Lessons from the Linguistic Agencies of Immigrant Women

A Critical Ethnography of Education at the Social Integration Programs in Madrid and Barcelona

Tülay Çağlıtütüncigil

Phd Dissertation

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Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür ve bir orman gibi kardeşçesine…

To live! Like a tree alone and free, like a forest in brotherhood…

Nâzım Hikmet

For those who dedicated their lives to equality and justice,

For those who looked for ways to achieve a better world,

And for those who tried to understand the voice of the silenced.

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Abstract

This thesis is a critical sociolinguistic ethnography of education in the so-called social integration programs oriented to African immigrant women in Madrid and Barcelona. It analyzes four cost-free language classrooms located in two different institutions: in an NGO in Madrid and in a Civic Centre of a local municipality in Barcelona. This study contributes to the body of work on teaching the language(s) of the host society to newcomers (Freire 1970; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Moyer and Martin-Rojo 2007; Codó and Patino-Santos 2014), linguistic anthropology from a critical perspective (Heller 2011; Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013; Pujolar 2001, 2007; Duchêne et al. 2013) and social class and identity in adult immigrant language learning (Norton 2000, 2013; Block 2005, 2015). The methodological design of this interdisciplinary inquiry combines traditional ethnography conducted between 2010 and 2014, retaining participant observation and biographical interviews as the core. This thesis defends the idea that the localized practices in adult immigrant language education should be understood in a wider world system that takes into account transnational inequalities with regard to access to material and symbolic resources, and there is a need to foreground identity-based inquiry in contemporary sociolinguistics. In particular, this thesis investigates (1) the (de)capitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010) process occurring in these sites, (2) the representations and categorizations that the language teachers construct in their discourses about the learners, (3) the linguistic and social agencies of the learners depicted in their biographical interviews, and (4) the socio-economic hegemonies that the learners contest by means of deploying their linguistic resources strategically.

The findings of this ethnography involve the pedagogical and discursive practices inside the classroom and the linguistic agencies of the learners constructed in their own narratives. The classroom analysis indicated that in these social integration programs decapitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010) occurred by means of distributing elementary linguistic resources to these learners, by making them adopt passive speaker and learner agencies and by orienting them to inferior socio-economic domains. The critical discourse analysis of the language teachers demonstrated that they mostly categorized these learners as deficient, oppressed, and passive subjects. Another important finding is, in the Catalonia field the decapitalization process involved the dominant interposition of the Spanish language in the classroom.

In this thesis, the analysis of the voices and linguistic agencies of the learners problematized the pedagogical and discursive practices of the dominant actors. The linguistic agencies of the learners revealed that these learners deployed their linguistic resources to claim better social and economic positions in Spain as well as in the mainland. Furthermore, the socio-historical context of

migration had an impact on their linguistic attitude. While elderly women who mostly immigrated to Spain during the 1980s and 1990s showed a resistance toward the accumulation or deployment of the legitimate language, the younger generation who settled in Spain after 2000 generally defined the legitimate language as a convertible commodity, as a means of self-achievement or as an emancipation tool. Therefore there is an increasing unpredictability and complexity in the learner profiles and in their motivations to invest in the legitimate language, and this complexity is overlooked in these social integration programs. Finally, the agencies and voices located in the field revealed that the hybrid feature of cultures and languages re-configured the authority of language and contested the cliché division between the native speaker and the new speaker, or between the native and the immigrant because none of these social groups is omnipotent, permanent or essentially unitary.

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CHAPTER I.
SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROGRAMS AS A SITE OF POWER STRUGGLE: RATIONALE AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

1.1. Introduction

This thesis describes my four-year-long ethnography at the social integration programs in Spain. It looks into the linguistic and social practices situated in an NGO in Madrid and in a Civic Centre of a local Municipality in Barcelona. In this ethnographic journey, I have analyzed four different classrooms taught by three different language teachers. As I will explain in the following pages in detail, my interest in these social integration classes is closely related to my personal trajectory and this ethnography owes its critical lenses to my own perception of injustice and inequality during my previous experience in these programs as an immigrant learner. The starting point of this study is my interest in demonstrating how these cost-free language classes re-configure historically constructed inequalities and the specific ways that the learners are situated in relation to power and (linguistic) capital in these sites. This thesis locates itself within the ethnography of language education oriented to adult immigrant women (Norton 1995, 2000; Menard-Warwick 2009; Pujolar 2007) and contributes to the body of literature with regard to language learning and identity.

In the classrooms of Clara, Mar and Laia I have met approximately 60 Moroccan immigrant women (nearly 50 in Madrid and 10 in Barcelona) who made this research project possible. During this longitudinal ethnography, I have had opportunity to analyze the organization of the classrooms, as well as the personal and linguistic itineraries of the learners. To be more precise, this thesis describes 1) the pedagogical orientation of these language classes, 2) the subject and speaker positions that the learners are allowed in the classroom, 3) how the learners are located in relation to power and capital in the classroom, 4) the specific ways that the learners are categorized or represented by the language teachers, 5) how the learners depict their linguistic agencies in their own narratives, 6) the specific ways that social class and gender identity enact in the lived experiences of the learners, and 7) the specific ways through which the learners deploy their linguistic capital to negotiate their social and economic positions in the receiving societies.

First, this thesis locates the linguistic and social practices situated in these sites within the political economy of language (Gal 1989) and problematizes the power and capital that the learners are allowed to accumulate and exercise in the classroom. The classroom analysis of this study is based on critical pedagogy and critical ethnography of education (Freire 1970; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Martin-Rojo 2000, 2013; Moyer and Martin-Rojo 2007; Codo and Patino-Santos 2014), claiming that there is no such a thing as neutral educational practices especially when the learners are categorized as post-colonial subjects by the dominant actors. Differently from the previously mentioned writings on the language classes oriented to immigrant women, this thesis mobilizes detailed CA (conversation analysis) and CDA (critical discourse analysis) tools to demonstrate the complex power techniques exerted in the classroom. Second, this thesis opens an important space for understanding the voices of the learners and gives them the opportunity to depict their personal and linguistic trajectories in their own biographical interviews, which is similar to the ethnographic decisions taken by Norton (2000) and Menard-Warwick (2009) in their longitudinal fieldworks. What is original in this thesis with regard to including the personal and linguistic itineraries of the learners in the analysis is that this thesis looks into language trajectory as a material inquiry. This study demonstrates that material-oriented linguistic inquiry sheds light into the inter-connected hegemonies (Grewal and Kaplan 1994) that the immigrant learners go through, and sociolinguistics may reveal these struggles by means of introducing intersectionality (Block 2009, 2012, 2015; McCall 2005) in the analysis. The linguistic itineraries reveal the immigrant women's social location in the diaspora and they provide the means to analyze learners' strategies of self-positioning in social structure[1]. Therefore this thesis not only reveals the specific ways that these social integration programs locate the learners within the political economy of language in the receiving societies; it also understands the linguistic itinerary as a lived experience which reveals the social and material position of the learners throughout their migration trajectories.

This Chapter aims to introduce the main components of this thesis to the readers and it is organized as follows. First, I explain the ethnographic rationale of this study. Following this, I mention the research goals and the main research question that guides this longitudinal ethnography. In order to guide the readers about the content of this book, I also explain the specific ways that I approach the field as a researcher, giving clues about the theoretical and analytic considerations that will be explained in the following Chapters in detail. Finally I explain how this book is organized, and I give a short summary of each Chapter.

[1] For further discussion on social structure and feminist theories see: Calhoun, Craig (1995), The Standpoint of Critique? Feminist Theory, Social Structure, and Learning from Experience, in *Critical Social Theory*. Blackwell: Oxford.

[2] The Consortium for Language Normalisation, was founded in 1988 for promoting the dissemination of the Catalan

1. 2. Why Social Integration Programs? Ethnographic Rationale for a Sociolinguistic Study

My first experience in these so-called social integration programs dates back to 2006, when I first arrived in Spain as an MA student in Zaragoza. It was an intermediate-level course organized by the Civic Centre of the neighborhood where I lived, and I had opportunity to improve my Spanish skills and to meet diverse students from different nationalities and social backgrounds. I had just graduated from Translation and Interpreting Studies in Istanbul and I was fascinated by the linguistic and cultural diversity that I encountered in that classroom. In 2010, when I studied an MA in Anthropology in Madrid, I decided to come back to these social integration programs as a researcher. My previous experience as an immigrant learner in these programs, together with my professional and academic profile as a language specialist and social scientist urged me to put these programs under the critical lenses of a sociolinguistic inquiry.

One first detail that caught my attention was that language courses oriented to adult immigrants were provided by various institutions in Spain and there was no common ground in terms of curriculum. Different regional governments and local authorities organized courses of language and literacy for immigrants in adult education centers (EPA or CEA: Centros de Educación de Personas Adultas), which economically depended on the Councils of Education or other social services. Municipalities also organized courses through basic training programs provided at civic centers and cultural centers. Other institutions that provided training for immigrants were trade unions, centers for occupational training that belong to the Ministry of Labor and Social Programs, nongovernmental organizations (the Red Cross, Red Refuge, ASTI, Caritas), associations of neighbours, and centers affiliated with religious and cultural entities (e.g. The Catholic Caritas Diocessana). Regarding the teaching of minoritized languages in Spain, the Regional Government of Catalonia provided Catalan language courses (Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística[2]) in various regions of Catalonia. The main problem with all these courses mentioned above was the fact that most of them provided only an introductory level language courses. Otherwise the immigrants were expected to pay for advanced level language teaching. This was especially the case in the Catalan classes organized by the Regional Government of Catalonia, where the adult learners had to pay around 350 euros for advanced level classes, while the beginner level courses were free. Therefore, in spite of the dominant discourse advocating linguistic rights of the immigrant communities, in the public policy there was an important gap with

[2] The Consortium for Language Normalisation, was founded in 1988 for promoting the dissemination of the Catalan language. It involves decentralized centers located in several districts in Catalonia. For more information see: http://www.cpnl.cat/

regard to providing competitive, free and accessible linguistic resources to the immigrant community.

My four-year-long ethnography started in order to look into the pedagogical practices situated in different sites and my inquiry started in 2010, when I started teaching in a literacy classroom in a Madrid NGO as a volunteer worker. My starting point was to analyze 'what was going on in these classrooms' in an empirical way. I wanted to look into the pedagogical practices situated in these sites, and explore what kind of linguistic resources were distributed in the classroom. As months passed, I came to realize that this classroom was more than an educational space: It was a place where opposing representations and categories were constructed and different life stories, hopes, disappointments and struggles were enacted. The learners were mostly Moroccan immigrant women, who had settled in Spain in the 1990s, when the Spanish economy was growing and when there was an increasing need for immigrant workers, especially in the construction sector. Most of these learners came to Spain through family reunification programs, as spouses of these construction workers, who were mostly unemployed at the time of this ethnography. As I met new students and got to know them better, I got fascinated by the fact that this small classroom opened me the window to their recent history of migration and to their life struggles. Given the economic context that this ethnography was situated in, most of the stories that I encountered were about the learners' struggles to maintain their living conditions in Spain and to have access to economic and social resources. Each learner had a unique story to share, and I had a growing curiosity to explore.

Therefore my research interest expanded beyond the social and linguistic practices situated inside the classroom. Apart from demonstrating these located practices, I was also interested in including the learners in my research as the real authors of this thesis. I was wondering who the learners actually were: their stories, their personal reasons to be in that classroom and what meant learning the language of the receiving society to them. Apart from the pedagogical practices and power struggles taking place in these language programs, I was interested in describing these learners and their language learning experiences from their own voices. Drawing on the same questions, I started my fieldwork in a Barcelona Civic Centre in 2014. I took advantage of the fact that I obtained a scholarship in Barcelona to extend the purview of my fieldwork in a context were two languages were being constructed as languages of integration. I was now familiar with these social integration programs and with the learner profiles. This time I was participating as a learner of Catalan as well as a researcher. This thesis will describe this long journey in these two sites, describing the pedagogical practices and amplifying the silenced voices I encountered in these classrooms. It will not only analyze the classroom as a place of teaching and learning, but will also go into the life histories of the learners to explore their linguistic trajectories depicted in their own

narratives. Conceptualizing these social integration programs as a field whereby the pre-existing social inequalities are re-configured, I aim to offer a better understanding of the specific ways that language learning, subject and knowledge building, domination and resistance are enacted. By means of including the voices of the learners in this study, I present the learners as active agents who negotiate their social position in different fields by means of mobilizing their linguistic skills. This study also calls for improvements in policy making and suggests a systematic, free, accessible and competitive language education oriented to female adult immigrants, which could give them the possibility to challenge the scattered hegemonies that they encounter throughout their personal and professional trajectories.

1.3. Objectives and Research Questions

As I briefly mentioned in the previous section, as I spent months in the field my research interests became wider. I started with questions such as "What do they learn in these classrooms?", "What is the pedagogical orientation?", "Who are the teachers and who are the other key actors with regard to organizational issues?", "How are the subject positions (re)configured in the classroom?" and my interests started to include the voices of the learners. I was intrigued to grasp the other side of the coin, namely, the complexity in learner profiles and their personal and linguistic trajectories. I started to ask questions such as "Who are they?", "What are their personal or professional motivations to be in this classroom?" and "How do they describe their own linguistic agencies and how do they depict or define the legitimate language in their own narratives?". This expansion in my ethnographic rationale was based on the idea of comparing and contrasting the pedagogical and discursive practices situated in the classroom with the voices and narratives of the learners. It has been therefore a rather inductive process in which questions and hypotheses developed during the fieldwork. In order to achieve this complex inquiry, I have used one central question to guide this ethnography:

"How do the Moroccan immigrant women construct their linguistic trajectories in *the front-stage of the classroom* and in their personal itineraries?"

So there is a first level, *the front-stage,* which I conceptualize as an interactional space with its own rights and social order. Drawing on Goffman's dramaturgical model (1959), the front region is conceptualized as a space where the performance is provided, where the show is staged. In these

so-called social integration programs teachers and learners assume specific roles and they produce a specific social reality in the classroom by means of adopting specific learner and teacher agencies and also by means of producing specific discourses. In this sense the classroom space is a historically constructed site where socially constructed identities (gender, social class, race, etc.) play an important role for (re)attributing specific roles to each social agent. An analysis of these classrooms demonstrates the rules of this historically constructed space and the exercise of power, domination and resistance in these sites. Whether the participants' contributions in an exchange will work to sustain or challenge the existing social practices can be examined on the basis of their position in this social space. This idea can also be linked to the concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu (1991) claims that actors participating in a social field show specific *habituses*, that is, routinized ways of acting and perceiving. The habitus is the concept that he uses to explain how the social weaves its way into individual, local practice. The habitus is a set of dispositions acquired through socialization into specific modes of behaviour and participation in social fields; what is important is that the habitus is a largely unconscious and unreflexive practical sense. Because of its unreflexive character, habitus is a key element in the reproduction of unequal modes of social organization and relationships of domination and subordination. The specific ways that the learners are endowed with capital and power, and the way that they are situated in the political economy of language will indicate how these social integration programs reconfigure or maintain historically constructed inequalities in the receiving societies.

At a second level, in their biographical interviews the learners depict their linguistic trajectory in a different way. They –mostly- step out of the roles and social representations that they are ascribed in the classroom and they construct their subject positions towards the legitimate forms of language in their own words. In this sense, it is a form of self-constructing strategies of these learners in their personal trajectories, and it not only demonstrates how they position the legitimate language in their life-long trajectories but also how they construct themselves as speakers and learners of a new language (Spanish or Catalan) in the Moroccan diaspora. Therefore this thesis goes beyond the classroom interaction and it also demonstrates the learners' narratives, linguistic agencies, voices and resistance strategies in their discourses.

It is not a coincidence that this thesis first explains localized, micro practices of power, disempowerment, subject and knowledge building and then moves toward the agencies and voices of the learners, which are located in a wider transnational context. I build this study on contemporary sociolinguistics as well as contemporary feminist linguistics to articulate that language practices of immigrant women demonstrate how these learners are situated in relation to capital and power. The concept of *linguistic agency* is important from this perspective: tracing

linguistic agency not only allows to demonstrate women's location in relation to power and (linguistic) capital, it also indicates how linguistic repertoire is mobilized for contesting multi-layered inequalities and oppressions. Therefore, linguistic agencies of transnational female immigrants cannot be interpreted without mentioning transnational inequalities, patriarchal hegemonies or the feminization of immigrant labor market in Europe.

In this study I problematize the essentializations, generic representations and pedagogical practices taking place in the classroom and I highlight the agencies and resistance strategies that the learners deploy in their trajectories. Therefore the front-stage will –mostly- focus on the discourses of the dominant actors, their strategies of domination, the subject positions that they attribute to the learners; and the analysis of the personal itineraries of the learners will foreground their voices, their linguistic agencies and the self-depiction of *the Other*. The front-stage analysis will reveal that the learners are provided with elementary and incompetent linguistic resources and that the language teachers categorize the learners as agentless, passive, generic or submissive social agents; but the discourses of the learners will reveal that the learner profiles and their linguistic agencies are more complex and unpredictable than the dominant actors assume.

In order to look into the exercise of power, voice, identity, and social class, I have organized the Chapters of this thesis in a way that they act as interconnected components of an entire story. Before explaining how I organized the Chapters of this thesis, I will describe how I approach the field as a researcher because I consider that this explanation is necessary to understand the organization of the Chapters of this thesis. The central question that I ask to lead this research as well as to collect qualitative data is based on a *deconstruction* in the sense that it attempts to problematize and analyze the components of the classrooms that I studied in a critical way. I use this notoriously over-loaded term in order to explain how I approach the field and how I (de)construct myself as the author of this thesis. Drawing on the ideas of Derrida and Foucault on textuality, I use a hybrid conceptualization of this term, claiming that the ideas of both thinkers may contribute to problematize the specific ways that a researcher approaches the field and the qualitative data. Obviously this concept is generally used to focus on criticism and theory in a given text, but I use this concept to describe the specific way that I approach the field as a researcher.

Although they are opposed to each other on a number of grounds, both thinkers underline that a text is to be described as a praxis in which a universal grammatological problematic is enacted or as a fact of differentiated historical power which is not associated with the univocal authority of the author but with a set of discourse systems that constitutes the author, the text and the subject (Said 1978). In this sense both authors problematize the interpretation of a given text and explore the hidden or obscure meanings beyond the taken for granted interpretations.

Nevertheless, their objectives and tools to do this are different. In *L'archéologie du Savoir* and *L'Ordre du Discours* the archaeological method of Foucault aims to reveal how discourse overrides society and governs the production of culture. In *Surveiller et Punir*, he demonstrates how the human body enters a machinery of power, how it explores and re-arranges it. Therefore Foucault is interested in the subjugation of individuals in society to authority. His inquiry aims to problematize the techniques of domination and power and demonstrate the specific ways through which power is exercised. Derrida, on the other hand, is more concerned with the representations within the text. In *De la Grammatologie*, his method of deconstruction decentres the preceding text and this allows to describe misinterpretations and misreadings. This idea is important for post-colonial criticism as it means that the origin can be de-centred and literally re-done in consonance with voice and presence. Both thinkers are interested in showing the invisible or least visible facts in a given text but Derrida is more concerned with how to read the text while Foucault is interested in analyzing the way that power manifests itself in and through it. While Derrida moves us in the text, Foucault moves us in and out of it. I consider that both ideas are important to describe how I construct the research sites, how I construct myself as the author of this text and how I interpret the data.

I construct these educational settings as a part of a power network and at that point, as I will explain in the following pages, the Foucauldian concept of power enables me to go beyond the classroom and link these located, micro practices to hegemony, which I consider as one of the most important aspects of critical ethnographies of language education. On the other hand, Derrida enables me to deconstruct myself as the author of this thesis and problematize the representations that I construct in this research. By suggesting that there are infinite possibilities to interpret a text and that there is a possibility of foregrounding the hidden voices and representations, he opens up a critical space for contemporary sociolinguistics to problematize the way that we represent social agents, especially with regard to the adult immigrant language learners in these so-called social integration programs. His ideas are crucial for avoiding determinism and universalism with regard to constructing the learners in a critical ethnography.

Therefore in this thesis I have attempted to abstain from presenting learners as passive, oppressed agents as well as from claiming to speak on behalf of them. For these reasons, I divided the research sites into specific components which I will put together to interpret the data. Regarding these components, I will a) introduce the institutions that organize these social integration programs and indicate how these programs are organized and administered; then I will b) analyze the pedagogical orientation of these classrooms in order to describe how the linguistic capital is distributed; c) I analyze the discourse strategies of the language teachers who represent and categorize the learners in specific ways; and d) I analyze the biographical interviews of the learners

in order to describe linguistic agencies from their own voice and finally e) I also analyze the resistance strategies that the learners develop by means of deploying their linguistic resources. Deconstruction, therefore, refers to problematizing the way that I collect, analyze and interpret the data and to include the least visible aspects in ethnography of education in order to embrace complexity in a critical ethnography and to demonstrate neglected or overlooked issues in contemporary sociolinguistics. In this thesis I bring together, on the one hand, the dominant, visible practices of those who hold power and, on the other hand, the overlooked, invisible actions and representations of those who don't, i.e. the learners.

1.4. Organization of this thesis

As stated before, this thesis is organized in a way that it looks into the inter-connected components of the field, analysing them separately but making connections between them. It starts with the situated social processes enacted in the classroom and goes towards the learners' narratives and their voices. For that reason, the qualitative data analysis starts with demonstrating how the learners are disempowered in these so-called social integration programs. I explain how the language teachers attribute them passive learner and speaker positions and I also demonstrate how they produce knowledge about the learners in their discursive practices. Following this, I make a shift from the dominant discourses toward the voices of the learners and I explain their agencies, language learning strategies from their own narratives. Therefore the narratives of the learners contrast the social practices situated in the classroom, given that the language teachers constructed them as passive, oppressed social agents. To be more specific, this thesis is organized as follows:

In Chapter I, I introduce the rationale for this critical ethnography, mentioning the starting point of this thesis, the central research question and the specific ways that I approach the field and interpret the data.

In Chapter II the readers will see the brief summary of the theoretical considerations and the relevant literature on which this thesis builds. It will include the contemporary theories and studies on language as symbolic capital, explaining how the legitimate forms of language have been used as a tool to exert social control and social inequalities. Then I will focus on critical ethnographies of education, mentioning the previous studies that explore pedagogical, discursive and social practices situated in multilingual classrooms. I will also introduce and define key concepts such as (de)capitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013), knowledge and subject building (Foucault 1972, 1975, 1982; Lemke 2010), which will be used to analyze the classroom interaction. Following this, I will

define how the question of identity is analysed in this thesis. Drawing on the recent theories and studies on social class and identity, I will explain how I apply intersectionality in the analysis of the biographical interviews of the learners. Lastly, I will explain how I define and conceptualize linguistic agency, resistance and voice in this thesis.

Chapter III will describe this critical ethnography, its methods and techniques and it will situate this inquiry within a specific social, economic and political context. It will describe the Moroccan diaspora in Europe and Spain, underlining the major migration phases in the recent history of Morocco. It will also define the contemporary migration policies and the emergence of the so-called social integration programs. Following this, it will define and explain the research design with its methods and techniques. I will explain the political, demographical and linguistic context of the sites in which this ethnography is situated in and will explain the question of ethics and give details about the data corpus.

In Chapter IV I will begin presenting the data analysis. I focus on the pedagogical orientation and the organizational features of the classroom by means of demonstrating the speech exchange systems (Seedhouse 2009, 2011) and interactional competence features (Walsh 2011) of the pedagogical practices. Drawing on the classroom recordings collected in four different classrooms organized by three different language teachers, it also enables the possibility to demonstrate how the pedagogical focus of each language teacher produces different speech exchange systems. The results of the analysis will be interpreted on the basis of two important concepts: (de)capitalization (Martin Rojo 2010, 2013), and subject-building (Foucault 1972, 1982; Lemke 2010). While the former will demonstrate the specific ways through which the accumulation of the linguistic capital is hindered, the latter concept will be used to demonstrate the situated power relations that construct the learners' subject positions as speakers of the legitimate language. I will demonstrate the subject positions constructed in the classroom, the learners' situated linguistic agencies, and how they adopt or contest the subject positions that are made available to them. At the end of this Chapter, the readers will see that in these social integration programs learners are provided with elementary linguistic resources and they are constructed as passive learners and speakers, especially in the classrooms of two language teachers. Therefore, Chapter IV will reveal the fact that in these social integration programs the learners are located asymmetrically in relation to power and capital by the institutions and their representatives.

Chapter V, which mainly relies on critical discourse analysis of the discourses of the three language teachers, will focus on knowledge-building (Foucault 1972, 1975, 1982) strategies and the categories and the representations constructed within these discursive practices. It will first describe the specific ways through which the language teachers categorize the learners and the depictions

that they use to define their linguistic and social agencies within their written and narrated discursive practices. Underlining the fact that the learners are mostly represented as a passive, instrumentalized (van Leeuwen 2008) and oppressed group, the analysis of this Chapter will demonstrate how these representations also take place in the classroom and how the learners assume or contest these representations.

Chapter VI makes and important shift in the sense that, leaving the representations and the power exercised by the dominant actors aside, it will focus on the narratives of the learners and their narrated linguistic agencies. Locating the learners' voices, their agencies and subject positions at the centre of the analysis, it will reveal the personal and linguistic trajectories of the learners depicted in their own discourses. I will demonstrate how these learners attribute specific indexicalities to the legitimate language, how they deploy their linguistic resources to contest the multi-layered hegemonies, and how their social position is enacted in this process. Taking the intersectionality (McCall 2005) and female standpoint (Hartsock 1983) into account, their linguistic agencies constructed in specific time-space patterns will indicate how language is depicted in contradictory ways as the unwanted other, as something *fuera de casa*, but also as a form commodity, and as a means of self achievement or emancipation. At the end of this Chapter the readers will see the contrast between the representations that the language teachers use to define the learners and the linguistic agencies and the personal trajectories narrated by the learners. Besides, the analysis of their linguistic itineraries will also demonstrate how the learners deploy their linguistic capital to negotiate their social and economic positions in the diaspora as well as in the mainland.

Chapter VII offers a last chance to foreground the silenced voices and agencies of the learners and it proposes a new interpretative step over the data analysis of the previous chapters. Adopting the critical lens of post-colonial thinking, it suggests understanding the overlooked voices or neglected agencies of *the subaltern*. In this Chapter, I also make a self-criticism as the researcher and the author of this study. Drawing on the post-colonial writings on third-space, hybridity and the *voice of the subaltern* (Bhabha 1983, 1994; Spivak 1998), I show the inter-dependency and hybridity of the cultures and languages and I underline the necessity to understand the tools of the subaltern in order to interpret their linguistic agencies and subjectivities.

Chapter VIII, which is the conclusion section of this book, is a synthesis of the empirical findings. After re-introducing the field and the research objectives, I discuss the main findings of this study and I underline the main contributions of this research to contemporary sociolinguistics and feminist linguistics. I re-interpret the discursive and pedagogical practices situated in these so-called social integration programs, mention policy implications of these findings, and I discuss identity, social class and voice situated in the language trajectories of my informants. I suggest

opening a wider critical space in sociolinguistics research for studying race, gender and ethnicity, and I underline the need for foregrounding social position and material oriented inquiry in contemporary sociolinguistics. Finally, I mention future directions in sociolinguistic research on language, migration and identity.

Part 1. Constructing the field

CHAPTER II.

LOCATING LINGUISTIC TRAJECTORIES UNDER THE CRITICAL LENSES OF ETHNOGRAPHY

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter aims to locate this study within the body of research on second language learning, migration, identity and gender; and it also reveals the main theoretical and analytic frames that this study is based on. It is important to mention that more specific details of each theoretical and analytic frame are explained in each Chapter of data analysis (IV, V, VI and VII). Therefore the theoretical content of this Chapter should be considered to be a brief introduction that will guide the readers to understand that in this thesis language and linguistic practices are conceptualized as a) a power struggle whereby linguistic practices locate the immigrant learners disadvantageously within the linguistic market, and b) as a longitudinal itinerary which enables to grasp the multi-layered hegemonies that the immigrant learners experience throughout their migration trajectories.

This Chapter starts with conceptualizing the legitimate language and the communicative practices as an aspect of class struggle. I draw on the writings of Volosinov and Bourdieu and I define the concepts such as the legitimate language, authority over language and linguistic market, which are crucial to understand the power struggles that immigrants go through in social integration programs as well as in the receiving societies. I also mention the previous writings related to the role of language in constructing or maintaining social and economic inequalities during the colonial period and in the late capitalism. All these works will enable the readers to understand that the legitimate language, its distribution and its value are intertwined with a complex power network which locates specific group(s) in advantageous positions over others.

Following this, I focus on the recent studies based on critical ethnographies of education. I mention recent empirical works in educational settings and I introduce three important concepts that will contribute to articulate the classroom analysis: (de)capitalization, subject-building and knowledge-building. I will introduce the ideas of Foucault and Martin Rojo in order to explain that social integration programs not only distribute the linguistic capital; they build knowledge about the learners and about their positions with regard to power, and they also build specific learner and speaker positions whereby these learners claim right to speak, to learn, and to exert power.

Following this, I will explain the analytic considerations with regard to social class, identity and voice in the personal itineraries of the learners. Their personal and linguistic itineraries show that linguistic capital is mobilized to contest hegemonies such as global economic structures, patriarchal family structures, gender division of labour, etc. I will draw on the writings on transnational feminism, female standpoint and intersectionality in order to explain the linguistic trajectories of my informants in this thesis. I will underline that each informant depicts her linguistic agency in a unique way and the lived experience of each woman reveals her struggle for achieving better social and economic capital.

At the end of this Chapter, I will define linguistic agency, resistance, and voice. These concepts are crucial in this study, not only because I use them frequently throughout this book but also because the definition of these concepts is based on the specific ways that I approach the field as a researcher. These definitions are the products of this critical, reflexive ethnography and they will give clues about the analytic frame of this study. At the end of this Chapter, the readers are expected to grasp the overall organization of this book, the theoretical considerations that it is built on, and the analytic approach that will be adopted in this thesis.

