEP realm. Nonetheless, as Pérez-Cañado (2012) states, "the rapid spread of CLIL has outpaced measures of its impact, and research on

CLIL is still very much in its infancy", an opinion shared by many authors (Langé, 2007; Tudor, 2008; Coyle et al. 2010; Fernández Fontecha, 2010; García Guerrero, 2015).

Pérez-Cañado (2012) provides a great overview of CLIL research carried out in Europe, which has predominantly focused on learning outcomes and differences between CLIL-track and regular students (Airey, 2004; Hellekjaer, 2004; Sylvén, 2004, 2006; Merisuo-Storm, 2007; Admiraal et al. 2006). Such studies have concentrated on exploring very technical aspects of the impact of CLIL on learning through predominantly quantitative methods (Admiraal et al. 2006; Vázquez, 2007; Wiesemes, 2009; Jexenflicker and Dalton-Puffer, 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2011; Whittaker et al. 2011). Although some studies have begun to acknowledge the importance of stakeholders' perspectives on CLIL education (Södergård, 2006; Wiesemes, 2009; Mehisto and Asser, 2007; Coonan, 2007 Massler, 2012; Hüttner et al. 2013; McDougald, 2015; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015), scholars argue more research on the topic is still needed. In her research review, Pérez-Cañado herself concludes that "future research avenues should address the major questions recurrent in all CLIL debates", among which she includes "attitudinal and affective factors, together with the main needs and problems stakeholders face in their daily practice" (Pérez-Cañado, 2015, p.). Many other authors concur that stakeholders' perceptions of CLIL experiences are still one of the key issues underexplored by research (Fernández Fontecha, 2010; Moate, 2011; Massler, 2012; Bovellan, 2014; Pladevall-Ballester, 2015).

3.2.2 Plurilingual LEP in multilingual contexts

As it has been discussed earlier, increased interest in maintaining local heritage languages and learning foreign ones has led to the frequent presence of multiple languages in the curriculum in many bilingual and multilingual contexts in Europe. Such contexts are however not always characterized by the harmonic coexistence of languages; frequently "there are important asymmetries regarding their demography and degree of official recognition" (Gorter et al. 2014, p. 4), and they involve some sort of conflictive or diglossic dynamics, which makes the implementation of plurilingual LEP quite intricate. Existing research on plurilingual LEP in European multilingual contexts has predominantly focused on settings where an autochthonous minority or lesser-used language is present and

competes with one or more strong national or foreign language for social status. (Bangma et al. 2011; Gorter et al. 2014, Lasabagaster, 2015) Examples include the regions of Friesland, Carinthia, Wales, the Ladin Valleys, Catalonia, the Basque Country, Luxembourg, etc. (Lasabagaster and Huguet, 2007, Jessner, 2008; Bangma et al. 2011) Plurilingual education in most of these cases involves a 'trilingual education' model that uses three languages - a combination of minority, state and foreign languages - as media of instruction, frequently through a CLIL approach. (Pérez Cañado, 2012) Such plurilingual educational configurations are of course quite controversial given the usual sociolinguistic friction that characterizes the contexts where they are implemented. This is because language education in these cases traditionally serves the dual purpose of maintaining or revitalizing the minority language while promoting foreign and state language learning. In his investigation on early trilingual education in the Basque Country (Spain), Etxebarria (2004) gives visibility to this issue, rationalizing "If some authors are already finding problems in certain trilingual educational programmes involving strong national languages, then putting into place plurilingual programmes which involve Basque is bound to be that much more difficult." (p. 187) This reasoning can perfectly apply to any other multilingual context where several official languages are present.

Scholars who have investigated plurilingual LEP in such multilingual contexts precisely emphasize the complexity of the topic, as potentially comprising a myriad of different sociolinguistic configurations. (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Cenoz and Jessner, 2009; Gorter et al. 2014; Lasagabaster, 2015) Research calls for increased attention to the subject in general, and particularly, to the impact of sociolinguistic aspects on language dynamics and policy implementation (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Lasagabaster and Huguet, 2007; Cenoz and Jessner, 2009; Portolés Falomir, 2014) David Lasagabaster, one of the most relevant scholars in the study of plurilingualism in the Basque Country (Spain), has written about the important role of the existing bilingual language ecology in plurilingual education policy. (Lasagabaster, 2015) He claims there is a "need to examine how the introduction [of foreign languages] bears on the other languages and their speakers" and stresses how "In the case of bilingual contexts [where a minority language is spoken] […] the study of language attitudes is a key issue." (Lasagabaster, 2009, p. 26) Cenoz and Genesee (1998) also agree with this, pointing out how multilingual education "is

necessarily linked to the sociolinguistic context in which it takes place and has to take into account the relative status and use of the languages involved." (p. viii)

In the last few decades, Spain has stood out among its European counterparts as a leader in plurilingualism practice and research. Because of the prominence of CLIL-based education, this is the type of plurilingual LEP research that has attracted most attention in the country. (Coyle, 2010; Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Nikula et al. 2013; Tsuchiya and Pérez Murillo, 2015). Research on plurilingual education in multilingual contexts has flourished in Spain mainly due to its linguistic diversity and the varied amount of multilingual settings found within the country. (Coyle, 2010) However, two regions in particular have been the foci of the majority of such research – Catalonia and Basque Country. (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008; Fernández Fontecha, 2010; Gorter and Cenoz, 2011; Weber and Horner, 2012; Juan-Garau and Salazar-Noguera, 2015; Pérez-Cañado, 2012; Llinares and Morton, 2017) This scholarship includes studies similar to those carried out in other countries, which focus primarily on students' attitudes towards multilingualism (Lasagabaster, 2009) and the impact of plurilingual education on students' language competence or content-subject results. (Juan-Garau and Salazar Noguera, 2015) Still little research exists however on teacher perceptions and attitudes towards multilingualism. Lasagabaster and Huguet's (2007) comprehensive collection of studies analyzing teacher-students' language use and language attitudes towards majority, minority and foreign languages in multilingual contexts across Spain is perhaps one of the most significant on the topic. Pladevall-Ballester (2015) also carried out research on stakeholders' perspectives on plurilingual education in Catalonia; however, teachers represented a minimal fraction of the study's participants, which were mostly students and parents.

3.2.3 Plurilingual LEP in Galicia

Research on plurilingual education in the region of Galicia is not nearly as extensive as in the other two mentioned above. There have been some researchers who have empirically contributed to the topic through quantitative studies on the precursory CLIL-based program adopted in Galicia before the plurilingual education model – referred to as "bilingual sections". Barreiro Gundín and San Isidro (2009) carried out a survey-based study on teachers' opinions about the functioning of bilingual sections at the secondary

school level, focusing on the impact of CLIL on content knowledge. San Isidro (2010) tested secondary education students' English language competence comparing CLIL and non-CLIL classrooms. González Gándara (2011) investigated in his master's thesis the impact of CLIL on primary school students' results, also comparing CLIL vs. non-CLIL methodologies. Like these two, other authors have centered their investigations on bilingual sections (San Isidro, 2010; Gómez Vecino, 2013); however, studies on the plurilingual education model implanted in 2010 are not as abundant. Although some theoretical and descriptive publications can be found on the topic (Vicente Rodríguez, 2014; Costas and Expósito Loureiro, 2016; Diaz Caneiro, 2016) - some of them with a clear sociolinguistic focus (Silva Valdivia, 2012) –, empirical research is extremely scarce. Xavier San Isidro, the leading researcher on plurilingual education in Galicia, has conducted the most significant empirical studies on the topic thus far. With David Lasagabaster, San Isidro carried out a two-year longitudinal study on students' plurilingual language and content learning in a Galician rural high school also comparing CLIL and non-CLIL groups. (San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2018)

This general dearth of research makes finding scholarship on stakeholders' perceptions of the plurilingual education model almost impossible. As it was mentioned above, author Xavier San Isidro has been the main researcher of the field, and therefore, the most significant investigations directly addressing stakeholders' perceptions were carried out by him. In a study published in 2017, he quantitatively examined the opinion of 348 secondary school teachers taking part in CLIL programmes through a questionnaire that included qualitative items with assigned values. The study, carried out in secondary schools, examined as well students' results in all three languages and the CLIL subject. His results indicate a positive impact of the CLIL-based plurilingual model on language competence and content learning. A previous study on the effect of CLIL on language-building and content learning had already shown similar results. (Calvo and San Isidro, 2012) Essentially, research conducted on Galicia's plurilingual LEP has focused on quantitative strategies, which statistically measured teachers' opinions or students' results, and in secondary education contexts.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of important trends and features of research on language education policy (LEP) implementation, paying special attention to its conceptualization as a process and the central role of teachers in it. It has examined plurilingual LEP, describing the predominance of CLIL-type approaches, and research carried out on multilingual contexts. This review of literature reveals potential new paths for research on LEP implementation, pointing at specific aspects and questions that need closer examination. There is a need to continue expanding on the key role of teachers, aiming at a deeper analysis of their interaction with language education policies, focusing on aspects such as agency, policy receptivity, and linguistic attitudes. Research should also keep exploring the effects and implications of CLIL through more qualitative strategies, particularly in contexts characterized by diglossic multilingual dynamics, as it is precisely here where plurilingual LEP becomes trickier and more conflictive. In Spain's case, the continued focus on the Basque and Catalonian regions means more attention should be paid to other autonomous communities that do not share the same sociolinguistic characteristics. Expanding research towards a more diverse range of multilingual contexts can significantly strengthen our understanding of plurilingual LEP. Specifically in the Galician context, existing scholarship points at the general need for increased research, but particularly on primary school settings, through qualitative methods, and through a sociolinguistic lens that brings social and political linguistic dynamics to the center of the discussion.

4 Analytical framework

This chapter presents the framework utilized in this study to analyze the collected data. It first describes the interpretivist approach from which the concept of teacher perceptions has been operationalized, focusing on beliefs, and especially, on language ideologies. A critical approach to the study of LEP is then introduced, including its focus on social justice and counter-hegemonic opportunities, the role of neoliberal thinking in the construction of such approach, and its application to plurilingual education policy.

4.1 An interpretivist approach to teacher perceptions

The concept of 'perception' is an extremely elusive one, particularly in the qualitative research realm. Scholars have used it in many different ways in order to explore a wide array of topics. This study conceptualizes perception according to the interpretivist approach to the social world that has guided the entire research process, operationalizing it as an individual's distinctive and subjective way of understanding phenomena. Language education policy implementation scholars discuss the role of other constructs for the study of teacher perceptions. Forman (2016) examines the interests of policy actors in the policy process, claiming "an actor's values, orientations and material interests shape the individual's perceptions of both the problem that the policy is meant to address and the solutions proposed by the particular policy." (Forman, 2016, p. 436) Waugh and Godfrey (1993) use attitude, overall feelings and behavior intentions as the three variables that determine a teacher's policy receptivity. Perceptions in this study are seen as subjective meanings teachers construct from their own experiences with the language education policy (Fullan, 2016).

A key aspect of teachers' perceptions examined in this study is 'beliefs'. Teacher beliefs have been exhaustively examined by education scholars (Fang, 1996), including in the specific field of language education policy (Ellis, 2004; Pena Diaz and Porto Requejo, 2008) As Pajares (1992) warns, "beliefs should not be confused with knowledge" (p. 307): while the former is based on personal judgment and evaluation, the latter is based on subjective facts. Harvey (1986) defines a belief system as a "set of conceptual representations which signify to its holder a reality or given state of affairs of sufficient

validity, truth and/or trustworthiness to warrant reliance upon it as a guide to personal thought and action." (p. 660) When it comes to language education, particularly in multilingual contexts where language issues are highly controversial, beliefs adopt quite a salient role. Hüttner et al. (2013) define language beliefs as "lay theories of teachers […] [that] constitute the complex cluster of intuitive, subjective knowledge about the nature of language, language use and language learning, taking into account both cognitive and social dimensions, as well as cultural assumptions." (p. 269) For the purposes of this study, teachers' language beliefs are crucial, as they allow us "to get a sense of the individual and collective discourses that inform teachers' perceptions, judgments and decision-making and that motivate and drive teachers' actions." (Biesta et al. 2015, p. 624) Language beliefs can therefore provide meaningful insight into teachers' perceptions of a particular language policy; however, they should not be explored in isolation, but as socially and politically situated. Trueba and Bartolomé (2000) explain there have been very few thorough investigations of the ideological dimensions of teachers' beliefs. This study finds it however useful to not just focus on teachers' beliefs about the educational policy framing their professional experience, but to also acknowledge the sociolinguistic embeddedness of such beliefs. The concept of *linguistic ideology* accurately captures the nature and features of teachers' beliefs about linguistic issues examined in this project.

4.1.1 Linguistic ideologies

Apart from examining teachers' subjective perceptions of the language education policy in place and implementation-related, professional aspects of it, this study seeks to delve into teachers' personal values towards language issues beyond the education field. For that, it is imperative to not just examine *what* teachers think about language issues, but also *how* they think and talk about them. Linguistic ideologies essentially provide an opportunity to explore a deeper layer of teachers' perceptions about language education policy, and the contextual sociolinguistic forces influencing those perceptions.

Researchers who have investigated teacher linguistic ideologies emphasize their relevance for understanding teachers' appraisal and implementation of policy. (Shohamy, 2006; Palmer, 2011; Donneky, 2011) As Henderson and Palmer (2015) contend, "Teachers draw on language ideologies to interpret, negotiate, and enact language policy." (p. 76)

Although the literature on the topic is abundant and encompasses a wide variety of angles and approaches, the concept seems to be quite solid across research. Kroskrity (2004) defines language ideology as “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds.” (p. 498) Makihara and Schieffelin (2007) provide a more elucidatory perspective on the concept:

> “ […] Ideologies do not just concern language [;] rather they link language to identity, power, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology in terms of cultural and historical specifities. Through such linkages, language ideologies underpin not only linguistic form and use, but also significant social institutions and fundamental notions of persons and community.” (Makihara and Schieffelin, 2007, p. 14)

Linguistic ideologies are present pretty much everywhere in society, and they can be individually and collectively defined. They also inform language education policies in a complex way. (Ricento, 2000) Spolsky (2008) explained this relation, claiming “Language education policy derives essentially from an understanding (often weak and imprecise and rarely accurate) of the current language practices and proficiencies of a society and from a set of beliefs (or ideology) of what should be an ideal situation.” (p. 30) Considering language education policy comprises not only “the explicit, written, overt, de jure, official and ‘top-down’ decision-making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass-roots and unofficial ideas and assumptions’ about language in a particular culture” (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112), it is clear why language ideologies are frequently difficult to grasp. This idea also raises important questions regarding *what*, and more importantly, *whose* language ideologies are actually reflected in official policy. Although multiple language ideologies exist, especially in multilingual contexts, only the ones reflected in discourses with access to legislative authority have the chance to potentially gain administrative legitimization. As Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) defend, ideologies of language are therefore “not about language alone, but are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies.” (p. 246) This construction of language ideology brings up issues related to hegemony and subordination dynamics (Kroskrity, 2004) and inevitably leads to the second component of the framework utilized in this study – a critical sociolinguistic approach to language education.

4.2 A critical approach to LEP

Although there is a vast number of scholars and theorists who have influenced, and are considered part of the critical theory philosophy, there seems to be widespread consensus pointing at the famous Frankfurt School as the precursors of the critical theory approach. (Giroux, 1983; Gibson, 1986; Darder et al. 2009; Apple et al. 2009) A solid definition of such approach is provided by James Bohman, who describes critical theory as a amalgam of philosophies that "emerged in connection with the many social movements that identify varied dimensions of the domination of human beings in modern societies" and that have as goal "decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms." (Bohman, 2016, p. 1) A critical theory of education is therefore concerned in exploring dominance dynamics and the reproduction of inequality in the specific field of education. As Mellor (2013) summarizes it, critical education "denotes ways of viewing, conceptualizing, categorizing, and mapping connections that make visible vested interests and power relations, with the aim of constructing more egalitarian alternatives." (Mellor, 2013, p. 2)

This study is particularly interested in critical language education policy, that is, the application of the critical perspective to the language education and policy realm. James Tollefson, motivated by social theorists such as J. Habermas, A. Giddens or M. Foucault, has extensively researched the development of language policies from a critical standpoint. In his view, "A critical perspective aggressively investigates how language policies affect the lives of individuals and groups who often have little influence over the policymaking process." (Tollefson, 2002 p. 6) Johnson (2010) agrees with this view, adding, "Language policies, then, might be portrayed as one way in which dominant discourses about language (education) are perpetuated." (p. 62) Neoliberalism, one of the most relevant, current forces shaping not only education, but also social, political and economic developments across the globe, is a particularly common aspect studied by critical LEP research. This is because the neoliberal discourse not only frames language education policy across the world in very specific ways, but also has important implications for the power dynamics underneath languages. (Bernstein et al. 2015) A closer look at the neoliberal construction of language

education policy and the role of English in it helps delineate the critical LEP framework utilized in this study.

4.2.1 The neoliberal construction of LEP

The pervasiveness of functionalist neoliberal thinking as a result of the globalization phenomenon is nowadays indisputable (Dale, 1999; Burbules and Torres, 2000; Coulby and Zambeta, 2005; Díez Gutiérrez, 2010). As Luke et al. (2007) describe, "Neoliberal economics constitutes a planetary "newspeak" that lines the pages of newspapers, blogs, and screens with the language of 'the market' and with its images and discourses of competitive and possessive individualism." (p. 4) The entrenchment of neoliberal principles has had clear implications for education policy. Under the neoliberal social imaginary, education systems are now reformed following the principles of "human capital", which regard "the knowledge, information, ideas, skills, and health of individuals as the most important form of capital in modern economies" (Becker, 2006, p. 3). Education is essentially seen as a social market investment, justified by the logic that "increased educational expenditure and increased participation rates in education [will] improve economic productivity and set the economy on a path of growth" (Harber, 2014, p. 54). Subordinating education to the forces of the global economy has ensured the prevalence of a very specific policy strategy, which Rizvi and Lingard describe as "an economistic reframing of education policy that has led to an emphasis on policies of education as the production of human capital to ensure the competitiveness of the national economy in the global market." (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010, p. 16) Language education policies are not an exception to this, and have been systematically subjected to clear neoliberal reform processes across the world. (Luke et al. 2007) Governments worldwide, particularly in the European Union, visibly emphasize multilingual goals, prioritizing the need to acquire linguistic competences that are useful in the global market. Shohamy (2006) elaborates on this:

> "In the current political environment where states are becoming more multilingual, multinational and at the same time more global, students are asked to learn language(s) that reflect and affect the interests of different groups in quite different ways. Such preferred languages may include languages that are considered important in the global world, as is the case with English in most countries." (p. 77)

Block (2008) agrees with this view, calling such process the *commodification* of language, where "languages not only are signs of authentic national identities, they are also seen as commodities, the possession of which is a valued skill in the job market." (p. 35) A key aspect of this process has been the global spread of English as *the* lingua franca. Many authors have explored this phenomenon and its effects in the school setting in many different contexts across the globe. (Block and Cameron, 2002; Ferguson, 2006; Alidou et al. 2006; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Monteagudo, 2012; Tollefson, 2013; Gorter, et al. 2014) English is globally conceived as inextricably linked to modernity and cosmopolitanism, and therefore, a necessary skill for international communication and social mobility. (May, 2014) It is, as Bernstein et al. (2015) describe, "framed in largely instrumental terms, as a technical skill that can open doors" (p. 8), and consequently included in national curricula unquestioned. Of course, this phenomenon has also had a clear impact on the development of plurilingual education worldwide. English is included almost universally as a core subject in education curricula across Europe; in the case of plurilingual education models, this also frequently involves using English as a medium of instruction at ever-earlier ages. (Ferguson, 2013) A crucial concern with this trend is "the degree to which the domination of English as the main European lingua franca and its strong perception as cultural capital is a detriment to other languages in the quest for multilingualism Europe, - particularly concerning "smaller" European languages". (Peckham et al. 2012, p. 182) Luke et al. (2007) elaborate on this problem, claiming, "The spread of English is eroding vernacular and minority languages globally, with too many governments and education systems washing their hands off the complexities and challenges of multilingualism and language rights." (p. 2) This is, among others, a key aspect investigated by the critical language policy framework.