2.2. Language as symbolic power and social location

This thesis is based on the idea that language is not an abstract system of communication nor linguistic practices are socially neutral activities; language and its variations situate the individuals or the groups within specific social locations. Linguistic practices are intertwined with complex power networks; language gives legitimacy and non-legitimacy; it empowers and disempowers. In order to explain this, in this section I first mention the writings of Volosinov (1986) and Bourdieu (1991) on language and symbolic power and following this I will mention some previous writings on the role of language in exerting power or constructing unequal distribution of power in the society. I mention some studies on the role of language in establishing economic and social control during the colonial period, then I continue with the works on the role of the legitimate language during the expansion of capitalism and nation-state models. All these previous writings will demonstrate that centralizing, standardizing languages played an important role in establishing controllable boundaries and these centralizations produced central and peripheral linguistic forms. Following this, I explain how these binary oppositions between the centralized and localized forms of languages are being challenged by globalization. This paradigm shift will indicate that previously peripherized forms of languages are gaining symbolic and economic value. This idea is important to

understand that investing in learning and using the Spanish and Catalan languages means claiming social and economic power in the receiving society, and in the case of Catalonia the symbolic power of Catalan cannot be located under the symbolic value of the Spanish language. Therefore, learning and mobilizing the Spanish and Catalan languages has direct effects on the real life chances of the immigrant population. In order to explain the link between the legitimate language and real life chances of immigrants, I finally mention the recent sociolinguistic studies on gatekeeping. These studies will demonstrate how the legitimate language can be used in institutions or during the everyday encounters to leave immigrants *out of the gate*. This section, therefore, locates the language practices within a wider social and economic system, demonstrating that language is a social and economic practice, and that teaching the legitimate language to immigrants equals locating these learners in relation to power and capital.

2.2.1. Language and social location: From the colonial period to late capitalism

In *Marxism and the Philosophy of language*, Volosinov opposes the idea that language is an abstract system to be studied in its own terms and for its own sake. In contrast to the idealized forms of languages and speakers of mainstream linguistics or of Saussurean linguistics, he claims that language is a social practice and the only way that words gain meaning is through being understood by social actors in a specific social situation. Instead of the identity of the linguistic forms used, he focuses on understanding the meaning of particular utterances. I consider that one of the most important concepts that he mentions in his writing is 'social language', which refers to the discourse particular to a specific stratum of the society (p.21). This concept opens up a space for interpreting specific forms of language as an aspect of class location, which underlines that language (and its variations) are products of the living interaction of the social forces (p.41). Words (and languages) are claimed by the social actors who belong to different social classes and the language itself becomes a battlefield for obtaining power. Bourdieu builds his social theory on language on a similar ground. In *Language and Symbolic Power*, he defines linguistic exchange as an economic exchange established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (p.66-70). Therefore linguistic competence is not a simple technical capacity but a statutory capacity and acquiring a language is not only about acquiring linguistic competence through learning but also is about claiming and negotiating status and authority.

This is how the legitimate language, legitimate/non-legitimate speakers and power asymmetries in linguistic practices are produced in society. In order for one mode of expression

among others to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage. These variations produce difference and subordinate social location because they have less symbolic value. The arenas where the value of resources is decided are what Bourdieu calls *field of action* or *markets* (1991). Fields are social spaces articulated by networks of social positions which are defined by particular distributions of resources. In language institutions related to language exams or language teaching for immigrants, representatives of the institution have the upper hand because they have access to important forms of capital and they control the access to the *linguistic market* and the use of the *legitimate language*. At the same time, fields are sites of struggle in which social actors try to maintain or alter distribution of power, or fight over the value attached to different forms of capital, such as *linguistic capital*.

The power of the legitimate language in constructing social divisions or in exerting power is not a new practice and throughout the history this symbolic power of language has been used for establishing social and economic control. In the colonization period, for instance, linguistic difference was used for exerting economic and social control in the colonized territories. In his works, Hanks (2010) explains how colonizers constructed an otherness by using Spanish and Mayan languages after their settlement in the new land. He claims that this sense of otherness was necessary to construct the colonized as a subject of exploitation. Similarly, Fabian (1986) reveals that the colonizing government sought to attain control over communication, which was seen as a precondition for the establishment and exercise of colonial control in Belgian Congo. What colonizers achieved by controlling the language practices was basically establishing economic and social control over the colonized territories.

With the emergence of capitalism, establishing controllable boundaries was a priority and building nation-states and standardized or centralized legitimate languages was necessary. Wallerstein (1974) and Hechter (1975) examined the growth of capitalism as a process of expansion in which the nation state played an important role. Within the growing nation-state models, the legitimate language was used as a tool for legitimation and nation-building (Hobsbawm 1990; Billig 1995; Gellner 1987; Anderson 1983). The main idea was that a unified, centralized form of government was needed to control the resources and to institutionalize the legitimate language was one of the ways to establish these controllable boundaries. Therefore, while the dominant or majority languages were centralized, other varieties or languages were established as 'local'. In historically multilingual countries such as Spain, for instance, while the legitimate language (Spanish in this case) was centralized, other languages (such as Catalan, Basque, Galician) were

pushed to peripheries, which located these languages to subordinate positions in the linguistic market.

Nevertheless, unexpected economic and political developments emerging with globalization suggest that this center and periphery status quo is challenged. So is the status of centralized and localized languages. Heller (2013) examines how this centre-periphery relationship got connected to the nationalist ideologies of language, nation and state in francophone Canada and how unequal forms of power were attached to centre and periphery positions. She problematizes the centre and periphery binary positions by suggesting that these positions are not static and they are subject to change. She explains that the emphasis on the niche and authentic markets required more diverse modes of communication. Heller and Duchêne (2011) suggest pride and profit as analytic tools, the former referring to placing importance in cultural, regional or national identity or heritage while the latter refers to the ability to make money from something (something may be language or cultural heritage or both). And they suggest that pride and profit can be combined through the commodification of national identities and marketing of authenticity, i.e. the trope of profit is used to appropriate the trope of pride. Therefore, the globalized new economy triggers transformations of language and identity in many ways (Castells 2000; Giddens 1990); the central position of the states is challenged by the corporate identities and, as Heller (2003) suggests, there is an emerging tension between local, national and supra-national language practices and identities and between the unified forms of language and hybridity. This growing importance of multilingualism and the emergence of language as a quantifiable, commodifiable skill can also be linked to the emergence of various forms of accreditation and institutional certification of linguistic skills.

So far, I have explained how the legitimate forms of languages were used to establish social control or to establish controllable boundaries that were instrumental for the sustainment of power and the management of resources. I also mentioned that central and peripheral positions of languages are also challenged by globalization, which means that there is an increasing complexity and unpredictability in the language learning motivations of the immigrants. As the central/peripheral dichotomy is challenged, the previously localized and subordinated languages have gained political, economic and social prestige[3] and the immigrant population claims these languages in order to achieve a better standing in the receiving society. This is an important point in this thesis, as it looks into social integration programs where Spanish and Catalan languages are distributed. In this thesis, the teaching of both languages is conceptualized as providing access to a socio-economic capital that enables immigrants to negotiate their social and economic position

[3] Especially with regard to the Catalan case see Woolard (2005, 2013), where she explains changing attitudes of the learners toward the Catalan language. The main idea is that the growing social, economic and political value of Catalan made the learners adopt more positive attitudes with regard to investing in Catalan resources.

within the receiving society. Access to this capital equals reaching socioeconomic resources in the receiving countries and the question of social identity plays an important role not only with regard to the access to the linguistic resources, but also the specific ways that the learners are located in subordinate positions in their social encounters. The classroom space produces an encounter where the learners are allowed to hold specific learner and speaker positions. They are allowed to accumulate specific forms of linguistic capital and they are allowed to speak from the social positions that they are attributed. This idea will be explained in detail in the following section, where I mention relevant previous studies on critical pedagogy. Nevertheless, before explaining language and education, I will mention recent studies that underline the link between the legitimate language and the real life chances of immigrants. This will enable me to locate the social practices situated in these social integration programs under a critical perspective and to show that being a non-legitimized speaker positions immigrants in disadvantaged social and economic positions in different stages of their lives.

2.2.2. Legitimate language and gatekeeping

Studies on gatekeeping are good examples to demonstrate the specific ways that delegitimized speakers (in this specific case, the immigrant groups) are left out from the important social and economic resources in receiving societies. Gatekeeping can be defined as a type of interactional activity in which an institutional representative defines which candidates should be allowed through the gate. This notion connects details of speech to speakers' different sociocultural backgrounds and their real-life opportunities (Gumperz 1989). These studies mostly underline that nation-states still strive to maintain their hegemonic position and to protect the interests of their national population. For example, Roberts and Sarangi (1999) studied the oral examinations which are widely used in undergraduate and postgraduate medical examinations, including those for membership of royal colleges. Their fieldwork showed that although the success rate among British Asians was not in question, Asian doctors trained abroad did less well than other groups. According to the results of their fieldwork, the hybridity and complexity of the oral examination put additional hidden demands on both examiners and candidates and the demands made the oral examination difficult particularly for those from ethnic minorities who have been trained overseas. Similarly, the ethnography of Eva Codó (2008) analyzed the complex bureaucratic process that the foreigners must go through to be authorized to reside legally in a new country. Her ethnography carried out between 2000 and 2002 during the legalization campaign for unregistered immigrants in Barcelona showed that, by not requiring its bureaucrats to be competent in languages other than Spanish, the institution was

constructing the structural conditions that protected the value of Spanish as a form of capital at this site. Gatekeeping can also be exercised in everyday encounters, not only within the institutions. In bilingual Catalonia, for instance, newly arriving immigrants find themselves in a serious dilemma: the administration seeks to treat Catalan as a fully functional public language while large sectors of the local population still treat it as a minority language not adequate to be spoken to foreigners. Popular language practices and discourses often seem to suggest that Catalan serves to assert identity while Spanish serves for practical communicative purposes. That discourse contradicts the official narratives over language and integration. Language policies are contrasted with the ethnographic data on linguistic practices in everyday life in various settings, considering the fieldwork of Pujolar (2010). According to the data, outsiders cannot come into direct contact with Catalan, but through Spanish. The acquisition of Catalan is therefore presented as the culmination of a process that one has to accomplish in stages, the first degree being acquisition of Spanish. It is a gradual process of access to what the local community perceives as the core element of its identity: the use of Catalan. According to this study, there are indications that this process is conceived in terms of popular conceptions of social integration. Similarly, Garrido (2010) showed that the normalization of the practice of addressing immigrants in the Spanish language is also common in the NGOs located in Barcelona. She argues that very elementary use of Catalan is regarded as "symbolic integration" (p.25); meanwhile, Spanish is legitimized as a front-stage lingua franca.

All these studies indicate that learning and speaking a language are not neutral practices. Especially with regard to immigrant communities, their language practices locate them within a complex power struggle. Learning and speaking the legitimate languages of a society means negotiating social position and negotiating power. Therefore distributing the legitimate language to the disadvantaged groups indicates how these groups are empowered or disempowered or how their disadvantaged socioeconomic position is maintained. This idea will be clearer in the following pages, where I discuss the recent research on language teaching and migration.

2.3. Teaching the legitimate language to immigrants

> "The sociology of language is logically inseparable from a sociology of education. As a linguistic market strictly subject to the verdicts of the guardians of legitimate culture, the educational market is strictly dominated by the linguistic products of the dominant class and tends to sanction the pre-existing differences in capital. The combined effect of low cultural

> capital the associated low propensity to increase it through educational investment condemns the least favoured classes to the negative sanctions of the scholastic market, i.e. exclusion or early self-exclusion induced by lack of success."
>
> (Bourdieu 1991:62)

In the excerpt above, Bourdieu focuses on class difference and how language is mobilized in educational settings to produce social segmentation. He refers to how specific linguistic sanctions get associated to educational success so that speaking a variety of a language that is different from the linguistic product of the dominant class gets associated with lack of success. However, in adult immigrant language education, there is another layer to how linguistic and social sanctions interconnect. In adult immigrant language education, it is not just about the legitimacy of their linguistic resources: For these immigrants, the legitimate language is not just a medium, a competence through which they act in the social world, but it is also a target of learning. In other words, the immigrant learners in language classrooms try to accumulate the linguistic capital by the simple fact of acquiring competence in the legitimate language. If the linguistic competence is not acquired, learners are placed or kept in a disadvantaged position in linguistic market and in other socio-economic domains. Therefore the hindrances in the process of accumulating the linguistic capital and what kind of linguistic resources are allowed in these classrooms are important to questions to ask in adult immigrant language education.

Given the complex power struggles regarding the authority of language, teaching the legitimate languages to the immigrant population has attracted the interest of many researchers who have conducted classroom ethnographies with the aim of exploring the multilingual classrooms from a critical perspective. Among them, some studies look into the provision of language education programs teaching the language(s) of the host society to newcomers (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Moyer and Martin Rojo 2007; Martin-Rojo 2010; Codo and Patino-Santos 2014), the teaching of English as a necessary skill for participation in the internationalized economy (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Block and Cameron 2002; Perez-Milans 2013), and policies implemented by ethno-linguistic minorities in the context of wider nation-states (Heller 1999; Jaffe 1999). Some studies also showed how transnational mobility has recently led to a destabilization of linguistic forms. These studies claims that rather than bounded abstract systems, the study of contemporary communication requires a different approach whereby repertoires traditionally associated with different and separate national 'languages' are used and negotiated in more hybrid and dynamic ways (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Pennycook 2012; Canagarajah 2013).

The classroom analysis of this thesis locates itself within the body of literature on critical pedagogy and linguistic anthropology from a critical perspective (Freire 1970; Heller 2011; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Moyer and Martin-Rojo 2007; Martin-Rojo 2010; Codo and Patino-Santos 2014) and claims that social integration programs not only distribute linguistic resources to immigrants, but they also produce specific knowledge about the learners and they attribute specific subject positions on them. Therefore, in this critical ethnography, the classroom analysis looks into two important components: a) how the linguistic capital is distributed and how the learners are located within the linguistic market, and b) how the learners are constructed or represented in these sites as learners, speakers and social agents.

This section explains how I explore these questions in this ethnography, and in order to do that this section is organized as follows. First, I problematize the specific ways that the linguistic capital is distributed to immigrants. I draw on the writings of Martin Rojo (2010, 2013) and explain that what kind of linguistic resources are allowed to accumulate in these sites defines how these learners are empowered or disempowered in these social integration programs. In order to explain this process, I introduce the (de)capitalization concept of Martin Rojo (2010, 2013) to the readers, which will enable me to analyze how disempowerment occurs in these sites. Following this, I explain the Foucauldian concepts of knowledge-building and subject-building (1982, 2008), which will underline that in these sites, discursive practices construct a social reality with regard to learners and their linguistic agencies. Therefore, how the language teachers categorize and represent the learners in their discourses indicate this knowledge-building situated in the classroom. Subject-building, on the other hand, will focus on the learner and speaker positions that these learners are given in these sites. For that reason, this concept will enable me to explain how social integration programs produce specific learner and speaker profiles. At the end of this section, the readers are expected to understand how complex techniques of power are exercised in these sites.

2.3.1. (De)capitalization in social integration programs

In this thesis, the analysis of (de)capitalization is based on the work of Martin Rojo (2010, 2013), who looked into social and discursive practices in Madrid secondary schools. She revealed how power asymmetries and categories were constructed in these classrooms, and demonstrated how the symbolic capitals of different categories of students were either allowed in the front stage or forced to the back-stage[4] during the interaction. More specifically, she looked into the processes in which the social and linguistic capital of a specific community put some learners in an inferior position

[4] For front-stage and back-stage analysis see Goffman (1959) and also see Martin Rojo (2000, 2010) in order to understand how she uses these concepts to analyze classroom interaction.

and how the accumulation of the linguistic capital was discouraged for the immigrant students in the classrooms. She conceptualizes this process as *decapitalization*, which will be one of the important components of the classroom analysis of this thesis. Decapitalization in this study will focus on the specific ways through which the accumulation of valuable linguistic capital is discouraged, and the specific subject positions of disadvantage that the learners are given as speakers of a new language. Drawing on Martin Rojo's (2013) ideas, decapitalization exercised in multilingual classrooms involves two main strategies. First, it involves discouraging the learners from accumulating this capital, which will hinder the access to other social and economic capitals in the receiving societies. Second, decapitalization occurs by means of allocating the learners to inferior subject positions in the labour market. For example, in the Catalan language classroom, the language teacher oriented the learners to feminized social and labour sectors. I consider this as one particular form of decapitalization.

Therefore, decapitalization not only problematizes the pedagogical or professional orientation of these social integration programs. It also demonstrates how the dominant actors such as the language teachers attribute specific subject positions to the learners by means of orienting them to inferior or in this case feminized sectors. This approximation to social integration programs suggests that, in these sites, apart from teaching and learning practices, social reality and knowledge are produced. In this thesis, I focus on how the language teachers produce knowledge in their discourses about the learners, and how they attribute specific roles to them. In the following section I will define the processes of knowledge and subject building in these settings from a Foucauldian perspective, and I will explain that these complex processes of power and domination work together to reproduce the disadvantaged position of the learners with regard to the access to important social, economic and linguistic resources.

2.3.2. Knowledge-building and subject-building in social integration programs

> 'Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle-lines of social conflict. Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.'
>
> (Foucault, 1996:351)

Over the last decades, Foucauldian thinking and his concepts have been used to problematize educational practices and subject and knowledge building in educational settings. His ideas were used in pedagogy and the interest in his theories on power and education has not diminished after his death in 1984. Kopecký (2012) explains that most of Foucault's reflections underwent several intellectual shifts, and some of them are left unfinished, which opens up an important space for interpretation in Foucault's works (p.249). His ideas on education are mainly mentioned in *Discipline and Punish* and in his lectures on *biopolitics*, and he offers inspiring statements with regard to education, power and social relations. The excerpt above summarizes how I approach these so-called social integration programs and what I problematize in them as a researcher. The first question is what is permitted and what is prevented in these settings. I consider that this idea is linked to the concept of (de)capitalization, given that this concept focuses on what kind of resources are permitted, hindered, valued or under-valued in the classroom. Second, what Foucault suggests is that in education there is a production of knowledge and power, which puts knowledge-building and subject-building at the center of a critical ethnography of education. In this section, I will summarize his ideas with regard to knowledge, power and subject-building and visit some of his works to explain how these concepts are inter-related.

I will start with his ideas on power and knowledge and underline how his thoughts made a slight shift. I will name three distinct but interrelated periods in his work. The first period, which begins in the late 1950's and continues roughly until the late 1960's, is called as archaeological period. The principal book of this phase is his *Les Mots et les choses: Une Archéologie des sciences humaines*. In this work, Foucault is concerned primarily with the investigation of communities of discourse and the way in which particular languages or disciplinary codes define those communities. He advocates that language, perceptual schemes, techniques, values are governed by certain codes that regularize the empirical orders under which the men live. He explains that the fundamental codes of a culture, which governs its discourse, perceptions, their changes, their values, their techniques, the hierarchy in their practices, previously set empirical orders for each individual. There is a layer of cultural relations that make up the epistemological character of reality. It is this reality what produces a space for *episteme,* produces its regulations and its validations. This idea is important to understand social integration programs as spaces where the actors produce a set of discourse systems to produce a social reality. Therefore, linguistic practices in these programs not only involve teaching and learning, but they also involve producing discourse. In this thesis, the analysis of the discourses of three language teachers is based on this

idea. In their discourses, the readers will see that these social actors represent and construct the learners by means of fore-grounding their gender and ethno-racial identity, which will demonstrate how knowledge-building occurs in these sites.

In the second, or genealogical phase, Foucault's emphasis shifted to examination of power. In the principal book of this second period, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison*, he adapted the concept of genealogy from Friedrich Nietzsche, and he conceptualized it as an investigative method that assumes that truth, wherever it appears, is always relative to an order of power. Now discourse is but one aspect among an array of social practices that may all be understood as matrices of power. He charts the reorganization of the power to punish, and the development of various bodies of knowledge that reinforce and interact with that power. The modern power to punish is based on the supervision and organization of bodies in time and space, according to strict technical methods: the modern knowledge that Foucault describes is the knowledge that relates to human nature and behaviour, which is measured against a norm. Foucault's point is that one cannot exist without the other. The power and techniques of punishment depend on knowledge that creates and classifies individuals, and that knowledge derives its authority from certain relationships of power and domination.

Finally, in the last years of his life, Foucault did not abandon the genealogical method; but he adapted it to query the technologies of power. In this period, Foucault focused on the micro practices of power and technologies and methods for governing the subject (2003, 2010). I will especially focus on his ideas of governmentality, which explains how the modern subject is built and governed. He describes governmentality as 'conduire des conduites' or 'conduct of conduct' (1982 p.237). The object of government is people who govern themselves; it is acting upon the self-government or the conduct of people. This process of self-governing is not natural, it is being shaped. These governing technologies seek to promote a kind of subjectivity (or self government) which is strategic for its operations. Especially during his courses at the *Collège de France* in the late seventies (*Sécurité, Territoire et Population (1977–1978)* and *Naissance de la biopolitique (1978–1979)*, he focused on the development of governmental rationalities and related governmental technologies applied, arguing that nation states and their institutions have their own rational strategies, technologies and mechanisms to exert power over bodies and that this process is massifying rather than individualizing. By massifying he means that the states concentrate more on external devices such as policy-making decisions, education, military technology, medical administration and so on, which allow the population to govern themselves. It is not a governance directed at man as body; it is a power directed at man as species. Governmentality is a tool or guideline for analysis that focuses on the forms of government and rationalities that justify,

legitimize and make the exercise of government appear rational (Lemke 2000). Therefore in governmentality individuals are both effects and instruments. The power is exercised by all participants, including those who are referred as powerless and dominated. Therefore, dominated groups can be the object and the subject of power; they are influenced by power and they deal with it at the same time. Therefore, subjectification (subject-building) subjectivation (self-building) work together to exercise power (Lemke 2001)[5].

In this thesis, I use subject-building in order to explain how the language teachers build or construct the learners as speakers, learners and social agents in the classroom[6]. The main idea is that the speaker and learner positions allowed in the classroom constructs the learners in specific ways, and the readers will see that especially in the classrooms of Clara and Laia the learners were pushed to adopt passive speaker and learner subject positions in the classroom. And the self-building will refer to how the learners assume these roles attributed on them and how they reproduce these passive speaker positions in the classroom. Therefore I explore the relations between the forms of rationalities of power and the processes of knowledge building, subject building and self building and demonstrate what kind of rationalities are constructed in the classroom with regard to subject positions of the learners in relation to capital and power. All these three processes (building knowledge, building the subject, and self-building) *naturalize* or *rationalize* the location of the learners not only in the linguistic market, but also in other social and economic domains. Therefore I demonstrate how social reality with regard to learners is constructed in these classrooms and how it becomes taken-for-granted[7].

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[5] Subject-building or subjectification and self-building or subjectivation are concepts taken from Lemke (2001, 2002, 2010) and Rose (1996), who look into subject, domination and power in the lectures of Foucault in College de France. Subject-building and self-building are mentioned within the technologies of self and these terms are related to what Foucault calls governmentality. Given that Foucault's works are translated from French, these concepts may take different names in other writings. To prevent any confusion, in this thesis I use subject-building to refer to techniques and strategies of constructing 'idealized forms of learners, speakers and social agents.' These techniques involve producing knowledge about the learners as well as attributing on them specific learner, speaker and subject positions in the classroom. Therefore subject-building problematizes the technologies of domination in social and discursive practices. Self-building, on the other side, refers to self-government; it demonstrates the constitutive effect of power and domination. Self building refers to the specific ways that the learners subjugate to techniques of domination, and they get involved in the process of domination as active subjects, not as objects. The entire process-producing knowledge, exercising power, domination and subjugation to this domination- demonstrates how social inequality is rationalized (Lemke 2002) or becomes taken-for-granted. In social integration programs this rationalization indicates how the asymmetrical positioning of immigrant women in relation to linguistic capital and power becomes 'naturalized'.

[6] For more literature on governmentality in educational practices see: Fimyar (2008) and Tickly (2003) who use governmentality to look into education policies in Ukraine and in South Africa.

[7] This approach to language and power is explained in detail in Martin Rojo (forthcoming), where she explains the productive nature of discourse in linguistic practices. She explains that assuming power as a top down process can be misleading, and there is a need to look into the localized, micro practices where power permeates the entire body of society. Apart from demonstrating the representations of groups, persons, events and identities, she suggests underpinning the specific practices where these representations and knowledge become naturalized in everyday encounters. She demonstrates the specific ways through which the modes of objectivation become modes of subjectivation, in other words, how the dominant discourses are internalized by the speakers/learners themselves.

2.4. Identity in Sociolinguistic Inquiry: Embracing social class and gender

As I mentioned before, this study understands the legitimate forms of languages as a capital as well as a trajectory. Until now I explained how I analyze language and its distribution as a form of capital in these classrooms. In the following pages, I explain how I analyze language in the personal itineraries of my informants. Therefore in this section I reveal the complexity of constructing the linguistic repertoire and I underline social class and gender identity as indispensable components of identity-based research in applied linguistics (Block 2005, 2012, 2015). The following sub-sections are organized as follows. First I locate this study within the material-oriented feminist writings. I discuss the recent and relevant writings on gender and language, and I underline how this study contributes to feminist linguistics by means of conducting a material-oriented language inquiry in the linguistic and personal itineraries of my informants. Second, I explain the analytic decisions that I took to analyze language, gender and social class in this study. More specifically, I explain how I used the standpoint theory and intracategorical intersectionality to analyze the linguistic agencies of my informants in their specific time-space patterns. After introducing these theoretical and analytic considerations I will introduce two concepts that are crucial in this thesis: linguistic agency and resistance. The definition of these concepts are based on my own experience in the field and they define how immigrant women negotiate identity and power by means of mobilizing their linguistic skills.

2.4.1. Sociolinguistic inquiry and feminist linguistics

Feminist linguistics is interested in identifying, demystifying, and resisting the ways in which language is used to reflect, create and sustain gender divisions and inequalities in society (Talbot 1998). This study explains how inequalities, disempowerments, struggles and resistance occur in the language trajectories of female adult immigrants, which suggests that sociolinguistic inquiry can demonstrate the lived experience of the transnational female subjects with regard to power, domination and resistance. Regarding contemporary thinking in feminist linguistics, I shall briefly explain the previous feminist movements and their implications on language in order to make connections. Although feminist linguistics developed within linguistics rather than within feminism, a chronological overview can help me situate this thesis in feminist linguistics and raise further questions especially on language, transnationalism, and feminism. Mills (2002) identifies three waves in her chronology of feminist movements. The first wave feminism can be associated with

the suffragette movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second wave feminism in the 1960s is associated with political resistance against sex discrimination and with the promotion of equal opportunities as well as the emancipation of women. In the first and second wave feminisms, Marxism, socialism and liberalism were reconfigured in order to apply them to the position of women in society. In the second wave, radical feminism emerged as a political framework, constructing theory from women's life experiences and collective consciousness. These different frames produced important approaches to understand the processes and structures behind the oppression of women and questioned the role of gender in shaping society. The third wave feminism criticizes the second wave feminism for its lack of attention to the differences among women due to race, ethnicity, class, nationality, religion and it emphasizes identity as a site of gender struggle. Therefore movements such as black feminism adopted notions like intersectionality as a contemporary theoretical and analytical concern to escape from the dangers of universalizing the experience of white middle-class women. The main idea was, as Lorde (1984) suggests, that believing that everyone is essentially the same and in need of the same things is a mode of thinking that comes from the dominant Western male thinking. This third wave feminism, with its more critical, constructivist and post-structuralist theoretical paradigms shares a common ground with feminist linguistics. Feminist linguists claim that linguistic change is an important part of social change and aim to theorize it in relation to gender inequality or discrimination in societies (Litosseliti 2006:24). Feminist linguists assert that identities are constructed in social interaction in ways that sometimes follow and other times challenge dominant beliefs and ideologies of gender. Especially discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis have contributed to understand how gender is constructed in textual and verbal communication (Litosseliti and Sunterland 2002; Mills 1997; van Dijk 2009).

In contemporary feminist writings, while differences and identity are now central to theorizing, how these concepts are studied has led to criticisms (McLaughlin 2003:11). Critiques of the postmodern account of the construction of identity claim that the monopoly of postmodernism on "theorizing diversity and complexity" is dangerous for feminist theory and activism (Jackson 2001) because in the postmodern construction of identity it is culture that dominates over a materially and sociologically embedded concern with social construction. This criticism and call for a material turn in feminist studies has been suggested by various feminist writers (Modleski 2014; Mies 1980, Federici 2004) who hold the idea that isolating the feminist analysis from 'boring old school' materialist analysis is problematic because a contextual analysis of institutions and structures that produce subjectivity are needed in order to understand articulations of difference and identity (McLaughlin 2003:14). For instance, transnational feminism suggested strategies for

bringing together questions of identity with material conditions (Kaplan 1996). Therefore, global patterns of colonization, exchange and hegemony are connected with local acts of identity formation. As Grewal and Kaplan (1994) suggest, transnational feminism adopts postmodernism's concerns with difference and location, but it criticizes its inability to link them to the effects of mobile capital. Similarly, Bannerji (1995) criticizes the postmodernist account of constructing identity and argues that when materially and a sociologically embedded concern with social construction is left out; re-organizing social relations of inequality becomes peripheral to the main project.

How do these discussions over identity and multiculturalism involve feminist sociolinguistics? Given the emerging criticisms in feminist thinking, sociolinguistics can use these criticisms to problematize the concepts such as multiculturalism and multilingualism and include material concerns in their analytic frames. I suggest that studies that explore social integration programs, cultural and linguistic diversity should open a space for de-constructing these so-called integration or diversity and explain how racial, gender and class stereotyping and segmentation occur in the name of equality and social integration. In her famous book *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, for instance, Bannerji (1996) criticizes the discourses on multiculturalism, language and diversity in Canada claiming that these discourses serve the goal of Whites to track race and ethnicity rather than the interest of visible minorities. Emphasizing the visible minority (with identifiers such as visible minority, women of colour) she argues, reduces the non-white woman to an essentialized symbol of culture and as such limits her potential to claim political and subjective agency. On the basis of her personal experience in different Anglo-Saxon countries, Bannerji claims that while governmental discourses send optimistic messages of acceptance and celebration of cultural diversity (and try hard, for example by means of addressing racism directly), their commitment to capitalist property ownership and production relations with which gender, racism and ethnocentrism are often intertwined prevents class-based relations from being addressed.

In this thesis, I problematize these social integration programs as well as the cliché discourses about these programs which defend that these courses promote multilingualism, diversity and social integration. I demonstrate how these learners are located in relation to power and capital in these language courses. In this thesis, therefore, I not only focus on the educational practices and discourse; but I also focus on the politics of language and I demonstrate how these classrooms a) empower and disempower the learners and b) how the learners negotiate their social and economic position by means of mobilizing their linguistic resources. This is the very point that I locate this thesis in material-oriented feminism because tracing the linguistic agencies of immigrant women

demonstrates how linguistic capital is converted into a counter-agency or a counter-action against social and economic inequalities that they experience throughout their personal trajectories.

It is important to mention that there are very few studies that explore adult immigrant language learning programs from this perspective, especially if the women immigrants are in question. Regarding the language trajectories of female adult immigrants, one of the most important studies belong to Bonny Norton (1995 and 2000), who introduced the concept of investment in language learning in her study of immigrant women in Canada. She discussed that for some of her informants language learning was an investment for the future of their family and the way that the immigrant women claimed the right to speak was linked to their dynamic social identities. Other ethnographers adopted the same approach (e.g. Ibrahim 1999; McKay and Wong 1996; Potowski 2004) and they described the learners investing in particular identities. Regarding the trajectories and life histories of female learners, the eight month long ethnographic study of Menard-Warwick (2009) in a California language literacy program has been an important example for this thesis. Working as a volunteer language teacher, Warwick conducted participant observation to examine the complex gendered life histories of Latin American women. In her ethnography, she focused on the learners' social position and their ideologies and perspectives regarding language learning. Her theoretical and methodological approach combined classroom observation with the learners' life-history narratives and she convincingly situates her ethnography to show that second language learning cannot be separated from ideas of gender or from participants' individual lived experiences.

Drawing on these writings, I locate this sociolinguistic inquiry within material-oriented feminist linguistics for two main reasons. First, this thesis explains how immigrant women are located in the linguistic market in the receiving societies. I problematize female immigrants' social position with regard to linguistic capital and power and this approach sheds light into the specific ways that gender identity is intertwined with capital and power in social integration programs as well as in the receiving countries. Second, tracing the linguistic itineraries of these women demonstrates the lived experience of female immigrants throughout their personal trajectories. Language trajectories enable us to see how these learners contest multi-layered inequalities such as patriarchal family structures, gendered division of labour, inequalities with regard to the access to material resources by means of mobilizing their linguistic resources. Therefore this study offers valuable data with regard to struggles, oppressions, transformations, contestations that female immigrant women experience throughout their personal trajectories. In this sense, this study looks into the complexity in language repertoires and it explains how language, social class and identity interact in the personal and linguistic trajectories of the learners.

2.4.2. Analyzing complexity in time-space frames of the learners: Standpoint and intersectionality in language trajectories

In this section, I explain the analytic tools that I use to analyse complexity. First I define language trajectory and following this I explain how standpoint theory and interesectionality can be used as tools to analyze complexity in linguistic trajectories of the learners. The main idea is, the lived experience of each learner differs from each other because of their unique social position. In order to demonstrate how social class and gender enact in language trajectories, there is a need to underpin the main categories of hegemonies, oppressions or inequalities that they experience in their itineraries.

In physics, trajectory is defined as the path that a moving object follows through space as a function of time. In mathematics geometrical patterns are used to describe this path, to describe the position of the object over time. In biographical accounts of the informants, trajectory is used to imply this abstract movement of a socially constructed phenomenon between specific time-space frames. Language trajectory, therefore, refers to the imaginary path that the learners construct throughout their language learning process in their lifetime. Nevertheless, any social researcher that uses trajectory as a descriptive tool will come across the question of *complexity*. In ethnographies of education, fieldwork data enable the researcher to describe the classroom as a snapshot of intersecting trajectories and to construct the learners as individuals rather than as a generic collective. Nevertheless, how to organize and describe the complexity of these trajectories will still challenge the research design.

In this thesis, trajectory and complexity are introduced in the theoretical and analytic framework in order to achieve two main objectives. First, I explain the complexity of the learner profiles (social, economic, linguistic and cultural background, their expectations and motivations regarding language learning), which is overlooked in these social integration programs. To be more specific, I will compare the pedagogical orientations, representations, categories, subject and knowledge building practices constructed in the classroom with the discourses of the learners in order to demonstrate how social reality is constructed in a very different way in the classroom and in the discourses of the learners. While in the classroom language teachers expect learners to acquire elementary linguistic resources to be deployed in the household space, the discourses of the learners will indicate that they need to mobilise their linguistic resources in more complex and unpredictable ways. While in the classroom the representations of the learners are generic,

collectivized and mostly passive, I will show through their discourses that learners deploy their linguistic skills and their strategies of resistance in more complex and varied ways.

Second, I will demonstrate the complexity of multiple hegemonies that the female learners encounter in their trajectories by means of highlighting interconnected systems of oppression, domination and discrimination described in their biographical narratives. The main idea is that under late capitalism, the transnational language learning experiences of one person differ from that of another person because of each individual's different position across the lines of oppression and exploitation; and that language as a form of capital can be connected with these oppressions at various levels. Drawing on the theoretical considerations of standpoint theory and intersectionality, I adapted contemporary feminist ideologies and analytic frames to look into the social position in their language trajectories and below I will explain how these tools were used in this study.

The specific ways that the learners describe their language investment strategies reveal the female immigrant experience in diaspora with regard to their struggles, subjections and contestations. Hartsock (1983) holds that since women's lives differ structurally from those of men (just as workers' lives differ structurally from owners' lives), it may be that the structure of women's activities provide a basis for a feminist standpoint just as the structure of workers' activities provide a basis for a proletarian standpoint. Therefore if material life is structured in opposing ways for two groups, their visions of reality will be inversions of one another. Standpoint assumes that humans are what they do, especially what they do in producing their means of subsistence. An example of a society structured such that two social groups are fundamentally opposed is capitalist society, which opposes the interests and activities of capitalists to those of workers. Therefore standpoint theory shares major ideas with Marxist theory of social class and knowledge, in the sense that they both claim that material life produces the knowledge. Drawing on this idea, Hartsock focuses on women's life activity and she claims that female standpoint shares many characteristics with the activities of the proletariat in the sense that they are oppressed groups. Therefore the main emphasis of standpoint theory is to understand the voice of marginalized and/or oppressed individuals in order to create more objective accounts of the world. This focus on the material conditions will be underlined in the narratives of the learners and especially the narratives of the working women will demonstrate how they deploy linguistic resources in order to achieve better socioeconomic resources in the diaspora. As a convertible capital, language investment in these trajectories is constructed as a form of struggle that enable better living conditions. In the narratives of the divorced women, for instance, this struggle will also be obvious, as their strategies to invest and deploy their linguistic resources is based on their strategies of becoming socially and economically independent individuals.

I consider that standpoint theory and intersectionality share a common ground with regard to their focus on social position in the lived experience. However, intersectionality provides the researcher with more concrete (but still disputable) analytic tools. Developed especially by black feminists, intersectionality suggests that biological, social, and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, sexual orientation, religion and other axes of identity interact on multiple levels and contribute to systematic injustice and social inequality. Intersectionality stresses the interconnected nature of these categories and describes how they mutually strengthen or weaken each other (Crenshaw 1989). Nevertheless, although the term received an increasing interest in gender studies and other social sciences, how to study intersectionality is a problematic question due to the scarce feminist writings on its methodology. Researchers from diverse fields suggest that it can be used both for quantitative and qualitative research, it can analyze micro level of lived experiences (Smith 1999), or it can describe meso level of social structures (Risman 2004) or macro level analysis (McCall 2005). On the other hand, how to address the question of socially constructed categories is another debate. How to avoid essentialisms, over-generalizations or simplifications produced different analytic approaches regarding the use of categories in this paradigm. McCall (2005) proposes three analytic approaches to intersectionality: anticategorical complexity, intercategorical complexity and intracategorical complexity. The main difference between these approaches is that in the first one the categories are deconstructed suggesting that the social life is too complicated to be categorized; the second approach suggests using the existing analytic categories in order to underline inequalities among social groups; and the third approach acknowledges the social categories but it maintains a critical stance towards them. McCall mentions that the researchers adopting the third approach mainly focus on "the neglected points of intersection" in order to show the complexity of the lived experience (2005):

> "In personal narratives and single-group analyses, then, complexity derives from the analysis of a social location at the intersection of single dimensions of multiple categories, rather than at the intersection of the full range of dimensions of a full range of categories, and that is how complexity is managed. Personal narratives and single-group studies derive their strength from the partial crystallization of social relations in the identities of particular social groups."
>
> (p. 1781)

As it will be better explained in Chapter VI, I will use McCall's model in a different way and I will adapt it to sociolinguistics inquiry which takes linguistic agency as a central dimension.

In the analysis of the interviews, I adopted this intracategorical approach in order to look into the complexity and social positions emerging in the specific time-space patterns of the linguistic trajectories of the learners, which I consider as a neglected approach in sociolinguistics. Taking Bakhtin's (1981) chronotopic analysis as a ground, I looked for the specific ways that the different social positions of the learners intersected with their linguistic agencies in specific time-space structures. The idea of incorporating intersectionality into the chronotopic analysis of the interviews originated from what Agha (2007) calls contextuality in chronotopic analysis, which suggests that in the case of cultural chronotopes, forms of deixis are reconfigured into chronotopic formulations by text patterns and cultural ideologies (p.323). Therefore, chronotopic analysis not only involves looking into time-space constructs across a given trajectory, but it also entails the ideological analysis whereby the narrated story is linked to normative participation frameworks. Taking the linguistic agencies, ideologies, and indexicalities as the central dimension of the inquiry, I looked into the specific ways that language trajectories of the participants interconnected to the socially constructed categories such as social class, dynamic gender roles, educational background, age, etc. Recognizing the relevance of social categories to the understanding of the language practices of the transnational subjects in the contemporary world, I focused on defining these categories and inter-connected hegemonies and how learners cross (or attempt to cross) the boundaries of constructed categories in their specific time-space patterns. I claim that this way of tracing the linguistic agencies of the learners will demonstrate how social position and language investment enact, and how the learners deploy their invested linguistic resources to challenge or contest the economic, social and patriarchal hegemonies that they encounter in the diaspora as well as in the mainland.

2.5. Linguistic agency, resistance and understanding the voice of *The Other*

In this section, I aim to explain the main concepts that will be used during the data analysis: linguistic agency, resistance and voice. It is not a coincidence that I left the exact definition of these terms to the final pages of this Chapter. It was necessary to explain how I study language and linguistic practices in this thesis as well as how I approach the field as a sociolinguistics researcher in order to define these terms. The exact definition of these terms is the result of a reflexive, intuitive and critical ethnography that I conducted in these sites. Therefore, the conceptualization of these terms will also guide the readers about the specific analytic approach that I adopted in this research.

As stated in the previous sections, one of the main ideas foregrounded in this study is that language is not to be separated from the political economy of the working mechanisms in society. While investing in the legitimate forms of language empowers the learners in specific ways, it may also reproduce the asymmetrical social position of the learners inside and outside the classroom. This may also be observed in the biographical narratives of the learners. While the learners may deploy their linguistic resources to contest socio-economic challenges or patriarchal gender divisions, their resistance strategies may still locate them in inferior positions with regard to the access to the economic resources or with regard to the gender roles that they assume. Drawing on this idea, throughout this thesis the linguistic capital will be analysed as a tool that reconfigures and re-appropriates the complex network of power relations exercised inside and outside the classroom. The reader will encounter the specific ways that the power is exercised, and the ways that the learners assume or contest this power. In this formulation, it is obvious that as a researcher I focus on domination as well as resistance and in the following sub-sections the readers will see how these concepts are studied in this thesis.

2.5.1. Resistance and linguistic agency

In this study, I conceptualize resistance as a counter-action to contest a specific domination, hegemony or oppression *by means of deploying linguistic resources*. Therefore language itself is used or instrumentalized as a means of resistance, as a tool to challenge power or to contest domination. At this point, in order to put it clearer, I need to explain how I conceptualize agency, linguistic agency and how it is connected to resistance. If we take the provisional definition of agency, it refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act. Agency cannot be considered a synonym for free will because this equation will ignore the social nature of agency and the pervasive influence of culture on human intentions and actions. Second, agency is not a synonym for resistance, either. Resistance entails those actions that resist the status quo, that contests existing power differentials. In that sense resistance can be conceptualized as an oppositional agency.

If agency is socioculturally mediated, how can we relate the structure to agency? Unlike scholars who treat agency as a synonym for free will or resistance, Giddens (1979) consistently links agency to structure through his discussion of rules and resources. His central concept, structuration, is the understanding that people's actions are shaped (in both constraining and enabling ways) by the very social structures that those actions then serve to reinforce or reconfigure. Bourdieu (1977) also explains the generative process that produces practices and representations that are conditioned by "structuring structures". This process has a recursive nature: *the habitus*

generates an infinite but bounded number of social actions, thoughts and perceptions. Both thinkers' ideas link agency to social structure and problematize free will. Nevertheless, they both face problems to explain how social transformation occurs (Sewell 1992), and they leave very little room for resistance or social change. Similarly, Foucault's conceptualization of agency received criticisms by various thinkers. While some writers argued that his thoughts were androcentric and west-centered (Buker 1990:828), some writers (Dean 1994:277) claimed that he gave priority to questions of dominance and discipline over the questions of agency and resistance. For example, Moi (1985) claimed that his notion of power denies the ability to discuss the systematic nature of women's oppression as it implied that any notion of structural power is false. Therefore, the question of systematic power asymmetries resulting from patriarchy, colonialism and post colonialism, migration or any other structural power causing power asymmetries is claimed to be unaddressed in his work.

In the context of these debates over agency and power or agency and social structure, in this study linguistic agency is conceptualized as: *socioculturally mediated learner and speaker positions whereby the informants deploy their linguistic resources*. These subject positions that they are given are not static; they are subject to negotiation and re-appropriation. Speakers may assume or contest these subject positions that they are given; they negotiate their learner and speaker positions by means of deploying complex strategies. Therefore linguistic agency means open-ended possibilities and capacities to act as learners and speakers from complex subject positions which are open to negotiation. I use this conceptualization of linguistic agency to refer to their language practices (agencies) constructed inside the classroom as well as their narrated linguistic agencies constructed in their biographical interviews. This approach to agency and social structure enables me to overcome micro and macro binary positions, as well as absolute determinism with regard to the connection between linguistic agency and social structure.

Going back to the definition of resistance that I mentioned before, which was, a counter-action to contest a specific domination, hegemony or oppression *by means of deploying linguistic resources,* resistance in this study links the oppositional linguistic agency to the power exercised on the learners. Abstaining from the micro and macro opposition, I trace this opposing linguistic agency by means of looking into the specific strategies that the learners adopt to contest the status quo. Therefore the linguistic resources become an instrument for deploying counter-power or counter-hegemony, and tracing the resistance strategies will demonstrate how language reconfigures the power asymmetries in a given social or subject position or how it can be mobilized for social transformation.

Having explained how I conceptualize linguistic agency and resistance, in this thesis resistance will take place as follows. In classroom interaction resistance will take place by means of re-appropriating or negotiating the subject positions from where the learners speak/learn or the representations that they are attributed. Contesting the passivized learner positions, challenging the regular speech-exchange system of the classroom (by means of claiming extended turns, or opening sub-topics) or contesting the elementary linguistic resources by means of claiming advanced linguistic resources, challenging the specific ways that the language teachers represent the learners will be conceptualized as a form of resistance. In the analysis of their linguistic trajectories, resistance will indicate the counter-agency to oppose multi-layered domination or hegemony that the learners define in their narratives. It will indicate how the learners invest in the legitimate forms of language in order to challenge the inequalities with regard to the access to economic resources, to contest traditionally defined gender roles, or to challenge the structural de-classing that they suffer during their adjustment period in Spain.

2.5.2. Learners as Postcolonial Subjects: Understanding *the voice*

Why presenting the learners as postcolonial subjects? This study looks into the linguistic practices of an 'obvious' post-colonial population in the sense that Moroccan women can be portrayed as people who grew up in a country in which the experience of colonization by France and Spain was recent. Nevertheless, the reason to conceptualize my research participants as postcolonial subjects is not driven by this essentialist idea. My departing point was the representations and depictions that the dominant actors produced about the learners as well as my own decision as the author of this book to give the learners a chance to make their voices understood by the readers. Therefore I contest the asymmetrical representations and categories constructed in the classroom and I also abstain from reproducing the asymmetrical positioning of the learners by means of denying speaking on behalf of them. I will explain these asymmetrical representations in Chapters IV and Chapter V in detail, nevertheless, I will give a concrete example from my fieldwork notes, which was recorded in June 2012 in Madrid. That day, volunteer workers, teachers and the directors of the NGO were having a coffee break and I also joined them as a volunteer worker. One of the directors of this NGO started commenting on a Moroccan wedding that she had been invited the week before. After describing the celebration, the way she represented a learner would be one of the milestones in my longitudinal ethnography:

Example 1.

Cuando vi a Nadia en velo estaba literalmente en shock. Enseguida le pregunté por qué decidió ponerselo después de vivir tantos años en España sin él. Me dijo que eso era su propia decisión. Me da pena que, las pocas mujeres Marroquís modernizadas que hay, acaban también siendo unas esposas sumisas.

When I saw Nadia in veil I was literally shocked. I immediately asked her why she decided to wear it, after living so many years in Spain without a veil. She told me that it was her own decision. It's a pity that, the very few modernized Moroccan women around also become submissive wives in the end.

(Fieldwork notes, November 2012 Madrid)

In this specific case, apart from linking a specific cultural practice to so-called unmodernity the Moroccan immigrant women are depicted as submissive subjects whose agencies are linked to the decisions of their male partners. This comment, among the other discursive practices that the readers will see in Chapter V, is an example of the continuity of colonialism to the present day and how this continuity reveals itself in these social integration programs. As Ashcroft *et al* (1989) put:

> We use the term 'post-colonial' to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. We also suggest that it is most appropriate as the term for the new cross-cultural criticism which has emerged in recent years and for the discourse through which this is constituted.
>
> (p.2)

The fact that dominant actors (NGO workers and language teachers) constructed the learners as oppressed, passive, generic and unmodern subjects revealed the cultural legacies of colonialism. Observing the uneven and incomplete feature of decolonization[8] in these classrooms, how this continuous process became visible during the data analysis and how the dominant groups inscribed power over the learners drove me to visit postcolonial writings. As it will be better explained in Chapter VII, I draw on the ideas of Said (1986), Spivak (1995) and Bhabha (1990, 1994) and re-

[8] For further discussion on post-colonial criticism and definition of the term see: Childs, Peter & Patrick Williams. 2013. Introduction: Points of Departure. *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, 1–26. New York: Routledge.

interpret the missing points with regard to agencies, resistance strategies and voices of *the subaltern*. In this sense introducing postcolonial thinking is considered to be an important phase of deconstruction mentioned at the introduction of this thesis. It involves reading from the peripheries towards the centre and learning how to unlearn the taken-for-granted representations. It is a conscious act to deny, as the author of this work, speaking on behalf of the subaltern or giving them voice. Instead, it attempts to understand their voices and give the learners a chance to speak for themselves.

Postcolonial thinking extends the scope of this study in two important ways: a) it problematizes the representations and subject positions constructed in these social integration programs and b) it foregrounds the voices of the learners that are silenced in the classroom. With regard to the former, I draw on Bhabha's concepts of *third space* and *hybridity* in order to problematize the essentialist categories. Taking these concepts as a ground, I open a new space for resistance: the re-appropriation of subject positions by means of foregrounding the hybrid character of both cultures. With regard to the question of *voice*, Spivak's ideas will problematize the way that the researcher depicts linguistic agency and resistance in this study. Her suggestions to understand *how the subaltern speaks* will open an important space for self-criticism as the author of the text and will enable me to correct and complement the interpretation of the qualitative data.

Part 1. Constructing the field

CHAPTER III.
THE ETHNOGRAPHIC DESIGN OF THIS STUDY

3.1. Introduction

In this Chapter, I explain the details about my fieldwork and I also explain the economic and political context that this fieldwork is situated in. This longitudinal fieldwork involves three classrooms that I analyzed from October 2010 to July 2014 in Madrid, and one classroom in Barcelona from December 2013 to July 2014. The qualitative data collected in these four classrooms include classroom interaction recordings, biographical interviews with the learners, interviews with two language teachers, term reports of the Madrid field, discussion group sessions in Barcelona and my participant observation notes.

This Chapter encompasses two main components that define and describe this longitudinal fieldwork: the political and economic context whereby this ethnography is situated and the methodological details of this inquiry. Therefore, I start this Chapter by explaining the Moroccan diaspora in Europe and in Spain, the recent migration history between Morocco and other European countries (the main migration phases in the recent history of Morocco), globalization and recent literature on international mobility and feminization of immigration during the recent years. I consider that all these political and economic aspects of mobility are inseparable from the emergence of social integration programs and the increasing number of female Moroccan learners in Europe and in Spain. Drawing on the changing structural features of international migration (increasing instability, increasing number of female immigrants as forerunners, feminization of immigrant labour market in Europe, etc.), I will problematize the emergence of these so-called social integration programs within a political and economic context and give hints about the increasing complexity of the learner profiles, which will be clearer in the following Chapters. Following this, I will explain the methods and techniques that I used during my fieldwork. I will explain the main objectives of this critical ethnography and how I problematize these language classes, and how I selected the methods and techniques according to these objectives. At the end of this Chapter, the readers are expected to obtain the overview of the fieldwork and the political and economic context that this fieldwork is situated in.

3.2. The Moroccan diaspora and the female standpoint

This study opens a window onto the language trajectories of the Moroccan immigrant women by drawing on data from the classroom as well as from their biographical interviews. It enables to look into the situated linguistic and pedagogical practices and to understand their voices, agencies and resistance strategies depicted in their narratives. This section is written with the aim of situating the trajectories of nearly 60 Moroccan women that I met in both fields (50 in Madrid and 10 in Barcelona) within the political economy of migration, considering that this inquiry is crucial to understand the Moroccan immigrant women learners in the contemporary receiving societies and the increasing complexity of their profiles. With this aim, in this section I visit the contemporary works on transnational mobility and feminization of migration in the late capitalism and I also explain the Moroccan diaspora in Europe and Spain, exploring the recent migration history of this country and the changing role of the immigrant women in this mobility.

In contemporary literature on transnationalism, transnational subjects are described as individuals who have "collective homes away from home" (Clifford 1994: 308) and they embody a *third space* that challenges stable and permanent identities, suggesting the emergence of shifting experiences of displacement and reterritorialization (Bhabha 1994). Transnational subjects live simultaneously in two countries, engage in economic, social cultural and political activities across borders, and they contribute to the nation-building processes of both their countries of origin and those of immigration (Basch et al. 1994). Portes *et al* suggest that what distinguishes new transnational migrants is high intensity of exchanges, the new modes of transacting and multiplication of activities sustained across borders (1999: 219). New technologies of travel and information, globalization of kinship and network ties, increasing remittances and disintegration of boundaries between host and home countries created a new kind of migrant population (Vertovec and Cohen 1999: xvi). Nevertheless, new technologies of information and travel that increase mobility may not be enough to account for transnationalism as a new era. Harvey (1989) states that contemporary post-national economic strategies, flexible systems of accumulation and new organization of capital in the world may constitute bedrocks of new forms of transnationalism. Insecure and low wages, reorganization of capital based on flexibility and time-space compression (in Harvey's terms) urge the immigrant community to rely on two or more countries to secure a living for themselves and their families (Basch et al 1994).

Why does globalization or new forms of transnationalism matter to understand the linguistic agencies of adult female immigrants? The answer involves how this new socio-economic structure

is responsible for increased immigration, feminization of the labour force, rising stratification, spread of informal work in the capitalist industrial west (Sassen 1998) and how linguistic resources are deployed by female immigrants in this new socio-economic world order. Immigrant women are becoming more visible actors in social and economic terrains in the receiving countries. Farris (2010) defends that in the receiving countries in Europe, women both play crucial roles in so-called integration dilemma, and in the economy, which allows national women to participate in the official labour market while replacing them in what is still perceived to be a feminine vocation: that is, care labour. Kofman et al. (2001) states that, in the receiving country policy making organs, women immigrants are seen as "vectors of integration": as spouses and mothers, they have been identified as the key element for social and cultural integration. Moreover, female immigrants are not perceived as an economic threat while the male immigrants, especially during the time of the economic crisis, are perceived to be in competition with the national workers (Farris 2012). Feminization of immigration, therefore, does not only involve increase in number of female immigrants, but also the changing role of the immigrant women in the diaspora.

Farris (ibid) explains the structural changes that pushed female immigrants towards a more active, visible role in international mobility. She explains that feminised immigrant job market in Europe is triggered by a) the commodification of care labour in the neoliberal economy and by b) the economic and political changes in the history of Europe. She explains that Northern Europe made a shift from being a sending area of migration to a receiving area of migration after the second world war. In 1950s and early 1960s, the core of the European Community (EC), with the financial help provided by the Marshall Plan, started recruiting workers from Southern Europe and at that time Spanish and Italian workers headed to Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Besides, there was an emerging migration movement from outside the EC, especially from Turkey and North Africa. During this period, there was a demand for male workers in sectors traditionally occupied by men such as heavy industry. Therefore, the immigrants were mainly male. However, the oil crisis of 1973 changed the nature of migration in Europe. Northern Europe closed the guest worker system, and primary migration flows were through family reunification, which increased the female immigrant population. The economic downturn and legal difficulties for getting work permit in Northern Europe oriented labour flows to southern European countries such as Spain, which was one of the fastest growing economies until the mid 2000 in Europe. When the financial crisis hit all Europe, Spain also cut the migration flows, and the main migration flow was female immigrants coming with family reunification programs. While the initial growth of women migrants in the late 1970s was in reality mainly due to family reunification, female migratory patterns have enormously

diversified over the last 20 years, as more women have tended to become forerunners of the migratory chain.

In the Moroccan diaspora, apart from the aforesaid demands in Europe for female labour force, this feminization is also driven by the diversification of Moroccan migrant profiles in the mainland. In order to explain this, I will name the recent phases in Moroccan migration. Moroccan diaspora represents one of the biggest immigrant community in Europe, with around 4,5 million Moroccans living mainly in France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. Transnational movements from Morocco to Europe are closely tied to the colonization period and the Franco-Spanish protectorate that was established over Morocco between 1912 and 1956 (de Haas and Vezzoli 2013). During that period, France controlled the heartland, while Spanish influence was mainly restricted to southern Western Sahara and the northern Rif mountain zone (de Haas 2005). In administrative affairs and education French language was used, which facilitated the fast transformation of Morocco into a supplier of France's labour demands for low-skilled workers.

De Has and Vezzoli (2013) mention five phases in the modern Moroccan emigration, which is interesting to understand the changing migration structure between the countries and changing immigrant profile. The first phase started in 1830 with the French colonization of Algeria. During that period, Moroccans migrated to Algeria, responding to the growing demand for manual labour in Algerian coastal cities and farms established by French colons. The second phase started with the establishment of the Franco-Spanish protectorate in 1912, when there were a limited number of Moroccan workers migrated to France. During the same period internal migration from rural areas towards urban areas increased, due to the infrastructural development initiated by the French. The third phase lasted from the mid 1960s to the 1973 oil crisis. During this period, there was a diversification of destinations because of the high demand for low-skilled industrial labour in the growing European economies. Mutual agreements were signed with West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. This growing industrial worker recruitment was interrupted by the oil crisis in 1973, which initiated the fourth phase.

The fourth and fifth phases are of significant importance in order to understand current socioeconomic tendencies regarding transnational movements from Morocco to European countries. Within this period, two important features of immigration structure had great impact on the current immigrant profile in Spain: growing transnational marriages between immigrants and Moroccan spouses living in Morocco, and, more importantly, a growing share of migrant women as forerunners in a new wave labour migration. The 1973 oil crisis initiated the fourth phase of Moroccan migration, in which the labour recruitment froze because of the crisis. Nevertheless, this

did not lead to mass return but rather the immigrant community followed a strategy to gain a socioeconomic and 'legal' foothold in Europe (De Mas 1990) by means of marrying Moroccan women living in Morocco. Therefore during this period there was an increasing female Moroccan immigrants moving to Europe with family reunification programs. During the fifth phase, which started in the mid 1980s, Italy and Spain became one of the major receiving countries and women immigrants (to be employed in domestic work in Southern Europe) became forerunners in immigration flows. Therefore this phase can be described as diversification of migration destinations and diversification of immigrant profiles and increasing share of immigrant women as active forerunners.

This thesis will demonstrate this diversification and its consequences in language learning motivations or investment strategies of Moroccan immigrant women in Spain. In the following sections of this Chapter the readers will see that this ethnography will explain the trajectories of immigrant women from the fourth and fifth phases of Moroccan migration. In Chapter VI, where I explain how these learners depict their language trajectories, the readers will better understand that the fifth phase immigrants represent an increasing complexity and unpredictability in language investment strategies. The readers will also see that, this complexity and unpredictability was overlooked by these social integration programs and by the dominant actors such as the language teachers, given that they represented the learners as generic, instrumentalized, passive and oppressed subjects.