4.2.2 Plurilingualism through the critical theory lens

Within the critical approach to language education policy, scholars have provided multiple different frameworks that can be used to analyze the issues tackled in this investigation. All strands of critical language education share the aim of "identify[ing] ideologies and investigat[ing] imbalances of power between minority and dominant

language groups.” (Young, 2014, p. 158-159) Language under the critical approach is “characterized not as a decontextualized abstract system of signs, but as originating in social struggle, coloured by the history of its use, always evaluative and highly ideological.” (Maybin, 2001, p. 67) A critical approach to LEP seeks therefore to uncover the social implications of language education policies in specific contexts, focusing on the interplay between language, power, inequality and discourses. (Tollefson, 2002) A key issue for critical LEP briefly mentioned in the previous section, is “the study of how policies are shaped by ideologies, and how discursive processes naturalize policies that are adopted in the interest of dominant ethnolinguistic groups.” (Tollefson, 2002, p. 6) Ultimately, the goal of critical LEP research is therefore to unmask patterns of language dominance and open up potential paths towards social change and justice.

A prominent strand of critical LEP is the minority language rights (MLR) perspective. Stephen May, one of the most relevant MLR scholars, has comprehensively scrutinized this approach. At its core, this critical strand condemns how social and political processes, including discrimination and exclusion, constrain the instrumental value of minority languages, privileging other dominant languages (May, 2005). This approach defends the stronger institutional protection and support of minority language rights as a way of “changing these wider relationships positively with respect to a minority language”, which “should bring about both enhanced instrumentality for the language in question, and increased mobility for its speakers.” (May, 2005, p. 335) Nonetheless, May is aware of the limitations of this rights approach, acknowledging,

“Even if language rights are extended to minority language speakers, this does not necessarily lead to their greater social and political participation, or the diminishing of inequalities because of the ongoing mismatch between formal language recognition and individual language use.” (May, 2012, p. 10)

May offers therefore a critical sociolinguistic take on the MLR perspective that emphasizes the adoption of “a notion of linguistic complementarity that extends to the civic realm as well”, which allows minority languages to “(re)enter” key domains from which they have been historically excluded.” (May, 2012, p. 10) Minority languages could then begin to be seen as more than mere carriers of identity. This change in discourse would potentially

assist the prospects of revitalization efforts, "undercutting the language replacement ideology underpinning the nationalist valorization of majority languages – that one must choose a majority language at the expense of a minority language." (May, 2012, p. 11) In multilingual settings such as Galicia, this complementary, minority language rights approach can help to identify new transformative practices and potential options for the eradication of linguistic domination dynamics.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has described the analytical framework that will be guiding this study's discussion of the findings. The interpretivist stance from where the concept of 'teachers' perceptions' is operationalized was first introduced to highlight the relevance of subjectivity throughout the investigation. The notion of 'linguistic ideology' is then comprehensively examined, as it will be a key aspect of the findings' discussion, but also a focus of research in itself. The chapter has also outlined the critical approach to language education policy that will serve as the main theoretical framework informing the study's assessment of the findings. Based on critical theory's principles of liberation, this framework focuses on how language education can contribute to a more just society by identifying linguistic domination dynamics, and providing new formulas for the emancipation of minoritized language communities. The entrenchment of the neoliberal doctrine and its permeation into the language education realm are central to this framework, as they are the very same covert, and not-so-covert, forces perpetuating linguistic hegemonic patterns. The minority language rights approach is finally introduced, along with Stephen May's reinterpretation of it, which focuses on notions of linguistic complementarity.

5 Methodology

This chapter describes the methodological aspects underpinning this research project. It provides a rationale for the choices made regarding the collection and analysis of data, and the theoretical assumptions guiding this study in general. It begins by describing the research design employed in the investigation - a qualitative case study – and aspects such as the research site, participant selection, and data collection and analysis tools. The chapter lastly presents important details regarding data quality, limitations of the study, and ethical considerations.

5.1 Research strategy and design

A key component of research is how knowledge is defined and conceptualized by the researcher, which entirely shapes the way in which that knowledge is obtained. This study is framed within what Burrell and Morgan (1979) have classified as the 'interpretivist paradigm', which is "informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience [and] seeks explanation within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity". (p. 28) Essentially, this study sees social phenomena as fundamentally different than natural phenomena, understands reality as socially constructed by individuals, and prioritizes the ways in which social actors interpret and give meaning to such reality. (Bryman, 2012) The study is therefore concerned primarily with "the meanings individual actors give to social interactions, and the use of symbols, such as language, in the creation of that meaning." (Walter, 2010, p. 17) To understand the experience of teachers with a specific language education policy and in a specific context, as this study sets out to do, it is essential to understand their interpretations of such experience and the meanings they attach to it.

From this interpretivist perspective, it follows that the research strategy utilized in this study is a qualitative one. Qualitative research is characterized by the collection of "descriptive data, people's own words, and records of people's behavior." (Taylor et al. 2016, p. 4) As Swanson (2007) claims, "an understanding of policy development and implementation is most effectively built through inquiry into perceptions, recollections, and personal views of those involved in a phenomenon." (p. 135) Since this is precisely the

objective of this research project, qualitative research seems the most appropriate approach to gather rich and detailed subjective information from the participating teachers of this study. In terms of the relationship between theory and research, a qualitative strategy generally adopts an inductive approach, which generally focuses on "drawing inferences out of observations." (Bryman, 2012, p. 26) Bryman elaborates on the inductive approach explaining, "[it] emphasizes a more open-ended view of the research process, so that there is less restriction on the kinds of things that can be found out about." (2012, p. 12) The ultimate goal of this qualitative, inductive research is not to generalize, but to provide an in-depth understanding of the case under scrutiny.

The selected research design for this investigation is a comparative case study. Yin (2009) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 28) Based on this definition, the phenomenon under investigation here is how Galician teachers perceive and experience the implementation process of the current LEP across two different settings (urban and rural). This is the case due to several reasons. First, this investigation is centered on the "detailed and intensive analysis of a case" (Bryman, 2012, p. 66), in this instance, the experienced implementation process of a selected language education policy; second, because the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and third, because the main interrogations posed by this research are 'how' and 'why' type of questions, over which the researcher has no control. (Yin, 2009) Scholars defend the suitability of case studies for education policy research (Bush-Mecenas and Marsh, 2018), and particularly "to delve into language education policy implementation to gain rich understandings of the language policy processes" (Menken & Garcia, 2010, p. 3).

5.1.1. Comparative dimensions

The main comparative dimension of this study is delineated by the 'habitat' variable defined along an urban-rural divide. Galicia's urban and rural contexts are remarkably different not only because of visible demographical, economic and environmental aspects, but because of the clearly differentiated sociolinguistic dynamics they present. Reimóndez (2014) describes a key feature of this urban/rural division, explaining "In contemporary

times it is only in the rural regions that Galician continues to be the first language for most speakers, who use it – albeit in markedly diglossic ways – in largely monolingual environments." (p. 158) Official statistics obtained by the Galician administration through multiple sociolinguistic studies confirm this, establishing a clear linguistic difference between the two types of habitat. The following charts illustrate the population's usual language according to type of habitat, defined by population size.

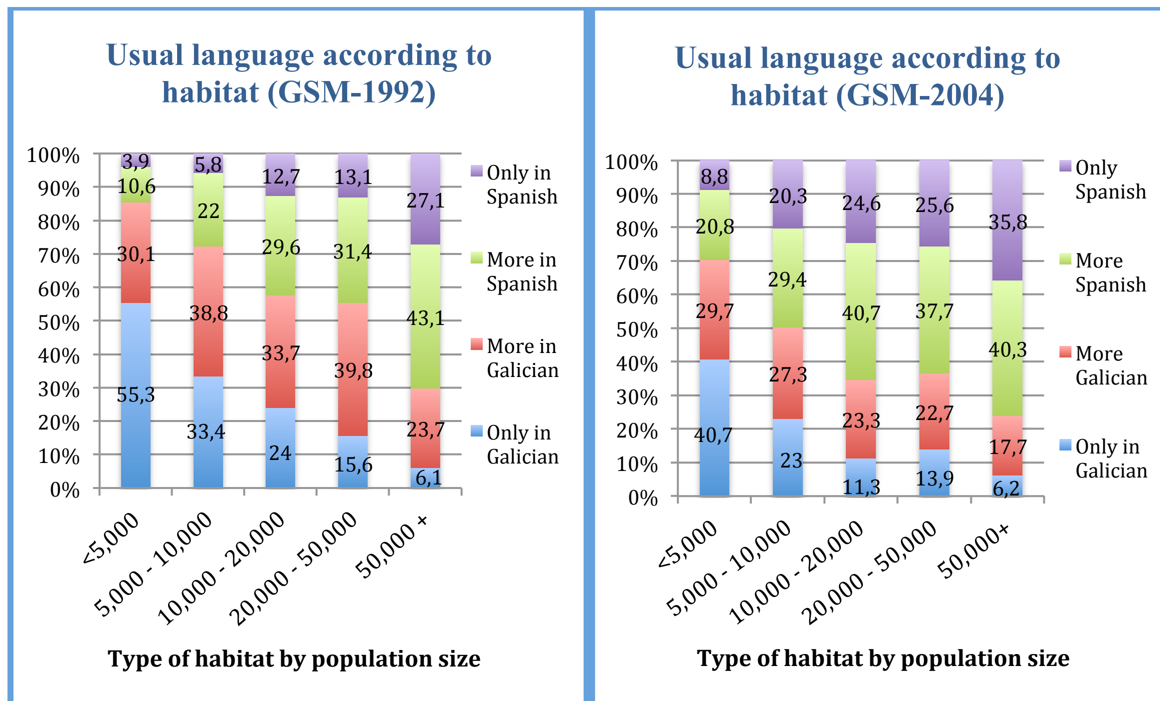

Figure 2: *Galician population's usual language according to habitat (measured by population size) in the 16-54 age bracket. (Obtained from González González, 2010 based on Galician Sociolinguistic Maps - GSM 1992, 2004)*

This is necessarily linked to the region's sociolinguistic patterns described in section 2.2.2. Other scholars' use of this habitat variable in studies on plurilingual education in Galicia attests to the relevance of incorporating it in this investigation. Loureiro-Rodríguez et al. (2012) used habitat as the main comparative variable for their research on Galician high school students' language attitudes towards the Galician and Spanish languages. Their whole study revolves therefore around the difference between rural and urban schools. In her investigation on bilingual competence acquisition at the pre-primary school level in Galicia, Iglesias Álvarez (2018) also utilizes this comparative dimension, concluding, "As for the vehicular language of teachers, in the schools and the groups that are the object of

our research, we find a totally differentiated use of the two co-official languages based on their habitat". Other authors have done the same. (Martínez, 2002; San Isidro, 2010)

A second comparative aspect of this study is the status of the schools regarding the implementation of the plurilingual education model. Some schools have already adopted the policy – plurilingual schools -, whereas some others have not yet, and are either considering future implementation or not – non-plurilingual schools. Although this is an investigation about the implementation of a plurilingual LEP, and therefore, instinctively only plurilingual schools should be taken into consideration, the reality is that the Decree for Plurilingualism adopted in Galicia includes specific language-related provisions that affect all types of schools. Specifically, new guidelines on assigned vehicular languages for particular subjects require both plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools to teach Social Science and Natural Science in Galician and Mathematics in Spanish. Nonetheless, teaching at a non-plurilingual school does not necessarily mean that participants do not have experience with the plurilingual education model. In fact, given the high degree of teacher movement across schools within the region, teachers who currently work at a non-plurilingual school might have previously worked at a plurilingual one. This comparative dimension allows therefore for a more nuanced understanding of teachers' perceptions of the plurilingual policy and its impact on school dynamics, based on their contact with it.

5.2 Research site and participant selection

Research for this study was carried out in several public primary schools across the provinces of Ourense and Pontevedra, in southern Galicia. The study was limited to these two provinces due to travel convenience – together they expand over an area of almost 12,000 km2, a bit less than half of the entire region's territory (see Appendix 1 for detailed information). Schools were then purposively sampled around these areas through what is referred to as criterion sampling, which entails selection based on specific criteria (Bryman, 2012). In this study, the specific criteria were (a) habitat (either urban or rural) and (b) type of education model (either plurilingual or not). The two criteria respond to the comparative dimensions of this study (explained in detail in Section 5.1.1). The following table illustrates the classification of the seventeen selected schools.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="2">Selected Schools</th><th colspan="2">Education Model</th></tr>
<tr><th>Plurilingual (PL)</th><th>Non-Plurilingual (NP)</th></tr>
<tr><th rowspan="2">School Habitat</th><th>Urban (U)</th><td>5 (UPL)</td><td>4 (UNP)</td></tr>
<tr><th>Rural (R)</th><td>4 (RPL)</td><td>2 (RNP)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1*: Selected schools based on type of education model and school habitat (elaborated by the researcher)*

Participants were simultaneously picked with the school through another type of purposive sampling labeled maximum variation sampling. This sampling method focused on achieving as wide a variation as possible in terms of key characteristics – in this case, gender, teaching experience, background, upbringing… This sampling method is particularly useful in order to ensure data strength and richness (Cohen et al. 2007), as it yields "(1) high-quality, detailed descriptions of each case, which are useful for documenting uniqueness, and (2) important shared patterns that cut across cases and derive their significance from having emerged out of heterogeneity" (Patton, 2002, p. 235). This was done by simply probing potential participants through casual conversation before actually selecting them. All participants were teachers who worked as head teachers (HT) (those in charge of teaching all core subjects - Spanish, Galician, Mathematics, Social Sciences and Natural Sciences) and/or foreign language/CLIL instructors (teachers in charge of teaching - sometimes not exclusively - foreign language subjects and/or content subjects taught using a foreign language as medium of instruction). One to three participants were selected at each school, which added up to a total of 27 teachers. Appendix 2 provides an overview of all the participants that took part in the study, and includes some of their key differentiating characteristics.

5.3 Data collection

This section describes how data was obtained from the selected participants, and the steps taken before and during that process. It presents a detailed account of the chosen data-collection method– semi-structured interviews – and how the fieldwork was carried out.

5.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

The data collection method chosen for this study stems from the qualitative character of its methodology and research approach. Since this study's focus was participants' own perspectives, the data collection tool utilized was the semi-structured interview. This type of interview, often described as 'qualitative' or 'in-depth' too, includes "a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide", but is characterized by its flexibility, as "the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply." (Bryman, 2012, p. 471) Seidman (2006) claims that at the root of this type of interviewing "is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 9). In this particular study, the key is to give participants a lot of room to discuss their ideas and experiences, paying special attention to the concepts and viewpoints they bring up and how they frame their responses. As Bryman (2012) describes it, semi-structure interviewing is used "so that the researcher can keep more of an open mind about the contours of what he or she needs to know about, so that concepts and theories can emerge out of the data." (p. 12)

The interview guide was elaborated prior to conducting the interviews. The guide included a list of open-ended questions organized by general topic areas, which allowed the interview to still maintain some structure in order to ensure cross-case comparability. A few general elements identified by Bryman (2012) were taken into account to make sure the guide was effective: questions were articulated with comprehensible wording and in a way that prompted a detailed answer, the organization of questions followed a logical order based on the topics that needed to be covered, and leading questions were avoided. Appendix 3 shows the interview guide used.

5.3.2 Fieldwork

Although fieldwork was originally planned to begin in October and end in December of 2017, it ended up being carried out from December 2017 to March 2018. Access to the field was in general easy due to the familiarity of the researcher with it. Schools were contacted directly – first, by phone and email, and after some weeks of low participation interest, in person. Visiting schools proved to be a significantly more effective

way of securing participation, as it seemed face-to-face interaction made school principals show more interest in the research project. Because of the remote location of some schools (as far as 150 km away), establishing contact with the school and interviewing teachers frequently took place on the same day. In a couple of cases this entailed having to limit the length of the interview. Few incidents were reported during fieldwork; holiday periods delayed interviewing in a couple of expected occasions, and a teacher who had agreed to be interviewed backed down last minute. Overall, the fieldwork experience was smooth and rewarding, as it even entailed some positive episodes with some schools. For instance, the interview schedule set by a rural school principal involved getting invited to eat with them, sharing lunch with the entire school's community, including the students. This type of contact provided an even deeper insight into the school dynamics and teachers' experiences.

5.4 Data analysis

All the interviews conducted were audio-recorded with a recorder. A second device, a personal mobile phone, was also used to ensure the successful collection of data even in case of technical malfunction. Audio recording the interviews allowed the researcher to be fully concentrated on the conversation, asking follow-up questions and thoroughly delving into what participants says. (Bryman, 2012) The interviews were then fully transcribed, which made the data easier to code and analyze, and provided potential evidence in case of bias accusations. The large amount of rich data obtained from the transcriptions was then analyzed following a qualitative data analysis approach, which as Cohen et al. (2007) describe, "involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data; making sense of [it] in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities." (p. 461) Qualitative content analysis was the method selected to process the gathered data.

5.4.1 Qualitative content analysis

A data analysis method widely used in qualitative research, qualitative content analysis is an approach based on the objective and systematic identification of predetermined categories in the data. (Bryman, 2012) It is a technique that allows

researchers to reduce large amounts of data and make it more manageable. Through this method a coding scheme is developed using a combination of deductive and inductive approaches, where categories are derived both from theoretical constructs and the data itself. (Cohen et al. 2007) In this study, data was coded thematically – that is, categories represented specific themes or subjects. This required a much more interpretative approach, characterized by an iterative process where both manifest and latent content was identified. (Bryman, 2012) For this, the coding process focused particularly on "language and linguistic features and meaning in context". (Cohen et al. 2007) Larger themes stemmed directly from the literature and the analytical framework used in the study, and new subthemes that had not been identified before emerged during the analysis process. A back and forth reading of the data allowed for the organized structuring of the themes. Appendix 4 includes a chart illustrating the data coding procedure.

5.5 Quality of the data

This section discusses important quality-related aspects of the data, specifically regarding how it was obtained and how it was processed. It examines potential shortcomings and strengths of the data collection and analysis, and some ethical considerations about the project in general.

5.5.1 Limitations

Being a 'community member' (the researcher is from the region where the study was carried out) made the field much more accessible; however, knowing so well the research context might have had an impact on my general stance on the explored topic. As it can be inferred from Section 2.2.2, the topic of language in Galicia – in society, in school, in politics – is an extremely controversial one. Any individual familiarized with contexts where a regional language and a state language share the same physical space should be able to imagine the multiple conflictive situations such coexistence can potentially generate. As a member of the Galician society, it is impossible to completely detach oneself from a reality that is intrinsically and uninterruptedly experienced. As Bryman (2012) explains, "the social researcher is never conducting an investigation in a moral vacuum." (p. 149) This can potentially let research biases permeate the study; however, meticulous

explanations and justifications are provided for every step taken throughout this investigation for readers to be able to draw their own interpretations.

Perhaps the most interesting and complex limitation for this study arises from language itself when dealing with language-related matters. Due to the controversy around language in Galicia, merely exploring the topic can be perceived by participants as a positioned undertaking in itself. The amount of heated debate prompted by the plurilingual education policy – and particularly the criticism it has publicly received from some segments of the education sector – can potentially make the researcher's interest on the topic be seen as an interest in "proving a specific stance on the matter" rather than objectively examining it. The connotations assigned to language by the public also entail a potential limitation for the study. As it has been discussed in section 2.2.2, some people might still have preconceptions about what using a particular language reveals about the speaker. Therefore choosing which language to use when contacting school principals and participants was a delicate issue. To mitigate the effects of this dynamics, the researcher tried to let participants talk first in order to scan their linguistic preferences. However, when this was not possible, a quick question regarding language preference for the interview determined the language used. This is a particularly noteworthy feature of Galician society in general, which inevitably has implications for this study, given its purpose and focus. Methodology-wise, this study uses a qualitative approach centered on a relatively small number of participants, and therefore, generalizations cannot and should not be made from this investigation. The aim of this project is not to determine what the entire population of Galician teachers thinks; a quantitative study would be more suitable for that purpose.