3. 3. The emergence of social integration programs in Spain

In most of the European countries free language courses oriented to immigrant population is considered to be a part of a social integration project, and the main objective of these courses is to enable so-called (linguistic) socialization of the learners in the receiving countries. However, it is crucial to understand how these language classes or social integration projects became an important part of the public policy in Madrid and Catalonia. In order to understand the context, I will explain the emergence of these social integration programs, which requires a general understanding of immigration policies and neoliberal economy. I suggest that integration policies and integration projects oriented to the immigrant community should be understood as a part of a macro political-economic structure, and this macro perspective will enable me to locate these so-called social integration programs within the political economy of Spain.

Spain started legal efforts to regularize immigration in 1985 when EU member states started imposing restrictions on the migration from the non-European countries. That year Spain prepared the first law on migration (La Ley Orgánica de Extranjería de 1985) in order to control the migration influx before getting into the European Union zone. This law focused on the legal control over the migration influx and it totally ignored the structural problems of the immigrants such as family reunification, education and healthcare. It also established a work permit system, which, because of extremely short period of work permits and long bureaucratic procedures for the renovation of the work permits, forced the immigrants to an irregular, unregistered situation in Spain. Therefore, the Spanish State applied some amendments on this law in 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996 and 2000 in order to regularize the permits and family reunification. It was not before 2000 that Spanish law included the rights and the liberties of the immigrants and their social integration (La Ley Organica 4/2000 de los derechos y libertades de los extranjeros y su integración social) in an extended way. This law covered important issues such as free judicial assistance, positive silence for renovation of the work permits, possibility of working in public administration and participation of the NGOs to help the immigrants with the administrative and legal procedures.

The emergence of the integration and language programs is a response to the growing demands for unskilled workers in the neoliberal Spain. In one decade, Spain's foreign-born population increased from less than 4 percent of the total population to almost 14 percent. Fewer than 1.5 million immigrants resided in Spain in 2000, compared to 6.5 million in 2009.[9] Arango (2013) explains this growth with the dynamic economic growth of Spain, whose economic growth between the mid-1990s and 2007 was above the European Union (EU) average. As the native population aged, there was high demand for foreign labor, largely to fill low- or semi-skilled jobs. Especially in the feminized job market (cleaning, caring and cooking) there was a growing demand. Arango states that immigration was seen as a requirement of the labor market and the immigrants were economically and socially accepted because they were considered to be necessary for the economic growth. Therefore, in Spain integration issue came into question during the first half of the 2000s. The 2004-2005 immigration policy reform applied by the Socialist Party (PSOE) intended to combat irregularity, make easier for the employers to hire foreign workers, increase worksite inspections and put emphasis on integration. In the 2007 Plan for Citizenship and Integration was launched and a national fund was allocated to support social integration programs oriented to immigrants. That was a good opportunity to find funding for social integration projects. From this date onwards, many NGOs got approval for their "social integration projects", and

[9] Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Population Register (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2012).

language teaching to the adult immigrants was one of the priorities. Not only the NGOs but also the municipalities initiated social integration programs for the immigrant communities.

Currently, these so-called social integration programs in Spain are mostly provided by third-party institutions or decentralized bodies such as NGOs, charities and Civic Centers of local municipalities. It is important to mention that outsourcing welfare services is predominant in the current Spanish welfare system (Codó and Garrido 2014) and linguistic resources oriented to disadvantaged groups are also distributed by these de-centralized and mostly privatized institutions. In this fieldwork, the classrooms that I analyzed were also organized by an NGO in Madrid and by a Civic Centre in Barcelona. In the Barcelona field, the local municipality decided to privatize its social services in 2014 and from January 2015 onwards, these language classes were started to be organized by an NGO. This study will demonstrate that this decentralization has some consequences in the distribution of the linguistic capital to immigrants. First, there is a lack of common curriculum and common teaching objectives in these programs. In the classrooms that I analyzed, language teachers held the major responsibility in the organization of the curriculum, teaching methods and techniques that they used in the classroom. The lack of control on the quality of language education (which refers to efficient distribution of linguistic resources) and the lack of institutional interest to improve the quality of education and the fact that these institutions focused on providing only elementary linguistic resources to immigrants resulted in educational breakdowns in these classrooms. Therefore, the classroom analysis of this study should be understood within the language policies of the receiving states, and the breakdowns that will be explained in the following Chapters should not be interpreted merely as the failure of the teaching methods and techniques of the language teachers.

3.4. The fieldwork sites and the learner profiles

In this section I will give details about the fieldwork sites and explain: a) the main organizational features of the institutions where I realized this ethnography b) demographical and socio-political context of the towns where these social integration programs were located and c) learner profiles of the classrooms that I analyzed. Although Madrid and Barcelona social integration programs had some common features in terms of organizational issues, they belong to different contexts with regard to the language policies, demographic and economic structure of the regions. At the end of this section, the readers are expected to grasp the details of these features as well as the details about the learner profiles in Madrid literacy classroom, Madrid intermediate level classroom and

Catalan intermediate level classroom. It is also important to mention that the statistical data about the towns are taken from the official web pages of the municipality and for ethical considerations, all the proper names that might reveal the fieldwork sites are omitted.

3.4.1. The Madrid Field

The Madrid language course was situated in an industrial town in the south of the city. It was one of the fastest growing towns in the Madrid district; especially from the mid 1950s onwards, the population grew rapidly as a result of the emergence of factories, a military base and a public university. According to the data mentioned in the municipality's web page, the total population of the town was around 175.000 inhabitants and 17% of this figure corresponded to the immigrant population. Following the Romanian immigrants, Moroccan immigrants were the second biggest immigrant group in the town, corresponding to 4.000 inhabitants. The growing immigrant population in this fast-growing industrial town brought about many language courses oriented to the migrant population. Especially from the mid 1990s onwards, there were several courses organized by the municipality, the civic centre of the town, some churches and various NGOs. The language classes that I analyzed were organized by an NGO who received funding from the Madrid City Council between 2010 and 2013 for this project. The project was ended due to lack of public funding in January 2013.

This NGO, its headquarter located in Rome, was receiving funding from private and public entities such as religious organizations, the local municipality, the City Council of Madrid, private banks and youth agencies. During my fieldwork there were around 50 social workers in the NGO and they mainly administered projects about infancy and family, child and adolescent education, migration, and justice for children. The language classes of the immigrant women were organized under the social integration projects (Proyecto de promoción para inmigrantes no castellano parlantes) and there were five workers in this social integration project. The director of the project was the person in charge of the budget and other main organizational issues. Apart from the director, there were one language teacher, one social worker who was dealing with the secretariat issues, one lawyer who provided consultancy services to the immigrants, and one volunteer worker who was doing her apprenticeship.

One important characteristic of the Madrid context was that funding and administrative issues were subject to constant auditing. The auditors sent by the City Council frequently visited the classroom and they checked the classroom participation by means of following attendance lists (the learners had to sign this document in every class). For that reason the NGO administration was

giving a special importance to the number of students participating in the classroom and, as I shall explain later, the drive to treat students as a countable quantity resulted in the lack of specific resources (such as space, attendance time devoted to each learner, classroom materials, etc.) because the NGO administration encouraged the language teachers to keep the number of students as high as possible.

With respect to the learner profiles, the Madrid setting was composed of women coming from different countries, although the majority was from Morocco. In numbers, there were around 50 learners registered in the course, around 30 of which showed regular participation. The most important detail about the learner profiles in the Madrid setting was the difference between the literacy and intermediate level classroom in terms of age and social class. In the literacy classroom, where there were around 25 regular learners between 2011 and 2013, the majority of the Moroccan immigrant women had immigrated to Spain during the fourth phase of Moroccan migration (see section 3.2.). As I explained in the previous pages, these female migrants mostly had settled in Spain as followers of Moroccan male workers, through family reunification. Most of them had settled in Madrid in 1990s, and the average age of these learners were around 50. In intermediate level classroom, on the other hand, the learners mostly had settled in Madrid during the fifth phase of Moroccan migration. The average age was around 25, they were mostly recent comers, and a few of them were forerunners in their decision to settle in Madrid. In other words, in contrast to the women in literacy classroom who were mostly followers of their male partners, most of the learners in intermediate level classroom had immigrated to Spain together with their spouses or alone. These differences between the learner profiles will also be explained in the classroom analysis of Chapter IV as well as in Chapter VI where I explain how the learners depict their language investment strategies. The readers will see that the socio-economic position of the learners produce different strategies of language learning motivation.

3.4.2. The Barcelona Field

The Catalan language courses were located in a town in the north of the Barcelona city. It was a small town with 1110 inhabitants, around 13% of which corresponded to the international immigrant population. With 70 inhabitants, the Moroccan community was the biggest international immigrant community in the village. Regarding the social and economic status of the inhabitants, the majority of the population was workers or ex-workers of the heavy industry or workers of "unskilled" jobs. During the last decades, the overall population of the village had grown, but this growth was not associated with the labor opportunities in the village. Rather than that, there was a

constant migration from the Barcelona city to this village, and especially the young population kept working in Barcelona. There were also two residence and nursing facilities for the elderly in the town, and the elderly population corresponded to nearly 20% of the overall population. The village offered an interesting linguistic context for the research, because the local population spoke both local languages: Spanish and Catalan. According to the municipality data base, 12% of the overall population of the town was born in other Spanish regions outside Catalonia, the biggest three communities being those from Andalusia, Extremadura and Aragon. So besides the international immigrants, there was a big Spanish speaking community in the town, especially among the elderly people living in these two facilities for the elderly. Given that both Spanish and Catalan languages were spoken as a mother tongue in this village, the learners who worked as household and care workers received contradictory demands from their employers. As it will be explained in Chapter VI, these working women were demanded both languages in their workplace(s), which was the main reason that they were attending the Catalan language courses of the town.

The language course was organized by the local municipality and it was held in the so-called "Civic Centre" of the town, a building used by community groups and for cultural activities. In Catalonia some local administrations are governed by a participatory model (see: Salvador and Ramió 2012), which means that the local population has direct right to vote on budget issues. These language classes were subject to public vote under "Civic Centre Activities for Adults" and they were funded since 2008. I started my fieldwork in this site in December 2013 and conducted participant observation in the intermediate level classroom during one year. Shortly after that I had finished my fieldwork in September 2014, the local municipality privatized the social projects of the town and social integration program, together with the other social projects, started to be organized by an NGO.

The learner profiles of this classroom were quite similar to Madrid intermediate level classroom in the sense that most of them settled in Catalonia during the fifth phase Moroccan migration. To be more specific, among the 10 learners who were registered in the intermediate level classroom, the average age was around 35 and most of the learners were recent comers. 4 of them had moved to Catalonia with their male partners and 6 of them settled in Catalonia through family reunification. They were from different regions of Morocco and they were all native speakers of Darija. The learners belonged to diverse socioeconomic classes and 3 of them had a regular job. Finally, all learners were married and except for one learner, they were all mothers.

To sum up, both social integration programs were located in towns where the population was structured by the industrial growth since the 1960s. Growing population in both fields was presently driven by the influx coming from other countries, other Spanish autonomous states and

from the city centre towards these peripheral areas that were turning into suburbs. Growing immigrant population, followed by family unification programs from 2000 onwards, created a need for language classes oriented to female newcomers who needed the legitimate language to have access to public and private services, labour market and school network of their children. Therefore, women-only classrooms started to be provided by public and private entities. During my fieldwork, directors of these courses explained to me that women-only classrooms were being demanded mainly by the Muslim women because they refused to attend a mixed classroom (fieldwork notes, October 2012, Madrid).

Figure 3.1. Details of the fieldwork sites

	Location	Overall Population	Moroccan population	Institution
Madrid	Industrial town in the south	175.000	4.000	NGO
Barcelona	Residential village in the north	1110	70	Civic Center

3. 5. Justification of the methods and techniques

In this section and in the following two sections, I define the rationale behind choosing the fieldwork sites, I problematize my own position as the ethnographer of this study and I explain the qualitative approach adopted in this inquiry by means of underlining the specific reasons of conducting intensive participant observation, biographical interviews and discussion sessions in the field. I will draw on the aforesaid objectives and interests of this research, and I will clarify how these objectives were met by the qualitative methods and techniques that I explain in the following pages.

The primary interest of this thesis is, as stated in previous pages, to study the situated linguistic, discursive and social practices in the classroom as well as to analyze the linguistic itineraries of the learners in their own narratives. In this critical inquiry, I aim to explain how these learners are situated in the linguistic market and how they are located in relation (linguistic) capital and power. This objective could only be met by a qualitative approach to be deployed in the social integration programs. As Corbin and Strauss explain, qualitative research gives the researcher the possibility to get at the inner experience of the research participants, to determine how meanings are

formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables (2008:12). They suggest that to do qualitative research means to go past the known and to see the world with the eyes of participants, to gain in-depth understanding of the phenomena from the perspective of the people (ibid). By this means ethnography is a powerful methodology to understand the voice of the research participants (Nurani 2008), to look into the social constructs in a particular field and grasp a holistic and real-life picture of the phenomena being researched to be developed.

Keeping this in mind, I designed a longitudinal ethnography in Madrid and Barcelona. The decision to get into the Catalonia classroom resulted from my urge to question if similar social processes occurred in a different linguistic landscape (different than Madrid) and put into question external reliability of the ethnographic fieldwork. Being aware of the fact that ethnographic research may approach rather than attain external reliability (Hansen 1979; Pelto and Pelto 1978) because of uniqueness and complexity of phenomena, I aimed to understand if I would discover similar processes or social constructions in a Catalan language classroom in Barcelona. I should underline that this research does not seek extensive generalizability nor cross-site comparison between Catalan and Spanish learning settings. This research takes its strength from its internal validity (authentic representations of realities, social constructions and processes happening in the field) and from its critical approach. All the classrooms that I analyzed in this thesis, both in Madrid and Barcelona, enable to demonstrate the linguistic and social practices situated in social integration programs, and extending this analysis to four classrooms taught by three different language teachers enrich the data collection in many ways. First, especially in the following Chapter, the readers will understand that teaching methods and techniques adopted by the language teachers produce totally different interactional patters and therefore the speaker, learner and subject positions of the learners vary across these classrooms. Second, each classroom opens a window onto different learner profiles and trajectories. Throughout this thesis, the readers will have opportunity to get into the lives of Moroccan immigrant women from a vast variety of social, economic, educational and linguistic backgrounds. For instance one of the major contributions of the Catalan classroom was, apart from enabling me to analyze a social integration program in an officially bilingual landscape, giving me the chance to interview three working women, whose trajectories shed light onto the linguistic demands that the immigrant women workers receive in the host societies.

3.5.1. Reflecting on the social position of the ethnographer

Ethnographic fieldwork encourages the researcher to see the learners as social agents, as multifaceted social beings with experiences, involvements, trajectories and stories that reach far beyond the limited purview of the classroom space. Nevertheless, fieldwork makes it difficult to

regard people with whom they are conducting research as one-dimensional research subjects (Amit 2004: 3). Therefore there is a tension between the personal and the professional aspect of the fieldwork, which raises concerns about the integrity of the researcher's professionalism. In critical ethnography, social position of the researcher is included in the knowledge-making because it suggests that constructing the field and research participants is partially researcher-oriented.

As stated before, the decision to get into the field of social integration program was driven by my previous experience in these programs as an immigrant in Spain and also on my personal interest in language investment and real life chances and trajectories of the individuals. Since 2005, I adopted many different professional positions to commodify my linguistic skills in my homeland and in Europe. Having worked as a translator, conference interpreter and language teacher, I witnessed the close link between the language and the access to valuable economic resources. On the other hand, my subject position as a Turkish immigrant and a learner of Spanish and Catalan languages in Madrid and Barcelona allowed me to witness the beaurocratical, legal and social gatekeeping processes in first person. My first contact with language classes for immigrants (namely social integration programs) was in 2007 in Zaragoza, where I was studying an MA degree and struggled to develop better Spanish skills. In the following years I studied anthropology in Madrid and came back to these integration programs in 2010 this time as an ethnographer and as a volunteer literacy teacher, which implied that in these three years the linguistic and academic investment that I made enabled me to adopt a legitimate Spanish speaker who could help the other learners. In 2012 when I moved to Barcelona, I had to shift from teacher to learner subject position again, as I was participating as a learner of Catalan in the language classroom that I observed.

Therefore, I was in the field with my personal, professional and academic multiple subject positions. This nuanced shifting subjectivities and personal background could not be –and should not be- erased by the ethnographic lens that I adopted in the field. My subject position as an immigrant was, admittedly, the reason that drove me to adopt a critical perspective as a researcher towards these classrooms. In this research, critical ethnography is not only contextualized as looking at the larger historical processes and social contradictions in the field (Canagarajah 1999:48) but also as an ethical responsibility to address a process of injustice regarding the linguistic rights and freedoms of the adult immigrant population in the receiving countries. I conceptualize these classrooms as important access points to linguistic capital, where there is a constant struggle, domination, empowerment, disempowerment and resistance. I aim to disrupt the status quo by means of going beneath surface appearance of these social integration programs and unsettling taken-for –granted assumptions regarding the abstract link between these programs and

so-called social integration process. Therefore, in this research, apart from describing 'what is', there is a slight implication of 'what could be' these language classes.

On the other hand, researcher must take ethical responsibility of her own subjectivity and political perspective. Critical ethnography—or what some have called the "new ethnography" (Goodall 2000)—must not only critique the notion of objectivity, but must also critique the notion of subjectivity as well. As critical ethnographer, my main aim was to conduct an inductive, reflexive ethnography which aimed to explore and explain the social realities produced in these sites. In this sense this thesis is a voyage of discovery and it is based on a constant problematization of the social and linguistic practices that I encountered in the field.

3.5.2. An ethnographer's toolbox: Fieldwork strategies and data corpus

In this section, I explain the anthropological approach of this thesis and explain the ethnographic tools that I used throughout my fieldwork. I start with explaining the importance of immersion into the field and how I applied it during the participant observation sessions. I continue with explaining the life history interviews and the major contributions of this technique to this thesis. Finally I explain the discussion sessions realized in the Catalonia field. At the end of this section the readers are expected to understand the specific tools that I used to look into the social reality constructed in these social integration programs.

Intensive participant observation

As Gupta and Ferguson (1997:1) suggest, the single most significant factor determining whether a piece of research will be accepted as 'anthropological' is the extent to which it depends on experience 'in the field' and the experience in the field is commonly accepted as intensive participant observation, physically being present in the research area. Judith Okely (1992:8) claims that anthropological fieldwork is a total experience, demanding all of the anthropologist's intellectual, physical, emotional resources and it is an intuitive work. For that reason, she claims, bounded periods of sociological versions of ethnography bears no comparison to the long-term immersion of anthropological fieldwork. The notion of immersion implies that the field is a bounded set of relationships and activities which is autonomous of the fieldwork through which it is discovered. Amit (2000) claims that in these infinite interconnections and overlapping context, the ethnographer is to construct the field by means of accommodating and interweaving sets of relationships and engagements developed in one context with those arising in another. As this

process bound up with the conceptual, professional, financial and relational opportunities of the researcher, the idea of full immersion or breaking from the usual involvements is, as she states, an oxymoron. Especially in the contemporary urban ethnographies, immersion stands for experiential and cognitive rather than a physical movement.

In the ethnography of language education, I also claim that extended cognitive and experiential immersion into the classroom is the most effective way to conceptualize the classroom as a meeting space of overlapping relationships. In this study, immersion into field means conducting a reflexive, inductive participant observation on a regular and longitudinal basis. In order to achieve this, I started my fieldwork in 2010, carrying out some pilot work in various social integration programs organized by the Civic Centers and NGOs in Madrid. I got into some of the classrooms to audit, and interviewed some of the language teachers. Finally I decided to start my fieldwork in a specific NGO who let me get in to the classroom as a volunteer worker. My role as a volunteer language teacher was an important step to conduct intensive participant observation in the classroom and to meet other volunteer workers and administrators. I started my fieldwork in the literacy classroom in 2011, teaching four hours a week. In 2012 I got into the intermediate level classroom and I stayed there for one and half year. During that period, I attended both literacy and intermediate level classrooms which corresponded to eight hours of teaching a week. My role as a teacher enabled me to have access to encounters (especially in the NGO) but I sometimes had to cut myself off from access to particular elements of student interaction. Moreover, my role as a language teacher enhanced the power asymmetries between me and the learners. Nevertheless, it was the only way to become a part of the classroom routine and to understand the classroom as a socially embedded space. In the Catalonia field, where I entered in December 2013, I participated in the classroom as a researcher and learner one hour a week until the end of 2014. In this classroom, I was to become one of the learners, which made me adopt complete participant role as a learner of Catalan.

In both fields the most extensive method that used was participant observation, which enabled me to grasp the complexity of these sites and also enabled me to apply various techniques to collect qualitative data. Apart from being considered to be the most important method of collecting data in an ethnographic study, participant observation involves different levels of participation at different levels of interaction. As McCall and Simmons (1969:1) describe:

> "….participant observation is not a single method but rather a characteristic style of research which makes use of a number of methods and techniques – observation, informant

interviewing, document analysis, respondent interviewing and participation with self-analysis."

As I will demonstrate in the following Chapter, being a participant observer enabled me to be involved in different encounters (with the teachers, social workers, informants inside and outside the classroom) in different settings and it also gave me the possibility to interpret the classroom routines. This multi-faceted involvement enabled me to understand that teachers, other social integration workers and learners constructed the classroom (and the language learners) in a very different way. It is also very interesting that the personal, pedagogical and methodological approach of each language teacher (note that I have observed three language teachers) was different and they constructed the learners and the classroom interaction in quite different ways. As I better explain in the classroom analysis, classroom interaction would make sense only with the help of the data gathered in the participant observation.

Apart from enabling me to reach different levels of interaction, participant observation was a fundamental aspect of this critical inquiry. In each classroom, I constructed the research setting as a social system described from a number of participants' perspectives (Geertz 1973; Burgess 1984). In other words, I tried to find meaning in the encounters and situations. I conceptualized these social integration programs as heterogeneous, conflictual, negotiated and evolving sites; I assumed that the cultures, languages and linguistic practices are positioned in an unequal way in relation to power. My participant observation notes taken inside and outside the classroom, participating in the encounters and events organized outside, interviews and spontaneous talks realized with the language teachers and other social workers enabled to understand the voices, representations and struggles that were invisible or silenced inside the classroom. For instance, Chapter V, which describes knowledge-building strategies of the dominant actors, owes its valuable data to the intensive participant observation sessions that I realized.

Finally, my immersion into the field as volunteer worker and participant observer also helped me to gain most of the learners' consent to conduct life story interviews. In the Catalonia field, due to the small number of students studying in this classroom, establishing an intense and trustful relationship with the learners was easier and I had no problems in conducting interviews. Nevertheless, obtaining consent for these interviews was not always easy in Madrid, where an important number of learners rejected to be interviewed for several personal reasons. Most of the learners who rejected to be interviewed were new students that I met in the intermediate level classroom towards the end of 2012. On the other hand, in the literacy classroom obtaining their consent was easier, given that I stayed in that classroom for nearly two years. Therefore, the more

time I stayed in the classroom, the better chances I had to establish a trustful relationship with the learners to obtain their consent and conducting an intensive, longitudinal participation in the field facilitates this process.

Life history interviews

Anthropologists regularly use life stories to get at shared cultural meanings, the insider's view of a community, and the dynamics of cultural change (Geertz 1973; Langness and Frank 1981). As Atkinson (2002:122) suggests, there are various functions of life story interviews. First, life stories can carry the timeless themes and motifs into present, making it possible to unfold the entire life course. Second, they also foster a sense of community by means of establishing commonalities and links with the other social actors. Third, stories reveal feelings, allowing us to enter the domain of the sacred and the emotional. Finally, stories can help us describe a *cosmology*, a set of interpretive image of the universe within a given time. Therefore they enable us to understand the universe that we are a part of, from the perspective of the interviewees.

In this research, life story interviews were used to demonstrate subject positions of the learners towards language and language learning, but I analyzed their subjectivity within their life-long trajectories. The main idea was that each individual was to give different meanings to the legitimate language, and their experience as speaker and learner of a language would differ according to their multiple subject positions. Therefore this technique enabled me to obtain information about the events, actions and traditions of the narrator and to demonstrate how the narrator defined herself within a concrete time and space frame. As Atkinson (2002:134) suggests, the storyteller is considered to be both the expert and the authority on his or her life. He mentions that analysis of a life story, as well as the interview itself is highly subjective and it is crucial to remember that the researcher, in this process, is looking for the subjective reality. The narrator constructs herself through her lived experience and her subjective testimony. It is a form of self-construction and subjective testimony. She explains the origins and the developments of the actions, decisions and she also gives clues about what she defines as a progress or regression.

There is a further layer in life history technique, which is fundamental in this thesis. Life histories not only demonstrate subjective information but they also demonstrate her relationship with the social reality, with the social context, situations whereby the subject is located. As Santamarina and Marinas explain (1995), the narratives make reference to the living conditions of a community in a concrete historical period. Therefore life histories not only permits to permeate into the life of the narrator but also into the social realities experienced in concrete places, in concrete

time frames. The researcher may lead the narration in a way that the narrator demonstrates important transitional lines in her trajectory and demonstrates how transitions, changes and transformations take place in concrete time/space patterns. This aspect of life history was of a great importance in my thesis as I aimed to understand how they constructed the linguistic resources across different time and space patterns and why. For that reason, each interviewee was interviewed with different questions that were based on a number of variables. For instance, I tried to grasp how the linguistic agencies of the divorced women evolved after this rupture. Most of these learners explained that their lives went through an important social and economic change, and it was interesting for this study to understand how they made use of their Spanish and/or Catalan skills during this transformation. When I interviewed the women with economic difficulties, my specific questions were mostly related to the ways that they commodified their skills, and how linguistic resources were used to facilitate this commodification. When I interviewed the elderly women, I tried to understand their reasons to start learning the legitimate language because most of them took this decision after many years (five to fifteen years after immigration) and it was interesting for this study to understand why they depicted the legitimate language as something unwanted or unnecessary. When I interviewed the learners from middle or higher social class, I tried to understand what kind of values they attributed to the legitimate language. In sum, I guided the in-depth interviews according to the social, economic and educational background of the learners.

Finally, the interviews were mostly held in the NGO and Civic Centre, thanks to the fact that the language teachers in both sites provided me with an empty classroom. I scheduled the interviews after getting the oral consent of each informant, and they were informed about the interview date at least one week in advance. The interviews were held during the classroom hours because most of the learners had difficulties in finding spare time for the interview. In Madrid, I interviewed two informants at their homes and in Barcelona all of the interviews were held in the Civic Centre.

Discussion sessions

I conducted two round-table discussion sessions in Catalonia classroom, as a result of the physical suitability of the classroom setting in this field. Given the fact that there were around 6 learners in each session and the classroom sessions were held around a roundtable, I decided to conduct two sessions (one hour each) to discuss about the informants' positionality towards language learning, their agency as learners and speakers, and their ideologies or personal approaches towards language (more specifically towards Catalan, Spanish and Arabic languages). These discussion sessions were

announced one week in advance to the learners to get their consent and I chaired both sessions. These sessions were not structurally different from the everyday classroom activities as the language teacher based heavily on random talk. Therefore, I only guided the subject matter of the classroom, which resulted in a natural-like discussion that enabled me to convey the questions of legitimacy and authority from the learners' perspectives. It is also important to mention that during these discussion sessions the language teacher was also present in the classroom.

This thesis is built on the qualitative data corpus collected by these methods and techniques from March 2010 till January 2015 in Madrid and Barcelona settings. In numbers, the data included 10 classroom recordings (approximately 16 hours), 26 life story interviews (approximately 40 hours), 2 discussion sessions (2 hours), term reports of the NGO teachers written between 2010-2013 and fieldwork notes written inside and outside the classroom. Note that I also assisted some outdoor activities such as special celebrations, formal and informal encounters with my informants. Therefore, this thesis is a product of five-year-long experience, observation, involvement and dedication not only to the fieldwork setting but also to my informants who generously shared their knowledge, vision and life experience with me.

Figure 3.2. Data corpus in numbers

	Number of Students	Interviews	Discussion Sessions	Participant Observation	Classroom Recordings
Madrid A1	2010: 25 2011: 27 2012: 30	10	-	3 years of volunteer teaching	6 hours
Madrid A2	2010: 7 2011: 10 2012: 20	10	-	2 years of volunteer teaching	6 hours
Barcelona A2	2013-2014: 10	6	2	1 year as a learner of Catalan	4 hours

3.5.3. The question of ethics

In ethnography, there are guidelines for following ethical decisions in order to ensure the proactive handling of potential methodological issues when researching people as social actors. In this study, I followed the guideline of The American Anthropology Association Statement of Ethics (2012) which identifies professional ethnical responsibilities as follows: (1) to ensure transparency of research goals, methods, applicants and sponsors; (2) to obtain voluntary informed consent to participate; (3) not to harm your participants and to put their interests before competing ones; and (4) to make the results of the study accessible while preserving confidentiality. Following this ethical guideline requires a continuous negotiation between the researcher and the research participants. In this section I will explain my ethical decisions in both sites and I will also reflect upon the difficulties in implementing them.

In both research sites I informed the research participants (teachers, learners and the administrative staff of both institutions) fully in an appropriate way and I obtained the approval of the NGO administration and the Municipality officers to participate in these classrooms as a researcher. I entered the both sites after these pre-planned standard procedures. Once I got into the fieldwork site, ethics then became the collection of the qualitative data and protecting confidentiality. I commit to preserving the confidentiality of all people who participated in this study. Real names will not appear in any of the publications derived from this research and I will use pseudonyms in the same language instead. Besides, I do not reveal the municipality and town that this research took place, nor do I include the names of the towns or neighbourhoods mentioned in the qualitative data that may reveal the location of these research sites.

With regard to obtaining voluntary informed consent, there is an open debate about the problems of using these signed consent forms in ethnographic fieldwork (Fluehr-Loban 1994), considering the difficulty in obtaining them and especially the different interpretations that they have for different social groups. In both settings asking for a signed consent form would pose difficulty to this study because of two main issues. First, an important number of learners could not read in Latin or Arabic alphabet and making them sign a written document would be impossible. Second, this would undermine the trust that I constructed with them in the field. For these reasons, before the data collection (classroom recordings, interviews and discussion group sessions) I collected their oral voluntary consent to participate. Before each classroom recording the learners were explained, in detail, the objectives and the data collection methods of the study. In Barcelona, the learners were informed about the discussions sessions two weeks ahead. And each biographical interview was recorded with the oral consent of the interviewee.

My data collection experience in both sites required a constant negotiation for each method or technique that I used in the field. Once I entered the field and started observing and note-taking during the classroom sessions, I negotiated the possibility of recording the classroom sessions with the learners. This negotiation caused some tensions especially in Madrid intermediate level classroom, as some learners did not want to participate in these sessions. I recorded the classroom interaction only when I obtained the oral consent of all research participants and this posed some limits on the qualitative data. The same tensions emerged during the biographical interviews. Some of the key research participants rejected to be interviewed, while some others did not show up at the scheduled meeting day. As a result of this, I could only interview approximately half of the learners. In the Barcelona field this negotiation was quite easier thanks to my a priori presence in the fieldwork site as a neighbour. Most of the learners already knew me because some of them were my neighbours. Besides, as the number of students was quite small, there was a more intimate environment in the classroom. For these reasons obtaining the voluntary consent for discussion sessions and interviews was quite easy. This is one of the reasons that I could carry out these discussion sessions only in Barcelona, as in the Madrid field I preferred to abstain from producing further tensions in the classroom.

Negotiating consent with both institutions and with the learners constructed my research and researcher identity in many ways. First, during this process I could understand the bureaucratic procedures or administrative issues of each site. I had chance to understand their priorities, fears or hesitations. In the Madrid field, the director of this social integration program was concerned about the sponsor of this study, for instance. When I told him that this was a PhD thesis and I was a researcher without any affiliation to any other NGOs or similar institutions, he was convinced to collaborate. Nevertheless, he asked me not to tell the learners that I was a researcher, at least a couple of months. He told me that he was afraid of losing the students, frightening them, or to make them think that there is an outsider or observer in the classroom. Therefore he introduced me to the learners as a volunteer worker, and I told the learners about my research after three months. As months passed, I realized that keeping the number of the learners high was of a special importance to this NGO. The auditors from Madrid City Hall, which was the sponsor of this social integration program, inspected the signatures of the students each semester in order to check participation. I realized then, how the auditing system and the NGO organization is linked, and the priorities of the NGO were also conditioned by the criteria of the Madrid City Hall. I will also mention this issue in Chapter IV, how these priorities caused a break down in the pedagogical efficiency of the classroom. In this section I just want to underline the interdependency of the institutions with regard to the organizational features of these programs.

In Barcelona, on the other hand, the bureaucratic procedure and obtaining consent was quite easier than the Madrid site, considering that I only negotiated with the organizer of this program, who was a Municipality officer in charge of the social activities realized in the Civic Centre of the town. All the activities were organized and funded by the municipality budget, and the language classes had been ongoing since 2008. She introduced me to the language teacher, Laia, who was not very content about by presence in the classroom. During the first three weeks this tension continued, and in the fourth week I became an insider, in the sense that I could establish trust between me and the learners as well as with the language teacher. This tension between Laia was produced by the fact that she did not want an outsider to observe her teaching. I realized that in this Civic Centre there was no control mechanism or an auditing system with regard to the classroom activities. I was the first person to observe this classroom and for that reason she was unwilling to have me in the classroom during the first weeks. In both sites, negotiating my positioning as a researcher provided me with these valuable data with regard to the key actors, organizational features, control systems, priorities and hesitations, which shed light into this ethnography. During the data analysis, the readers will see how these organizational features are implicated in understanding the social and pedagogical practices constructed in these classrooms.

Finally, I also recognize that there are some restrictions regarding the ethical issues. Ethnographic research requires conducting an inductive and progressive reasoning, which means that during the data collection researcher explains what is learned and experienced in the field, rather than confirming or disconfirming what was already claimed, which makes difficult to ensure that all the participants will be satisfied or happy with the research results. Obtaining consent not only cannot stop this from happening but also may push the participants into a false sense of security during the project. I recognize that some of the research results would let some agents down, given that this critical ethnography of education looks into the pedagogical practices situated in the classroom and this empirical look reveals the breakdowns with regard to the pedagogical focus of these sites.

3.6. Concluding remarks: Towards a critical ethnography

By and large, in this Chapter I situated the fieldwork sites within a political and economic context and explained the methods and techniques mobilized to look into these so-called social integration programs. I also introduced the research sites, explaining their demographical features to guide the reader with regard to the socio-economic context of both sites. I have also engaged in a reflexive

appraisal of my fieldwork decisions in order to ground critically the collection of ethnographic, interactional and textual data in multiple sites. This reflexive exercise has revolved around three crosscutting themes in the research process: the critical approach, inductiveness of this study, and intensive participant observation. I have constructed these social integration programs as (1) a site of power struggles whereby the pedagogical and discursive practices re-configure the social order (2) a meeting point of different personal and linguistic trajectories and silenced voices. Assuming that there is a constant negotiation and re-appropriation of power and subject positions, I focus on grasping these struggles by the methods and techniques that I deploy. Collecting audio recordings, having access to term reports of the teachers as well as the discussion sessions will enable me to analyse how the learners and the teachers are positioned in these discursive spaces as speakers, learners and also as social agents. Biographical interviews, on the other hand, will enable me to demonstrate the voices, trajectories, struggles, resistance strategies that are silenced in the classroom. This connection between the front-stage and the back-stage will demonstrate the complexity of this research site, foregrounding the voices of the learners that may be silenced in the front-stage.

Positioning myself as a researcher as well as a volunteer worker in both sites required me to take ethical responsibility to fully inform the research participants and to negotiate consent for this ethnography and collaboration. My positioning as a socially-committed ethnographer in Madrid has motivated the adoption of a collaborative research that integrates the learners' learning interests into this ethnography. My volunteer teaching during two and half years in this site enabled me to become an *insider*. In the Barcelona field, the small number of learners and easier bureaucratic procedures enabled me to get into the field as an insider. In both fields my priority as a researcher has been protecting the privacy and interests of the research participants and maintaining the transparency of the aims, methods and techniques of this research.

Part 2. Exploring the front-stage: Maintaining inequalities

CHAPTER IV.
DISTRIBUTION OF THE LINGUISTIC CAPITAL

4. 1. Introduction

In February 2010, I saw an announcement in the Immigration Office of the town where I lived in Madrid, which mentioned that they needed volunteer Spanish teachers for a social integration program in an NGO. I called the number and the following day I had an appointment with the director of this program. He explained that the project was funded by the Madrid City Hall between 2009 and 2013, and "The number of the learners is growing, and we cannot handle especially the literacy classroom with only one language teacher, we need volunteers" he said. This is how I started this longitudinal ethnography: teaching the Latin alphabet in this literacy classroom. As months and years passed, my ethnography went through other classrooms taught by different language teachers and it also involved another classroom situated in Barcelona. This Chapter will take the readers in and across these sites, introducing the language teachers and the learners as the main actors of this study and it will also explain the pedagogical and interactional patterns taking place in each classroom. The data analysis of this Chapter is mostly descriptive and it aims to answer my initial research question when I first got into the field: How do the learners construct their language trajectories in the front-stage? More specifically, what do they learn in these classrooms? Apart from the pedagogical orientation, how are they positioned in the classroom as speakers and learners?

This Chapter also situates the pedagogical and interactional practices taking place in these sites under the critical lenses of this ethnography. I draw on linguistic anthropology and I problematize how the learners are located in relation to power and linguistic capital (Heller 2001a), and I consider that in these classrooms social difference is constructed (Heller 2001b). I defend the idea that these social integration programs not only act as key access points to linguistic capital, they also build or construct specific learner and speaker profiles. In order to explain this, in this Chapter I focus on a) how the linguistic capital is distributed and b) how learner and speaker positions of these immigrant women are constructed. Drawing on the ideas of Susan Gal (1989:347–48), I locate the situated discursive, pedagogical and social practices within a larger

system of inequality, with the aim of demonstrating that these situated practices have dynamic interrelations with the larger political economic structures of states and global capitalism.

In order to address these issues, this Chapter is organized as follows. First, I reflect on the social processes taking place in these sites. I explain that these classrooms should be understood as key access points to the linguistic capital and they are snapshots of a wider social policy that locates these learners in the linguistic market in specific ways. I will define these classrooms as historically and politically constructed sites where the political economy of language is appropriated. Second, I explain how I used detailed Conversation Analysis (CA) in order to analyze the speaker and learner positions in four different classrooms taught by three language teachers. Following this, I will continue with the qualitative data analysis and I will introduce the main actors of these sites and I will also demonstrate the speech-exchange systems produced in each classroom. At the end of this Chapter, the readers will understand that these social integration programs maintain the asymmetrical position of these learners in the linguistic market by means of a) providing them with only elementary linguistic resources, b) orienting these learners to subordinate, feminized labor markets or to household spaces c) attributing them passive learner and speaker positions in the classroom.

4.2. Reflecting on the learners' positions in relation to linguistic capital and power

In this section I aim to explain how I locate the situated, micro interactional patterns of these social integration programs under the critical, reflexive lenses of this ethnography. The main idea is that these institutions not only emerge out of specific political, economic and historical conditions, but they also configure social, political and cultural processes. They distribute the linguistic capital, and they also construct these immigrant groups as speakers of the legitimate language, attributing them specific learner and speaker positions. They locate these learners in relation to power and capital and by doing so they consolidate social difference. In this section, I discuss the critical reasoning of this approach and I discuss two main ideas with regard to these learners' position in the linguistic market. First, I will explain how (de)capitalization occurring in these sites may reproduce the disadvantaged position of these learners in the linguistic market. Second, I will explain that there is a need to locate these inequalities within the social policy with regard to language teaching to immigrant women. I will explain that the pedagogical and organizational breakdown that will be explained in this Chapter should be understood as a snapshot of a wider welfare policy with regard to distributing the linguistic capital to immigrant women.

With regard to the (de)capitalization process, the immigrant learners attend these classes with the aim of accumulating linguistic resources that they need to deploy in different social and economic domains. Linguistic resources distributed in these sites play an important role in the economic and social participation of the learners in the receiving society. When the capitalization process fails or when the linguistic resources that they acquire orient these learners to subordinate subject positions, then these language classrooms maintain inequalities instead of eradicating them. This is how decapitalisation emerges. As Martin Rojo (2013) puts it:

> "Decapitalisation is seen to be a complex phenomenon which encompasses various aspects: firstly, the process by which value is assigned to linguistic varieties and communicative practices (…) In relation to this, an analysis of processes of inference can also contribute to a better understanding of the different values assigned to the same linguistic practices by participants, and their differing interpretations of the activities in which they are engaged, and the different positions taken in relation to these activities and the distribution of capital. The concept of decapitalisation refers to acts of subtracting capital, such as the lack of valuation of students' previous schooling, languages and knowledge, but also to acts of discouraging capital formation, as illustrated in the previous examples, with the tendency for educational programmes to orient students toward unskilled jobs and toward lower positions in the labour market."
>
> (p.138)

Decapitalization, therefore, takes place mainly in two forms: locating the social and linguistic capital of a specific community in an inferior position and discouraging the accumulation of this capital in educational settings, which may reproduce the asymmetrical social position of the learners. In this Chapter, the readers will see that decapitalization took place in each classroom in different ways. For instance, in the classroom of Clara the learners were constructed as passive speakers because of the very limited teacher-to-learner and learner-to-learner interaction in the target language. In the Clasroom of Laia, the linguistic resources permitted in the classroom oriented the learners to the household activities. In the classroom of Mar, which showed the best classroom interaction in terms of learner participation in the target language, in some specific cases her pedagogical focus on providing elementary vocabulary and grammar skills discouraged the learners from improving their linguistic skills to upper levels. I will explain all these processes in a detailed way in the following pages. Nevertheless in this section I aim to problematize one common

feature of these classrooms: providing the learners with only elementary linguistic resources and overlooking the complexity of learner profiles.

Providing these learners with elementary linguistic resources or constructing them as passive speakers is not a simple pedagogical breakdown. The following Chapter will reveal that there is a systematic rationalization with regard to learner, speaker and subject positions of African immigrant women speakers in Spain. The language teachers and other dominant actors sustain and reproduce the idea that these learners do not need advanced, professional linguistic resources because they won't use them. In other cases, these dominant actors also claim that they use the linguistic resources acquired in the classroom only in the household space or they simply do not deploy these resources because they are constructed as agentless or passive social agents. And my four-year-long ethnography in these institutions showed me that this rationalization about the passive and/or deficient linguistic and social agencies of African immigrant women is also reproduced and sustained by the institutions, not only by the language teachers. The welfare strategy with regard to teaching the legitimate language to immigrants focuses on providing these learners with the minimum or elementary linguistic resources and it overlooks the complexity of learner profiles or their needs to acquire professional and competitive linguistic resources (see also: Tollefson 1991). This is mostly produced by the fact that there is no regularized, common ground for providing accessible, free, competitive and professional language courses to the disadvantaged groups such as immigrants in Spain. As stated before, adult immigrant language education in Spain is provided by the third-actors such as NGOs and charities who act as the main distributors of the linguistic capital to the "disadvantaged immigrant groups". As Codo and Garrido (2014) suggest, emergence of these third-actor institutions as providers of welfare services to the disadvantaged population, in other words, outsourcing welfare services is predominant in the current Spanish welfare state policy, which is considered to be a segmented universalism model (Martin Castro 2012:19 mentioned in Codo and Garrido 2014). Starting from the transformation of Spain as a reception country with the arrival of so-called economic migrants in 1990s, these private charities and NGOs became in charge of providing linguistic resources to these migrant groups. These institutions decide on their own teaching methods, techniques and curricula in an independent way and as the readers will see in the following sections, they mostly depend on the language teachers' decisions with regard to following or achieving some quality[10] standards in their teaching methods. Therefore the obstacles in the

[10] In this Chapter the quality of these language classrooms is defined according to the teaching methods and techniques (Walsh 2006, 2011) and interactional patterns (Seedhouse 2009) constructed in each classroom. I explain the classroom routine, what kind of linguistic resources are allowed, and I demonstrate learners' participation in the target language.

capitalization process[11] cannot be interpreted merely as a consequence of the pedagogical decisions of the language teachers; it also involves the institutions' and other actors' decisions who take an active role in regularizing, auditing, and controlling these classrooms. All these actors, together with the language teachers, are the social agents who take an active role in deciding how symbolic capital is managed and distributed in these classrooms. In the following pages, I will draw on my fieldwork notes and give some specific examples about these actors and their roles in the process of (de)capitalization.

In the Madrid NGO, the lack of pedagogical regularization, the over-crowded classrooms and the diverging linguistic levels amongst learners were produced by the fact that the NGO that administered this integration program focused more on the quantitative issues rather than the qualitative aspects of language education. The number of the students in the classroom was especially important because the NGO was audited by the officers coming from Madrid City Hall. These officers checked the signatures collected at the end of each classroom and they also collected a learner satisfaction questionnaire at the end of each year. Therefore the director of this integration program decided that the priority was to keep the number of students high, a decision that was highly criticized by the language teachers, who claimed that they needed to limit the number of students or divide the literacy classroom into two in order to achieve higher quality of education (fieldwork notes, February 2012). Besides, the auditing system (who audits, what is the criteria of auditing, how does the NGO respond to this procedure) is important for this research for several reasons. First, the auditing procedure reveals the actors who control and administer these access points. This so-called social integration project was proposed by this NGO to Madrid City Hall in 2009 and it was approved after passing through a series of procedures of a competitive contest. The details about the project such as the curriculum of the director and the language teachers, teaching methods and methodologies, physical classroom space were explained in detail in their proposal, which means that this social integration program and their pedagogical focus were approved by Madrid City Hall. Therefore, not only the language teachers but also other actors in the NGO as well as in the Madrid City Hall held a responsibility about the regularization, organization, and pedagogical decisions taken in these sites.

In the Barcelona field the local Municipality that organized these courses applied no procedure to control or audit the pedagogical practices or the classroom content, and the language teacher held exclusive authority on the critical decisions related to pedagogical practices. The fact that neither the Municipality officers nor the NGO administration established a regularized

[11] I define capitalization in this thesis as obtaining the linguistic capital, which involves acquiring the linguistic resources as well as deploying them in the classroom (see also: Bourdieu 1991; Martin-Rojo 2010 and 2013). Therefore it refers to obtaining the linguistic capital as well as using these resources in the classroom interaction.

mechanism to ensure the pedagogical quality of these language classrooms suggests that these actors overlooked the pedagogical quality. This ignorance also occurred during the teacher recruitment process. Among these three language teachers only Mar held educational and professional qualifications for teaching Spanish to foreigners, while the Catalan language teacher Laia did not even hold a university degree. The recruitment criteria of both institutions were not based on a competitive selection system conducted through an open call; they rather recruited acquaintances whose curricula were of a secondary importance. In the Madrid NGO, the language teachers were required to hold a university degree and both Clara and Mar were recruited thanks to the connections[12] in the NGO network. In the Barcelona Civic Centre, being a native speaker was a legitimate social capital to teach Catalan to these learners.

In conclusion, problematizing the specific ways that the symbolic capital is managed and distributed not only involves *in situ* practices in the classroom but it also involves the specific ways that these access points are controlled and regularized. Across the various institutions, there was a rationalization of the idea that these immigrant women learners were meant to receive only elementary linguistic resources in these access points. This rationalization was produced or sustained by the language teachers, directors, auditors, policy-making actors in the different institutions. I underline that the language teachers were among the key actors but they were not the only reason for the organizational and pedagogical breakdowns that will be explained in this Chapter. In this thesis, I strictly abstain from simplifying the data analysis by linking the obstacles in the capitalisation process merely to the pedagogical practices of the language teachers and I also abstain from claiming that these language classes follow pre-planned, organized strategies to produce passive and deficient learner and speaker profiles. Rather than this, these sites should be interpreted as a snapshot of a wider social policy that organizes, regularizes the distribution of the linguistic capital to immigrants.

Keeping these reflections in mind, in the following pages I will demonstrate how the symbolic capital is managed in the four classrooms that I analyzed. First, I will explain the details about the model of Seedhouse (2009, 2011) and Walsh (2006, 2011), which will be used to analyze the speech-exchange systems and the teaching models of these classrooms. I consider that praxis-oriented micro analysis of the classroom will reveal the pedagogical focus of these classrooms and the subject positions that the learners are given as speakers. Accordingly, the analysis of this Chapter involves describing the classrooms routines and interactional patterns of these sites and it is based on detailed transcriptions of the audio recordings collected during the participant observation sessions.

[12] In this NGO, there was a complex social network between workers. They were either neighbors, relatives or ex-colleagues.

4.3. Conversation analysis toolbox

The specific tools of the interaction analysis of this Chapter are selected with the purpose of describing the process of (de)capitalization as well as the learner and speaker positions that the learners were allowed in these classrooms. For that reason the conversation analysis (CA) aims to answer one main question: What kind of speakers and learners are constructed in these classrooms? I problematize a) the teaching methodologies, b) the linguistic resources allowed in the classroom and c) the speaker and learner positions constructed in the classroom. In order to do this, I will analyze the interactional patterns of these classrooms and in this section I explain these CA tools that I deploy during the interaction analysis of this Chapter.

The speech exchange system and *the interactional architecture* of Seedhouse (2009, 2011) enable me to problematize the speaker positions constructed these classrooms. I draw on the idea that micro interactional patters such as turns, repairs and overlaps demonstrate the economy of opportunities constructed in the classroom. These patterns reveal the specific ways in which the speakers are situated in the interaction, revealing their position in relation to the opportunity to speak (Sidnell 2009, 2012; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1977). This idea is important in these L2 classrooms because speakers are located in the conversation not only as speakers but also as learners. As Seedhouse (2009) and Walsh (2011) defend, their position as speakers also defines the specific position whereby they learn the target language because the language is both vehicle and object in L2 classrooms. Therefore the speech exchange system also reveals the pedagogical focus and how the symbolic capital is managed in these classrooms.

With regard to the speech exchange system of L2 classrooms, Seedhouse (2005) mainly suggests the following: there is order at all points of interaction, contributions to interaction are context-shaped and context-renewing, analysis is bottom-up and data driven (p.166-167, mentioned in Sert and Seedhouse 2011). Therefore conversational analysis of a classroom interaction depends on detailed transcription, highly empirical orientation and independent thinking from theoretical assumptions. Seedhouse (2009) states that CA attempts to understand the "interactional architecture" of the L2 classroom as being rationally driven by the institutional core, *which is that the teacher will teach learners the L2* (p.1). He mentions three interactional properties derived from this core goal: 1) Language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. 2) There is a reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction 3) The linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 are potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher in some

way. He suggests that these three properties are universal, no matter where the educational setting is located in.

Another important analytic tool that will be used in this Chapter is *intersubjectivity*, which refers to the subject-to-subject patterns in which the interactants display their understandings of each other (Seedhouse 2009). Intersubjectivity is signalled through conversational patterns in which participants themselves orient to, display, and make sense of another's cognitive states (Drew 1995:79, mentioned in Seedhouse 2009). In this Chapter I will especially focus on the learner-to-teacher conversational patterns in the target language and I will demonstrate that language teachers encourage or hinder learners' participation by means of constructing limited or extended learner-to-teacher conversational patterns. The readers will understand that in some classrooms learners were mostly driven to understand the linguistic resources rather than making use of these resources, which pushed these agents to passive learner and speaker positions in the classroom. When teacher-to-learner intersubjectivity was not acknowledged by the language teacher, the capitalization process was also hindered because the learners were not given the opportunity to accumulate and deploy the symbolic resources.

Additionally, I will use the *The Classroom Interactional Competence* framework model of Walsh (2006, 2011) in order to problematize how the linguistic capital is distributed in the classroom. This model encompasses the features of classroom interaction that make the teaching/learning process more or less effective and it enables me to explain the following question: What kind of learners are constructed in these classrooms? Walsh argues that the features of an effective interactional competence in a classroom are (a) maximizing interactional space; (b) shaping learner contributions (seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, or repairing learner input); (c) effective use of eliciting[13]; (d) instructional idiolect (i.e. a teacher's speech habits); and (e) interactional awareness. He identifies four *modes* that the teachers assume in micro classroom contexts: managerial mode, classroom context mode, skills and systems mode and materials mode. Throughout this chapter I will focus specifically on the managerial and classroom context mode of the three teachers as these modes focus on the pedagogical orientation and the learner participation. More specifically, managerial mode deals with the pedagogical goals related to transmitting information, organizing the physical learning environment, classroom materials, introducing or concluding an activity, and to changing from one mode of learning to another. I will mostly draw on my fieldwork notes to explain these pedagogical features and I will explain the teaching habits of each language teacher. The readers will see that these teaching habits or *managerial mode*, as

[13] Eliciting (elicitation) describes a range of techniques which enable the teacher to get learners to provide information rather than giving it to them. It focuses on encouraging learners to develop topic and sub-topics by using the linguistic resources taught in that particular session.

Walsh suggests, is crucial to understand what kind of linguistic resources are allowed in the classroom and how they are distributed. For that reason it is the key analytic tool to explain how (de)capitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) occurs in the classroom.

In the classroom context mode, on the other hand, the main focus is to enable learners to express themselves clearly, to establish a context and to promote oral fluency. Therefore this mode is characterized by extended learner turns, minimal teacher repair, and clarification request (Sert and Seedhouse 2011). This mode has a particular importance because analyzing how the language teachers enable extended participation of the learners indicates the learners' possibilities to formulate complex sentence structures in the target language, and their possibility to obtain fluency. Therefore it is an important analytical tool to demonstrate the subject positions of the learners in the classroom and how these open up or close down routes to access linguistic capital.

In conclusion, the data analysis will look into the micro pedagogical and discursive practices occurring in these sites and it will demonstrate the pedagogical focus and speaker and learner positions produced in these classrooms. In order to guide the reader, it is important to mention that the data analysis is organized according to the chronological order of the fieldwork notes taken in the field. For that reason it starts with the Madrid literacy classroom and ends with the intermediate level Catalan classroom. In each classroom analysis I explain the learner profiles, teachers' professional background and I also provide descriptive information about the classroom setting. Then I demonstrate the pedagogical orientation of each classroom, focusing mainly on how the language teacher organized the classroom (managerial mode) and how she encouraged learners' participation (classroom context mode and speech exchange system). This involves the detailed analysis of classroom materials, turn-taking structures, initial questions and repairs of the language teachers, inter-subjectivity constructed in the classroom and learners' limited or extended participation. All the excerpts of this Chapter will show the original transcription and my own translation into English as well, and the transcription codes are selected according to the aims and objectives of the analysis.

4.4. The Madrid literacy classroom

Fieldnote 1.

The learners in the literacy classroom are composed of working class Moroccan immigrant women mostly above their 40s and they are generally from the northern rural areas of Morocco. There are ten Shilha-speaking Berbers most of whom lack both Latin and Arabic alphabet. The rest of the learners are Darija speakers. There are two main important issues standing out in this classroom. First, it is over-crowded. Sometimes there are nearly 30 women in the classroom, which makes it hard to keep control. Second, learners have completely different language levels. Some speak intermediate Spanish but cannot read or write, others cannot speak but they can read, there is also a group of learners who can read, write, and speak intermediate Spanish but they come to this classroom because it fits their schedule better than the intermediate classroom time schedule.

(Madrid, December 2010)

As it is explained in the fieldwork note above, apart from the overwhelming number of students and their differing language levels, the average age of the learners was around 40-45, which was the highest among the all classrooms that I studied. This was driven by the fact that the majority of the learners were spouses of the immigrant workers who moved to Spain around the 1990s (see Chapter III). Therefore, they were mainly followers of their male partners and they had moved to Spain by obtaining family reunification visas. As for the sociolinguistic background of the learners, most of the learners were born in the northern rural areas of Morocco, which means that they spoke various dialects of the Berber language and had not received formal education in Morocco. Therefore, among the four classrooms, this classroom had the highest number of illiterate learners (in both Arabic and Latin scripts) who needed to learn how to spell first.

If I have to describe my first feeling when I got into this classroom in two words, they would be uneasiness and despair. An overcrowded classroom, constant noise, cries of children, different learner levels, all these features made it difficult to keep an effective and meaningful teaching focus. My relationship with Clara (40 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012), the language teacher of this classroom, had always been easy because from the first moment that I got into the classroom she felt relieved with my assistance. Clara was a pre-school teacher who was teaching Spanish to immigrants for the first time in her life. It was obvious that she needed help to handle nearly 30 learners who had different linguistic needs. Incoherence in the linguistic levels of the students, pressure of the NGO administration to keep the number of the students as high as possible and the

director's reluctance to divide this literacy classroom into two and hire a second language teacher, played an important role in the pedagogical and organizational breakdown of this classroom.

I recognize that the classroom interaction analysis of this thesis owes its critical lenses mostly to my first impression as a researcher in this classroom. Among the four classrooms I analyzed, this one showed the least learner participation in the target language and the most limited interactional space. The learners were expected to follow individually-performed writing and reading exercises instead of developing speaking skills, and this classroom routine produced passive speaker and learner positions. All these facts made me focus on the inequalities constructed or maintained in these classrooms and I used the same critical lenses during my participant observation in the following three classrooms.

Figure 4.1. NGO building facilities and the language classroom (left-bottom), Madrid.

4.4.1 The classroom routine and the speech exchange system constructed in the classroom of Clara

The speech-exchange system of this classroom encompassed minimal interactional space, very limited learner participation in the target language and the lack of extended learner-to-learner and also learner-to-teacher intersubjectivity in the target language. In this section, I explain all these features in an empirical way, drawing on the materials, teaching modes and interactional space used

and produced inside the classroom. Before moving forward to the pedagogical focus, I will draw a descriptive picture of the classroom routine in order to make the readers understand the general features of this space. To begin with, all the three Madrid-based classrooms that I depict and analyse in this thesis started at 10.00 AM and finished at 12.00 AM[14], and all the sessions took place in the classroom that you see in Figure 4.1 (bottom-left picture). Clara and I arrived approximately 10 minutes before each session in order to organize the desks, materials etc. The learners arrived between 10.00-10.30 AM and they were usually unpunctual. Some of the learners arrived with their kids, and we provided toys, drawing and painting materials for them. We generally located them at the centre of the U-shaped desks, and I was in charge of taking care of the children when they needed attention. This was one of the issues that Clara negotiated with me before I started volunteering, because she thought that the mothers could not pay attention to the classroom while they were attending their children. As soon as a learner arrived, she looked for her own book[15] located in the library of the classroom, took a pencil and a rubber that were located next to these books. After taking a seat, she started studying individually, continuing from the page that she left in the previous session onwards. It is important to mention that the books and the materials that they followed were not the same. Considering the differences between the pre-acquired linguistic resources of the learners, some followed a literacy book which focused on learning how to read and write (see:Figure 4.2) and some others followed another book which involved elementary level vocabulary and grammar skills (see:Figure 4.3). Each learner studied on these activities individually, completing these exercises with a pencil.

[14] The literacy classroom was held on Monday and Wednesday and the intermediate level classroom on Tuesday and Thursday.

[15] They had their names written at the first page of their books so that they could recognize them. When the classroom session finished, they left their books back in the library.

Figure 4.2. Literacy Classroom Activity Sheet

Mamá

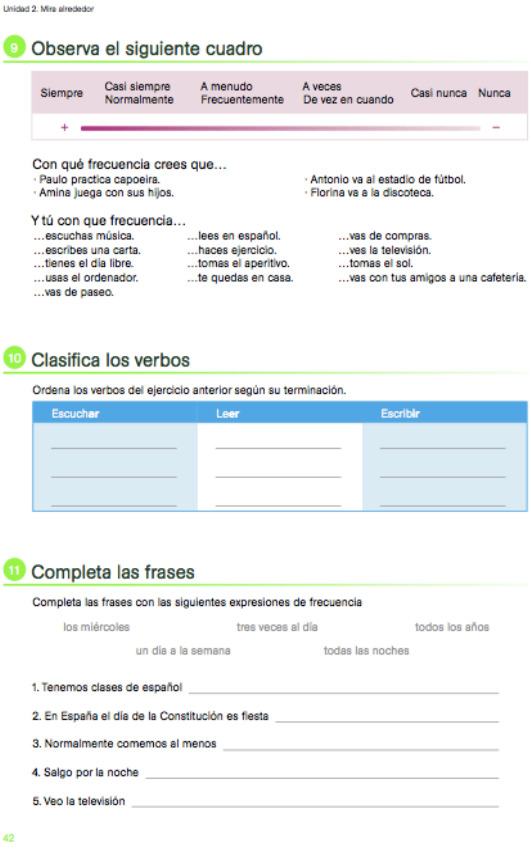
1. ABECEDARIO.

a, e, h, i, ll, m, o, u, y.