5.5.2 Quality measures

Research quality is commonly established and assessed through the concepts of reliability and validity. These criteria have traditionally been used in quantitative research, and therefore, some scholars claim they are not as relevant for qualitative purposes. (Bryman, 2012) Lincoln and Guba (1985) criticize the positivistic character of such criteria for assuming the existence of an objective reality, and provide instead alternative criteria that better fit the constructivist nature of the social world. They use the concept of

*trustworthiness***,** which they break down into four categories, each of which has a roughly equivalent construct in quantitative approaches.

Credibility – the qualitative alternative to internal validity – also refers to internal consistency, and is concerned with "how to ensure rigor in the research process and how to communicate to others that we have done so." (Gasson, 2004, p. 95) Credibility essentially "addresses the 'fit' between respondents' views and the researcher's representation of them." (Nowell, et al. 2017) The first strategy used to ensure credibility was the inclusion of a wide range of participants, which allowed individual perceptions and experiences to be contrasted with one another. By sampling teachers from multiple schools, the study had access to a wide variety of perspectives of the same phenomenon, which provided a more stable view of 'reality'. (Shenton, 2004) The second strategy used was the iterative evaluation of data and theory. Constant comparison is critical to research credibility because "it is only by constant comparison of theoretical constructs with the data, across multiple sites and situations, that we can detect systematic biases and distortions in our analysis." (Gasson, 2004, p. 96)

Transferability is concerned with how generalizable the study's findings are, and how well they hold in other contexts. Because the purpose of qualitative research is precisely not to generalize, but to scrutinize specific cases through a focus on depth rather than breadth, the only way to ensure transferability is through the provision of thick descriptions and rich accounts of the gathered data. (Bryman, 2012) For this, detailed reports based on participants' own words are included in the findings section of this study.

Dependability relates to whether the research could be replicated. For this, "the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results." (Shenton, 2004, p. 71) When we approach the research process from an interpretive perspective, utilizing and interpreting social constructions of reality, rather than purporting to define an objective reality, dependability relies on whether the process through which findings are derived is made explicit. (Gasson, 2004) This includes "ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process in an accessible manner." (Bryman, 2012) As it was briefly

mentioned in the limitations section of this chapter, meticulous descriptions of the procedures followed during research are explained throughout this report.

Lastly, *confirmability* refers to what in quantitative research translates as objectivity. As Shenton (2004) describes it, confirmability entails "ensuring as far as possible that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher." (p. 72) Complete objectivity is inherently impossible in a qualitative study, and therefore, confirmability depends to a large extent on the researcher's good faith. (Bryman, 2012) However, as Shenton (2004) states, "a key criterion for confirmability is the extent to which the researcher admits his or her own predispositions." (p. 72) In addition to putting great effort in avoiding research bias, beliefs underpinning the decisions made and the approaches taken have been acknowledged throughout the project, so readers can get a clear understanding of the author's intentions.

5.5.2 Ethical considerations

Prior to beginning fieldwork, ethical clearance from the Data Protection Official at the Norwegian Social Science Data Services [NSD] was obtained. During the whole process, the study also made sure the expected ethical standards when dealing with human beings were met. This included the principles of obtaining informed consent from the participants, not harming or deceiving them, and not invading their privacy. (Bryman, 2012) With this purpose, participants were given a consent form that they had to carefully read before their interview. Once they had read the information about the purpose of the study and what participation in it entailed, they were asked to sign the form (see Appendix 5). During interviews participants were treated with respect. Given the potential controversy around some of the topics tackled by this investigation, participants' decision not to answer or not to elaborate on specific questions was duly respected. Personal information about each participant was collected prior to audio recording and written on a participant sheet. This allowed the researcher to only record interview questions that did no include personal details. Using a scrambling key, identifying information, such as name or school, was removed and then assigned a code. Data was digitalized and kept separately to ensure complete confidentiality. To prevent potential security breaches, all data and documents were kept in a password-protected personal computer only the researcher had

access to. All participants' personal data will be deleted after the submission of this research project.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has presented what is perhaps the most significant feature of this study: how it was carried out. It described the researcher's interpretivist stance on the nature of knowledge, on the way the social world can be grasped, and on the most suitable tools and approaches to explore individuals' realities. A qualitative, comparative case study has been designed in order to explore the perceptions of thirty-one purposively sampled teachers across seventeen Galician urban and rural schools. The tools to collect and analyze data – semi-structured interviewing and qualitative content analysis – have been described and justified. Aspects regarding the quality of the data, including potential limitations and ethical considerations have also been discussed.

6 Findings

This chapter presents and briefly discusses the data gathered during fieldwork. Such data serves as the main findings of this research, and it is organized according to the research questions presented in the introductory chapter. Special attention is paid to significant contrasts and similarities along the comparative dimensions identified in Section 5.1.1 (type of school and school habitat). Participant comments are classified according to the codes presented in Table 1 (Section 5.2).

6.1 RQ1: How do teachers perceive the Galician plurilingual education policy across urban and rural, plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools?

One of the first goals of this investigation was to explore teachers' perceptions of Galicia's plurilingual education policy. Participants were thus first questioned about their knowledge and general opinion on the plurilingualism decree, which allowed them to engage in a first reflection on the topic, to show their general stance on it, and to bring up the ideas that seemed most relevant to them. Specific aspects were then intentionally brought up through open-ended questions too in order to prompt more complex interpretations of the policy, and to reveal the multilayered meanings teachers attach to it. These findings are consistently compared between participants at urban and rural plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools in order to facilitate its subsequent analysis.

6.1.1 Improvement of foreign language competence

Developing children's foreign language skills was absolutely the most recurrent idea brought up by teachers when discussing the purpose of the Galician plurilingual education policy. The prevalence of the importance of English in their discussions was also notable, as almost all participants specifically referred to the improvement of children's English competence as the main rationale behind the decree. However, two different stands on this idea were identified – one that interprets learning foreign languages as the real motivation behind the policy, and one that sees the focus on English as a political strategy to capitalize

on the popularity of the language to achieve covert aims. The first perspective still seemed to be the one endorsed by the majority of the participants.

English, a real concern

In *urban plurilingual schools*, nine out of ten teachers identified the enhancement of students' English proficiency as the policy's goal. This thought was frequently grounded in the premise that English is a universal language, indispensable for international mobility and global communication. A couple of these teachers also brought up the results obtained by Spain in international tests such as PISA as a contributing factor to the need of improving the English language skills of Galician children.

Some examples:

"I understand the purpose is to promote English and to improve the students' competence in that language, because I guess the administration is aware of the fact that it is a universal language, and that it is very convenient for the students to adapt to society's needs." (UPL1)

"Well, as the PISA reports show, we have a very low level in many subjects. And Spanish students' grammar level in foreign languages is good, but at the oral level, they are very, very bad. So I think introducing English, in this case as vehicular language, will help us find our way around Europe. I think that is the point: to increase the students' ability abroad." (UPL5)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, six out of nine teachers also emphasized the effective learning of foreign languages – again, predominantly of English – as the main purpose and strength of the plurilingual policy. Again, the reasoning provided by the participants to justify their stance revolved around the same aspects brought up by their counterparts at urban plurilingual schools. Teachers repetitively indicated that the focus on ensuring children can effectively express themselves in English responds to globalization trends and new communication needs. Pressures and concerns related to the labor-market were also brought up by the majority of these teachers, claiming that English competence is a valued asset when it comes to getting a job. Three of them also alluded to the poor performance of Galician children on English as a problem that the administration seems worried about.

Some examples:

"I think it is because of the abysmal need we have to learn foreign languages, but especially English, because without it you cannot find your way around the world at all. Even in Spain, you need English for any job that requires it. Having it in your CV is better than not having it, even if you don't need it in your job." (RPL5)

"I think the intention is to promote particularly the teaching of the English language, because everything is in English. All plurilingualism there is is in English. And I believe it is a bit to promote… to improve the students' English language competence, because it seems we did not get very good results so far." (RPL9)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, four out of five teachers pointed out to the need of effectively learning foreign languages as the rationale behind the plurilingualism policy. While two of those teachers specifically discussed the teaching of the English language, the third one exclusively referred to foreign languages in general. Unlike in the other types of schools, only one teacher referred to issues such as globalization or the universality of the English language.

An example:

"Well, I think these are steps we are taking based on the global world we live in, where especially the study of languages is very important – but fundamentally the study of English, because it is logically becoming a universal language. And I think the Galician government is making an attempt to improve the study of English in the classrooms." (UNP5)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two of the three participants exhibited as well this perspective, but only one of them highlighted the importance of the English language in particular. Their discussions focused on the perceived need to learn foreign languages, particularly so children can communicate better orally and access more and better job opportunities.

An example:

"We all know that the English language – I mean, any foreign language – opens up your mind. It opens up future opportunities job-wise. […] From my perspective, I think they did it thinking about labor-related factors, so in the future young people can… travel to other countries or look for jobs there…" (RNP1)

English, a political strategy

The second stand on the foreign language-learning narrative espoused by participants distrusted that improving children's English competence was the true motivation behind the policy. Instead, participants who supported this view claimed that the English-learning rhetoric used to market the policy was simply a political tactic to garner public support and to purposely decrease the presence of Galician in school. Adding English as a vehicular language in public schools was therefore described by participants as a way of securing votes and as an 'excuse' to take time away from Galician-taught classes.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of ten forthrightly rejected the perspective that the plurilingual policy was adopted with the real objective of improving children's foreign language skills. This teacher argued instead that the policy served the goal of getting rid of the previous distribution of vehicular languages in order to purposely diminish the use of Galician in the classroom.

An example:

"I think it was an absolutely political move. The previous decree prioritized a little the minority language, which in this case is Galician, and because of political reasons, they changed this. And the excuse they used was to give value to English." (UPL9)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, three out of nine participants embraced the viewpoint that the policy's new use of English as a vehicular language in school was a political strategy rather than a real concern for children's linguistic skills. While one of them simply discussed the government's marketing of the English-learning trend and its impact on parents' voting patterns, the other two more specifically denounced the policy's covert goal of reducing Galician-taught classes previously mentioned by other participants.

Some examples:

"Plurilingualism came out as an excuse to take hours away from the Galician language. The plurilingualism decree is a decree to make Galician disappear. I honestly believe that. I mean it is an excuse to stop teaching Mathematics and other subjects in Galician." (RPL2)

"It was done, at the political level, as some sort of showcase of progress and modernity. And I also think there is an ideological side to it as well (because who adopted the decree - the People's Party of Galicia supported by the Madrid one – so it shows), which involves diluting in time the teaching of Galician. To dilute it in time with other languages, making it up like it is something done to improve their English." (RPL3)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of five briefly suggested it was the social acceptance of plurilingual educational models what led the Galician government to adopt the decree. Although this participant did not refer specifically to this phenomenon as a premeditated tactic, her interpretation certainly fits the narrative provided by other participants that the policy was envisioned with covert intentions.

An example:

"I really believe it was done at that time because [plurilingualism] was very accepted socially; that is, people liked it a lot… I don't know if there really was any other reason." (UNP2)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of three discussed the purpose of the plurilingual policy in these terms, implying the decree was simply devised as a superficial way of boosting the Galician education system's profile. Although this teacher did refer to the policy's goal of working towards improving PISA scores, her account reflects her skepticism about the decree's English-improving objective.

An example:

"I honestly think it's just to make a good impression on Europe, on… I don't know on whom. On the PISA reports, and to move up on the rankings, and to be able to claim 'We are cracks at speaking English.' I don't want to be evil minded. I don't want to think it's an attempt to make Galician disappear. I prefer not to think that. I honestly think it's just to silence certain sectors, to simply say 'We've introduced English'. It doesn't matter how. Shoehorning it. 'We've introduced it. There it is, in schools.' " (RNP2)

Main finding

The majority of all interviewed teachers in each type of school believed improving children's English competence was the key motivation behind the plurilingualism policy. This perception was particularly prevalent among teachers in urban schools. Only a small number of the participants – especially those in rural schools - defended the idea that the policy's English-improvement rhetoric was simply a façade hiding a political strategy to gain public support and to purposely decrease the use of Galician in schools.

6.1.2 Using English as third vehicular language

Introducing a third language as medium of instruction through a CLIL-based approach has undoubtedly been the backbone of the changes brought about by the Galician plurilingual policy. Although the decree stipulates that any foreign language can be used by schools to teach up to a third of the curriculum, it formally prioritizes the use of English. Official documents show English is indeed the third language picked by the vast majority of plurilingual schools. This was also the case in absolutely all plurilingual schools visited for this research project. During the interviews, participants frequently discussed aspects directly related to the policy's new vehicular language configuration, and their perceptions on the matter varied significantly. Roughly, teachers' opinions on this three-language

model can be divided between those that vouched for its potential effectiveness and those that problematized it from either a cognitive or a sociolinguistic perspective.

Increased English learning

In *urban plurilingual schools*, seven out of ten participants endorsed in their discussions the many advantages of using English as a medium of instruction. Their accounts highlighted primarily the benefits of focusing on the instrumental, particularly oral, use of the foreign language from such early ages. Almost all of these teachers also commented on the positive impact of increased English practice time.

Some examples:

"I see a lot of advantages. Getting kids closer to different languages, especially from early ages, is a good idea, because they have much more contact with the foreign language." (UPL2)

"I think this model facilitated the improvement of foreign language learning, because it increased the teaching hours, and we have the help of a native conversation assistant who comes every academic year. […] The kids practice the language much more, both with us and with the assistant." (UPL3)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, five out of nine teachers offered a similar perception of the use of English as vehicular language. These teachers focused on the idea that the trilingual method provided children with the opportunity to use the language more organically, in a more immersion-like setting.

An example:

"I think it's good. It's one more option, and here in Galicia we already have two languages, so a third one… Teaching a subject in a foreign language is a way of better contextualizing that language and acquiring a better competence in it. […] They can use that foreign language in different contexts, by getting out of the English classroom. Because English in the English classroom it's very pigeonholed." (UPL9)

"The truth is that I think this plurilingual model is... is almost the only way to get children to… I am not saying to become bilingual, but to gain a better competence in foreign languages. Because with the three hours a week we used to have for English lessons… well, it's impossible. So this is a way to promote a more serious linguistic immersion." (RPL6)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, however, none of the interviewed teachers made any remark regarding the clear effectiveness of using English as third vehicular language. Instead, their discussions focused on the many drawbacks they saw on this trilingual approach.

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, only one participant provided an account of the trilingual model that regarded it in a positive light. This teacher, in particular, emphasized the opportunity offered by the model to focus on the development of oral skills.

An example:

"I see things that are very positive about this plurilingual model. For example, a good thing is that it does not pay as much attention to writing skills as it does to oral ones. I think it allows children to open up more in that language." (RNP1)

A detrimental model from a cognitive perspective

A significant number of participants expressed a negative view of the simultaneous introduction of English as third vehicular language in the primary public education system. Their perceptions differed from those presented above in that they criticized the model mainly from a cognitive standpoint, claiming it might negatively affect children's content learning and language development. They attributed this to a number of factors, such as the idea that using English for content-heavy subjects at the primary education level might simply not help their English communication skills, or that it might instead pose additional complications for the kids' mother-tongue development.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, two teachers out of ten expressed unfavorable opinions on the use of English as vehicular language in Galician primary education classrooms. They based their stance on the idea that the choice of subjects to be taught in English might not be appropriate, as learning certain content in English might be irrelevant for such young children, and might not suit the purpose of helping them communicate better in that language.

An example:

"Well, the subjects to be taught in English are Arts, and PE, but they can also be social and natural sciences. So, to what extent does knowing the name of the different fish, or of the vertebrates, or of the parts of the flower, help the kids to communicate effectively in the language? I think that's what we should aim at – communication, particularly, oral communication. So, in that sense, I am not sure this model is well oriented." (UPL7)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, however, none of the participants offered an unfavorable perspective of the trilingual model based on cognitive concerns.

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, two out of five teachers also discussed the limitations of the model from a cognitive perspective, drawing attention to its potential negative effects on children's language acquisition. These teachers argued that using a third language to teach content-heavy subjects is not necessarily effective for foreign-language learning, and it could present excessive struggles for the kids' mother tongue development.

Some examples:

"I think the model is very poorly designed. There are subjects taught in English like… like Science for example, in which children learn neither English nor Science. And in the other subjects taught in English, like PE or Arts, the vocabulary learned is very limited. They are not… learning to use the language in their day-to-day activities. So for me the model is not practical." (UNP3)

"I think we are not realizing our kids have difficulties developing their own language, their mother tongue, both in Spanish and in Galician. I think we should focus more on improving children's reading comprehension and oral expression in their mother tongue, before introducing another language." (UNP4)

Similarly to the rural plurilingual schools' case, in *rural non-plurilingual schools*, there were no teachers who embraced the narrative that the trilingual model is disadvantageous from a cognitive perspective.

A detrimental model from a sociolinguistic perspective

A significantly larger number of teachers presented a different justification for their critical view of the trilingual model. Instead of explaining the negative impact of the model from a cognitive perspective, they did so grounding their accounts in sociolinguistic concerns. They affirmed the three-vehicular-language model poses an obstacle to the normalization process of the Galician language, as it implies a setback on the road to an education that positively discriminates against the minority language. Essentially, they argued the introduction of English as a third vehicular language means undoing the progress made in the previous years to ensure children in Galicia become effectively bilingual in the regional and national languages.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, only one teacher defended this perspective. He specifically brought up the lack of Galician competence of children from urban areas as a problem that should be tackled with positive discrimination policies. In this participant's view, the time this model assigns to the teaching of content-subjects in English should be

dedicated to Galician-taught classes, as a way of effectively developing the minority language.

An example:

"The problem I see is that Galician is always the one that ends up losing, because children here do not know Galician. Minority languages - the languages that would have to be reinforced and we should dedicate more hours to – in order to be promoted, they need more teaching hours. So… for me it's always Galician the one that ends up losing." (UPL8)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, four out of nine teachers – that is, all teachers at this type of school who offered a negative perspective of the model – shared a similar rationale to defend their unfavorable view of the policy. These teachers maintained that the model was harmful for the development of Galician, which, as the minority language, should receive increased protection, and therefore, increased practice time in schools.

Some examples:

"Galician and English having the same amount of hours? A scandal. It's a scandal. […] There's nothing more unfair that treating those who are unequal as equals." (RPL2)

"It seems to me the most disastrous legislation ever passed on the linguistic matter in the region. Also, it's a step back, it's a regression; because we have lost the whole process we have had in the previous years of, so to speak, some positive discrimination, which is necessary given the state of the language… And so now it is left out… […] totally left out of protection, left as something of secondary importance." (RPL3)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, three out of five participants also discussed their disapproving perceptions of the introduction of a third vehicular language in Galician classrooms by drawing attention to the use and status of the involved languages. These teachers also criticized the fact that the model seems to force English's way into the public education system while undercutting the role of the Galician language.

An example:

"Well, I am very much in favor of plurilingualism, but I don't think that is the correct name for the model. *[Sarcastic tone]* Because the name is "Plurilingualism", but meaning English and Spanish; that is, Galician is practically excluded. Even worse, I think we've moved backwards quite a lot in that matter. So the word 'plurilingualism' seems wonderful to me. What I don't know is whether the decree is really plurilingual. It seems to me rather bilingual…" (UNP2)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two teachers out of three joined in this narrative that the trilingual model negatively affects the use of Galician in schools. Both of these teachers described the situation of Galician as 'being lost', and defended the need to keep this in mind when adopting language education policies.