2. CALIGRAFÍA.

Yema, mella, milla, malla, mamá, Emi, momia, humo, mayo. Yo amo a mi mamá. Yo llamo a mi mamá. Yo me llamo Hua.

Figure 4.3. Literacy Classroom Activity Sheet



Unidad 2. Mira alrededor

9 Observa el siguiente cuadro

Siempre	Casi siempre Normalmente	A menudo Frecuentemente	A veces De vez en cuando	Casi nunca	Nunca

\+ –

Con qué frecuencia crees que…

- Paulo practica capoeira.
- Amina juega con sus hijos.
- Antonio va al estadio de fútbol.
- Florina va a la discoteca.

Y tú con que frecuencia…

…escuchas música.
…escribes una carta.
…tienes el día libre.
…usas el ordenador.
…vas de paseo.
…lees en español.
…haces ejercicio.
…tomas el aperitivo.
…te quedas en casa.
…vas de compras.
…ves la televisión.
…tomas el sol.
…vas con tus amigos a una cafetería.

10 Clasifica los verbos

Ordena los verbos del ejercicio anterior según su terminación.

Escuchar	Leer	Escribir

11 Completa las frases

Completa las frases con las siguientes expresiones de frecuencia

los miércoles — tres veces al día — todos los años
un día a la semana — todas las noches

1. Tenemos clases de español _____
2. En España el día de la Constitución es fiesta _____
3. Normalmente comemos al menos _____
4. Salgo por la noche _____
5. Veo la televisión _____

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Clara always followed successive one-to-one teaching with each learner. She started from the one end of this U-shaped sitting plan, and attended each learner one by one, exercising one-to-one teaching with each. During this one-to-one teaching method, Clara spent approximately 5 minutes with each learner and she checked and corrected the exercises that the learner had realized individually in the classroom. Depending on the language level of the student and the exercise that she worked on, she provided writing, reading or vocabulary corrections and clarifications. She mostly followed instructional scaffolding, in the sense that she guided the students to build linguistic knowledge by means of providing clarifications, writing and reading assistance. She made them repeat the words after her, or she made them write together with her with the same pencil, or in the case of upper level students, she opened IRF patterns (Initiation/Response/Evaluation) to encourage the learner to practice the linguistic resources that she acquired. When their turn passed, the learners continued working on their writing and reading exercises individually and they usually had to wait up to 30 minutes until their next teacher-to-learner session. This waiting time dropped when I could get involved as a teacher (which means, when I did not have to attend the children) and I followed the same teaching strategy that Clara followed. During their waiting time, learners tended to talk in their mother tongues (Darija and the dialects of Berber languages mainly), which eventually maximized learner-to-learner interaction in L1, while minimizing it in L2. For that reason there was always a constant noise in the classroom, and Clara frequently warned the learners to lower their voice.

This one-to-one teaching method produced hindrances in the capitalization process in different levels. First, it produced passive learner positions. These learners mostly studied individually, and they were expected to understand the linguistic resources rather than deploying them in the interaction. When we remember the universal goals of L2 classrooms suggested by Seedhouse (2009), the learners were not allowed the necessary interactional space to receive clarifications, eliciting, repairs etc. from the language teacher. During the 120 minute-long classroom each learner was allowed to have maximum 15 minutes of interactional space with Clara, which means that they were left alone during the rest of the time. Therefore the learners were expected to accumulate the symbolic resources by themselves, not with the help of the language teacher. Second, this teaching method produced passive speakers. The learners were not given the opportunity to take extended turns, establish fluent teacher-to-learner or learner-to-learner conversation in L2, develop topics and sub-topics, etc. Each student held a very limited interactional space to deploy the linguistic resources that they acquire, which means that they had very limited interactional space to gain fluency in the target language. All these factors hindered the accumulation and deployment of the symbolic resources in the classrooms.

Up to now, I have described the classroom routine of Clara and I have explained the general teaching method that she applied and the general speech exchange system that this one-to-one teaching produced in the classroom. Clara sometimes stepped out of this routine and opened unusual and unexpected interactional spaces. She mostly opened these unusual interactional spaces when she decided to explain one grammar or vocabulary subject to the whole classroom instead of to one learner. Below, you will see an excerpt of one of these rarely applied teaching methods, in which Clara addressed the entire classroom instead of doing one-to-one teaching as usual. In this specific context, when she was doing one-to-one scaffolding with one of the learners (note that it was a fill-in-the-blanks activity on vocabulary), she stopped and decided to explain a point to the entire classroom:

Excerpt 1.

1. **Clara:** Vamos a hablar sobre trabajos (.) Cuáles profesiones conocéis? 2. (rumores en el aula) 3. (Clara empieza a escribir en la pizarra) 4. **Clara:** enfermera (.) médico (.) policía. Sabéis quién es policía? 5. **Aisha:** Si. Policía no hace nada bueno. Papeles en extranjería mucho jaleo. No me gusta. 6. @ (Clara se ríe también)(5') 7. **Clara:** Bueno, en el tráfico ordena los coches cuando no sabemos la dirección de un sitio podemos preguntar a la policía.	1. **Clara:** We will talk about professions (.) Which professions do you know? 2. (rumors in the classroom) 3. (Clara starts writing on the board) 4. **Clara:** nurse (.) doctor (.) police-officer. Do you know who police-officer is? 5. **Aisha:** Yes. Police-officer does not do anything good. In immigrant office there is always a mess. I don't like it. 6. @ (Clara also laughs)(5') 7. **Clara:** Well, they control the traffic and we can ask them the address when we are lost.

In this excerpt, Clara broke the classroom routine and started with an open ended initial question. She took back the turn in line 7 and continued her extended turn without any repair regarding Aisha's comment in line 5. In this excerpt there are several issues to analyze. Remembering the second property of language classroom interaction mentioned by Seedhouse (2009), there is a reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction, and interactants constantly display their analyses of the evolving relationships between pedagogy and interaction. In other words, learners respond to the pedagogical focus of the teacher by answering her questions, by opening sub-topics, by asking questions, etc. In this excerpt, the pedagogical focus of Clara was to teach basic vocabulary regarding professions, as demonstrated in her questions in lines 1 and 4. After her yes/no question in line 4, Aisha took the turn, where she confirmed that she knew who a police officer was. Nevertheless, she elaborated this response by means of constructing a subtopic, which also enabled her to make complex sentences in the target language. Her comments received no repair or confirmation even though she made a grammar mistake in line 5 (papeles en extranjería mucho jaleo: verb to be is missing). When Clara took the turn in line 7, she repaired semantics by means of mentioning some duties of policemen. In this interaction, there is an important incoherence between the pedagogical focus of Clara and the response of Aisha. While Clara was teaching the elementary level vocabulary (nurse, doctor, police officer), Aisha responded her with a more complex sentence structure. We see in this excerpt that Aisha's vocabulary and grammar resources were enough to develop a sub-topic, and clear enough to make the classroom participants laugh. Nevertheless, her response and her use of linguistic resources did not match the pedagogical focus of Clara because she focused on introducing the vocabulary of professions and making definitions of these actors to make the learners understand the duties of these persons. This mismatch between Aisha's response and Clara's teaching objective revealed that Aisha already held the symbolic capital that Clara was trying to transmit, and Aisha attempted to deploy the resources that she had already acquired, but her attempt was interrupted by the decision of Clara to follow her pedagogical focus instead of allowing Aisha to hold an extended turn to gain fluency in L2.

Another important issue in this excerpt is how intersubjectivity was constructed. In line 1, Clara addressed this question to the entire classroom, which was 23 learners in this session. She did not address any specific learner, neither in line 1 nor in 4. When Aisha responded her question in line 4, she displayed that she understood Clara, and she also opened a sub-topic. Even though Clara's laughter showed that she understood Aisha's comment, Clara terminated this learner-to-teacher intersubjectivity in line 7 by means of ignoring her comment. Therefore this excerpt

indicates that Clara attributed passive speaker positions to these learners even when she opened unexpected conversations and encouraged the learners to speak.

Drawing on the universal features of Seedhouse (2009) with regard to language classrooms, the pedagogical focus shapes the interactional patterns of the language classroom. How the turns are distributed, the ways that learner-to-teacher and learner-to-learner intersubjectivity produced in these settings have a reflexive relationship with the pedagogical aims of the classroom. The pedagogical focus of Clara resulted in minimal learner participation in the target language and her pedagogical aim focused on making the learners understand the linguistic resources rather than deploying or using them in the classroom interaction. For that reason the learners were mostly provided with passive subject and learner positions. Besides, because of the fact that the language is both vehicle and object of instruction, the goals of the teaching–learning process and the interactional space constructed in the classroom have a direct impact in the distribution of the linguistic capital. The one-to-one teaching method of Clara, the incoherence between some learners' language levels and her pedagogical focus, and the speech exchange system constructed in the classroom resulted in hindering the accumulation of symbolic resources. First, the learners were positioned as passive speakers, as they were expected to understand the resources instead of deploying them in the classroom. Second, the elementary linguistic resources did not correspond to the language levels of some learners. And third, the interactional space was minimized by this one-to-one teaching strategy as the learners did not acquire conversational competence in the target language. All these pedagogical and interactional patterns indicate how decapitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) occurred in the classroom of Clara.

What about resistance? Do the learners negotiate their subject positions as learners and speakers in this classroom? In the excerpt above, the intervention of Aisha demonstrated how the learners sought to contest the pedagogical focus of the language teacher, as well as their subject positions as passive speakers. In this example, Aisha challenged Clara's pedagogical orientation and the turn structure of the classroom in two ways. First, although the learners were expected to respond to the yes/no question of Clara, Aisha made further comments on the topic, which created a sub-topic in this interaction, opening up an expected interactional space. Second, she also challenged Clara's pedagogical focus by means of the semantic content of her discourse, which was much more complex than what Clara expected from the learners. Therefore she contested the turn structure of the language teacher that located the learners in passive speaker and learner positions and she also contested the elementary linguistic resources constructing complex linguistic patterns in her extended turn. This interaction revealed that the learners negotiated their position in the

classroom and repositioned themselves as active speakers. Besides, they also negotiated the linguistic resources that they were allowed to accumulate in the classroom.

4.4.2. The classroom routine and the speech exchange system constructed in the classroom of Mar

In 2012, Mar (35 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012) replaced Clara, who found a full time teaching position as a pre-school teacher. The first time that I met Mar was in September 2012, two weeks after the language courses had started. Because I was abroad, I started my volunteer job with two weeks delay, and in the meantime Mar had to work alone. That day, she suggested having a coffee together and talking about, in her own words, "the possible improvements that we can apply in order to improve the pedagogical efficiency" (Fieldwork notes, September 2012). Honestly, I was excited to see how enthusiastic and professionally and personally involved she was about her job. Holding a BA in Spanish literature and also having an extended professional experience in teaching Spanish to foreigners both in Spain and abroad (in Portugal and in England), Mar was looking for ways to create more efficient and organized language classroom for the learners. She explained that she was not content with the organizational features of the literacy classroom because of the disparity between the learners' language levels and because of the overwhelmingly high number of students, which impeded the required pedagogical attention. She was not happy with the unpunctuality of the learners either. She explained that during these two weeks she was negotiating with the director of this social integration program, looking for ways to divide the literacy classroom into two and to assign another language teacher to the learners who were learning the alphabet, while she attended to the others. Her negotiation with the director, who was her friend and colleague from the university, was not easy. He was reluctant to hire another language teacher, and he was also reluctant to use the only meeting room of the NGO as a classroom between 10.00 and 12.00. "But I won't give up" she said, "I will find another volunteer worker or an apprentice so that he won't have an excuse".

After two months, Mar found an apprentice, who started working as a literacy teacher, teaching the alphabet to nearly 10 learners. We continued teaching for the rest. Now there were only 15 women in our classroom who had relatively similar language levels. As a result of the strict warnings of Mar, the learners started to arrive more punctually. Another important change in the organizational features of this classroom was that she let the learners take their books home and she also assigned them homework after each session. After all these changes, the literacy classroom had gone through a big transformation and as you will see in the pedagogical focus and the speech

exchange systems indicated in the following pages, Mar constructed a better-organized, more dynamic, learner participation oriented classroom.

Before explaining the situated interactional patterns in this classroom, I will explain the classroom routine of Mar. Instead of one-to-one teaching, she encouraged collective activities that focused on the oral participation of the learners. She usually corrected the homework exercises during the first 15-25 minutes of the classroom. During that time, she tended to give random turns (note that she never followed predictable turn sequence such as from right to left etc.) to the learners, making clarification and sometimes oral scaffolding, making the learner repeat the word or sentence after her. She frequently asked the students if they had doubts or questions on the subject, before starting with the new subject. Following this homework correction session, she continued with the exercises of the classroom book, explaining the vocabulary or grammar subject generally on the board, and then she initiated conversation with the same topic, encouraging the learners to use the linguistic resources that they learned in conversation. Below you will see an excerpt of a similar oral activity which focused on using the vocabulary of public transportation:

Excerpt 2.

1. MAR: Humhum (.) Cogéis el metro (.) en Madrid?	1. MAR: Humhum (.) Do you take metro (.) in Madrid?
2. A: (No, en Madrid, no)°	2. A: (No, in Madrid, no)°
3. MAR: A Madrid no, porque tú siempre vas por aquí, no:? (.) Tú conoces-pero por ejemplo, para ir al Consulado, cómo vais al consulado?	3. MAR: In Madrid no, because you are always here, aren't you ? (.) Do you know-but for example, in order to go to the Consulate, how do you go to the consulate?
4. A: Qué?	4. A: What?
5. MAR: Cómo vais al Consulado de Marruecos?	5. MAR: How do you go to the Moroccan Consulate?
6. A: (()) autobús	6. A: (()) bus
7. A2: Autobu::s	7. A2: Bu:::s
8. MAR: En autobús?	8. MAR: By bus?
9. A2: Sí	9. A2: Yes
10. MAR: Cómo-dónde? -Yo no sé ir al consulado, cómo voy desde aquí?	10. MAR: How-when? -I don't know how to go to the Consulate. How can I go there from here?
11. A2: En tren	11. A2: By train.
12. Chus: Hasta dónde?	12. Chus: Up to where?
13. A2: Atocha	13. A2: Atocha
14. MAR: Atocha (.) en Atocha?	14. MAR: Atocha (.) in Atocha?
15. A2: Cojo autobuss	15. A2: Take the bus.
16. MAR: Qué número?	16. MAR: Which number?
17. A2: No sé (@)	17. A2: I don't know. (@)

I will start with the question of intersubjectivity in the classroom of Mar, which highly differed from the classroom structure of Clara. Her decision to use a common book in the classroom and to encourage the learners to participate in the classroom interaction increased the teacher-to-learner and learner-to-learner interaction in the target language. Compared to the classroom of Clara, the learners interacted less in their native tongues, and they took more extended turns in the target language. Besides, unpredictable turn distribution in the classroom triggered learners attentiveness. For instance, in the same classroom session as above, Mar encouraged the participation of different learners, by addressing them as indicated below:

Example 1.

1. Tu conoces alguna estación Aisha? / Do you know any station Aisha?
2. Hayat (.) tu dónde quieres viajar? Imagínate que tienes-tienes dinero, tienes tiempo, a dónde quieres viajar? / Hayat (.) where do you want to travel? Imagine that you have-have money, you have time, where would you like to travel?

Mar's initial questions and her focus on extending the interactional space of the classroom produced more dynamic turn structures in which the learners had opportunity to take extended turns, to express themselves, to deploy the linguistic resources, etc. They were allowed, in this sense, a more extended space to accumulate and deploy the symbolic capital in the classroom. With regard to the speech exchange system produced in the classroom, I will go back to Excerpt 2 and analyze the conversational patterns. In this excerpt, Mar displayed her pedagogical goal in line 3, which was not understood by the learner A. Mar explained again her goal in line 5, stressing the word "Consulate". This time A understood the pedagogical objective and she answered the question together with A2, but without using the preposition (en), which was repaired by Mar in line 8. In line 10 Mar reformulated the question; this time her pedagogical goal was to make them use different vocabulary items about public transportation. A2 understood the aim and she answered, which was followed by Mar with a further question. In this interactional pattern Mar shaped the learner's contributions by using repairs and clarifications and she also encouraged them to further participate by opening sub-topics. In the same session, Mar also used the initial questions below, addressing several learners by giving them unpredictable turns. These initial questions below, together with the other two previous examples are initial questions that encourage learners' participation in the interactional space:

Example 2.

3. Conoces Toledo? / Do you know Toledo?
4. Sabemos (.) lo que significa “billete”? / Do we know what “ticket” means?
5. Y cuánto cuesta? / And how much does it cost?
6. Es caro, no? / It is expensive, isn’t it?
7. Humhum (.) claro (.) tú compras el billete? (.) O lo compra tu hija? / Humhum (.) sure (.) do you buy the ticket yourself / (.) or does your daughter buy it?
8. Dónde (.) de-de dónde vas? / From (.) from where do you go?

Nevertheless, Mar still dominated the classroom interaction and these initial questions did not enable further or extended oral participation of the learners. Among the 8 initial questions above, 1,3,4,6,7 are Yes/No questions, which suggest a limited learner-turn. Rest of the questions (2,5,8) encourage learner participation, but they still limit learners’ further participation because the pedagogical objective of these questions are to make sure that the learners understand the utterances of the teacher, rather than enabling them to manipulate the target language, use extended expressions or construct sub-topics. You will see another example below:

Excerpt 3.

1. Mar: Si, para ti, cómo puedo ir a Marruecos? La forma más barata.	1. Mar: Yes, in your opinion, how can I go to Morocco? The cheapest way.
2. A: Ah, más barata:: bueno en barco y en (())	2. A: Ah, the cheapest, well by ship or by (())
3. Mar: En barco=	3. Mar: By ship=
4. A: =Y mejor en avión.	4. A: =And better by plane.
5. Mar: Humhum	5. Mar: Humhum
6. A: Yo me gusta más el barco, sabes?	6. A: I like more by ship, you know?
7: Mar: Yo me gusta? A mí me gusta: a mí me gusta el avión (.) vale (.) cuánto cuesta el billette (.) de ida y vuelta?	7: Mar: I like? I like I like the plane (.) okay (.) How much does it cost (.) a two way ticket?

In this excerpt, I will first focus on the learner A's response to Mar's pedagogical objective in lines 2 and 4. Learner A understood Mar's objective correctly and answered her questions complying with this objective in 2 and 4. Nevertheless, she created a sub-topic in line 6 by means of taking an extended turn and using the vocabulary in a sentence. In line 7 Mar repaired learner A's use of the verb "me gusta" (like) and confirmed that she understood ("okay") what learner A said in line 6 and she returned to her pedagogical objective at the end of line 7, which was to use numbers in the target language. Learner A's intention to create a subtopic and use the vocabulary in a more complex structure was interrupted by an extended repair followed by a limiting initial question in line 7. In this interactional architecture, like in the previous one, language teacher still dominated the turn structure of the classroom in spite of the fact that she encouraged the learner participation, which eventually produced a speech exchange system dominated by the language teacher.

In brief, the pedagogical orientation of Mar presented a better managerial mode compared to Clara's in many ways. Her decision to divide the classroom, to use different classroom materials for each group (alphabetization and elementary level classroom materials) and her mode of teaching (collective exercises instead of individually realized exercises) increased interactional space and learner contributions. Moreover, her teaching decisions increased interaction between the teacher and the learners and also between the learners (see Excerpt 2, A1 and A2 participation sequences) in the target language. On the other hand, a detailed analysis of the classroom context mode of Mar indicates that her pedagogical focus still limited learner participation, taking her initial questions and repairs into account. While she focused on learner participation and she encouraged the learners to participate in activities, her pedagogical focus on transmitting specific (and mainly elementary) linguistic resources prevented the learners from taking extended turns, developing sub-topics and gaining fluency in the target language.

Finally I will also mention how the learners negotiated their speaker positions in the interaction. Before all, it is important to clarify that when there is a re-appropriation, negotiation, or contestation in an interactional pattern, it means that there is a negotiation of power. In a speech exchange system of a language classroom, learners try to achieve better subject positions to accumulate the symbolic capital, to speak and to express themselves. These negotiations require demanding empowerment; they ask for the subject position that they are not allowed. And in each classroom this negotiation emerged in a different way because each classroom had a different classroom routine. This idea can be linked to the specific ways that Foucault explains resistance in the micro practices of power:

"Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."

(1978:95)

The classroom routine and the speech exchange systems constructed in these sites reveal how these learners are situated in relation to power. Their positioning as learners and speakers demonstrates their empowerment and disempowerment. In excerpt 1, for instance, Aisha challenged the teaching focus of Clara because it was far below her already acquired linguistic resources. Aisha's complex sentence structure not only positioned her over the objectives of the classroom, but it also gave her the opportunity to express herself in the target language, which was not usually possible in the Clara's classroom. These unexpected, complex, extended turns of the learners contested the classroom routine that passivized the learners. In the classroom of Mar, on the other hand, this negotiation was different because the classroom routine and the speech exchange system were also different. Mar gave the learners the opportunity to take turns, to make initial questions or follow-ups. Nevertheless, she still dominated the interaction by her extended repairs, close-ended initials and by her over-specific pedagogical focus. When we look at the Excerpts 2 and 3 and revise her initial questions we will see:

-Do you take...?
-How do you...?
- By bus?
-Up to where?
-Which number?
-What is the cheapest way?

All these questions triggered learner participation but they mostly aimed to make the learners use simple sentence structures or even come up with simple words without using them in a sentence. When all the responses of the learners are visited, the readers will see that all these responses encompass very short learner turns. Considering this limited learner participation dominated by very structured teacher initials and her extended repairs, the learner A contested this speech exchange system in the Excerpt 3, in line 6. Instead of responding according to the pedagogical aim of Mar, this learner took an extended turn, used the vocabulary of transportation, but preferred to express her feelings instead of giving a short answer. Her negotiation, therefore, did not involve locating herself as an active speaker in the conversation because she was already

included in the interaction. She contested the over-specific, limiting initial questions of Mar and she opened an alternative interactional space where she had a more independent, extended possibility to deploy her linguistic resources. These re-appropriations reveal how these learners claim power to speak, to accumulate the linguistic capital, to deploy the symbolic resources that they acquire. And these micro, localized claims or contestations also reveal where and how domination or asymmetrical positioning occurs. The readers will understand, at the end of the analysis of the four classrooms, that in each classroom these contestations took different forms.

4.5. The Madrid intermediate level classroom

Fieldnote 2

> After one and half month, finally I was able to break the ice with some of the learners. Now they call me with my name, ask me questions and they seem to be more eager to have conversation with me. The profiles of the learners in this classroom are very different from those of the literacy classroom. First of all, the average age is lower and the learners mostly belong to middle and upper class families. Second, among the learners there are three working and three divorced women. Lastly, there are also learners from other nationalities: two Bulgarians, one Brazilian and two Iranians.
>
> (Fieldwork notes, 13.05.2011, Madrid)

After negotiating with the NGO administration for months, I got into the intermediate level classroom in Madrid. The director of the project insisted that they needed more assistance in the literacy classroom and they preferred that I stayed in the literacy classroom rather than teaching in the intermediate level classroom. Finally they let me in, under the condition that I volunteered in both. Eventually my access to this classroom was approved, and I initiated my fieldwork in this intermediate level classroom in March 2011 and continued until September 2012. One of the most important advantages to carry out participant observation in both classrooms was to meet over 70 learners from different ages who were born in very different regions of Morocco and belonged to different social classes. The most important observation was the difference between the elderly and the young learners in terms of social class and their places of birth. As I mentioned in Chapter III, the migration structure within and from Morocco showed important changes, especially after the

1990s. Before the 1990s, the immigrant profile involved working class men especially from the northern rural areas of the mainland. After the 1990s, Morocco started sending immigrants from diverse regions, and these immigrants belonged to more diverse social positions. In the Madrid intermediate classroom and the Catalonia classroom, where the average age of the learners was significantly lower than the Madrid literacy classroom, I could observe how young learners' profiles differed from the elderly. In contrast to the Madrid literacy classroom, these young learners were from diverse regions of Morocco, mostly from the urban areas, the majority of them held secondary school diplomas and there were two learners with a university degree. The average years they had spent in Spain was much lower, approximately five years.

Figure 4.4. Major birthplaces of the research participants.

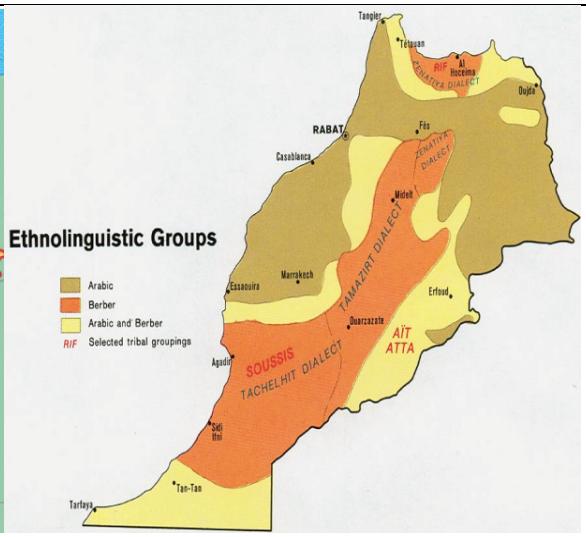

Figure 4.5. Linguistic Map of Morocco.

For multiple reasons, these young learners had achieved better access to formal and informal education both in Morocco and in Spain. First, during the last decades, there has been an important improvement in the female literacy rate in Morocco (see figures 6 and 7 below). This explains the important gap between young and elderly learners regarding the literacy rate. Second, the social integration projects and the cost-free language classes oriented to female immigrant community is a recent phenomenon in Spain. As Codo and Garrido explain (2014), the political reactions to the realities of large-scale immigration that took place in the 1980s Spain came slowly. The responses were fairly unstructured and driven by goodwill rather than political planning. The consolidation of Spain as a reception country for so-called 'economic migrants' took place in the late 1990s and early 2000s and the social integration programs and language classes for the immigrants started mostly around the 2000s. Therefore, the immigrant women who arrived in Spain before the 2000s had less access points than the following generation immigrants. Third, recent immigrant movements from Morocco towards other European countries, in contrast to the previous

immigration tendencies, include middle and upper class individuals. Therefore in this intermediate level classroom (and also in the Catalan classroom, as it will be explained in the following pages) there were diverse profiles such as forerunners, university degree holders, single and distant mothers who belonged to middle and upper class families and most of them had received second language education in their homeland. It is also important to mention that as a result of its colonial history, the French language is still strong and widely taught in the Moroccan schools, in spite of the growing importance of English in the public and private sectors. Spanish is also spoken and taught in the northern areas of the country and familiarization with the Spanish language is also possible with the Spanish radios and televisions emitted in the northern areas of Morocco. This second language ecology in Morocco explains how these young learners had access to diverse second language resources including Spanish skills before their arrival.

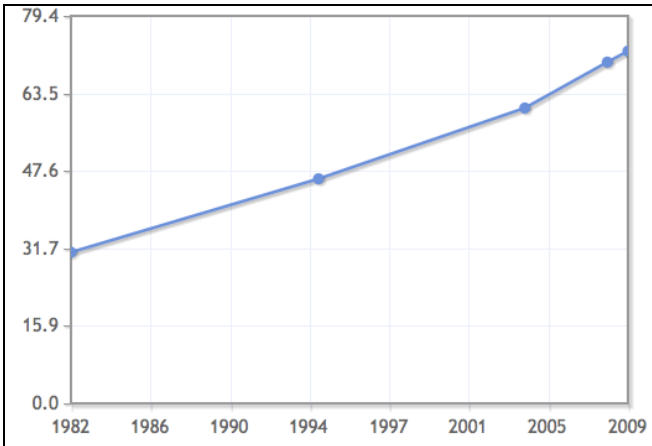

Figure 4.6.
Literacy rate among the young female population

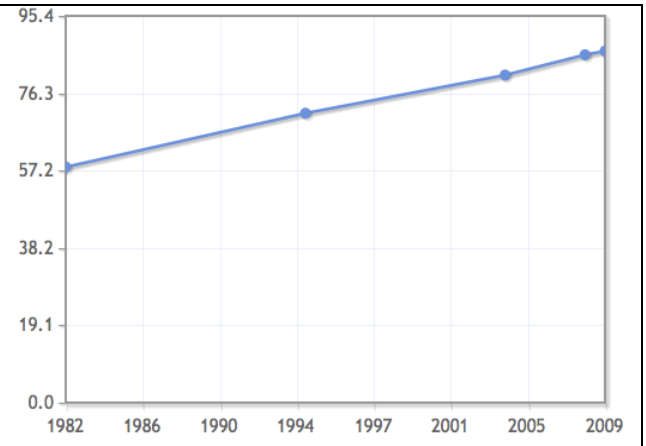

Figure 4.7.
Literacy rate among the young male population

(Source: United Nations Educational: http://en.unesco.org)

In conclusion, this intermediate level classroom was composed of approximately 20 learners who held diverse social, economic, cultural, professional and linguistic backgrounds which led to complex language learning motivations and trajectories. This complexity of the learner profiles will also be foregrounded in the following chapter, when I analyze the dominant representations and categorizations that the teachers used in order to define the learners. Having explained these features about this classroom, in the following section I analyze the pedagogical decisions that Mar adopted as well as the speech exchange systems and subjectivities constructed and negotiated in this classroom.