Some examples:

"I think it's important to use English in other subjects, but I also think that the use of the Galician language in school is being lost. I think its functionality is being undercut even within… even by teachers themselves. I have many colleagues who speak in Spanish most of the time, and we, the Galician speakers, are increasingly fewer. I mean, I think it's perfectly fine to introduce new languages, but without losing sight of our identity as Galicians." (RNP2)

"I do not think that's how things are supposed to be done. If we want to implement English – and I am an English teacher -, it should not be done like that. We live in a place with two official languages. Galician is being lost, and if the people in charge - the Galician government - don't adopt the appropriate linguistic policies, it will be lost, especially when it comes to working with it in school. Working on Galician does not mean stopping to work on English." (RNP3)

Main finding

The participants who defended the beneficial effect of the use of English as third vehicular language in Galician classrooms were mainly those in plurilingual schools. Teachers who perceived this innovation as detrimental were especially those working in non-plurilingual schools, and a significant number of participants in rural plurilingual schools - the majority of whom perceived the introduction of a third medium of instruction as detrimental from a sociolinguistic standpoint.

6.1.3 Reaching plurilingualism in Galicia

The Galician plurilingualism decree identifies as its goals for the primary education level "ensuring the full and equal competence in both official languages and achieving the acquisition of effective knowledge in foreign languages." (DOG, 2010, p. 9243) Although participants were not directly asked about their knowledge on the established official objectives of the decree, they were questioned about their views on their attainability; that is, their views on how achievable they think the goals of the policy actually are. Although answers varied depending on how these goals were interpreted by each participant, specific ideas were brought up repeatedly.

An achievable objective

A total of five teachers out of the twenty-seven who participated in the project believed that the policy's objective of getting students to become plurilingual was actually reachable. Nonetheless, their interpretations of what 'achievable' meant and their accounts of the matter diverged slightly.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, three teachers defended the feasibility of the plurilingual project, asserting it was a matter of resources and effort, and emphasizing that the goal was not to get children to become perfectly proficient in English, but rather able to communicate. The focus of these teachers' discussions was on the improvement of children's English competence, and no reference was made by any of them to the role of the other two languages in achieving the plurilingual objective.

An example:

"Well, I think the model is attainable; it all depends on how we carry it out. I mean, in English, what the plurilingualism policy aims at is reaching a communicative competence – for you to be able to handle the language, not for you to be able to draft literary essays, or to give conferences. Being able to communicate and understanding what they are telling you. Nothing else. And I think we would be capable of achieving that if we followed the rules." (UPL10)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, two teachers out of nine endorsed a similar perspective, claiming the plurilingual policy's goal was indeed achievable. However, in contrast to their counterparts at urban plurilingual schools who exclusively discussed the development of children's English competence, these teachers did bring up in their explanations references to the other vehicular languages – Spanish and Galician. They espoused their perspectives from a justificatory position, emphasizing the idea that learning English does not necessarily have any negative effect on the learning of the other two languages. These teachers' interpretations of the reachability of the project manifestly played down sociolinguistic dynamics affecting language use and language learning in the region, isolating children's learning process of each of the three languages instead of treating it as an interdependent development.

Some examples:

"Yes, I think it is [attainable]. I mean… I am one of those people who think 'languages add up, and do not subtract'[2]. You know? We have some parents here who are even against Galician, who say "Well, but kids mix up Galician and Spanish…" Well, of course. Of course you can make mistakes. But I think languages add up, and the more languages you know, the better. Learning English will not automatically make you speak worse Spanish or Galician." (RPL5)

"I think it is attainable. I think it is good. The more we open up… […] I think it's realistic, and I see they can learn a foreign language if they dedicate many hours to it. Because it is also a matter of dedicating time to it. And a matter of appropriate teaching methods too, but… Well, if they are not bilingual in Galician or Spanish is because their native language might not be Galician." (RPL6)

Unlike teachers in plurilingual schools, none of the participants in *urban and rural non-plurilingual schools* believed the plurilingual model could actually get primary school children to become competent in Galician, Spanish and English. Instead, these teachers defended the idea that the model's goal was unrealistic.

Bilingualism in Galician and Spanish is not a reality

The vast majority of the project's participants shared the view that the policy's plurilingual goal was unattainable. These teachers' reasoning focused on the idea that the sociolinguistic dynamics behind the use and learning of Galician in the region prevent children from becoming effectively bilingual in the two official languages.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, six teachers out of ten endorsed this perspective, attributing the difficulty of educating plurilingual children primarily to the particular linguistic practices of people in urban areas. They claimed children in the cities have significantly lower exposure to Galician, and therefore, a command of the language considerably inferior to their rural counterparts'. Furthermore, these teachers identified the absence of English in children's daily lives as an important obstacle to acquiring a strong language competence in the foreign language.

Some examples:

"The idea that children have a 'mental salad' is not true. […] But what happens? It happens that it is true that here, and especially in the cities – in the rural world this might not happen as often, and you'll probably

[2] Expression used to refer to the idea that the more languages one learns, the better. The vagueness of this expression tends to conceal the issue behind not taking into account the status and use indicators of different languages, as in the case of Galician, Spanish and English. This is closely linked to the 'aseptic' understanding of languages as completely immune to sociolinguistic factors that Silva Valdivia (2012) denounces, and further examined in Chapter 7.

noticed it -, kids stopped using Galician. Because they don't hear it at home, they don't hear it in school, because a lot of teachers speak in Spanish, and so they don't hear Galician in their daily lives. And with English it's the same." (UPL2)

"Well, perhaps in Madrid the whole Spanish and English thing is not easier either, but what happens here it that we have an additional language. For example, where I am from, children speak mainly Galician, and sometimes they have small issues with Spanish. But here, people speak zero Galician. I mean, very, very, very little. There are almost no people who speak Galician. So if children already struggle with that… adding English on top of that…" (UPL4)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, seven teachers out of nine had a similar view on the difficulty of getting Galician children to become plurilingual as the policy intended. They also linked the unattainability of the policy's plurilingual goal to sociolinguistic factors, focusing on the distribution of the use of the official languages between urban and rural areas, and its effect on children's language competences. In particular, these teachers drew attention to the reduced use of Galician in schools, and society's lack of commitment to ensuring children become fluent in Galician as important obstacles to the achievement of real bilingualism in the official languages.

Some examples:

"These kids are at an age that they should not have any problem learning three languages. But the problem here is with Galician… They are exposed to Spanish everywhere! And to English too! The only language they are not exposed to is Galician! The ones exposed to it are those whose parents are Galician-speakers, and those who speak it at home. The rest… nothing. And then we still have that old dyslexic situation in which parents who speak Galician to each other, speak in Spanish to their kids… So… [snorts]" (RPL2)

"The reality is that… Galician is used very little in schools, but not just during class time, also as extracurricular, vehicular language. […] So we will never reach that bilingualism - well, plurilingualism here, because we also have English. What's not normal is that children in a Galician school reply to me in English when I talk to them in English, but they don't reply in Galician when I talk to them in Galician. So I think that's where we fail as teachers. It's not the system's fault, because getting children to become bilingual, in Galician, in Galicia, should not depend on the school. I think it depends on many other things. Children will never become bilingual if their families are not interested in them becoming bilingual." (RPL7)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, all five interviewed participants discussed the impossibility of reaching the plurilingual policy's goals using the same narrative. They emphasized the idea that bilingualism in Galician and Spanish has not yet been reached, as the majority of the children from urban areas do not have a good command of Galician. In their view, an educational project specifically tackling this issue should be put in place in order to ensure all children become fluent in the official languages. Additionally, these

teachers stressed the idea that only those children who have Galician as their mother tongue become fluent in both languages.

Some examples:

"I think it's not. No, because at the social level, we still haven't reached bilingualism [in Spanish and Galician]. […] In a place like this, where the majority of the students, and the majority of the families are Spanish-speakers, if you don't have a very, very well designed educational project, with specific activity proposals and teacher training, it's very difficult to carry it out." (UNP1)

"Well, the problem is, in my opinion, that nowadays bilingualism in Spanish and Galician is a utopia. Totally utopian. […] Children are not bilingual when they finish school. The school is not a bubble. If they were completely isolated inside the school, maybe... But when you step outside the school, all advertising is in Spanish, the TV programs are in Spanish, the books are in Spanish. Everything is… So Galician doesn't have the same possibilities… And the kids are not bilingual. The only kids who become bilingual are those who speak Galician at home and learn Spanish here. […] So yes, it's difficult for children to become bilingual. And trilingual… with the level of English taught at school… it's complicated." (UNP2)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two of the three participating teachers offered a similar justification for their view that the plurilingual model's goal is unattainable. In this case, these teachers emphasized as the main obstacle to reaching plurilingualism children's lack of competence in Galician – especially in the urban areas.

An example:

"I think the problem is that the majority of children speak fluently or are proficient in Spanish, but very few are in Galician… I mean, they understand it. The majority understand you when you speak in Galician to them, but when it comes to speaking it… they have a lot of difficulties, especially in big cities. So that's the problem I see." (RNP2)

Main finding

An astounding majority of participants defended the view that reaching the policy's objective of getting children to become plurilingual in Spanish, Galician and English was not realistic. They justified their perception by claiming bilingualism in Spanish and Galician is not yet a reality, and therefore, reaching plurilingualism is logically impossible at the moment. Only a few teachers working in plurilingual schools believed the opposite.

6.1.4 Summary

These findings show there was widespread consensus among teachers on the perception that the main motivation behind the policy was to improve the foreign language

competence of Galician children – particularly their command of the English language. Nonetheless, a number of teachers - especially in rural schools - shared their mistrust regarding the genuineness of the policy's rhetoric on the improvement of students' English skills, claiming the policy covertly seeks to simply increase public support, and to undermine the positive discrimination efforts made by the previous legislature to promote the use of Galician in schools. Regarding the introduction of a foreign language – again, almost exclusively English – as third medium of instruction in Galician schools, about half of the participants considered it a positive innovation, whereas the other half deemed it disadvantageous. The teachers who defended the benefits of using English as vehicular language did so on the grounds that it is an effective way of improving children's linguistic competence, and were primarily those in plurilingual schools. Those who claimed the measure was detrimental - notably teachers in non-plurilingual schools, but also some in rural plurilingual ones - justified their stance from either a cognitive or a sociolinguistic perspective, with a larger number of them supporting the sociolinguistic interpretation. In terms of the policy's attainability, only a minority of the participants – all of them in plurilingual schools - considered the decree's goal of getting Galician children to become competent in the three languages reachable. The vast majority of the interviewed teachers regarded however the decree's objective as unattainable, identifying as the main reason children's lack of bilingualism in the local languages.

In general, there is a clear divide between those teachers who framed their discussions in sociolinguistic terms – drawing special attention to the status and use of the minority language, both in schools and in society -, and those teachers whose arguments focused on purely cognitive aspects. Although participants therefore expressed divided perceptions on the Galician plurilingual policy, there seems to be a significant correspondence between specific ideas brought up by these teachers. In particular, all those teachers who regarded the policy as a political strategy also defended the unattainability of the policy's objective and the detrimental effect of using English as vehicular language on children's learning, especially for their development of the minority language. This trend points to a significant correlation between those perspectives that focus on sociolinguistic aspects and unfavorable perceptions of the policy.

6.2 RQ2: How do teachers experience the implementation process of the plurilingual education policy across urban and rural, plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools?

A second objective of this investigation was to explore teachers' experiences putting the plurilingual education policy into practice. For this, participants were asked to talk about their day-to-day application of the decree, and the changes it has meant in their work, particularly focusing on the negative side of it. Here, differences between the ideas brought up by teachers in plurilingual schools and those in non-plurilingual ones are particularly significant. Even though specific aspects of the decree affect all types of schools equally, such differences can shed a lot of light on non-plurilingual schools' decision not to adopt the plurilingual model.

6.2.1 Implementation challenges

A key aspect of the experience of Galician teachers with the plurilingualism policy focuses on the challenges they faced, and continue to face, when implementing the decree in their schools. A number of ideas were recurrently brought up by participants regarding the day-to-day obstacles to the effective enforcement of the decree. These included teacher resistance to policy mandates, lack of implementation control, specific classroom dynamics, and lacking institutional support.

Teacher resistance to guidelines on vehicular language use

Even though teachers are expected to follow established policy guidelines, as *de facto* policymakers in their own classrooms, this is not always the case. In Galicia, complaints about teachers not using the vehicular language assigned to certain subjects are fairly common, especially, local languages; however, no official records on this occurrence exist. Given the importance of this type of policy resistance in the implementation of the plurilingualism policy, participants were thus specifically questioned about their experience with this particular phenomenon. As expected, teachers did acknowledge its existence. Nonetheless, responses varied depending on the type of school.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, six of the ten participants acknowledged the occurrence of teacher resistance towards vehicular-language-use guidelines. Of these, four teachers claimed they knew or had heard about cases in which teachers taught in Spanish classes that were supposed to be conducted in Galician. Only one teacher stated she had heard about both types of cases (teachers using Spanish instead of Galician, and vice versa), and about similar situations in CLIL subjects, where the vehicular language used was mainly a regional language instead of the assigned foreign one. Among the remaining four teachers who claimed they had never heard about or experienced such phenomenon, three still pointed out the prevalence of unconscious language switching from Galician to Spanish in the classroom, mainly due to children's continued use of Spanish and the teachers' lack of familiarity with the regional language.

Some examples:

"Yes, I know, and have heard of people who teach in Spanish classes that are supposed to be in Galician. But not the other way around. […] If the policy is breached, it is always breached against Galician. Not against Spanish. I can assure you that. From my personal experience." (UPL6)

"You hear people who say 'Bffff! I have to make an effort, because I switch.' Yes, it's true. In my case, I learned Galician later, and I became almost bilingual because I was always in the rural areas. But when I came to the city, the children spoke in Spanish even in subjects that I had to teach in Galician. And sometimes they drag you along. Sometimes I have to really concentrate because since they speak to me in Spanish, I switch to Spanish. But not because there is an intentionality, but because… your mother tongue is Spanish, and it is the language that pulls harder." (UPL7)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, six out of nine teachers acknowledged the existence of this phenomenon. Five of these teachers claimed it was frequently cases in which instructors ignored the guidelines for Galician-taught classes, conducting such classes in Spanish. As their counterparts in urban schools, they argued it is mainly a matter of teachers not feeling comfortable speaking Galician, and therefore, frequently switching to Spanish. Nonetheless, several of them also brought up the idea that in some cases, resisting policy guidelines happens in a more intentional way, when teachers refuse to be forced to speak a specific language. Curiously, two of these teachers admitted they engage in this policy-resistance practice themselves, declaring they use Galician in certain subjects that are supposed to be taught in Spanish. They defended their ways in cognitive and sociolinguistic terms, claiming it is good for the kids' language development and for the balancing out of the two regional languages.

Some examples:

"I think it's more of a personal matter. They are forced to teach in specific languages, but I know they do not do it all the time. […] And they say it, especially in the case of [classes taught in] Galician: 'I don't have to do it just because they say so'." (RPL5)

"Even though the law stipulates in which language certain subjects must be taught, in the end, we have quite some freedom to do as we see fit in our classrooms. So, obviously, I teach the Spanish subject in Spanish, but for example, in many subjects such as Math, although the book is in Spanish, I give my explanations in Galician. I read in Spanish from the book, and then I do my translation. […] I think to receive input in two different languages is a fantastic thing for the kids' minds. And on top of that, I think it helps balancing the languages out." (RPL3)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of five claimed to know cases in which teachers resisted policy guidelines on assigned vehicular languages. She explained it was usually teachers who refused to conduct the class in the assigned local language, using the other one instead, as a way of asserting their rejection of the administration's imposition.

An example:

"Yes, yes. It happens. I have had colleagues who do it… who say 'I speak in Galician' or 'I speak in Spanish, and the book might be in whichever language they choose, but I will do as I want.' (UNP1)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two out of three teachers stated they knew or had heard about teachers not following the policy's vehicular-language directions. Both participants referred as well to cases of teachers not using the assigned local languages, while only one of them specifically discussed the tendency of such teachers to substitute Galician for Spanish.

An example:

"Yes, it happens, and I know of many cases. And the problem is that most of the times people tend towards Spanish. In everything. Even teaching the Galician subject in Spanish. […] I have been in schools all over the four provinces and I have seen Galician classes taught in Spanish!" (RNP2)

Main finding

The majority of the participants in each type of school, excluding those in urban non-plurilingual ones, claimed to know or have heard about cases of teacher resistance to policy guidelines regarding vehicular language use. Their discussions show this phenomenon affects primarily classes taught in local languages, and to a large extent,

classes stipulated to be conducted in Galician. Unconscious language switching due to lack of Galician knowledge and pressure from a Spanish-speaking student majority seems to be the main factors influencing teachers' disregard for the vehicular-language guidelines. In the cases where Spanish-taught classes are conducted instead in Galician, based on the two mentioned participants' confessions, teachers' motives seem decisively intentional and informed by a very critical personal reading of the sociolinguistic status of the Galician language.

Lack of implementation control

An important factor determining the effective implementation of the policy in the classroom is the control measures put in place by the administration. Monitoring whether or not teachers are following the guidelines and setting up methods to ensure compliance seemed to be particularly challenging aspects of the implementation process of the plurilingual education policy.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, none of the participants were able to identify any specific implementation control method, as they either claimed there was none, or listed a number of different people who they believed could play a role in the monitoring of the policy's appropriate enactment. However, six out of ten of these teachers did point to parents as the main informal control mechanism for the policy's implementation. They explained that it is only in cases where parents complain about a teacher not using the assigned language in a specific subject that the school administration investigates the occurrence. All teachers reiterated the idea that there are usually no consequences for this type of misconduct, because no one really monitors it, and it is only in extreme cases where maybe the Educational Inspection Department steps in.

Some examples:

"We don't go into the classroom to check in which language each teacher is speaking… (laughs) So there is no specific control… Teachers are very conscious about which language has to be used for each subject, and parents as well. So if it happened, there would be some complaint from some parent. But well, as I said, we don't go into the classroom to make sure the teacher is following the rules…" (UPL1)

"Here there are only consequences if parents complain. If there are no problems, no action is taken. If there is a complaint, I imagine the teacher would be told off, or… I don't know, at most, they would open a disciplinary file." (UPL3)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of nine asserted it is up to the Educational Inspection Department to control teachers' appropriate enforcement of the policy. While none of the other teachers named a particular monitoring authority or mechanism, five of them still identified parents as the main non-official control method for the correct implementation of the decree. Again, these participants also emphasized the idea that the schools' administrations do not monitor teachers' compliance with the vehicular-language-use guidelines unless parents bring up the issue. Regarding the potential consequences of not following the decree's directives, the majority of the participants also sustained that nothing ever really happened to these teachers. Although they mentioned the possibility of them getting a warning from the administration, or in very exceptional cases, a disciplinary file with the Educational Inspection Department, they all seemed to agree that this type of misconducts rarely transcend the school.

Some examples:

"All this depends a bit on the parents. I suppose if there was a complaint from the parents or such… In my case, because the book is in Spanish and the children write everything in Spanish, even though I speak to them in Galician… Nothing really happens. Do you understand what I mean? But I guess if there was a complaint from the parents, the educational administration would have no problem in opening a disciplinary file. What the educational administration does not want is problems. So while parents do not protest and the children do not say anything… nothing happens." (RPL2)

"Yes, obviously, the inspection department has to ensure that this is not the case. So when the disregard for the rules is blatant and easily provable, obviously the inspection department would take action so the misconduct stops. […] I guess if there is a repeated lack of compliance with the regulations, the most common sanction would be the opening of a disciplinary file." (RPL5)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, only one of the five participants identified the school's management team as the authority responsible for monitoring the correct implementation of the policy's language guidelines. The rest of the teachers, however, either claimed not to know of any control mechanism or directly affirmed there is none. Similarly to their counterparts, all these teachers defended the idea that the consequences for disobeying the policy were minimal. Only one teacher mentioned the possibility of disciplinary actions for extreme non-compliance cases.

Some examples:

"The management team has to keep an eye out for those things. […] But also, as long as the teacher is following the curriculum, the bureaucracy, and all that, you are not with them in class to know what they are talking about. Although… well, kids usually tell everything at home. (laughs)" (UNP3)

"I don't know whose responsibility it is… I don't know if it is up to the teaching staff, or the management team to monitor whether a person is not fulfilling their duties… But I can tell you there are no consequences. None. At least in the cases I know. There it is the corporatism in the education system. We protect each other, but poorly protected. I think that we are not actually protecting each other, we are harming each other." (UNP1)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, all three interviewed teachers defended there is no specific control method to monitor the correct implementation of the language education policy, mainly because no one ever supervises teachers' classes. However, two teachers did point out to two non-formal control mechanisms – the complaints from parents or fellow teachers, and random inspection visits. Again, when discussing the potential consequences of not following the guidelines, these teachers also claimed that because of the lack of monitoring, sanctions are rare.

An example:

"No. It is very difficult to control, honestly. There should definitely be more control. […] There are no consequences - at least not that I know of. Because who is going to come and check? I mean, yes, maybe one day the inspector can show up in your class… but you just switch languages and that's it." (RNP3)

Main finding

The vast majority of participants in each type of school agreed that there are no specific control mechanisms in place to monitor the correct implementation of the plurilingual education policy. Although a couple of teachers did identify the Education Inspection Department and the school's management team as the main authorities charged with ensuring the appropriate enactment of the decree, none of them provided specific control methods. A significantly large number of participants in both urban and rural plurilingual schools did however mention the role parents play as non-official supervisors of the policy implementation. It seems it is families, through students' accounts of their class experiences, the ones making sure the policy's guidelines are being followed and reporting non-compliance cases. As a direct result of this general lack of implementation

supervision described by teachers, sanctions for teachers who do not follow policy guidelines are minor and very infrequent.

In-classroom obstacles

One of the most prevalent ideas brought up by participants when discussing the challenges associated with the implementation of the plurilingual policy was the difficulties they encountered within their own classrooms. Aspects related to their class' characteristics, and the teaching dynamics that resulted from these were especially common in their evaluations.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, nine out of ten teachers identified their class' size as the main obstacle to the successful implementation of the plurilingual policy. These teachers complained that the permitted student-teacher ratio was far too high to conduct any class activity effectively, but even more so in the specific case of the CLIL subjects. They also brought up the fact that grade repeaters are not taken into account when calculating the figures, and therefore, official ratios are lower than the actual ones. Additionally, more than half of these participants pointed to their classrooms' student makeup as an important factor affecting the smooth implementation of the decree, claiming urban schools have recently experienced a significant increase in foreign student enrollment. Predominantly from West and North Africa, and Eastern Europe, the majority of these pupils has a non-Romance mother tongue, which although it might benefit them when it comes to learning English – as some teachers observed -, it also implies added difficulties for the simultaneous acquisition of Spanish and Galician. However, no additional resources are provided for these children.

Some examples:

"The student-teacher ratio is a problem. There are a lot of kids per classroom. And every kid has their own difficulties, their own particularities… […] The ratio is too high. And for languages it's very important to have smaller groups. In a classroom with ten students, you can do absolutely anything, but in a classroom with twenty-five, it's impossible. Even in a classroom with twenty kids you can do a lot more than in a classroom with twenty-five." (UPL5)

"We also have to take into account the competences and particular conditions of each child, or even of each school… Because here we have children from other countries. We have Chinese students, Arab students…

who on top of the languages we use to teach, have their own. So, of course, they have added difficulties, because they cannot express themselves in any of the languages you use…" (UPL3)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, six out of nine teachers pointed to class language dynamics as the main in-classroom difficulty to the effective implementation of the policy. The main obstacle for these teachers seemed to be their students' lack of comprehension in English, which forces them to resort to translation practices and complicates conducting the entire class in English. Two teachers indicated as well these dynamics also happened in Galician-taught classrooms, claiming it is extremely difficult to get children to use the assigned vehicular language, as they constantly communicate in Spanish.

Some examples:

"It's hard for them to speak. They struggle with speaking. In fact, in class, you have to remind them all the time – 'Speak in English! Speak in English!' -, because they switch… It's the same in Galician. They switch to Spanish. Teachers complain about it. And in English it's the same. If they start speaking to each other and you are not constantly all over them, then… Even sometimes we have to repeat explanations in Spanish for them to understand." (RPL6)

"I have to make great efforts so in the Galician subject children reply to me in Galician. Huge efforts! I mean, I can assure you that 80% of the time, or even 90% of the time, in the Galician subject, of Social Sciences, or any Galician-taught class, they talk to me in Spanish!" (RPL2)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, only two teachers out of five briefly mentioned in-classroom challenges they faced when implementing the plurilingual policy. One pointed to the increasing amount of foreign students in urban schools, and the lack of additional support provided for them as an added difficulty. The other one referred to the children's linguistic dynamics, specifically children's struggle when it comes to speaking Galician, as a significant obstacle to the policy's successful enforcement.

An example:

"I am now the 6th grade lead teacher, and these children have been studying Galician since they are three. There are many activities we do exclusively in Galician to try to compensate with Spanish. But even with the teachers who speak Galician regularly, we could not get them to interact in Galician. I mean, in the Galician class… what's difficult is to get children to speak in Galician. They start speaking and in less than two seconds they no longer have competence. It's a struggle." (UNP2)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, only one teacher out of three referred to children's linguistic dynamics in the classroom as a difficulty when implementing the policy. She claimed that even if they can speak Galician, children tend to switch to Spanish

right after any interaction with their peers, requiring her to remind them to speak in Galician in Galician-taught classes.

An example:

"I have to constantly remind children that in certain subjects we have to speak in Galician, not in Spanish, because by inertia they speak to each other in Spanish. Even if when you talk to them one on one in Galician, they reply in Galician, when they are among equals they don't do it." (RNP2)

Main finding

In-classroom obstacles presented a challenge to the implementation of the plurilingual policy primarily among plurilingual schools. For teachers in urban plurilingual schools, the lack of specific support to assist the increasing number of foreign students, and the excessively high student-teacher ratio are the main factors hindering the effective enactment of the policy. For teachers in rural plurilingual schools, the lack of children's competence in English – but also in Galician in some cases – frequently lead to language dynamics such as constant translations that make the effective implementation of the decree difficult. In-classroom obstacles were visibly not as widely discussed among non-plurilingual schoolteachers.

Insufficient support from the administration

Another aspect key of the smooth and effective implementation of the plurilingual policy discussed by the project's participants was the external support received from the administration that approved the decree, both at the individual and the school levels. Teachers generally complained about how current administration support was not enough to implement the policy guidelines effectively or to continue expanding the model as envisioned by the official decree in the future.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, eight out of nine participants referred specifically to material and human resources as one of the main flaws of the administration's support provision. They claimed the lack of funding to provide classrooms with the technological equipment necessary to adapt to new digital learning models, and the shortage of trained language teachers who can effectively carry out and help expand the CLIL academic offer are important obstacles to the implementation of the plurilingual model. Similarly, seven

out of these ten teachers pointed to the lack of appropriate language teacher training as a significant challenge. These teachers described the language-training offer available to them as very limited and poorly adapted to their work schedule, which prevents and discourages them from obtaining or refreshing their language competence. This, coupled with the administration's lack of real assessment of the language competence of teachers, (which is certified with the CEFRL B2 accreditation, no matter when it was obtained) frequently results in instructors not being adequately prepared to conduct CLIL classes. Finally, six out of the ten participants also brought up issues with the native language assistants assigned to plurilingual schools for the duration of the academic year. These teachers criticized the lack of specific training in education of the language assistants, who end up not being able to contribute much to the class. The absence of a rigorous selection by the administration seems to lead to the assignment of young, inexperienced language assistants who are often disengaged from their class work. Moreover, teachers complained about the allocation of language assistants' work hours, which is the same for every school, no matter the size of the school's student body.

Some examples:

"There's no control whatsoever [of the teachers' language competence], because when you apply for the Public Service exam or the school transfer, if you have the B2 certificate, they are not going to ask you to take a competence test. No. You submit the documents that prove you have the certification, and that's it. It's as if you say you got a master's degree in whatever subject, even if you graduated ten years ago and don't remember a thing. You have the diploma and it proves you are competent, even though it's been a long time. And there are areas where time doesn't matter, but with a language, practice is essential, because you lose your competence." (UPL2)

"Another problem with the policy is the election of the native assistants. They choose people who… It's people who apply for the position, but are not required to have a teaching degree. They are only required to have a B.A., and it doesn't matter what degree. […] The girl we have now… I am not saying she is not a good girl, but she's not good at teaching. You cannot come to class in an elementary school and be quiet in a corner. […] I don't know how they select them, but there have been issues with them, because they are not qualified, they miss a lot of class, they are very young… " (UPL10)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, six out of the nine interviewed teachers identified the lack of access to appropriate teacher training as the main weakness of the support received from the educational administration. Similarly to their counterparts in urban plurilingual schools, these teachers argued language training for teachers is very limited, which makes the plurilingual model completely dependent on the willingness of teachers to seek out

training on their own, and on their ability to afford it. A common perception shared by these teachers was the difficulty of reconciling training opportunities with their own personal lives. Teachers need to dedicate their own free time to participate in language courses and workshops, which further discourages them from getting trained. Additionally, three out of the nine participants complained about the lack of teaching background of the native language assista**nts** assigned to plurilingual schools by the administration. Again, teachers claimed that even though these assistants were a good resource for children to be further exposed to English, their lack of specific teaching training was often a burden. Their inability to navigate a class of young children often implied added work for the main teacher.

Some examples:

"I think training is considerably limited. And another problem for teachers is that training opportunities are obviously out of school hours, and therefore, the schedules are not compatible with family life. […] Therefore, there are a lot of teachers who decide not to get training. […] And also the remuneration – not only economic, but also in terms of work hours – is nonexistent; that is, they have to count on the good will of teachers, which is sometimes impossible due to the incompatibility of the training offer with family life." (RPL4)

"Regarding the language assistants, they are not always as good as… as you would like them to be. Well, this is something we have been demanding every year, in the end of the year report. We always asked them to send us assistants who have some knowledge of didactics, of pedagogy. Because one year we had a fashion designer, another year… I don't know. They never have a teaching profile. So we came to the conclusion that they come her just to get a salary and use it to travel, because since they speak English, they meet the expectations and don't need to get involved in the classroom." (RPL6)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, four out of five teachers identified the lack of material and human resources provided by the administration as the main obstacle to the full adoption of the plurilingual model in their school. They claimed the limited number of certified teachers able to conduct CLIL courses makes it impossible for the school to accommodate teachers' schedule in order to join the plurilingual project. Since schools need to be able to implement the project with the teachers they already have, and cannot ask specifically for certified language teachers until they have already become a fully plurilingual school, whether or not they can join the plurilingual project is completely left to chance. The exclusion of training opportunities from teachers' work schedules was also brought up by two teachers as a key issue contributing to the lack of certified teachers. Again, they complained about how difficult it is for them to access training when it is only

offered outside their working hours. Finally, the lack of incentives to join the plurilingual model was also mentioned by two of these participants as another limitation of the administration's support provision.

Some examples:

"We only have one English teacher for the whole school. What kind of plurilingual model can we implement with that? She has a full schedule with the English subject. So even if we wanted to, we couldn't teach Arts or Science in English. Nothing. Because the administration doesn't send you more people. […] A public school can become plurilingual if they are lucky to have among their teaching staff enough people with the English certification. Us, for example, we don't have a real option to join the plurilingual project." (UNP2)

"Look, this school is not plurilingual simply because there were no teachers with the certification to apply for the project. We are only three [English] teachers, and this school is a line three school[3], so we have a full schedule and don't have hours to dedicate to the plurilingual project. […] Also, neither the coordinators nor the teachers get any incentive – economic or of any other sort -, for joining the plurilingual model, so it is basically more work for free." (UNP3)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two out of three teachers pointed to the limited access to teacher training as the main issue with the support provided by the administration. They complained about the fact that training opportunities are usually offered outside their work schedule, requiring teachers to use their free time to get training.

An example:

"The main problem with the administration… is that they organize training courses, of many types, but they are all outside the work schedule; that is, you have to invest part of your leisure time to get trained. I think the administration should also train its workers better, and increase the access to training, so we don't have to do it during the weekend. I think they should leave part of our schedule for training, or make it easier for us to access training during work hours. That's how it is for all jobs – people get trained at work -, but not in teaching." (RNP2)

Main finding

The vast majority of the participants in each type of school agreed that the support received from the administration in order to implement the plurilingual policy is significantly scarce. The main issue for teachers in plurilingual schools is the lack of access to language training opportunities and the non-teaching profile of the native language assistants assigned to the schools at the beginning of the academic year. For teachers in non-plurilingual schools, the absence of human and material support from the

[3] Schools with three groups per grade.

administration, and the already mentioned lack of access to proper language training imply that regular schools are essentially on their own if they want to become a plurilingual school.

6.2.2 Conflict around implementation

A second important aspect of the experience of Galician teachers with the implementation of the plurilingual decree focuses on the conflicts that have arisen from putting the decree into effect, or from the idea of fully adopting the model in their schools. Teachers' discussions revolved mainly around three different levels of conflict involving teachers and parents. The first level affects teachers individually when they seek to move to a different school in the annual transfer application. In a points-based system, teachers can choose to apply for a transfer every year, ranking all the schools they would like to move to. Based on the accumulated points they have (obtained through training hours, certifications, school involvement, seniority, etc.), and the available spots at each school, they are ranked in a list and given a provisional destination, which they can then accept or reject. Obtaining the B2 certification required to teach CLIL subjects not only gives teachers transfer points, it also grants them priority when it comes to choosing plurilingual vacancies (as certain vacancies are reserved for teachers with the B2 certification) and classes, which can be an important source of conflict. A second level of conflict implicates teachers in a more collective sense, and the different language departments they work for. Teachers who work for their school's Galician department, or for the English one, might have different preferences and priorities when it comes to choosing which subjects will be taught in a foreign language. Since this decision has to be made and voted by the entire faculty, conflict can arise from the interests of different groups. Finally, the third level of conflict relates to families' disagreement with school language-related decisions.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, eight out of ten interviewed participants claimed they had experienced some conflict regarding the implementation of the plurilingual policy, brining up all of the three cases presented above. Six out of ten teachers identified the access to vacancies and the priority given to B2 certified teachers as the main source of conflict in their schools. They claimed older teachers who do not possess this language certification frequently see themselves surpassed by younger ones who are trained to teach

CLIL classes but who might not have as many accumulated points, which creates frictions among them. Moreover, three of these teachers brought up as well the second type of conflict, in which instructors from specific departments actively reject the addition of new CLIL subjects to the curriculum due to language-related concerns. And finally, two of these teachers presented parents' objections as the main source of conflict arising from the implementation of the plurilingual model. They described how some parents have expressed concerns about having their children study content subjects in a foreign language or, in some cases, in Galician.

Some examples:

"Actually, the fact that you can now apply for specific positions in plurilingual schools because you have the B2 English certification has generated a great deal of division and controversy among teachers. Because now it is seen as a competition. You have the option to access a plurilingual vacancy because you have the required training. So you get that position, imagine, with 90 points, here in the city, which are very sought-after vacancies, and maybe there is another person who does not have the B2 certification, but by seniority has 122 points. You are taking their place with fewer points, because you simply have that certification. So all this has really caused a stir among teachers." (UPL2)

"Well, those of us who are part of the English department had spoken about making Music a plurilingual subject, and so we suggested it to the faculty, and they – well, especially the Galician department – said no, because in Music they worked on a lot of Galician songs, and so they were afraid that they would stop working on Galician songs to work on English ones. I don't really see it that way. […] But well, it was their opinion, and the voting result was 'no', so we didn't do it. So I think maybe in a way there is a segment that feels threatened by English (laughs)." (UPL3)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, seven out of nine teachers affirmed the implementation of the plurilingual model has created some type of conflict, mainly from the students' parents. Six out of these teachers identified parents' concerns about the added difficulty of taking English-taught subjects for children as the leading source of conflict in their schools. They claimed that at the beginning parents feared their children would not acquire all the required knowledge to move on to high school and showed some opposition to fully adopting the decree. Only one participant out of nine referred to the tensions created between teachers due to the advantage given to those with the English B2 certification when it comes to applying for a school transfer or selecting the grades they will teach.

Some examples:

"In this school we don't really have any conflict. Well, it is true that when we began with the project, we only had Arts and other subjects that parents don't give much importance to in English. But when we went all in with plurilingualism, and we begin to teach Social Sciences in English, then parents got scared that, because they were in English, the children will not acquire the required knowledge. So there was a bit of a conflict there. But not anymore. Now they see that is not the case." (RPL8)

"There are teachers who now see their options to pick a specific grade limited by their lack of English certification, because now for certain classes you need to have the required training. If you don't have that certification when doing the transfer application, you cannot access certain vacancies that are offered in some schools as 'bilingual vacancies', because they specifically require teachers to have the B2 certificate. A lot of them don't have it yet, so this obviously cuts down their choices, and their possibilities to be in the school they want, and teach in the grade they want." (RPL4)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, three out of five teachers claimed that conflict in their schools exclusively involved parents who complained about the use of Galician in subjects that were previously taught in Spanish or in school notifications. They claimed these parents opposed mainly the use of Galician in content-heavy subjects such as Science, because of the added difficulty it meant for children whose mother tongue was Spanish.

An example:

"Yes, there has been conflict. I have seen cases where if we send any notification to the families in Galician, some parents demand that we send it in Spanish to them, claiming they cannot be forced to receive them in Galician… […] And the times I've seen this conflict, it's mostly in urban areas where families speak mainly Spanish and might not be strong supporters of the promotion of the Galician language." (UNP1)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, all three interviewed teachers defended the idea that no specific conflict had arisen in their schools as a result of the plurilingual policy's implementation.

Main finding

Conflict arising from the plurilingual policy's implementation process seems much less significant in non-plurilingual schools than in plurilingual ones. Teachers in urban plurilingual schools seem to have experienced a wider variety of conflict, mainly stemming from the competition dynamics that the B2 certification creates among instructors, and to a lesser extent, from the hostilities between the schools' different language departments. Teachers in rural plurilingual schools identified parents' initial fear of the potential negative impact of introducing English-taught courses on their children's learning as the primary source of conflict in their schools. While teachers in rural non-plurilingual schools affirmed

no conflict had arisen in their institutions, those in urban non-plurilingual ones pointed to parents' objections to having their children study content-heavy subjects in Galician as the main issue behind conflictive episodes in their schools.

6.2.3 Limited feedback opportunities

A third relevant aspect of the experience of Galician teachers with the implementation of the plurilingual decree explored in this project relates to the methods available to teachers to share with the administration their concerns and suggestions regarding the enactment of the policy. Teachers' discussions revealed both the lack of reliable feedback tools offered to instructors, and the clear ineffectiveness of the existing ones.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, six out of ten teachers pointed to the schools' assigned educational inspector as the main tool to share with the administration their assessment of the implementation of the plurilingual policy. However, their discussions about the inspectors' role focused mainly on their inability to effectively handle instructors' feedback. They claimed inspectors frequently adopt a very apathetic attitude towards teachers' pleas, openly ignoring their comments, constantly stressing the impossibility of the administration to meet their requests, and generally displaying a non-cooperating disposition. Two teachers also brought up the end-of-the-year report, a document that teachers write for each of their subjects and school activities, where they can reflect on their experience, indicating the challenges they faced and potential requests for the next year. Nonetheless, these teachers agreed that the report is very impractical, as the claims expressed in it are continuously disregarded by the administration.