4.5.1. The classroom routine and the speech exchange system constructed in the intermediate level classroom of Mar

Among the four classrooms I participated and analyzed, this intermediate level classroom was the most dynamic one in terms of the shifts that the language teacher made between her teaching methods and techniques as well as in terms of the participation patterns of the learners as speakers of the target language. In order to explain these practices in an empirical way, I will first explain how Mar organized this classroom in terms of methods and techniques and following this I will demonstrate the speech exchange system of the classroom focusing especially on the learners' subject positions as speakers.

Regarding her managerial mode, Mar generally organized this 120-minute-long session as follows. First she corrected the homework exercises, distributing random turns to the learners, providing clarification and sometimes scaffolding as well. Then she took extended turns and explained a specific grammar or vocabulary subject. During these moments she tended to use the board as well as some audio-visual materials related to the topic. Following this, she encouraged the learners to do the exercises (mostly fill in the blanks exercises) of the textbook which were also related to the topic she had explained. Following this, learners were expected to study individually for approximately 10 minutes. After making sure that they finished the exercises, she initiated an open interactional space to correct the exercises by distributing the turns randomly to learners to encourage them to disclose the right answers. When the learner committed an error, she provided clarifications or she asked the rest of the learners to tell the right answer. After correcting the exercises, she initiated a related conversation topic, in which the learners could deploy the linguistic resources that they acquired in that session. This was the most usual organization of each classroom.

Other than these usual teaching strategies, she occasionally organized team-work activities, in which the learners were encouraged to work as a group (around 5 learners in each group) to do written or oral activities such as writing a letter, preparing a poster or preparing an oral presentation. These activities were always related to the previous classroom activities and her pedagogical goal was to make the learners deploy the resources that they acquired in a collaborative way. During these activities she always visited each group, making oral and written corrections. Another strategy that she followed was to use short films or advertisements and open a discussion related to the video. All these strategies that she used made this classroom the most dynamic and learner participation oriented one among the other three. Her teaching methods also shaped the micro

patterns of the classroom interaction. Below you will see an example of an oral activity, in which she encouraged the learners to use imperfect tense structure:

Excerpt 4.

1. **Mar:** Bueno, Ivayla, te preguntaba que dónde ibas de vacaciones? Si ibas a otr-a la –a la playa, [a::]	1. **Mar:** Well, Ivayla, I was asking you where you used to go for vacation? If you used to go to any other beach [to]
2. Ivayla: [mu]chass-a:h-no:-no a la playa, yo fui a [la montaña]	2. **Ivayla:** [ma]ny-a:h-no:-not to the beach, I went to [the mountain]
3. **Mar:** [i:ba]	3. **Mar:** [used to go]
4. **Ivayla:** iba a la montaña, sí. Que: en mañana la: fin de: curso se hace: a cada jue: - e:h -[se organiza:]	4. **Ivayla**: I used to go to the mountain, yes. Tha:t in the morning at: the end of the semester they did every thurs: - e:h -[they organize:]
5. **Mar:** [un viaje]	5. **Mar:** [a trip]
6. **Ivayla:** Sí, sí, se organizaba, sí. Y que:- qué niños quieres- se: -organizaba con autocares yy, claro.	6. **Ivayla:** Yes, yes, they used to organize, yes. And tha:t -the kids want- they used to organise buses and, of course.

In this session Mar explained the imperfect verb tense, taking long turns and writing examples on the board. Then she followed one of the textbook exercises, giving random turns to learners to encourage them to read the sentences in this verb tense and she explained how it was conjugated. Following these exercises, she started a random talk about the childhood activities of the learners, and she encouraged them to give examples about the specific activities that the learners used to do when they were children (questions regarding vacations, toys, friends, school). In the example above, she asked Ivayla about her childhood vacation in line 1, and the learner responded her in line 2, using the incorrect verb tense. Therefore in line 3 Mar repaired the verb tense by taking a very short turn. Turn structure of this excerpt was dominated by the learner, who, especially in lines 4 and 6 took long turns, used the verb tense, manipulated the target language in an effective way. After displaying her pedagogical focus in line 1, Mar took very short turns making short repairs in lines 3 and 5, encouraging the participation of the learner. This excerpt, together with the classroom routine that I explained before, demonstrates that the teaching methods and techniques of Mar facilitated the capitalization process in different levels. First, Mar transmitted the necessary linguistic resources to learners by means of explaining the grammar and vocabulary

subjects in an extended way, she made them perform exercises on these subjects and she also gave them homework to make sure that they understood the subjects. Second, Mar encouraged the learners to use these resources in the classroom. She opened conversations on these subjects and prioritized elicitation, which means that she encouraged them to deploy the linguistic resources rather than making them listen to her instructions or explanations. She shaped the classroom interaction in a way that the learners took extended turns, she also facilitated corrections in these turns, and the learners were given the opportunity to gain fluency in the target language. For all these reasons this classroom was the best one I attended in terms of the learner and speaker positions that the learners held in the classroom.

Nevertheless, Mar also dominated the classroom interaction in some cases with her over-extended repairs or with her over-specific pedagogical goals. I had also mentioned these features in the literacy classroom, where she limited the learner participation in various occasions. It is important to mention that in the intermediate level classroom this limitation was not as extended as in the literacy classroom. The speech exchange system of the intermediate level classroom was more learner-dominated. Having explained this, in the following excerpt I explain how Mar also limited learner participation in the interaction. In this example, Mar was teaching "as…as" and "more…than" grammar structures in the Spanish language. She introduced the topic, writing examples on the board, and making the learners do the exercises related to the topic. Following these strategies, she opened a conversation in the classroom, asking the learners to compare and contrast the Spanish people to the people of their homeland:

Excerpt 5.

1. A: La: hmm en España la gente: e:h son tanto- tanto ehh amable com[o muy muy	1. A: Hmm in Spain the people e:h they are as- as ehh friendly li[ke very very
2. Mar: [A ver a ver. Cuidado con la confusión. Si tu vas a decir amable que es adjecti[vo. Tienes que utilizar la palabra tan.	2. Mar: [Let me see. Be careful about the confusion. If you say friendly it is an adjecti[ve you have to use the word as.
3. A: [si. Tan tan.	3. A: [Yes. As as.
4. Mar: Muy bien. Pero depende- muy no hace falta en comparación. Puedes decir los españoles son muy amables. Pero si vas a hacer una comparación como lo que estamos haciendo ahora-	4. Mar: Very good.But it depends- very is not necessary in comparison. You can say the Spanish are very friendly. But if you are making a comparison as we are doing now-
5. A: En España la gente tan es.	5. A: In Spain the people so are.
6. Mar: La gente es.	6. Mar: The people are.
7. A: Es tan amable como Iran.	7. A: As friendly as in Iran.
8. Mar: Como en Iran. Si? Tu crees que tenemos una personalidad (.) parecida?	8. Mar: As in Iran. Yes? Do you think that we have (.) similar personalities?
9. A: Si. si.	9. A: Yes. Yes.
10. Mar: Nos parecemos los españoles y los Iraníes? (.) Hmm. Vale. Más cosas.	10. Mar: Are we similar the Spanish and the Iranian? (.) Hmm. Okay. More examples.

In line 1 learner A took a turn and gave an example making some grammar mistakes in the way. Therefore Mar took the floor back and corrected the sentence structure. Mar took long turns in lines 2 and 4 in order to repair the grammatical structure of the sentence. After these extended repairs, in line 7 the learner used the correct grammar structure. This teaching strategy is important to understand how capitalization occurred in the classroom of Mar because as it is also seen in the previous excerpt, she focused on making learners understand and use the linguistic resources rather than making them merely understand these resources (as it was in the classroom of Clara). She not only distributed the linguistic capital by means using dynamic teaching strategies and methods, but she also gave the learners the speaker positions that they needed to use these resources. Nevertheless, especially the excerpt above demonstrates that there were still some limitations with regard to extended learner participation. Her pedagogical goal, which was teaching the grammar structure, and her extensive repairs hindered the learner's possibilities to take an extended turn or open a sub-topic. When we look at lines 5, 7 and 9, learner A held very short turns, line 9 being the shortest one ('yes yes'). This hindrance with regard to further learner participation was driven by the extended repairs of Mar. We can observe these extended turns especially in lines 2 and 4, where Mar dominated the interaction with her over-extended turns. Following these repairs, the learner took short turns in lines 3 and 5 in order to respond to the pedagogical focus of Mar. Therefore, while the pedagogical strategies of Mar assigned learners subject positions to take up active speaker roles, her extended repairs and the way she dominated the turn structures sometimes hindered the possibility of the learners to hold extended turns in the classroom. Even though the learners contested this strategy (see also excerpt 3 in the literacy classroom), they mostly adopted the speaker positions that Mar provided.

Considering all these interactional features, analyzing these three Madrid classrooms offers valuable data with regard to reflexivity between the pedagogical approach of the language teacher and the interactional space constructed inside the classroom. Comparing the classroom organization of Clara and Mar enables to understand -apart from the pedagogical practices, learner's speaker positions and the negotiation strategies that the learners deployed to re-appropriate these positions in each classroom, - the specific ways that the language teacher shaped the situated interactional patterns by means of the activities, methods and techniques that she applied. The most obvious example would be the huge difference between the literacy classroom of Mar and Clara. In spite of teaching to the same learners in the same classroom setting, the pedagogical decisions of Mar with regard to splitting the classroom into two, changing the teaching methods, etc. constructed a totally different speech exchange system in this classroom. The learners were included in the interaction as active speakers and learners, they were given more opportunities to accumulate the symbolic

resources and they were given more opportunities to gain fluency in the target language. All these facts suggest the reflexivity between the teaching methods and the speech exchange system of the classroom, and this will be better understood at the end of the analysis of the Catalan classroom, which shows totally different interactional architecture.

4.6. The Catalonia intermediate level classroom

Fieldnote 3.

> I introduced myself to Laia, to the language teacher of Catalan language classes in the Civic Center. I also explained my research project, and how that classroom was relevant to my research. She started explaining that she was not a teacher of Catalan, Municipality officers offered her this job and she accepted this offer in spite of the fact that she was not a teaching professional. It was obvious that my presence in the classroom made her feel nervous and I think she was worried about the fact an outsider was observing her teaching.
>
> (21 December 2013)

I started the Catalonia fieldwork in December 2013 in the intermediate level Catalan classroom after introducing myself to the Municipality officers and obtaining their consent. The classroom was held in the Civic Center of the town and there were around 10 Moroccan women attending the course. In contrast to the linguistic profile of the learners in Madrid, in Catalonia classroom all of the learners were Darija speakers, without any exception. The average age in the classroom was around 30, and the learners were originally from diverse regions of Morocco. In this classroom there were two working women who wanted to learn Catalan because they received this demand from their employers, and most of the rest of the learners were also looking for a job.

As I also mentioned in Chapter III, negotiating my position as a researcher was not easy with Laia, the language teacher of the course. This time I could not volunteer for teaching either, because I did not hold adequate linguistic skills of Catalan. Therefore, I situated myself as a researcher from the very beginning, which created tensions in the classroom especially during the first weeks. Laia was not content with the idea that I observed her classroom, and she was also reluctant to negotiate the possibility of interviewing the learners. As weeks passed, I established

trust and confidence with the learners as well as with Laia and I managed to become an *insider* in the classroom. I also started participating as a learner, taking notes in the classroom, making questions to ask for clarifications, and getting into the classroom interaction as a learner. I recognize that my two-sided positioning in this classroom as a learner and researcher had consequences in many ways. First, Laia positioned me as a language expert, asking for my recommendation for teaching methods and techniques or, asking my approval, sometimes during the classroom session, with regard to some methods she applied (for instance, how to distribute the turn sequence during a speaking activity) or asking me the explanation of some grammar structures in English and in French (for example, when she explained past tense conjugations). All these features positioned me as an insider but outsider as well given that, I was positioned as an omnipotent authority to give ideas, recommendations and suggestions about the pedagogical practices of the classroom. This enhanced the asymmetrical positioning between me and the learners and it also produced disruptions in the classroom routine, and eventually in the interactional patterns of the classroom. I realized that Laia was trying to make some changes in her teaching strategies. For all these reasons, the qualitative data that I collected in this classroom such as the organizational structure, turn takings, teaching methods, learners' positioning as speakers, etc. inescapably carried the marks of my presence as a researcher.

Figure 4.8. The Catalan language classroom

Before I continue with the pedagogical orientation of the intermediate level Catalan classroom, I will explain some organizational features of this social integration program. The main organizational issues about this program were quite similar to the Madrid NGO. There were level 1

and level 2 classrooms, which were considered as literacy and intermediate level classrooms. Nevertheless, the total number of learners was much smaller than in the Madrid classrooms; the average number of students in each classroom was around 8. The small number of students and the facilities of the Civic Centre offered a better physical environment for second language teaching. In the language classroom that you see above, there were a lot of teaching materials, books, computers that could be used in the classroom. Laia did not have a professional or educational background in teaching Catalan. Aged around 60, she held a secondary school diploma and she had worked in many different business sectors from furniture restoration to working as a supermarket cashier. Except for an occasion in which she had taught Catalan to two Spanish citizens, she had a limited teaching experience, basically what she had learned by doing when she had started working in this Civic Centre three years earlier.

My fieldwork in this site involved one year long participant observation only in the intermediate level classroom, which was held from 15.00 to 16.00 each Friday. At the first day of my fieldwork, Laia explained that the main objective of this classroom was to improve the conversational skills and therefore she did not use a lot of written materials, grammar exercises or textbooks. This classroom, indeed, showed the most extensive learner participation among the four classrooms that I analyzed. Nevertheless, as I explain in the following pages, it also showed the biggest breakdown in terms of the ways that the language capital was distributed, the ways that the learners were encouraged to position themselves as active speakers of the target language, and the ways that the learners were re-attributed their taken-for-granted gender roles. In the following pages I analyze the speech exchange system of this classroom by underlining three main features: hindrances in the process of accumulating the Catalan language resources, constant interposition of Spanish, and reproducing gender asymmetries in the classroom content.

4.6.1. The classroom routine and the speech exchange system constructed in the intermediate level classroom of Laia

Before all I will define the classroom routine and explain how Laia organized classroom activities, how she made shifts between these activities and the main materials she used in the classroom. During my one-year-long ethnography Laia did not follow any textbook. Instead, she used a 20-page activity sheet in order to guide the classroom participation. This printout mainly consisted of pictures and vocabulary regarding home (rooms, kitchen, furniture, and so on), children, child-rearing and activities such as shopping:

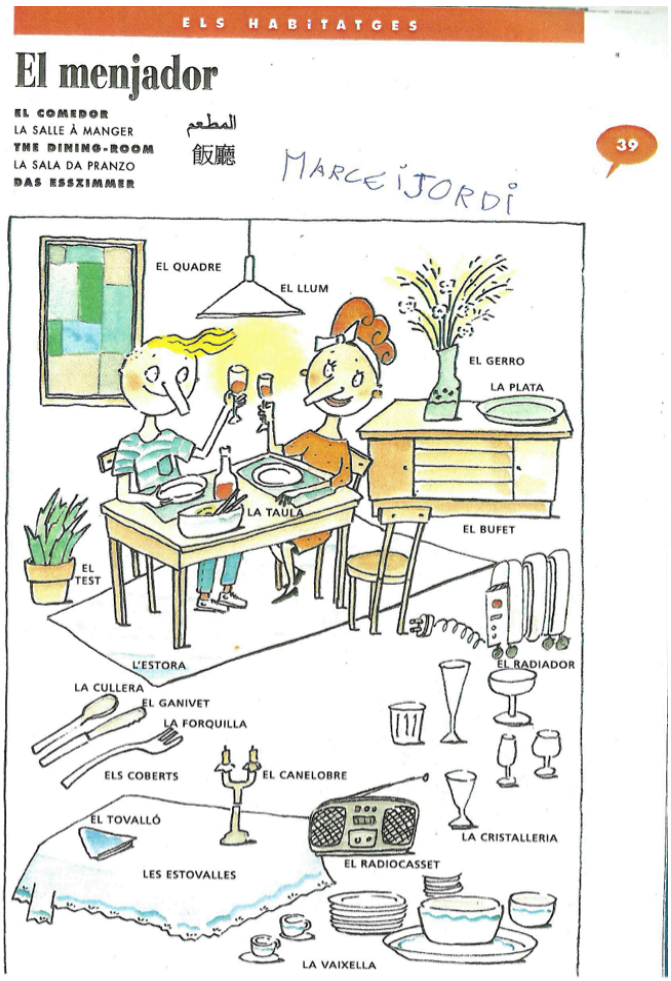

Figure 4.9. Oral expression activity sheet. November 2013

Laia generally organized this classroom as follows. She selected a page in this activity sheet, explained the vocabulary and used these words or phrases in sentences. In some rare occasions she selected a topic independent from this worksheet, for instance some verb conjugations. She took extended turns to explain the topic by means of writing on the board, and she used this grammar or vocabulary structure in sentences. After this instructive turn, she encouraged the learners to use the same structure in a sentence. She always started from her left and continued to the right, giving a turn to each learner one by one. In order to do that she used an initial question, gave the turn to the learner sitting on her left, asked her to answer the question and sometimes she encouraged the same learner to ask the same initial question to the learner sitting on her left and meanwhile she conducted repairs. Therefore, each learner took turns following a clockwise direction, made a sentence related to the topic and passed the turn to the learner sitting on her left. At the end of the each 'full circle', Laia initiated another question and asked the learners to apply the same turn structure, this time with another initial question. The excerpt below exemplifies this teaching strategy:

Excerpt 6.

1. L: Quines feines fas a casa?	1. L: What do you do at home?
2. A: Tot. Cuina:r-	2. A: Everything. Coo:k-
3. L: Cuinar, netejar. Què més?	3. L: Cooking, cleaning. What else?
4. A: E::h. Colgar la roba	4. A: E::h. Hanging the laundry
5. L: Estendre (.) (ho escriu a la pissarra) Estendre. Estendre la roba. Val?	5. L: Hanging (.) (she writes it on the board) To hang. Hanging the laundry. Okay?
6. (mentre elles parlen en àrab)	6. (Meanwhile the learners speak in arabic)
7. L: I tens [una mica d'ajuda (())	7. L: And do you receive [a little help (())
8. T: [Cómo se dice limpiar el polvo?	8. T: [How do you say cleaning the dust?
9. L: Treure (escribe en la pizarra) la (.) pols. Treure eh? Treu-re. Treure la pols. Val? Limpiar el polvo. Molt bé. Val. Cuinar, estendre la roba. Digues. Estendre la roba.	9. L: Clean (writing on the board) the (.) dust. To clean ok? Clea-n. Clean the dust. Ok? Clean the dust. Very good. Ok. Cooking, hanging the laundry. Say it. Hanging the laundry.
10. A: E:h estendre la [la roba	10. A: E:h hanging [the laundry
11. L: [la roba.	11. L: [the laundry.
12. A: A:h netejar la terra.	12. A: A:h cleaning the floor.
13. L: Netejar el terra (.) Els lavabo:s (.) Molt bé. Què més? Alguna cosa més ?(())	13. L: Cleaning the floor (.) The Si:nks (.) Very good. What else? One more example ? (())
14. (parlen alhora) (@@@)	14. (speaking all together) (@@@)
15. L: Val. Gràcies Amina. (.) Ara tu Yasmina. A veure Yasmina. E:h tu: has treballat fora de casa? O treballes fora de casa?	15. L: Ok. Thank you Amina. (.) Now your turn Yasmina. Let me see Yasmina. E:h have you: worked outside the home? Or do you work outside the home?
16. Y: Sí: Treballo fora de casa.	16. Y: Ye:s. I work outside the home.
17. L: Exacte. Quina feina fas (.) fora de casa?	17. L: Exactly. What do you do (.) outside the home?
18. Y: Fora de casa faig auxiliar.	18. Y: Outside the home I do nursing assistant.
19. L: Auxiliar de?	19. L: Nursing assistant in…?
20. Y: De geriatria.	20. Y: Geriatrics.
21. L: De geriatria. Sabem què és geriatria? Què és? Explica Yasmina. Què és auxiliar de geriatria?	21. L: Geriatrics. Do you know what geriatrics is? What is it? Explain it Yasmina. What is geriatrics nursing assistant?
22. Y: Atendre la gent gran.	22. Y: Looking after the elderly.

In this excerpt, the pedagogical focus of Laia was to make the learners use vocabulary regarding housework, as she mentioned in line 1. In line 2 Amina responded positively to her pedagogical focus and used some of the housework vocabulary in lines 2, 4, 10 and 12. During these turns, Amina used basic vocabulary, without making complete sentences (cooking, hanging the laundry, cleaning the floor) and Laia kept her extended turns in her repairs (especially on lines 5, 9 and 13). We see that Laia made repairs (lines 5 and 9) and repeated the learner's responses as a positive confirmation (lines 3,11 and 13) and she also responded the other learner's questions (line

9). Therefore, in this excerpt Laia encouraged learner-to-teacher interaction in the target language and she also encouraged learner-to-learner conversation in Catalan in line 21. When Yasmina brought up geriatrics, Laia asked, looking at the other learners, if they knew what geriatrics was. In line 22, Amina explained the meaning of geriatrics looking at the other learners. Therefore Laia established complex intersubjectivity patterns by means of encouraging various learners to participate in this conversation. This strategy positioned the learners as active speakers and enabled the capitalization process in two ways. First, Laia initiated topics and sub-topics to encourage the learner to speak in the target language, using the linguistic resources acquired in the classroom. The learners were given the possibility to accumulate and deploy the linguistic resources. Second, Laia also encouraged the learners to establish learner-to-learner interaction in Catalan, which extended the participation of the learners in the target language.

In this turn structure, the learners also mobilized inter-linguistic patterns to accumulate, or to have access to the linguistic resources in Catalan. In line 8, the learner made use of her Spanish skills to initiate a question, which was responded by Laia in line 9 and she also mobilized her Spanish skills in this line to make a clarification or a statement (she said "clean the dust" both in Spanish and Catalan). Therefore, complex linguistic and inter-linguistic patterns were used together to enhance the capitalization process. Nevertheless, there are still some limitations with regard to the turns of the learners. The pedagogical focus of Laia was teaching vocabulary regarding household activities and her pedagogical strategy was responded by the learners by means of using short and limited sentence structures. Therefore, although the pedagogical aim of Laia (transmitting elementary level vocabulary regarding housework) was accomplished, the learners did not take extended turns and the language teacher still dominated the turn structures (see lines 9,13,15 and 21).

Laia followed this teaching strategy during the first 15-20 minutes of the classroom. After this time, she encouraged random-talk, which involved talking about different topics which were not necessarily linked to the previous vocabulary or grammar subject. In these random-talk sessions, the interactional structure was completely different than the example you see above. The Excerpt 7 below demonstrates the interactional patterns constructed in these open-ended conversations, and the readers will see the dominant presence of Spanish (marked in blue):

Excerpt 7.

1 L:	Però una cosa Fariha el teu marit posa problemas perquè tu treballes o no? (.) El teu marit et diu "no treballis" o "si tu vols treballar, treballa"?	**1 L:**	But I have a question Fariha, does your husband create problems because of your work or not? Does he say "don't work" or " if you want to work, then work" ?
2 F:	No, él también tiene algunas cosas, algunos trabajos sabes?	**2 F:**	No, he also has some work to do, some work, you know?
3 L:	No no no no. No me entiendes. Digo que-	**3 L:**	No no no no. You don't understand me. What I am saying is-
4. B:	(()) Mi marido no dice no dice "no treball" porque yo dice primero aprender la lengua y después a ver qué pasa. Jo treballo poco a poco, ganar diners pero de momento treballa él. De momento no hace falta.	**4. B:**	(()) My husband doesn't say anything "not work" because I say first I learn the language step by step and then we will see what happens. I start working slowly, earn money but for the time being he works. For the time being it is not necessary.
5. L:	Sí sí sí.	**5. L:**	Yes yes yes.
6. B:	Moltes hores fora. Si el gana molt no hace falta jo fora.	**6. B:**	Many hours out. If he earns a lot it is not necessary that I am outside.
7.L:	No no.	**7.L:**	No no.
8. F:	És que jo tinc miedo de que hmm quiero tener niños pero yo sola treball pues quan estoy embarazada no puedo trabajar.	**8. F:**	The thing is I am afraid because hmm I want to have kids but only I have a job and when I am pregnant I can't work.
9. L:	Es un problema Fariha.	**9. L:**	It is a problem Fariha.
10. F:	Si me quedo embarazada me echan. Tengo miedo de quedarme embarazada.	**10. F:**	If I get pregnant they will fire me. I am afraid of getting pregnant.
11. L:	Sí sí sí.	**11. L:**	Yes yes yes.
12. F:	Imagínate que estoy embarazada y mi marido no cobra nada.	**12. F:**	Imagine that I am pregnant and my husband doesn't have an income.
13 L:	Clar. Què fas…?	**13 L:**	Of course, what can you do…?

In this excerpt, the words in blue show the Spanish/Catalan code-switching patterns. Apart from the dominant use of the Spanish language by the students, it is interesting to analyze Laia's follow-ups. Although code switching to Spanish was constantly used by Bouchra and Fariha, Laia never took it to correct this practice. Besides, instead of switching to Catalan, in line 3 she also made a switch to Spanish and she justified this switch by the fact that Fariha did not understand Catalan ("No, you don't understand me, what I am saying is…"). She also provided follow-ups that indicated confirmation in lines 5, 7, 11 and 13. As a result of these follow-ups, Fariha made a complete shift to Spanish in line 10.

To fully grasp the significance of these language choice and code-switching practices, which involved the dominant use of the Spanish language in the Catalan language classroom, it is necessary to locate them within the sociolinguistic context of Catalonia. the complex pedagogical features that lead to linguistic (de)capitalization. As for the sociolinguistic context, contemporary sociolinguistics affirms that the study of communication requires a different approach whereby repertoires traditionally associated with different and separate national 'languages' are used and negotiated in more hybrid and dynamic ways (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Pennycook 2012; Canagarajah 2013; Rymes 2014, Corona et al. 2013). We have also seen these complex inter-linguistic negotiations in Excerpt 6, in which the Spanish language resources were mobilized to acquire the Catalan language skills. In that case Laia provided, in her follow up, the Catalan linguistic resources that the learner sought, which means that hybridity and linguistic complexity could potentially contribute to the capitalization process of the learners.

Nevertheless, in the excerpt 7, the interactional patterns indicate that this linguistic hybridity may also hinder the accumulation of the target language when there is a constant interposition of the Spanish language. Drawing on the recent studies that explore the interposition of the Spanish language in social domains (Pujolar 2010) or in NGOs (Garrido 2010), this interposition may hinder the access to the Catalan resources, which may position the learners as outsiders or as very elementary users of Catalan in what can be regarded as a "symbolic integration" (Garrido 2010:25) even as Spanish is legitimized as lingua franca. The situated language practices occurring in this Catalan classroom indicated that this interposition was also occurring in this context, though in a more implicit way. First, immigrants were not provided with competitive linguistic resources in the Catalan language. Remember that Laia followed a teaching strategy only during the first quarter of the classroom, which permitted the students learn and use very elementary vocabulary skills and it overlooked the possibility of encouraging them to obtain fluency in the Catalan language. The accumulation of the Catalan resources was hindered by the lack of planned, efficient pedagogical methods and techniques. Therefore, the students (at least those who could speak Spanish) foregrounded their Spanish skills to claim their right to speak (see lines 2, 4, 8, 10, and 12 in the excerpt above). Foregrounding their Spanish skills re-positioned these learners as active speakers and increased their participation within the interactional space. However, this practice positioned them as active Spanish speakers, while it attributed to them passive subject positions as speakers of Catalan. Laia naturalized an interactional pattern that could be described as: I-speak-in-Catalan-you-respond-in-Spanish. As a result, learners eventually adopted their subject positions as Spanish speakers. This is shown above, when Fariha stopped using code-switching and eventually situated herself as a Spanish speaker in lines 10 and 12.

All these facts indicate that the symbolic resources were not distributed effectively in this Catalan classroom. The learners were given the opportunity to accumulate Catalan linguistic skills during the first quarter of the classroom, and during the rest of the session they mostly deployed Spanish skills rather than Catalan. This decapitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) becomes more obvious when these situated linguistic practices are interpreted within the language trajectories of the learners. As I stated before, there were two working women who were studying Catalan as a result of the demands that they received in their workplace. Fariha (see excerpt 7) was one of them, and below she explains her motivations to learn Catalan and how she interprets the Catalan classroom that she attends:

> She told me "Fariha it is better if there is no Castilian language in my house, I want you to speak with my kids in Catalan." She is right, we are in Catalonia and the language is Catalan, but I speak better Spanish than Catalan. Therefore I decided to come to the classes on Friday, to improve my Catalan but I don't learn a lot, honestly.
>
> (Interview with Fariha, April 2014, Barcelona)

Fariha was a household worker, and she had an extended variety of employers. She worked with families who demanded her to speak Spanish and she also worked with Catalan families who preferred her to speak in Catalan. She was from a northern area of Morocco, where she had opportunity to study Spanish before settling in Catalonia and during her first years her linguistic socialization was dominated by Spanish. For these reasons she already spoke Spanish quite well, but she needed to speak Catalan. Although she had very limited time to study, each Friday she came to this Catalan classroom in order to improve her Catalan skills, and most of the time she left 15 minutes early because she needed to get to work. For her, the time she was spending in this classroom was an investment. Considering her trajectory, the constant interposition of Spanish in this classroom contradicted the learning motivations and objectives of the learners. Besides, considering the properties of language classrooms (Seedhouse 2009), the subject and learner positions in a language classroom are organized according to the unique goal of the classroom: teaching the target language to the learners. When this objective is hindered by the interposition of another language during the majority of the classroom session, this universal objective and eventually the accumulation of the target language is hindered.