An example:

"We don't really have any method, expect for the mediation of the inspector. The thing is… the inspector is more of a 'controlling' agent, even though they don't really come here often to control anything. What I mean is… they should be the opposite. The educational inspection would work better if instead of being a sanctioning tool, it was an enabling one. The inspection department is merely a sanctioning tool because the inspector only comes here in September to check whether we are fulfilling the curriculum or whether the paperwork is properly filled out, but after that, you don't ever see them again, unless something bad happens." (UPL9)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, five out of nine participants admitted to not know of any specific method to share with the administration their experience implementing the plurilingual policy. Four teachers, however, pointed to the existence of two main feedback tools – those mentioned by their counterparts in urban plurilingual schools: the school's assigned educational inspector, and the end-of-the-year report. Again, teachers complained about the ineffectiveness of these mechanisms. Regarding the first method, teachers explained that it is up to the management team to transmit teachers' pleas to the inspector, but that due to the large amount of bureaucratic layers they have to go through, however, teachers' feedback never really reaches the top administrative ranks. Similarly, the end-of-the-year-report was considered by these teachers a useless formality that no one from the administration really pays attention to.

An example:

"We don't have any way of making our opinion reach the administration. After the first year with the plurilingual model, we filled out a report in which we did a sort of self-evaluation of the process, explaining the flaws we saw… So we wrote down our assessment, we reflected it in the report, and we sent it. And what did they do about it? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. They had given us some money for the first year, so we could buy material in English. So I bought a lot of books that were very difficult to find here. And once the money run out, that was it, their interest in the project was over." (RPL7)

In urban *non-plurilingual schools*, all five interviewed teachers identified the school's assigned educational inspector as the most direct communication channel between the school and the administration. Similarly to the ideas discussed by their counterparts in plurilingual schools, these teachers highlighted the ineffectiveness of this feedback mechanism, which relies on the goodwill of inspectors to help teachers' pleas be heard.

An example:

"Not that I know of. No. As I understand it, any communication with the administration should be done through the school's management team, which then transmits teachers' concerns to the inspector. But I have never seen that done. And nobody ever comes here to ask anything, nor have they ever told us: 'Hey! Here you have this little door, so if you see anything that could be improved you can knock on it." No. We don't have that communication or feedback path. I have never seen it. And I think that means a lot." (UNP1)

In rural *non-plurilingual schools*, the three interviewed teachers stressed the idea that there is no direct mechanism of sharing their feedback with the administration. Only one teacher pointed to the students' parents, and their ability to get their complaints heard

by the government through mobilization, as the most effective way of getting their concerns addressed by the administration.

An example:

“I don’t think we really have any… In that sense, I think parents have much more power, because if I go to the inspector with any complaint, they laugh at me, but if it’s a parent who goes to them… then it’s different. Politicians don’t want anything on the news or things like that. So if it’s a parent who complains, then the administration will probably listen to them.” (RNP2)

Main finding

Teachers’ discussions reveal a very limited amount of methods to share their views and criticisms of the plurilingual policy with the administration, and the overall inadequacy of these. Schools’ assigned inspectors seem to be the main instrument of feedback transmission identified by the majority of teachers. Nonetheless, all teachers who brought it up insisted on the inability of inspectors to handle teachers’ requests and suggestions, and to convey them to the administration, mainly due to the ineffectiveness of the reporting mechanism or the inspectors’ disregard. The end-of-the-year report, although not as widely mentioned, was also identified as another feedback method. As in the case of the inspectors, teachers generally distrusted the effectiveness of this method, because none of the observations expressed there seem to ever be addressed. These discussions essentially expose the fact that plurilingual schools are not provided with any additional resources to share their assessment of the plurilingual program compared to their non-plurilingual counterparts.

6.2.4 Summary

These findings show the main factors negatively affecting the experience of Galician teachers with the implementation of the plurilingual education decree in their schools. Teacher resistance to the use of assigned vehicular languages was described by participants as a widespread issue hindering the policy’s appropriate enactment, which affects primarily the use of local languages, especially Galician. The lack of implementation control mechanisms was also a salient obstacle discussed by the vast majority of teachers. Although a few of them mentioned the monitoring role of educational inspectors and schools’ managements teams, teachers’ accounts highlighted the absence of

specific control procedures, and the general lack of rigor behind these processes. A significant amount of teachers pointed however to the role of parents as non-official monitoring figures, and their capacity to report teachers' policy non-compliance to higher authoritative ranks, particularly among plurilingual schools. In-classroom obstacles were also present in teachers' discussions in all types of schools; however, they were particularly significant in plurilingual ones. Teachers in urban plurilingual schools identified the lack of support to assist their increasingly foreign student bodies and the excessively high student-teacher ratio as the main obstacles to the effective implementation of the policy. In rural plurilingual schools, the main in-classroom barrier pinpointed by teachers was the lack of children's competence in English – and Galician, in some cases -, which leads to counterproductive practices such as constant translations. Although similar obstacles were brought up by teachers in urban and rural non-plurilingual schools, they were not as pervasive as in plurilingual ones. Lastly, the lack of administration support was also identified by participants as a major impediment to the proper implementation of the plurilingual decree. For teachers in plurilingual schools, the main issue with the support provided by the administration was specific flaws in the resources already provided to them that hindered the expansion or effectiveness of the project (namely, difficult access to language training opportunities, and the non-teaching profile of the native language assistants assigned to the schools at the beginning of the academic year). For teachers in non-plurilingual schools, however, the problem was the plain absence of human, material and training resources that are indispensable for schools to be able to fully adopt the model.

On top of the direct challenges mentioned above, participants also brought up the conflict dynamics arising from the policy's implementation process, and the limited feedback opportunities available to them as important factors that negatively impact their experience enacting the policy. From teachers' discussions, conflict seems much more prevalent among plurilingual schools than non-plurilingual ones. While conflict in urban plurilingual schools stems primarily from the competition dynamics that obtaining the required foreign language certification creates among instructors, and the hostilities the policy generated between schools' language departments, the main source of conflict in rural plurilingual schools was parents' initial apprehension of the project's potential negative influence on children's learning. While teachers in rural non-plurilingual schools

affirmed no conflict had arisen in their institutions, those in urban non-plurilingual ones pointed to parents' objections to having their children study content-heavy subjects in Galician as the main issue behind conflictive episodes in their schools. Regarding teachers' opportunities to share their assessment of the policy with the administration, participants systematically complained about their scarcity, both in plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools.

6.3 RQ3: What are teachers' perceptions and experiences regarding the Galician language?

A final but important goal of this investigation involved exploring teachers' perceptions and beliefs about languages, including their interpretation of Galicia's sociolinguistic context, and their experiences with the language. Understanding how teachers conceive the linguistic setting where the Galician plurilingual education policy was implanted, and especially, the role the regional language plays in it, can offer meaningful insight into their perceptions of the policy. Although in most cases participants were not directly questioned about this, their linguistic attitudes and beliefs still emerged from their discussions of other topics.

6.3.1 Teachers' linguistic ideologies

As mentioned earlier, teachers' linguistic ideologies refer not just to what they think about languages and language-related issues, but also to how they think about them, and the personal values that frame such thoughts. They link teachers' linguistic perceptions to bigger issues such the way they see the world and their own society. Inevitably, people's linguistic ideologies inform their perspective on any language-related matter, including the language education issue under investigation in this project, and therefore, they prove particularly relevant to this study's purpose. The interviewed participants displayed two main linguistic ideologies that comprise two very different ways of interpreting the value and the role of languages – in particular Galician - for the region's society.

Locally framed plurilingual ideology: protecting the minority language

Based on the idea that all languages are intrinsically valuable, the linguistic ideology espoused by the majority of participating teachers regards the minority language of the region as a fundamental asset of the Galician community. For them, the Galician language is not only a key cultural and identity marker, but also an added linguistic resource, and a powerful communication tool in its own right. These teachers' perception of the different languages used in the Galician education system is also significantly influenced by their interpretation of the sociolinguistic context where such languages exist. Therefore, they are particularly sensitive to how aspects such as identity, power, or social prestige affect language use and status. In this sense, this linguistic ideology is largely grounded in a local perspective, which takes the Galician society's circumstances as the reference point from where to assess how languages should be integrated into the education system. Nonetheless, some differences exist between this ideology's supporters regarding the degree of specificity with which they discuss the best approach to protect the Galician language. While all these teachers recognize that Galician is in a much more vulnerable place than Spanish or English, and should therefore be promoted in schools, only some of them openly defend the need for positive discrimination strategies in order to successfully carry out such efforts. For the latter, in the education context this translates specifically into a demand for policies that afford Galician a more protagonist role and which can effectively contribute to the language's social revitalization.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, eight out of ten teachers embraced this ideology, defending the fundamental value of all languages, including Galician. They supported the usefulness of Galician when it comes to communicating with speakers of closely related languages or learning additional ones, and the need to encourage its use and protection. Only a couple of these participants specifically advocated for the prioritization of Galician in all institutional realms, including the school, as the way of ensuring children become fluent in the regional language.

Some examples:

"All Romance languages, including Galician, facilitate the learning of one another. If you know Galician, it's going to be easier for you to study Catalan, Italian, French, Portuguese – which is very similar -, and the more

languages you know, the more resources you have. I mean, there's no such thing as learning too much. So the whole 'we should concentrate on Spanish and English' thing for me is just… Anyway, there are people who think that way, and that just shows how utterly ignorant they are." (UPL5)

"I think Galician is our language, and as part of our culture, we have an obligation to protect it. Also, Galician is not just useful in Galicia. There are many other places where… Portuguese in Portugal and Brazil… They are very similar. I think, if anything, Galician opens doors for you." (UPL3)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, seven out of nine participants espoused this ideology; however, in contrast to their counterparts at urban plurilingual schools, almost all of these teachers showed a deeper concern for the dynamics behind the minoritization of Galician, and adopted a firmer stand on the need to prioritize its use in schools and other sectors of society in order to increase its social status.

Some examples:

"I think it's good for kids to know English, but English is a language that has to be instrumental, to help them find their way around the world. But the autochthonous language of Galicia is Galician. […] Spanish is already everywhere… Psst! English too! The only one that's not is Galician. Only kids whose parents are Galician-speakers, and who speak it at home, are exposed to Galician. Even though there are still some of those dyslexic cases where parents speak to each other in Galician, but to their kids in Spanish, which was typical when I was a boy. […] So I think there should be some sort of positive discrimination towards the Galician language." (RPL2)

"Look, taking into account the media and the access children have to the different languages, it is obvious that access to the Spanish language is greater than to Galician. […] There are people who still think that Galician is worthless, who say 'What are my children going to study Galician for, if my children are going to live in Madrid, or wherever", "What do they want it for?" And they believe that. People who don't speak Galician believe that if you are a Galician-speaker, whenever you leave Galicia you'll have problems in life, which is a lie. Because we, Galician-speakers, are bilingual, and they are not. […] So for Galicians to become truly bilingual, we should promote the use of Galician, because it's the minority language, and it's becoming increasingly minoritized." (RPL9)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, all five interviewed teachers upheld this ideology, criticizing the lack of value afforded to the Galician language by large segments of society, and advocating for affirmative action measures that contribute to revalorize the language.

Some examples:

“Galician was so heavily persecuted – the whole ‘Speak properly!’ thing[4] -, that there are people who don’t find it useful, who say, ‘What for? If it’s not useful around the world. English is, but Galician is not.’ But Galician is such an impressive source of wealth we have! […] So, I think it’s good that we conduct most of the school activities in Galician. We should do them in Galician. I completely, agree! Galician is an incredible asset, so we have to promote its value. It is necessary. Children already have Spanish on TV, at home, everywhere. So anything we do here at school, we can perfectly do it in Galician. I mean, we have to revalorize it, and if we don’t do it from the school, who will do it?” (UNP3)

“Galician is a language that is completely socially subordinated to Spanish. [...] And it is, in a way, the main linguistic victim of the recent policy changes. Because Galician is being completely left out. In the media, it is reduced, almost residually, to the Galician regional radio and TV. And on the written press… to newspapers’ covers on the Galician Literature Day, and that’s it. So, as I said before, if we know that we are not under equal conditions, at least in school we have to positively discriminate against the use of Galician, and especially in schools like this one, which are totally Spanishized.” (UNP5)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, two out of the three interviewed participants exhibited this ideology, again, focusing on Galician’s lack of social prestige, and the root of the sociolinguistic challenges the language faces. Similar to their counterparts, they defended the usefulness of the language, and the need to purposefully increase its presence in school – and in other spheres of society - in order to effectively revalorize and revitalize it.

An example:

“I think learning languages is something important. I think learning Galician is useful, not just to communicate with people here, but also to understand other languages that are similar or that have something in common. I don’t know Catalan, but maybe if someone speaks to me I can find similarities with Galician. […] In Galicia, kids are increasingly surrounded by Spanish-speaking contexts. The vast majority of the media is in Spanish, and the advertisements, games, books… I mean, all that. So I think we need to promote the Galician language. I try to do it - with stories and activities in Galician. All those things should be translated into Galician, so children can see they can have fun in that language, and that they can learn many things in Galician.” (RNP2)

[4] This teacher is referring to the time – particularly during the Franco dictatorship – when the use of Galician was prohibited, and the language became officially considered a dialect of Spanish (as any of the other regional languages present in the country). González González (1985) describes the situation: “This repressive linguistic policy was supported by all institutions linked to power. The Church, the school, the administration and the radio use[d] exclusively Castilian and [became] collaborators and agents of the death to which Galician [was] condemned. It [was] the time when the signs and leaflets remind[ed] us continuously: "SPEAK WELL. BE A PATRIOT. DO NOT BE A BARBARIAN. Gentlemen speak our official language, that is, Spanish.” (p. 105)

Globally framed plurilingual ideology: promoting majority languages

In contrast to the perspective presented above, some of the teachers who participated in this study embraced a linguistic ideology based on the principle that languages are, first and foremost, a type of human capital. Although these teachers consequently acknowledge all languages have value, they believe such value increases or decreases depending on the language's number of speakers or its international relevance. Essentially, for them the significance of a language is directly proportional to the communication potential it brings to its speakers, which implies a very functionalist take on the value of language learning. In the specific case of the Galician education system, this translates into a strong differentiation between the local, minority language – Galician -, and the majority, global ones – Spanish and English.

Based on this reading of languages, these teachers defend the prioritization of popular, higher status languages as media of instruction in the curriculum, and reject any positive discrimination effort aiming to bring Galician to the fore in the education system. For them, the value and role of Galician is thus merely relegated to the cultural realm – as part of the region's historical and cultural heritage, it should be taught in schools, but its acquisition should not interfere with that of the other, more important, languages of the curriculum. This ideology is heavily influenced by the forces of globalization and internationalization, and essentially upholds therefore the primacy of global dynamics over local considerations. Essentially, the sociolinguistic context of the region is simply not relevant, and therefore, issues related to the diglossic situation of the regional language are often played down or straightforwardly ignored.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, two teachers embraced this ideology, defending the idea that widely spoken languages are more important and useful to learn than minority ones. These teachers believe therefore that the lack of prestige and use of Galician among the population responds to natural dynamics of linguistic competition taking place globally, and consider any effort aimed at revitalizing the regional language necessarily against the spread of majority ones such as English or Spanish. For them, Galician should still be used in schools, but in a way that does not interfere with children's acquisition of the majority languages.

Some examples:

"To me it is very clear – and this is my personal opinion – that languages are for communication, and if there is a language that allows me to communicate with everyone, and another language that only allows me to communicate with one hundred people, or two million, I know which one I am going to learn to speak and master. And then, the whole 'we have to preserve [minority languages]…' thing is fine, but […] I think if a language is prestigious, it must be for a reason, and fighting against that is complicated. You cannot force a group, or a person, to be taken through a path that they don't want to, or don't see necessary. As I said, if a language is not prestigious, there must be a reason for it." (UPL1)

"You can teach kids to write - the orthographic rules, and whatever you want - in Galician, but they have to learn to speak in Spanish, because these kids cross the Galician border into Castilla-y-León, and Galician is not useful to them anymore. So, this is our culture, and we have to know it and all that, but we can't go crazy with the idea that we have to focus only on our language." (UP10)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, two teachers espoused this ideology too, supporting the claim that global languages such as English represent a greater asset than minority ones such as Galician. For these teachers, the role of Galician is restricted to the cultural domain, as a strong marker of the Galician identity, and therefore, they still favor its inclusion in the education system. However, they reject any policy aimed at giving Galician a protagonist role in the school in order to increase the language's social prestige on the grounds that such policies are not compatible with the learning of Spanish and English.

An example:

"I think it's great that they promote the use of Galician, and the learning of Galician culture. But I don't think that opens up many doors for you… English opens doors for you. Galician doesn't. If you are in Galicia yes, you need Galician to work here. If it's your mother tongue, I think it's great that you use it… But, I don't know, the more languages we know, the better. And English opens doors for you abroad, outside your community… Honestly, I prefer that my daughter knows how to speak English than how to speak exclusively Galician. I mean, if you learn Galician that's great too." (RPL6)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, none of the interviewed teachers adhered to this ideology.

In *rural non-plurilingual school*, only one of the three interviewed teachers displayed this ideology, again, recognizing the cultural significance of Galician, but rejecting its practical value compared to Spanish or English.

An example:

"Well, I think Galician is important, but in Galicia, because there are not that many people who speak it. We are a small community, so I prefer that my students are well prepared in Spanish and make a few mistakes in

Galician, than… You know? […] I think we should really prioritize the study of Spanish over Galician, because Spanish is the state language. And English, obviously, for me it's more important than Galician, because for me foreign languages are very important. English is such a big source of richness for the people who speak it, because it is the most spoken language in the world. So I can go anywhere and use it. However, Galician restricts my options. I still have the obligation to learn it, because it is my language, the language of my parents, and because I am Galician, and also because of my work, because I work for the administration." (RNP1)

Main finding

Teachers espoused two main linguistic ideologies that capture significantly different ways of understanding languages and sociolinguistic dynamics. The vast majority of teachers espoused a 'locally framed ideology', which defends the fundamental role of the minority language in the Galician society. These teachers' ideology draws special attention to the power imbalances between the languages used in the education system, and advocates for the need to protect those that come off worse – namely Galician – through positive discrimination practices. A minority of teachers – primarily in plurilingual schools - embraced a 'globally framed ideology', which promotes the prioritization of widely-spoken, popular languages in the education system, due to the perceived advantages they offer to their speakers.

6.3.2 Teachers' experiences with the Galician language

An important aspect of understanding teachers' relation with the Galician language focuses on their direct personal experience with it; that is, on how they see the use and role of the language in the broader social context and, particularly, in the school setting. Teachers' close contact with children and parents provides them with a deep grasp of how the general public perceive Galician, and therefore, with a solid knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation of the language. Their experiences focused primarily on two issues: children's loss of competence in Galician, and the manifestly inferior social status of the language.

Loss of Galician among students

The first key finding regarding the experience of teachers with the Galician language was the wide consensus among participants on the growing lack of linguistic competence of students. While their discussions still pointed to the traditional

sociolinguistic divide between the region's urban and rural areas described in Section 5.1.1, participants' accounts revealed a slight change of dynamics, particularly in rural areas.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, nine out of ten participants indicated very few children speak Galician in their schools, as Spanish is the mother tongue of the majority of their students. They pointed to the impact that urban schools' markedly Spanish-speaking profile has on the few new Galician-speaking students they get every year, claiming it is very common for children whose first language is Galician to switch to Spanish within the first few years of primary or elementary school. This is mainly due to the pressure to adapt that the Spanish-speaking dynamics of the majority naturally exert on these children.

Some examples:

"In terms of their mother tongue, the majority of this school's students uses Spanish. There are two or three kids who might speak in Galician, but the others… They are not really competent in Galician. […] I mean, here… Galician zero. There are very few people who speak in Galician. Almost no one." (UPL4)

"In the rural areas, children who start school speaking Galician, often keep their mother tongue. In very rural areas, they keep it. However, in the cities, even though their parents speak Galician… they don't. We get two or three families who speak Galician, and their children speak Galician when they begin kindergarten, but then, they lose it, and end up speaking only in Spanish, because everyone in this school speaks Spanish. Maybe a few of them still speak in Galician with their parents at home, but here, in the yard during breaks, you do not hear anyone speaking Galician. Perhaps a couple of teachers… but only a few." (UPL8)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, seven out of nine participants acknowledged that increasingly fewer children speak Galician in rural schools. The lack of intergenerational language transmission was one of the main factors that these teachers identified as contributing to children's switch to Spanish in school. They noted that even though the majority of parents are Galician-speakers, it is still common for them to use Spanish when talking to their children. Moreover, they pointed to schools' Spanish-speaking dynamics, and the general lack of exposure to Galician in the media and society, as important aspects accelerating the loss of Galician in the rural areas. Only two teachers from the same school reported Galician was still the main language used by both students and teachers in their center. However, these participants still noted the exceptionality of their case, pointing to the institution's and the town's size as key factors helping maintain Galician as the main vehicular language.

Some examples:

"Here, in this school, the majority of the children are Spanish-speakers, even though we are in an area where… the majority of the parents are Galician-speakers. However, in my class, there is not a single Galician-speaking kid - a kid who uses Galician as their main language. […] And well, the language is disappearing by leaps and bounds. In school, it's scandalous. I mean, in this school, what education does to the few children who get here speaking Galician is Spanishize them – after two months, they all speak in Spanish." (RPL2)

"In this school, people speak more in Spanish than in Galician. […] It is striking that here, which is a village, in a way, and we are surrounded by many small towns, students speak so much Spanish. And here, students who speak all the time in Spanish have difficulties with Galician, because they rarely hear anything in that language. They do not even see the TV in Galician. They live in a world immersed in Spanish, and the contact they have with Galician is maybe three or four hours a week, depending on the grade…" (RPL5)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, all five interviewed teachers described their schools as having a prominent Spanish-speaking profile. Again, they attributed this to the fact that society in urban areas is mostly Spanish-speaking, and therefore, children are rarely exposed to Galician. As already discussed by participants in plurilingual schools, these teachers noted how children who have Galician as their mother tongue are steered towards Spanish by the linguistic habits of their Spanish-speaking peers early on. Additionally, they remarked how these dynamics affect not only urban areas, but rural ones as well, where the pervasiveness of Spanish in society is significantly eroding the use of Galician too.

Some examples:

"The Galician-speaking parents who come here... they are aware that their kids begin school speaking Galician, but leave speaking Spanish. It's very sad, but it's true. It's because of the environment, because kids among themselves, without anyone telling them anything, or even speaking to them in Galician, only speak in Spanish. So it's a lost fight. We have to try a different way. It's clear. But that is a lost fight." (RNP2)

"It will always be easier for children to learn Spanish than Galician. Why? Because society is predominantly Spanish-speaking. The media, all TV channels, are all in Spanish. Here, this area is mostly Spanish-speaking, so for children it is much easier to learn Spanish than to learn Galician. And in rural areas, there is also a lot of media contamination. They influence children a lot, even though at home they speak Galician. They end up negatively influencing their learning of Galicia, and their use of the language. I mean… Galician is a language that is completely subordinated to Spanish." (UNP5)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, the three interviewed participants also highlighted the decrease in the use of Galician among their students. Like their peers, these teachers blamed this phenomenon on the general spread of Spanish, and on the pressure that the

majority of students, who are Spanish-speakers, exert on Galician-speakers to switch languages.

An example:

"Nowadays there are very few children who speak Galician, so… In fact, there are many who speak Galician at home, and come to school and speak only in Spanish, because the majority of the kids speak Spanish. So they pick it up. They end up switching. And they are fully bilingual, because they don't have any issue learning Spanish. On the contrary, when they leave, the problem will be for them to remember how to speak Galician." (RNP2)

Low social status of Galician

The second finding on the experience of teachers with the Galician language was the widespread acknowledgment of the language's low social status. The vast majority of these teachers described the rejection many segments of society exhibit towards Galician, resulting from its perceived association with rurality and backwardness, which contribute to the stigmatization of the language. Completely subjugated to the predominance of Spanish in all social spheres, with the exception of very specific domains such as institutional and certain cultural matters, Galician is unquestionably identified by these teachers as a second-class language. In very few cases, the inferior status of Galician was also confirmed through the stereotypes teachers themselves let slip out in their discussions, which presented Galician-speakers in a visibly negative light, through borderline absurd descriptions.

In *urban plurilingual schools*, eight out of ten participants described the inferiority Galician suffers compared to Spanish, or even English. They described the rejection people exhibit towards the language, and the perceived stereotypes still associated to it, even among parents and students. These teachers also commented on the differences between Galician and other regional languages of the state - especially Catalan - to illustrate its lack of social prestige.

Some examples:

"I have friends who say, "No, Galician is useless. Why would I speak in Galician?" And I really think there are a lot of people who think that way. Not only parents, because sometimes I even hear the kids saying that. When I tell them "Let's do this in Galician!" And they go "No… In Galician again?" So imagine… In the school's reading program we ask them to read a book in Spanish and a book in Galician - I mean, they read

many more, but those two are mandatory. Many of the reviews the children wrote were "I didn't like the book because it's in Galician. I mean…" (UPL4)

"Galicians are not like Catalans, who have always valued their language. I am not going to go into political aspects. It has always been very clear to them that their language is as important as Spanish. But in Galicia, that has never been the case." (UPL6)

In *rural plurilingual schools*, eight out of nine participants also noted the disadvantaged condition of Galician compared to Spanish, claiming the language is still linked to notions of backwardness, and to lower socio-economic and socio-cultural status. Similarly to their counterparts at urban schools, these teachers also drew attention to the differences in social prestige among the regional languages in Spain within their own communities, arguing that Galician is still perceived by the Galician people as a disadvantage.

Some examples:

"In Galicia we have certain characteristics that are a bit different from those found in other autonomous communities of Spain. We have a perception of the Galician language different from the one they have of their own languages in places like Catalonia, or the Basque Country. So there is a bit of… there is still a reminiscence of that old disrepute associated to the use of Galician, unfortunately." (RPL4)

"You can see there's an abysmal rejection towards Galician. People think those who speak Galician have a lower [socio-cultural] level… And a lot of families really believe that. For them it's as if the normal thing was to speak in Spanish, and the least normal think to express yourself in Galician. So the people who speak in Galician all the time are still looked at like… "Hmmm… That person is speaking in Galician to me…" It is like that. It's sad, but true. You go into a store, and if you speak Galician, they look at you different. […] So people who speak in Galician… they are considered, let's say, hicks, or as if they had a lower socio-cultural, or even economic, status, by the simple fact that they speak in Galician." (RPL5)

In *urban non-plurilingual schools*, all five interviewed participants shared this perspective on the status of the Galician language as well, affirming the value afforded to the language by society is in general low. They pointed to the linguistic self-hatred dynamics often displayed by Galician-speakers, such as purposefully not transmitting their mother tongue to their children, and the language's subordination to the majority language, Spanish, in many fields.

Some examples:

"We still have that complex… that fear to… because we are Galician-speakers, we'll be less… I don't know how to explain it. There is still that feeling of inferiority with respect to languages. That is still deeply rooted in Galicia, and in many families. In fact, there are a lot of families who tell you, 'We speak Galician, but we speak to our children in Spanish.' Because for them, a higher social status is associated to Spanish, not to

Galician. They perceived the Galician language as the language of the people without studies, of the rural areas, of those who will never be anyone." (UNP1)

"Galician is, in general, relegated to… culture. That's it. No one opposes that cultural acts be carried out in Galician. All that seems normal to everyone. But it seems very impractical for certain people when it comes to other aspects. They don't think it's practical. That's of course not what I think, but what I believe people think in general. I think some people don't see Galician as suitable for scientific, or even administrative, matters…" (UNP2)

In *rural non-plurilingual schools*, the three interviewed teachers also offered a clear picture of the low social status of the Galician language. While two of these participants directly described Galician as a language stereotypically associated with the rural life, and with a lower sociocultural and socioeconomic status, the third teacher confirmed the frequent stigmatization of the language by directly offering stereotyped depictions of Galician-speakers herself.

Some examples:

"I think there is still… there is still this vestige from the past that speaking Galician is synonym to being from a lower social class, or to being a hick… People associate it to the rural class. And I noticed that because many parents or people who are my age speak among themselves in Galician, but in Spanish to their kids. I see that all the time. And if they are having a conversation with you, they speak in Galician, and then switch to Spanish to talk to their kids. And I don't know why they do that. Maybe because they felt unable to… I understand that people who studied some years ago were forced to study in Spanish, so maybe they see Galician as something that has no value." (RNP2)

[Example of a teacher's own prejudices against the Galician language] "Galicianists, and people who speak in Galician all the time, in my experience, are almost always... very similar people. You know? Let's see if I can explain myself... They are all environmentalists, very patriotic, very *enxebre*[5], to use the Galician word - you know? -, very into tradition. I mean, of course they are open minded. I mean, they follow - which is great – the Montessori method, which is letting the child progress little by litte. Yes, so, they think their language is Galician, and they do everything in Galician, and that's it." (RNP1)

Main finding

Participants' experiences with the Galician language reveal a great amount of consensus across all types of schools. The majority of teachers in both urban and rural plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools agreed that children's competence in Galician is

[5] Galician term meaning "characteristic and typical of a country or region, that is not distorted, deformed or mixed with anything foreign". (Dicionario da Real Academia Galega, 2019) In this case, it is used to refer specifically to the Galician culture, and it would translate as "authentically Galician". The significance about this participant's word choice is that although the term has no objective negative meaning, she is still using the word with a demeaning connotation. This illustrates how deeply ingrained the stigmatization of the Galician language still is in the Galician society.

visibly decreasing across the region while the social status of the language remains low. Participants at urban schools described the noticeable absence of students who have Galician as their mother tongue, the indisputable Spanish-speaking profile of their schools, and the pressure this exerts on children to use only Spanish in school. Teachers at rural schools noted how the traditionally Galician-speaking profile of their schools has been progressively eroded, leading to children's increasing use of Spanish. Likewise, the majority of teachers in all types of schools confirmed the low social status the Galician language holds nowadays, and the continued stigmatization it still faces from the population.

6.3.3 Summary

Interviewed teachers' perceptions of the Galician language are informed by two main different ways of interpreting the general value of languages, and the roles they play in society in general, and specifically, in the Galician educational system. While the majority of them espoused what it is described as a 'locally framed plurilingual ideology', which defends the intrinsic value of all languages, and considers sociolinguistic aspects an important factor to take into account when examining the role of each language, a minority of them embraced a 'globally framed plurilingual ideology', which ranks languages according to the advantages they are believed to offer to their speakers. Regarding the experience of the interviewed teachers with the Galician language, two key ideas were brought up – the general loss of the language among students, and its visibly inferior social status. Differences between urban and rural settings pointed to the forthright abandonment of the language in urban settings, including schools, and the widening fracture in the intergeneration transmission of Galician in the rural areas. Likewise, the low social status of the language arising from its stereotyped association with notions of backwardness permeates both types of settings alike, as participants in the four types of schools provided similar descriptions of this phenomenon.

7 Discussion

This chapter further examines the findings presented in the previous section, providing a deeper analysis of the investigation's results, and addressing the overall research purpose of the study using the analytical framework described in Chapter 4. The first two sections focus on how the study's selected comparative dimensions – school habitat and education model – actually inform the results obtained for the research questions established in the introductory chapter. The third section then fully delves into a critical analysis of the implications that implementing this type of plurilingual policy entails for a diglossic sociolinguistic context like the Galician one. Finally, the last section provides a summary of the most salient points of the chapter, and a discussion of how the study contributes to the existing literature on plurilingual education policy.

7.1 Linguistic ideologies – a key factor shaping teachers' perceptions

The findings produced few conclusive results on how teachers' perceptions on the plurilingual education policy differed from school to school regarding the study's comparative dimensions – type of habitat and education model -, as teachers opinions varied greatly not simply across schools, but within schools as well. In general, however, they revealed teachers' perceptions are clearly divided into two broad categories – those that regard it favorably, and those that regard it unfavorably. Although the results point to a somewhat visible association between teachers in plurilingual schools and more favorable opinions of the policy, variation in school habitat and education cannot be considered to reflect any significant change in teachers' perceptions of the policy. Instead, the findings show that there is a much more meaningful correspondence between specific teachers' perspectives on the policy and their own personal linguistic ideologies. So, while teachers with what has been identified as a 'locally framed ideology' were mostly those who perceived the policy generally unfavorably, teachers with a 'globally framed ideology' embraced more favorable perceptions of it. The following table illustrates this correspondence:

	Perceptions of the policy						Linguistic ideology	
	Purpose of the policy		Use of English as vehicular language		Attainability of the policy's goal			
	Improving children's English competence	Political strategy	Beneficial	Detrimental (both perspectives combined)	Attainable	Unattainable	Globally framed	Locally framed
UPL1	X		X		X		X	
UPL2	X		X			X		X
UPL3	X		X			X		X
UPL4	X		X			X		X
UPL5	X		X		X			X
UPL6	X		X			X		X
UPL7	X			X		X		X
UPL8	X			X		X		X
UPL9		X		X		X		X
UPL10	X		X		X		X	
RPL1	X			X		X		X
RPL2		X		X		X		X
RPL3		X		X		X		X
RPL4	X		X			X		X
RPL5	X		X		X		X	
RPL6	X		X		X		X	
RPL7		X		X		X		X
RPL8	X		X		X			X
RPL9	X		X			X		X
UNP1	X			X		X		X
UNP2		X		X		X		X
UNP3	X			X		X		X
UNP4	X			X		X		X
UNP5	X			X		X		X
RNP1	X		X		X		X	
RNP2	X			X		X		X
RNP3		X		X		X		X

***Table 2**: Illustration of the apparent correspondence between teachers' perceptions of the plurilingual policy and their linguistic ideologies.*

Galician teachers' linguistic ideologies reflected two diverging ways of understanding the value of languages, and their role in education, and more broadly, in society. The majority of the participants shared what this study has termed a 'locally framed plurilingual ideology', which defends the intrinsic value of all languages, but places special importance on the sociolinguistic context where languages are used. These teachers' understanding of Galician as an actively minoritized language that should be protected and promoted through positive discrimination practices is therefore somewhat intuitively linked to the unfavorable perceptions of the plurilingual policy shared by many of the participants.

Although they do not necessarily see the effective learning of English as a harmful goal, for them bringing an extraneous majority language to the same level as the minoritized local one will inevitably have damaging consequences for the revitalization of Galician. This would explain why teachers who embraced this ideology see the introduction of English in the curriculum as detrimental for students. Likewise, this ideology is largely based on the premise that Galician's inferior status has caused – and continues to cause – a major decrease in the use and intergenerational transmission of the language, and rejects therefore the idea that Galician students are truly bilingual in Spanish and Galician. It thus makes sense that these teachers regard the plurilingual education policy's goal of getting Galician children to become competent in the three languages unattainable. It is important to note however that this association is slightly weaker among plurilingual schools, where some teachers with a 'locally framed ideology' still regard the use of English as medium of instruction as beneficial for children's learning.

On the contrary, a quite reduced number of participants embraced a 'globally framed plurilingual ideology', which determines the value of languages according to the perceived advantages they bring to their speakers. For these teachers, so-called global languages – those with larger numbers of speakers around the world – are therefore more valuable, and thus more important to learn, than languages only spoken by smaller secluded communities. This ideology is visibly in line with a favorable perception of the plurilingual education policy, as it regards giving popular foreign languages an increasingly relevant role in the curriculum as beneficial for students' progress. For these teachers the use of English as third medium of instruction is therefore an effective way of learning the language, and the idea of children becoming competent in the three vehicular languages, perfectly attainable.

7.2 Teacher's experiences implementing the plurilingual education policy

The comparative dimensions used in this study – school habitat and educational model - proved to be particularly relevant regarding teachers' experiences with the policy's implementation process. The findings show that the experience of teachers executing the policy in plurilingual schools is fundamentally different from that of teachers in non-

plurilingual schools. This is obviously due to the differences in each type of school's curricular linguistic organization. A few important similarities regarding obstacles encountered by teachers across all types of schools have been identified, which point to issues beyond those exclusively related to the implementation of the plurilingual education policy. Likewise, significant disparities along the urban-rural categorization have also surfaced, raising interesting questions about the relevance of this divide for Galician children's schooling experience.

The experience of teachers implementing the plurilingual policy in both plurilingual and non-plurilingual schools is characterized by shared issues regarding teacher resistance, the general lack of implementation control, and the reduced feedback opportunities available to them. These three issues are closely interconnected, as they reinforce each other, widening the gap between teachers' decision-making processes, and the administration's expectations regarding how the policy should be executed. The findings also point to issues specific to the plurilingual school experience, particularly regarding the insufficient support received from the administration and the amount of conflict generated from the policy's implementation. Plurilingual schools' teachers seem significantly underassisted by the government, which makes them feel like they are making an unnecessary – and worse, unappreciated – effort to implement the plurilingual policy in their schools.

Important differences were however noted between urban and rural plurilingual schools, primarily regarding additional in-classroom obstacles teachers identified as complicating the policy's smooth implementation, and the type of conflict arisen from the decree's adoption. The implementation of the plurilingual policy seems to be a significantly more conflictive undertaking in urban plurilingual schools, where teachers engage in more competitive dynamics over the acquisition of the necessary certification to teach CLIL subjects and the advantages such certification gives them when applying for a school transfer, or over the prioritization of a specific vehicular language in the school's activities. On the contrary, conflict in rural schools seems to be much more manageable, as it mainly entailed family's initial reluctance to have their children join the program.

The experience of teachers enacting the plurilingual decree in non-plurilingual schools is obviously entirely shaped by their institutions' specific educational model. Working in schools that are expected to follow the policy's guidelines on vehicular-language use, but that have not fully incorporated the plurilingual model, these teachers described their experience with the execution of the decree as drastically influenced by the support and incentives received from the administration to begin the transition into a plurilingual school. On top of the issues present in all types of schools already mentioned, the experience of non-plurilingual schools' teachers putting the policy's directives into practice is largely affected by the insufficient support obtained from the administration. The majority of teachers in plurilingual schools criticized their material inability to fully join the program even if they wanted to, resulting from the scarcity of assigned trained language teachers, and the limited access current teachers have to training opportunities. This was the case for teachers in both urban and rural non-plurilingual schools alike, as the majority of them in all types of schools reported similar concerns. The only difference regarding school habitat highlighted by the findings was the amount of conflict generated by the passing of the policy within the school. While the experience of teachers in rural non-plurilingual schools seemed conflict-free, teachers in urban non-plurilingual schools reported having confronted substantial conflict arising from families' objections to having their children study certain content-heavy subjects in Galician.

7.3 The Galician plurilingual education policy from a critical perspective

Reconciling the European mandate of educating plurilingual children with local efforts to revitalize Galician by increasing its use and social status through language education policy is an unquestionably difficult undertaking. The current plurilingual education policy was established to provide a response to this contemporary linguistic challenge; however, the perceptions and experiences shared by this study's primary school teachers reveal not only the obstacles instructors face during the decree's execution at the classroom level, but also potential hitches in the policy's ability to achieve such goal. The critical language education framework laid out in Chapter 4 provides an opportunity to

closely examine the results yielded by this study in order to shed light on issues that extend beyond the mere policy enactment process.

7.3.1 English-centered plurilingualism

It is evident from the perceptions and experiences shared by the study's participants that Galicia's plurilingual education policy at the primary school level is first and foremost focused on the improvement of Galician students' English competence. Although the official decree presents the plurilingual objective as open to different linguistic configurations, practice shows that this education model is fundamentally conceptualized as an English-centered educational project. All plurilingual schools visited in this study have English as their selected third vehicular language, and the majority of teachers' interpretations of the policy's purpose identify effective English learning as the decree's primary goal, sometimes even directly conflating plurilingualism with English-based schooling.

Teachers' discussions of the policy's purpose and the need for improved English skills were manifestly framed in a neoliberal discourse of economic development, in which notions of competitiveness, international mobility, and global communication were repeatedly brought up. This is consistent with the two rationales Sayer (2015) describes as guiding the current global gravitation towards primary English language teaching policies:

> "First, at any individual level, "English opens doors," providing improved job prospects and hence "transforming lives" and fostering socioeconomic mobility. […] Second, at the nation-state level, English skills develop a country's human capital, which in turn allows that country to compete better in the global economy and as a consequence develop its economy." (p. 50)

This clear alignment of the Galician plurilingual education policy with the neoliberal call for reforming education systems according to global economic needs poses an important problem from a critical perspective. The meanings attached to the plurilingual project since its inception are globally, and not locally, defined, which fundamentally thwarts any transformative aspiration that a reform that purportedly seeks to champion linguistic diversity and minority language rights might have. In Whiteley's (2003) words, the plurilingual policy is "a glass not crafted by indigenous invention but, rather, a refraction from the state's panopticon: Counterhegemonic intent operates according to

terms set by the hegemonic center.” (p. 712) The policy’s unquestioned focus on English leaves little room then for more contextualized approaches to plurilingualism that might shift attention to other foreign languages and meet local needs more effectively.

This rigidity behind the conceptualization of plurilingualism in the Galician education system does not only affect schools’ vehicular language choices, but also their possibility of formulating different linguistic configurations that take into account the sociolinguistic specificities of their habitat. Thus, urban schools where children are barely exposed to Galician and where the student population includes large amounts of foreign children end up with the exact same vehicular language distribution as rural schools where a significant percentage of the student body might have Galician as their mother tongue and where the number of foreign students is visibly reduced. This lack of flexibility regarding schools’ vehicular language configuration, and the policy’s unprecedented focus on English, have clear implications for the minority language, as they work directly against the principles guiding language revitalization worldwide.

7.3.2 Undermined Galician revitalization efforts

Under the critical approach to language policy, the revitalization of minority languages is seen as a crucial development for the achievement of social justice. (Tollefson, 2006) To meaningfully bring about change, such revitalization efforts ought to emanate from the top institutional ranks and into the broader society. Nonetheless, the limited role education plays in contributing to this goal is still fundamental. (Brown, 2010; DePalma et al. 2018) The critical language education perspective is primarily concerned with how social inequality is perpetuated across education systems, and specifically through language education policies. (Johnson, 2010) This also includes linguistic domination dynamics hidden behind languages’ power imbalances that directly affect linguistic revitalization objectives. In order to uncover such dynamics it is essential then to focus on “inequality that is largely invisible, due to ideological processes that make inequality seem to be the natural condition of human social systems.” (Tollefson, 2006, p. 43) Teachers’ discussions of the Galician plurilingual education policy provide meaningful insight into how the decree actually reinforces the very same diglossic sociolinguistic practices it is supposed to target.

As mentioned in the previous section, the configuration of vehicular language use in the curriculum is a significant aspect of the school's involvement in any minority language revitalization strategy. Advocates of minority language rights have emphasized the need for "firm pro-active policies" that allow demographically weaker languages to survive and thrive. (Romaine, 2002) In his analysis of the Galician language education policy, Silva Valdivia (2012) specifically argues for the organization of education according to "sociopolitical criteria (what role we assign to each language in community life) and psychopedagogical criteria (what relationship learners have with these languages)" (p. 366), which would essentially translate into the curricular prioritization of the use of Galician over the other vehicular languages.

The vast majority of teachers provided a very similar picture of the region's sociolinguistic context, describing the general loss of Galician competence among students in both urban and rural areas, and the low social prestige still assigned to the Galician language. Yet the plurilingual education policy requires vehicular languages to be evenly distributed among subjects, aiming at a one-third division of the curriculum among Spanish, Galician and English. This allocation of vehicular languages works however against the Galician revitalization goal, as it gives up "the compensatory and rebalancing function that must be demanded from the school as a public service institution." (Silva Valdivia, 2012, p. 378) But, as Magga and Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) maintain, "equality is misunderstood if it leads to an equal division of time and resources between a minority and a majority language". (p. 31) And this is exactly what the plurilingual education policy seems to do. The conflation of 'fairness' with 'equality' lying behind the identical division of allocated time between the three vehicular languages leads the Galician education system to "run the risk of converting the minoritised language into a purely didactic set of competencies, which can reinforce diglossic social practice if students continue to use the majority language as the natural medium for out-of-school communication." (DePalma et al. 2018, p. 304)

7.3.3 Bottom-up policy-making opportunities

The findings point to a visible disconnection between the top (administration) and bottom (teachers) layers of the policy implementation chain, not only in terms of

ideological positioning, but also in regard to the collaboration dynamics that could help reconcile such ideological differences. Teacher involvement in the *de jure* policy definition seems to be significantly limited, as their complaints about the reduced feedback opportunities available to them, and the general ineffectiveness of the few existing ones show. The lack of teachers' input from the policy implementation process is an illustration of how the region's hegemonic linguistic discourse fends off potentially defying perspectives and ideologies. Essentially, the top ranks of the administration seem to be simply not interested in reformulating or improving the region's plurilingual education policy based on teachers' experiences and comments.

This disconnection is also noticed at a more ideological level, as teachers' perceptions revealed a significant amount of nonconforming voices that either found the policy flawed, or directly opposed the underlying ideology and principles the decree was built on. This is, from a critical language education perspective, a positive phenomenon, as teachers are expected to resist "the corporatist colonization of education and to challenge neoliberal influences which are seen to commodify education" (Clemitshaw, 2013, p. 274); that is, they are expected to call out norms and agendas that perpetuate minority language subjugation. This points again to the crucial role of teachers' linguistic ideologies in the implementation of policy, as teachers draw on these "to interpret, negotiate, and enact language policy, ultimately opening or closing spaces for diverse language practices and developments." (Henderson and Palmer, 2015, p. 76) This disconnection is also closely linked to other aspects of the policy-implementation process at the core of the critical language education approach – teacher agency and teacher resistance.

The numerous cases of teacher resistance that this study's participants pointed to in their discussions are indicative of a great amount of agency among teachers, and a significantly low level of institutional control. Teacher resistance was described by participants as primarily targeting the policy's guidelines on vehicular language use. The majority of teachers who discussed the pervasiveness of this type of resistance, however, presented it as an occurrence external to them, with only two teachers admitting to not following the policy's language use instructions. Although these two specific cases acknowledged their intent to 'balance out' children's linguistic exposure behind their use of

Galician in subjects supposed to be taught in Spanish, the majority of participants claimed teacher resistance usually worked in the opposite direction; that is, to the detriment of the minority language. This phenomenon not only sheds light on the pervasiveness of the linguistic power imbalances that the critical language education approach seeks to uncover, but it also points to teachers' lack of commitment to act on their agency.

7.4 Summary

This study has sought to explore Galician teachers' perceptions and experiences on the plurilingual education policy focusing on two main comparative dimensions identified in previous scholarly work – school habitat and type of education model. While they proved to meaningfully affect teacher's experiences with the policy implementation process, they were not as useful to assess differences and patterns in teachers' perceptions of the policy. Instead, the findings revealed teachers' linguistic ideologies had a much more significant role in explaining variation in perceptions than initially believed. Linguistic ideologies, therefore, have been not only a key component of teachers' perceptions regarding the different languages present in the region's education system, but also a valuable tool to shed light on broader critical issues such as linguistic power dynamics and identity.

The critical language education framework used to examine the results of this study has also helped draw attention to aspects usually neglected by research on plurilingual education, and particularly, to the sociolinguistic complexities affecting the implementation of the plurilingual policy in Galicia. The duality this study has found in teachers' ideologies (protecting Galician vs. promoting English) visibly reflects the two main linguistic discourses identified at the political level in Section 2.2.2. The openly neoliberal ideology behind the plurilingual education policy is representative of the 'globally framed ideology' some teachers espoused, and reveals how dominant linguistic ideologies and discourses exercise control over disenfranchised - but not necessarily less supported - ones. This ideology's demands for the increased presence of English in the curriculum rest on the neoliberal perception of English as essential for full participation in the global society (Sayer, 2015), which at the same time reinforces the idea that the use of local languages "entrenches social, cultural and political isolationism, as well as socioeconomic

disadvantage for its speakers." (May, 2014, p. 377) The low social prestige of Galician, and children's continued loss of competence in the language across urban and rural settings were identified by an almost unanimous majority of the study's participants, which raises questions regarding the policy's actual contribution to the promotion of the minority language. The curricular distribution of the vehicular use of each language devised by the plurilingual policy is therefore, as Silva Valdivia (2012) argues, "guided by a supposedly aseptic equilibrium that contradicts all sociolinguistic evidence." (p. 378) This points again to the need, and relevance, of fully integrating a sociolinguistic perspective into the region's language education policy-planning process in order to work towards a more just education system.

As Romaine (2002) asserts, "any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected." (p. 208) At the center of the educational provision, teachers are the stakeholders who can offer the most meaningful feedback regarding the application of the policy in the classroom. Their perspectives, however, have still largely been ignored by research on plurilingual language education policy, particularly in multilingual contexts. This study contributes to the literature on this topic by drifting away from heavily studied Spanish multilingual contexts such as Catalonia or the Basque Country, and giving Galician teachers an opportunity to share not only their perceptions of their own region's plurilingual policy, but also their insight about the practical challenges associated with its implementation. Likewise, this study departs from quantitative approaches that seek to measure the policy's outcomes in numbers to focus instead on a qualitative assessment that prioritizes teachers' ideas and beliefs, and their ability to elucidate the implications of the plurilingual policy for the Galician diglossic sociolinguistic context.

8 Concluding remarks and ways forward

The purpose of this study has been to critically examine the Galician plurilingual education policy through the perceptions and experiences of local teachers across different habitats, and schools with different education models. This has provided an opportunity to explore how the dual European objective of incentivizing foreign language learning, and protecting and promoting linguistic diversity is addressed by policy in diglossic multilingual contexts such as the Galician one. The results point to a significant disparity of perceptions and beliefs, driven, primarily, by teachers' personal linguistic ideologies rather than by the identified comparative dimensions. Moreover, they reveal a rather challenging policy implementation process, characterized by a generally limited teacher input, significant amounts of conflict, and multiple practical obstacles - some specific to the setting and education model of each type of school, and some common to all of them. The most noteworthy results obtained from this study are however the decontextualized design of the policy, and the detrimental effect that its English-based interpretation of plurilingualism - visibly informed by a markedly neoliberal understanding of education – has for the region's minority language's revitalization efforts.

Based on the study's findings and the implications derived from these, the following considerations and policy recommendations are suggested:

1. "One size fits all" policy formulas do not work in language education. The conceptualization of plurilingualism according to neoliberal tenets affords English an artificial and problematic protagonist role in the public education system, which results in a complete disregard for nuanced sociolinguistic considerations. The notion of plurilingualism should therefore be reformulated and adapted to the linguistic specificities and needs of the region. Likewise, the distribution of vehicular language use should be informed by "an ecological perspective, since plurilingual competence is not the sum of several monolingual competences." (Sagasta Erraches and Sainz Osinaga, 2008, p. 29) The principle of linguistic complementarity (May, 2012) should guide the reconceptualization of "a functional and integrating plurilingualism that utilizes as main reference variables the identity and communication value that each

language must fulfill.” (Silva Valdivia, 2012, p. 367) Languages should not be pitted against each other, but integrated in a coherent and sociolinguistically sensitive fashion that contributes to the minority language’s revitalization strategy.

2. If the school is to take on a more critical and transformative role, teachers must be meaningfully included in the policy’s decision-making process. This begins by actively involving teachers in the formulation of policy, but also in its revision based on their first-hand feedback. In multilingual settings like the Galician one, where the sociolinguistic context is marked by strong diglossic dynamics, the achievement of a just and emancipatory education system is also highly dependent on teacher education. Teachers must be equipped and “willing to contribute to a school-based language revitalization project”, for which, “activating future teachers’ agency [should be] a fundamental aspect of teacher education” (DePalma et al. 2018, p. 304). Teachers should be aware of current linguistic inequalities and their own potential role in the reproduction or riddance of the dynamics that cause them in the first place. A more critical approach to teacher education could also focus on training new teachers in the principles of interlinguistic collaboration (Silva Valdivia, 2012) in order to achieve a more inclusive plurilingual policy. Teachers would then have the tools to tackle some of the conflictive dynamics arising from the current policy, and to transform obstacles into opportunities – such as effectively integrating immigrant languages in the plurilingual project.

3. The duality seen in teachers’ linguistic ideologies is a reflection of the discursive duality experienced at the political level. Language education - as education in general - should however not be defined unilaterally based on the political ideology of the party in power. Given the divisiveness behind the topic of language in the Galician region, language education policy should be determined collaboratively, and agreed upon by all the major political formations of the region.

Examining language education policies through quantitative approaches that focus on measuring outcomes such as children’s competence, tests results, etc. is of course important. However, in cases where language matters are so controversial and conflict-

ridden, it is crucial to go beyond numbers, and pay more attention to sociolinguistic aspects. This study has carried out a qualitative comparative investigation of the Galician plurilingual education policy through teachers' perceptions and experiences with the intention of shifting the research focus to the bottom layer of the policy implementation chain. However, opportunities for further research abound. Scholars interested in the topic of plurilingual education policy in multilingual contexts could continue to examine the matter from more critical perspectives that bring usually forgotten sociolinguistic aspects to the table. To do this, it would be useful to continue targeting bottom-up processes, in which school-based stakeholders take on a protagonist role. Giving voice to teachers is still very necessary, but the perceptions and experiences of other individuals, such as students, education inspectors, or even parents would also be very relevant. Scholarship focusing in the particular case of Galicia could include other comparative dimensions ignored in this research that might however prove valuable in order to assess plurilingual education policy from a sociolinguistic-centered approach - variation within school habitats, school size, size-based habitats, etc.

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10 Appendices

Appendix 1 - Geographical location of Galicia

Geographical location of the autonomous community of Galicia within map of Spain. Retrieved from Google Maps.

Map of the internal administrative division of Galicia. Retrieved from Nandi (2017)

Appendix 2 – Selected participants

Teacher Code	Subject	Experience	Gender
Urban Non-Plurilingual School			
UNP1 (School 1)	HT	< 10 years	Female
UNP2 (School 2)	HT	30 – 40 years	Female
UNP3 (School 3)	English	20 – 30 years	Female
UNP4 (School 4)	HT	< 10 years	Male
UNP5 (School 4)	HT	30 – 40 years	Male
Urban Plurilingual School			
UPL1 (School 1)	English	20 -30 years	Male
UPL2 (School 1)	English and CLIL arts	20 – 30 years	Female
UPL3 (School 1)	English and CLIL arts	20 – 30 years	Female
UPL4 (School 2)	HT and CLIL arts	< 10 years	Female
UPL5 (School 2)	HT	10 – 20 years	Female
UPL6 (School 3)	English and CLIL arts	20 – 30 years	Female
UPL7 (School 3)	HT	30 – 40 years	Female
UPL8 (School 4)	HT	10 – 20 years	Male
UPL9 (School 4)	HT and English and CLIL arts	20 – 30 years	Male
UPL10 (School 5)	HT and CLIL arts	10 – 20 years	Female
Rural Non-Plurilingual School			
RNP1 (School 1)	English	20 – 30 years	Female
RNP2 (School 2)	HT	30 – 40 years	Female
RNP3 (School 2)	English	< 10 years	Female
Rural Plurilingual School			
RPL1 (School 1)	HT	20 – 30 years	Female
RPL2 (School 1)	HT	30 – 40 years	Male
RPL3 (School 1)	English	< 10 years	Male
RPL4 (School 2)	HT and CLIL arts	10 – 20 years	Male
RPL5 (School 2)	HT and CLIL arts	10 – 20 years	Female
RPL6 (School 3)	English and CLIL arts	30 – 40 years	Female
RPL7 (School 3)	English and CLIL arts and social science	10 – 20 years	Female
RPL8 (School 4)	HT	20 – 30 years	Female
RPL9 (School 4)	English and CLIL arts and social science	20 – 30 years	Female
Total number of teachers = 27			

Appendix 3 - Interview guide (English version)

1. Background questions (not recorded)

- What is your name?
- How old are you?
- For how long have you been a teacher?
- Which subjects do you currently teach?
- In which language(s) do you teach?

2. RQ1: How do teachers perceive the Galician plurilingual education policy across urban and rural schools?

- Can you please talk to me about the plurilingualism decree adopted in Galicia in 2010?
  - What do you think about it? How do you feel about it?
- What do you think is the main purpose of this decree?
  - Why do you think it was adopted?
- What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of the decree?
- How attainable is the plurilingualism policy in your opinion?
- What do you think about the language education policy progression in Galicia in the last couple of decades? (Remind key policy changes)

3. RQ2: How do teachers experience the implementation process of the plurilingual education policy across urban and rural schools?

- How has this policy changed your job/ your way of teaching?
- What do you think about the training provided to teachers in order to implement the policy?
- If you know any, can you please tell me about cases where teachers do not follow the policy's guidelines?
- What consequences are there for teachers who don't follow the policy's guidelines?
- What kind of control is there over the following of the policy's guidelines?
- If any, what kinds of conflicts have arisen from the implementation of this policy?
  - Teachers? Students? Parents?
- How do you think this policy affects children's learning?
  - Content learning / Language learning?
- What methods do you, teachers, have to transmit your concerns, suggestions or thoughts on the policy to the administration?
- What differences do you notice between rural and urban schools?
  Why?
- If you could change anything about the language education policy in Galicia, what would you change?
  - Why?
- Would you like to add anything?

Appendix 4 – Coding scheme

THEMES	SUB-THEMES	MINOR THEMES
Teachers' perceptions of the policy	Purpose of the policy	• Improving students' English competence • Political strategy
	Use of English as third vehicular language	• Beneficial for children's learning • Detrimental, from a cognitive perspective • Detrimental, from a sociolinguistic perspective
	Attainability of the policy's goal	• Attainable • Unattainable
Teachers' experience with implementation	Implementation challenges	• Teacher resistance • Implementation control • In-classroom obstacles • Administration support
	Conflict around implementation	• Conflict between teachers • Conflict between language departments • Conflict with families
	Feedback opportunities	• Feedback methods • Effectiveness of the methods

Appendix 5 - Consent form for participants (English version)

Research project title: **"Teachers' perceptions of, and experiences with, Galicia's plurilingual education policy"**

Background and purpose

This research is carried out in connection to my master's thesis for my degree in Comparative and International Education at the Institute of Educational Research at the University of Oslo (Norway). The information gathered during this study will be used for academic purposes exclusively.

The objective of this study is to explore Galicia's primary school teachers' perceptions of the plurilingualism education policy adopted in 2010 in the region and their experience with the implementation process behind such policy. My investigation requires therefore first-hand information directly obtained from primary school teachers working in Galician public education system, and this is the reason why you have been asked to participate in it.

What does participation in the study involve?

Participation in this study involves a personal interview that will last for approximately one hour. About 25 other teachers will participate in the study through the same individual interview. The questions during the interview will largely revolve around your opinion of the current language education policy, the region' s education system and sociolinguistic context, and your own teaching practice and values. If you do not feel confortable answering specific questions, you can choose not to do so. If you wish to extend the interview, or if you would like to further elaborate on your answers upon completion, I encourage you to contact me again. The interview will be tape-recorded for accuracy and convenience.

What will happen to the information you provide?

All personal data gathered in this study will be kept confidential, as only my supervisor and I will have access to the data material. This material will be stored in a password-protected computer that only I will have access to. Additionally, the list of the participants' names will be stored separately from the other data using a scrambling key in order to increase protection. All details that may identify you as a person will be anonymous in the final thesis. Once the investigation is submitted, the data including your taped interview, transcribed answers, and other personal information will be deleted.

Volunteer participation

Participation in the study is voluntary and you can withdraw your consent at any time without stating any reason. If you choose not to participate, all information about you will be deleted.

I have received information about the study, and I am willing to voluntarily participate.

……………………………………………..

(Participant's name, signature, and date)

(If you have any further questions, or you wish to participate in the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by telephone at XXXXXXXX, or by email at dianaco@student.uv.uio.no. The study has been reported to, and approved by, the Data Protection Official for Research – NSD Norwegian Centre for Research Data.)