I will also focus on the classroom content, especially on the classroom materials and vocabulary resources that Laia used in this classroom. In the previous three classrooms I did not analyze the classroom materials because Clara and Mar followed a regularized classroom content in the sense that both teachers followed a specific curriculum selected by the NGO administration. In Catalonia, there was no such curriculum to follow, and Laia had the absolute freedom to choose the classroom material. If we revisit Figure 9 and the classroom architecture analyzed in the Excerpt 6, it becomes noticeable that the main vocabulary resources that Laia used in this classroom presented women acting in traditionally organized gender, given that the interactions referred to housework activities such as cleaning, cooking, and so on. During my fieldwork, Laia frequently used the initial questions below to make the learners use specific vocabulary regarding household activities:

"What did you have for lunch today?"
"What color are your carpets at home?"
"What is the color of your flatware?"
"What did you cook for dinner yesterday?"
"Do you have kids? How many kids do you have?"

(Fieldwork notes, March 2014, Catalonia)

Drawing on the definition of decapitalization by Martin Rojo (2013), decapitalization in this classroom involved (1) discouraging capital formation by not providing the necessary pedagogical methods, plans and techniques to make the learners accumulate the linguistic resources in Catalan, and by (2) naturalizing the interposition of the Spanish language during the random speaking activities which corresponded to the majority of the classroom session and (3) by means of providing specific linguistic resources that orient the learners toward household activities, unskilled and feminized jobs.

4.7. Reformulating the classroom interaction

In this Chapter I tried to answer the following questions: "What do they learn and how are they positioned as learners and speakers in the language classrooms of these so-called social integration programs?" Apart from describing and analyzing the linguistic capital distributed across the four classrooms that I participated, I also depicted the organizational features and other key actors

involved in the organization or sponsorship of these programs. Therefore this Chapter was built on the situated, micro analysis of the classroom interaction as well as my fieldwork notes, and I explained these practices within an inter-connected network of social actors who directly or indirectly got involved in the pedagogical practices occurring in these classrooms. I mentioned that these social integration programs were organized by the third-sector actors instead of the central and local government, as a result of outsourcing strategies and privatizations of the welfare services oriented to the disadvantaged social groups in Spain. Analysis of the pedagogical practices situated in these educational spaces, therefore, demonstrated how this welfare strategy worked in practice.

The empirical look into these social integration programs indicated that in both sites there was a lack of a regularized, controlled, learner-oriented pedagogical strategy and the language teachers were left alone in the crucial pedagogical decisions to be applied in these classrooms. The pedagogical focus, teaching strategies, and the subject positions that the learners were given maintained the unequal positioning of the learners with regard to capital and power. This was especially obvious in the classrooms of Clara and Laia, in which the accumulation of the linguistic resources was hindered in different ways. The learners were given passive learner and speaker positions, and the linguistic resources permitted in the classroom oriented them to inferior or 'feminized' domains. In the following paragraphs, I will explain these features in a more detailed way.

The data analysis has indicated that the interactional space produced in the classroom has a reflexive relationship with the pedagogical focus of the language teacher (Seedhouse 2009), and such that the subject and learner positions that the learners hold are mostly driven by the teaching strategies and methods that the language teacher used. Considering all these facts and taking the competence model of Walsh (2011) into account (maximizing interactional space; shaping learner contributions; effective use of eliciting; instructional idiolect; and interactional awareness), the pedagogical focus of Mar produced the maximum interactional space in the target language, the most extended learner turns, and the most extended learner-to-learner and learner-to-teacher conversational patterns in the target language. Remembering that Mar was the only language teacher holding an educational and professional background in teaching Spanish, qualitative data suggest that the professional background of the language teacher is crucial for deploying efficient teaching strategies in these settings. The best example is to compare the interactional space constructed in the literacy classroom of Clara and Mar, considering that both teachers taught for the same learners in the same classroom. The one-to-one teaching strategy of Clara produced the least learner participation among the four classrooms while the pedagogical methods, decisions and techniques of Mar radically transformed the interactional space, producing a better organized,

methodologically dynamic and learner participation oriented classroom. The intermediate level classroom of Mar showed the most extensive learner participation among the four, in spite of the fact that her extended repairs and pedagogical focus sometimes limited further participation of the learners. The most extended learner turns took place in Laia's classroom. Nevertheless, given that these turns were dominated by the Spanish language rather than by Catalan, this extended participation paradoxically situated the learners as passive speakers of the target language (Catalan, in this case).

In these classrooms, beyond the specific ways in which the learners were positioned as speakers, it is crucial to reflect on what kind of linguistic resources were provided, how these resources were distributed and, how language teachers oriented the learners. Drawing on the pedagogical orientation of the four language teachers, they all focused on providing elementary linguistic resources. Even in the intermediate level classroom of Mar, which showed the most dynamic teaching methods and the most extended learner participation in the target language, her focus on elementary resources in some occasions hindered the capitalization process of some learners who held better linguistic levels. In the classroom of Laia, apart from the lack of planned, organized curriculum, the linguistic resources she provided in the classroom mostly oriented the learners to housework activities and feminized jobs. All these features demonstrated how decapitalization occurred in and across these classrooms.

Nevertheless, the learners also negotiated their subject positions. I explained that learners contested the pedagogical focus of the language teachers in each classroom by means of deploying more complex semantic, grammatical or vocabulary resources in the target language. When the language teachers focused on providing the learners with the elementary linguistic resources, especially the learners who held more advanced linguistic skills challenged this elementary pedagogical approach by re-positioning themselves by taking extended turns in which they initiated sub-topics, and they used more complex linguistic forms than expected. In the Catalan classroom, re-appropriation of the speaker positions occurred by means of using inter-linguistic features, given that the learners foregrounded their Spanish skills in order to hold extended turns in the classroom.

Having explained these features and demonstrated how these learners were situated in the classroom as speakers, the question that I need to ask –again- is: How should we interpret these findings, considering that these language practices occur in the social integration programs prepared and organized by decentralized or private institutions, under the name of "promoting linguistic and social integration"? As I mentioned in the introduction part of this Chapter, I consider that it would be too simplistic to link the drawbacks in these settings merely to the pedagogical decisions of the language teachers, especially when we consider how Clara and Mar had to negotiate with the NGO

administration to improve the classroom organization and how Laia was left alone in all the critical decisions with regard to organizing her classroom. The lack of competitive teacher recruitment as well as the lack of regularized, well-organized teaching plans in both sites demonstrates that these institutions aimed to provide these learners, in Foucauldian terms, with the *vital minimum* (2008, p.143). I do not claim that the Spanish government, the institutions involved (as providers) or the language teachers followed a pre-planned strategy of linguistic domination or symbolic violence, but I suggest that all these actors reproduced the asymmetrical social and linguistic positioning of these learners by a) overlooking these learners' necessity to accumulate competitive, professional-oriented linguistic resources b) constructing these learners as passive speakers and learners c) orienting them to inferior labour market positions or to the household space. This critical approach suggests that the historically and socioeconomically produced ideologies and discourses that represent and categorize the learners are implicated in the specific learner and speaker positions that they are attributed in these sites. For this reason, the findings of this Chapter are closely linked to Chapter V, in which I analyze the specific ways that the language teachers represent and categorize these learners in their discourses.

Part 2. Exploring the front-stage: Maintaining inequalities

CHAPTER V.
NORMALISING INEQUALITIES: REPRESENTING, CATEGORIZING AND CONSTRUCTING THE LEARNERS

5.1. Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I demonstrated how the symbolic capital is distributed in these so-called social integration programs and I also analyzed the speaker and learner positions constructed in each classroom. In the classroom interaction analysis I explained that these language courses focused on distributing elementary linguistic resources, this pedagogical orientation contradicted the pre-acquired linguistic resources and L2 motivation of some learners and the learners were mostly driven to adopt passive learner and speaker positions in the interaction. I also mentioned that the linguistic resources in some cases oriented the learners to inferior, feminized labour market or to household space. Drawing on the key social actors who got involved in this (de)capitalisation (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) process, I mentioned that these language programs reproduced the asymmetrical positioning of the Moroccan immigrant women in terms of power and linguistic capital. Therefore the analysis of the previous Chapter was mostly descriptive in the sense that it described how the symbolic resources were managed and what kind of speakers and learners were constructed in these sites. Although I underpinned that I would locate these pedagogical practices under the critical lenses of this ethnography, I limited the analysis to describe, in an empirical way, the asymmetrical location of these women learners in the linguistic market and how this asymmetry was reproduced in these so-called social integration programs.

This Chapter problematizes the discursive practices that normalize or rationalize the asymmetrical location of these learners in the linguistic market as well as in the receiving societies. For that reason I mainly build this Chapter on the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the three language teachers, and I aim to unpack the ideologies and systematic discourses that produce, reproduce and normalize the subordinate speaker, learner and subject positions of the African immigrant women in the receiving societies. In order to achieve this, this Chapter is organized as follows. I first explain the theoretical framework that this Chapter is based on and I underline the key points that interlock the critical approach of this Chapter to the *decapitalization* process that

took place in the previous Chapter. I draw on the Foucauldian ideas (1972, 1984) on the reproductive and constitutive power of discourse and I problematize the specific ways that the language teachers construct the learners as social agents, how they attribute them specific subjectivities, and how these subjectivities are assumed or contested. Second, I explain how I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an analytic tool to demonstrate the representations and the categorizations that the language teachers deployed in their discourses. Following this, I continue with the data analysis. The readers will see the critical discourse analysis of the qualitative data taken from the interviews conducted with the language teachers, as well as from the recordings of the classroom interaction. At the end of this Chapter, the readers are expected to understand that the Moroccan immigrant women are mainly constructed as agentless, passive, oppressed and non-modern. The readers will also see that all these discourses were also exercised in the classroom, and the learners assumed and contested these representations. Therefore, this Chapter is important in two main aspects: First, it demonstrates the taken-for-granted ideologies with regard to linguistic and social agencies of these learners. Second, it also crystallizes the ongoing processes of colonialism in these so-called social integration programs.

5.2. Reflections on the productive power of discourse in adult immigrant education

The aim of this Chapter is to demonstrate the historically constructed ideologies and discourses that represent and categorise the learners in these social integration programs. While the previous Chapter demonstrated their asymmetrical positioning as speakers and learners of the legitimate language, this Chapter demonstrates their asymmetrical positioning as social agents in the receiving society. Therefore, this Chapter focuses on their asymmetrical positioning in the dominant discourses which foreground their racial, ethnic and gender identity difference and how these discourses build them as subordinate subjects. In order to explain the theoretical ground of this idea, I will re-visit and discuss the Foucauldian ideas on constructing subject and knowledge and exerting power in discursive practices, and I will also explain how these concepts take us to normalization, in other words, how the specific ways that the dominant discourses categorize or represent the learners eventually produce *a ritual of truth*.

This Chapter draws on Michel Foucault's broader framework of discourse (1972, 1975), which is conceptualized as socially-constitutive practice defined by intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Foucauldian discourse refers to the forms of language and semiotic representation that produce specific fields of historically and culturally situated meanings. Drawing on the idea

that discourse is conditioned by power relations (Fairclough 1992:103), problemitizing the power relations of a given discourse demonstrates who is given the power to act, to possess the capital, or who is left out and constructed as the subordinated or, as the discourse of the teachers indicates, as postcolonial subjects. In this Chapter, the readers will see how the language teachers represent the learners as subordinate and oppressed agents by foregrounding their ethno-racial and gender identities. This is the very point that the language teachers construct the learners as *the Other*, which explains the emergence of the post-colonial female learner in these social integration programs. Besides, discursive practices not only make connections to independently pre-existing ones, but they also constitute the object of knowledge and social subjectivities. It is a form of exercising power, constructing knowledge and also constructing subject. As Foucault explains:

> "The individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an 'ideological' representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called 'discipline'. We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production."
>
> (*Discipline and Punish*, p.194)

If the power produces reality, knowledge and subjectivity, if the individual is fabricated by the technologies power, if all these practices produce rituals of truth, then all these components of power work together, as Foucault suggests above, a *discipline*. Rather than linking it to negative terms, he conceptualizes this process as a production of reality. In *Discipline and Punish*, he explains that production of reality or rituals of truth eventually produces normalization. Normalization involves construction of an idealized norm of conduct and rewarding or punishing individuals for conforming to these idealized norms or conducts, or deviating from this ideal. For him this is one of an ensemble of tactics for exerting maximum social control with minimum expenditure of force. Because of its reproductive feature, he claims, this social control reproduces itself by self-controlling. In other words, this control system is also normalized by the individuals who are subject to this process and they become object and subject of this control mechanism. This formulation is important to underline how discourse produces knowledge, and it also constitutes the

subject. All these micro techniques of power work together to normalize or rationalize the ideal rituals of truth and the ideal forms of conduct.

In this Chapter, normalisation or rationalization refers to a complex set of power mechanisms that 1) produce knowledge or rituals of truth about the learners and their subjectivities and 2) constructing ideals forms of speaker and learner positions for these learners. This is the very point that this Chapter is connected to the previous one. The passive speaker and learner subject positions that I described in Chapter IV is sustained or reproduced by the complex discourse systems that produce knowledge about the learners and their subjectivities. The readers will see that these learners are not only constructed as passive speakers and learners in the speech exchange systems of the classroom; they are constructed as such in the discursive practices of the language teachers. The readers will also see how the learners deploy resistance strategies as well. As I mentioned in Chapter II, I conceptualize resistance in this thesis as contesting inequalities, hegemonies, asymmetrical subject positions by means of deploying linguistic resources. It is a counter-action in which the learners negotiate power. In this Chapter the readers will see how one learner repositions herself as a Moroccan Muslim in order to contest Clara's trials to transmit Christian values to the learners. In another excerpt we will see how contestation involves claiming the authority of language and self-positioning as a legitimate speaker. All these micro practices will indicate how discourse systems construct knowledge and the subject, how these mechanisms construct the learners as post-colonial subjects, and how these complex power techniques are exercised, negotiated and contested in the classroom.

5.3. CDA as an analytic tool

The qualitative data analyzed in this Chapter encompass three main categories: the term reports written by Clara and Mar, the interviews realized with Mar and Laia, and the classroom interaction recorded during the fieldwork. I base on the idea that discourse is an action, a way of constructing social reality and social representations (Foucault 1972, 1982; Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 1998). We can analyze the hegemonic struggles to give a 'universal' status to particular discourses and representations, ideologies, social changes, the legitimation of social action and social orders, the dominant character types of contemporary societies by means of discourse analysis. Hence I refer to, as Fairclough (2003) defines, social effects of texts. One type of effects of texts is ideological effects – the effects of texts in inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies (Larrain 1979, Thompson 1984, Van Dijk 1998). CDA aims to understand how structures and strategies or other

properties of text, talk and verbal interaction play a role in reproducing social inequalities. Van Dijk (1993:250) explains that relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance are not unilaterally imposed by others; power and power abuse are jointly produced when dominated groups are persuaded that this power abuse is natural.

Another important aspect of power and dominance is that they are usually organized and institutionalized (van Dijk 1993). Social dominance of groups is not merely enacted individually but rather by group members and it can be supported, ideologically sustained and reproduced by further dominant groups and organizations. Therefore there is a hierarchy of power deployed in planning, decision-making and control over the enactment of power. These small groups, labeled as power elites (Mills 1956) have special access to discourse and they have extensive access to discourse and dominance (re)production. There is a parallelism between social power and discourse access. Socially powerful groups have more access to different discourse genres, contexts, participants, audience while lack of power results in limited and mostly passive access to discourse. In sum, power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over access to discourse (ibid, p.257). Therefore discourse is not only a form of social control but also it is a control over the minds of people, as explained by van Dijk, "control over the management of social representations".

Therefore, the main objective of CDA in this Chapter is to describe, to explain, and to criticize the ways that dominant discourses influence socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies with regard to African immigrant women learners and their subjectivities. I aim to explain how these discourses produce concrete models and representations, eventually producing or reproducing social inequalities in these social integration programs. The discursive production of dominance has two major dimensions, which are production and reception (van Dijk 1993:259). Therefore on the one side there is enactment, expression or legitimation of dominance; on the other side functions, consequences or results of such structures. Given that, in this section I will analyze power enactment in the discourses produced by the three language teachers who are regarded as (together with the other actors involved in decision making, planning and administration of these language courses) power elites in this thesis as they hold extensive access to discourse, dominance and power.

The readers will also see how *you and us* are constructed in the classroom. This process involves two complementary strategies: positive representation of the own group and negative representation of the learners, which will come up with attributing "agentless, dominated, oppressed" roles on the learners meanwhile the dominant group is represented as "civilized" and "savior". According to van Dijk (1993:264), these statements are supported by a series of discourse

strategies such as using argumentation, rhetorical figures, lexical style, storytelling, structural emphasis of negative actions and quoting. In the analysis of teachers' discourses, for instance, I will mainly focus on the arguments of the teachers, and how these arguments are supported by systematic rhetorical figures, lexical style and storytelling. All these strategies, I will explain in detail, work together to represent the social actors and their actions in a way that they produce processes such as categorization, generalization, instrumentalization and functionalization. The CDA of these discourses will indicate the specific ways that these teachers legitimized decapitalization and the specific ways that they constructed *the other* mainly by attributing them negative features. For a detailed analysis, I used Van Leeuwen's analytic tools to explore these micro discursive practices. Van Leeuwen (2008) describes how social actors and their agencies are constructed in the language system, and he offers a systematic toolbox to analyze these patterns. I will focus on representing social actors and their social action, which will underline how processes such as categories, generalizations, and passivation occur in discourse, and I will indicate how they were reproduced in formal teacher reports, interviews, and in classroom interaction. In discourse, representations can endow social actors with active or passive roles. While activation involves representing these actors as active, dynamic forces in the activity, passivation occurs when they are represented as undergoing the activity, or as being "the receiving end of it". Van Leeuwen (2008:34) makes a distinction in passivation and divides the passivated social actor into two main categories: subjected or beneficialized. In the overall analysis I shall especially underline subjected social agents because in this discourse strategy social actors are treated as objects in representation. This may be realized by means of constructing these social actors as a goal or a carrier in a material or attributive process. I shall show that this occurs especially by means of activating learners' agency in relation to their male partners' actions or within their religious beliefs.

Demonstrating generic and specific representations is another objective of this Chapter. In generic representations, social actors are referred as groups or as a collective, the latter described as assimilation by van Leeuwen (2008:37). He distinguishes two types of assimilation: aggregation and collectivization. Collectivization plays a specific importance because it is one of the most commonly used strategies by the language teachers. As we will encounter in the following pages, these social will be represented as "they, women, people…etc." in teachers' discourses and there will be left very little space for individualization. However, the most important aspect about this collectivization process is the specific ways that these actors are represented as groups, more specifically, how categorizations occur in these narrations. In generic representations which take place with lexical patterns such as 'they' and 'women', categorizations may take place with 'religion', 'motherhood' or simply with gender groups. Van Leeuwen defines, this over-generalized

form of representation by gender roles as functionalization, which refers to generic categorizations of men or women by means of associating major ascribed gender functionalities with the specific gender group. I suggest that this functionalization or representing the learners by their over-generalized gender roles goes hand in hand with passivation, as their collective representation is constantly associated with their passive agency in multiple social domains. Therefore the next step of CDA in this chapter will be describing the represented social action, which will also be analyzed within the toolbox of Van Leeuwen. I will especially focus on how action and reaction is defined and how social actors might be located in these actions in van Leeuwen's analytic tools.

When describing representations of social action, van Leeuwen makes a distinction between actions and reactions by means of distinguishing mental processes from the processes that realize actions. Reactions refer to the specific ways that one action is perceived, understood, or felt. Taking the English grammar structure as a ground, there are three forms of reactions: perceptive (I Heard him walk away or I Heard him walking away), cognitive mental processes (He thinks that…) and affective mental processes (She liked being the last name on register). Analyzing the reactions is important in terms of understanding how the learners' authority and power in their depicted actions. In the data analysis, we will see that the language teachers mostly linked the actions of the learners to the reactions of their male partners, and they also described the actions of the learners as cognitive mental processes, which eventually diminished the authority and power of the learners in a given action. All these discourse strategies will be clearly explained in the data analysis.

5.4. Discourses of the language teachers: The emergence of the post-colonial female learner

In this section I analyze the discourses of the key actors, starting with the term reports of the language teachers in which they define the learner profiles, classroom objectives and classroom content. More specifically, term reports of Clara and Mar (note that in Catalonia there were no term reports) consist of the objectives of the course, description of the classroom and the classroom participants, description of the materials used in the classroom, activities realized in the classroom, and perception of the teacher about the improvement of the students. In these term reports I mainly analyze argumentation, lexical style and storytelling regarding learner profiles and how generic/specific, positive/negative representations were constructed and how learners' social action was described. I shall start with the term report of Clara (original and translated versions are written successively, important phrases for the analysis are underlined):

Example 1.

Se trata de personas provenientes de países extranjeros que a su llegada a España no conocen el idioma y que además encuentran en muchos casos especiales dificultades para su aprendizaje puesto que se trata en gran cantidad de ocasiones de mujeres que no trabajan fuera de sus casas, que son originarias de la cultura musulmana que les impide el natural acceso a la cultura o simplemente que tienen trabajos poco cualificados que se desarrollan casi en solitario y que no les aboca hacia el dialogo diario y un proceso natural de aprendizaje por ensayo. Se ha contado con 30 mujeres matriculadas, divididas en dos grupos atendiendo en primer lugar a su nivel de conocimientos del idioma. Estas mujeres acuden acompañadas por una media de 5 menores al día de 2-3 años a las actividades de la mañana.

These are people coming from other countries who don't speak the language upon their arrival in Spain and they also come across to, in many special cases, difficulties about learning because in most of the cases they are women who do not work outside home, they are from a muslim culture which prevents them from natural access to culture or they work in low-skilled jobs that are exercised almost alone and they are not driven into the daily dialogue and to a natural process of learning by practice. There are 30 women registered the course, divided into two groups according to their linguistic knowledge. They are accompanied by 5 children each day, between 2-3 years old, in the morning activities.

(Clara, 2011, 1st quarter Report, My translation from Spanish)

In Clara's report, I focus on two main issues: her lexical style when she is defining the learners and her systematic argumentation while she is representing the learners. Regarding the lexical style, she uses generic words to describe learners and note that she never uses the word *learner* to define them ('these are people", "in total 30 women", "these women"). Therefore, discourse of Clara displays a generic and collective representation of the learners, defining them as a group of people who share common features such as migration, religion and motherhood. As for her arguments in constructing negative representations, she uses these social roles to justify negative representations and even their lack of linguistic knowledge. These are the arguments she uses to construct negative representations of the learners:

They don't know the language,

They have difficulties in learning,
They don't work outside home,
They don’t have daily dialogue,
They work in low skilled jobs.

More importantly, she develops and argument regarding their difficulties in learning the language: “They are from a muslim culture that prevents them from natural access to culture or they just have low-skilled jobs that are exercised almost alone”. Therefore, in her negative argumentation Clara represents the learners as agentless and dominated by religion and their male counterparts. This representation is defined as passivation by van Leeuwen (2008:33), who argues that this is a process when social actors are presented as ‘undergoing’ the activity instead of being presented as active, dynamic forces. In Clara’s text whereas the learners grammatically are presented as active, repetitive negative verb structures (they don’t know, they don’t work, they don’t have…etc) semantically passivize their agency. Clara also uses functionalization strategies to represent the learners. Van Leeuwen (ibid:42) mentions that functionalization may occur by using lexical tools closely associated with an activity and highly generalized categorizations such as ‘women’ and ‘men’. In her discourse this functionalization and passivation work together and construct the learners as agentless women, who are generically represented as passive female actors dominated by religion and their male partners. The other language teacher Mar, on the other hand, followed a different discourse strategy in her term report (original and translated versions are written successively, important phrases for the analysis are underlined):

Example 2.

Clase de A2 está formado por mujeres de entre 22 y 35 años. En una evaluación inicial se advierte que existen diferentes perfiles. En primer lugar, alumnas con estudios, Bachillerato y Licenciaturas principalmente, que hablan francés, inglés e incluso alemán, y con una gran motivación para progresar y aprender. En segundo lugar, alumnas que aún llevando más de cinco años en España todavía no han conseguido un nivel óptimo de la lengua debido a sus cargas familiares o laborales. Sin embargo, saben leer y escribir y se han adaptado sin dificultad al ritmo de las clases. A diferencia del primer grupo, grupo de alfabetización no parece estar muy cohesionado de momento. Su asistencia no ha sido constante y según ha ido avanzando el trimestre se han ido incorporando mujeres hasta las últimas dos semanas, lo cual ha supuesto no conseguir los objetivos propuestos en estos primeros meses del curso. Se observan diferentes niveles y ritmos de aprendizaje. Además, las

edades de las alumnas están entre los 22 años y más de 50. El problema principal es no poder atender sus necesidades individuales que van desde aprender a leer, partiendo de manuales de lectoescritura de niveles muy básicos, a afianzar la escritura y la lectura con manuales de español para extranjeros. Aún así, hemos conseguido que alumnas analfabetas hayan comenzado a leer mediante un método fotosilábico."

A2 classroom consists of women between 22 and 35 years old. The initial assessment indicates that there are different profiles. First of all, students with studies, secondary school and university degrees who speak French, English and even German and they are highly motivated to progress and learn. Secondly, there are students who have been studying for more than five years in Spain but have not yet achieved an optimal level of language due to their family or work responsibilities. However, they know how to read write and have adapted to the rhythm of classes without difficulty. Unlike the first group, A1 does not seem to be very cohesive at the moment. Their attendance has not been regular and during the first three months, other women joined in until the last two weeks, which means that they didn't achieve the objectives proposed in the first months of the course. Different levels and learning rhythms are observed. Moreover, students are between 22 and over 50 years old. The main problem is not being able to meet their individual needs ranging from learning how to read with literacy manuals based on very basic levels to strengthening reading and writing skills with manuals of Spanish language for foreigners. Still, we managed to make illiterate students begin to read through a photo-syllabic method.

(Mar 2012, 2nd quarter Report)

In this report, I will first focus on the lexical patterns that she uses for representing the learners. Mar starts the report by using the noun 'women' and continues the text by using 'learners' (3 times) and she also uses specific definitions and representations:

> Women between 22 and 35 years old,
> Students with studies, secondary school and university degrees who speak French, English and even German,
> Students who have been studying for more than five years in Spain,
> A1 and A2 students,
> Students between 22 and 50 years old.

Apart from this specific representation, she also follows positive and progressive representations ("students with formal studies", "they speak French, English and even German", "highly motivated to progress and learn", "the illiterate started to read"). Mar also mentions their family responsibilities as a reason for their low language skills ("have not yet achieved an optimal level of language due to their family or work responsibilities") and she dedicates some space in her report about the structural problems of this classroom ("The main problem is not being able to meet their individual needs ranging from learning how to read with literacy manuals based on very basic levels to strengthening reading and writing skills with manuals of Spanish language for foreigners."). Therefore, compared to Clara, Mar represents the learners in a more specific way and she uses positive representations in her term report. Instead of collectivization based on motherhood and religion, she divides the learners into groups according to their age, educational status and immigration stage.

On the other hand, in her other discourses Mar constructed the learners as oppressed and passive subjects. The excerpt below is taken from an interview in which she expresses her opinions with regard to wearing hijab. It is relevant to mention that Mar frequently organized short-film sessions especially in the intermediate level classroom, and she selected movies that generated interesting discussion topics such as religion, sexuality (especially LGBT issues), domestic violence and multicultural societies. She claimed that it was important to make them speak about the "taboo subject matters", or to make them see that there were "other lives, lifestyles and perspectives in other societies" (fieldwork notes, June 2011). The interview below was conducted following one of those film-sessions, and the film was titled "The Hijab". This short film was about social pressure posed on an adolescent student to take her hijab off in a secondary school in Spain. The interview below was recorded shortly after the end of the classroom, after the students had left. In this short interview, Mar described her feelings about the learners' opinions on hijab (original and translated versions are written successively, important phrases for the analysis are underlined):

Example 3.

Y bueno, después el debate ha continuado un poco y yo les he preguntado en primer lugar, cuando se lo pusieron, a qué edad? Por ejemplo Bouchra se lo puso cuando tenía siete años. Se lo puso porque ella quería. Porque ella ha dicho que su hermana no se lo puso, pero ella sí, porque a ella le gustaba y le parecía bonito. E:::h luego por otro lado: e::h la mayoría de ellas se lo: han puesto después de casarse. Y la pregunta es por qué? Es todo por – porque – porque quieren ser buenas

musulmanas. Y una buena musulmana no debe mostrar su: (()) – su – su belleza. Aunque, aquí todas, la mayoría de ellas no llevan el hijab – el hijab completo. A::m (.) también comentan que: no ellas, pero si sus hermanas lo llevaban en Marruecos pero cuando llegaron a Europa se lo quitaron. Entonces, dice que bueno, que: ellas respetan todo, que les parece bien porque si no son practicantes no tiene sentido que se pongan e:l -el pañuelo. Claro, porque yo les he preguntado y qué pasa si tú te lo quieres quitar y tu marido no te deja? O tu padre no te deja? o tus hermanos no te dejan? Porque bueno, (.) es verdad que – los que conocemos- no?- Situaciones en las que ha habido maltrato. Maltrato – e::h – psicológico y físico por no llevar el pañuelo. Entonces, bueno, ellas han dicho que sí, que es verdad pero también ocurre en familias españolas. Es verdad, el maltrato está ahí:. Pero que::- que ellas lo condenan. Que: – claro, que: Que eso de pegar a la mujer por no: ponerse el pañuelo (..) etcétera, no? (.) Pero: ellas creen firmemente en que (.) lo llevan porque son buenas musulmanas.

Well, after that the debate continued further and I asked them, first of all, when they started using hijab, at which age. For example Bouchra started using it when she was seven, in primary school. She started using it because she wanted to. She told me that her sister didn't use it but she did because she liked it and she thought that it looked beautiful. E::h on the other hand e::h, the majority started using hijab after they got married. And the question is, why? The reason is that they want to be good Muslims. And a good Muslim shouldn't show her (()) her beauty. Nevertheless, here the majority do not use the complete hijab. A::m (.) hey tell me that they don't use it but their sisters in Morocco used the complete hijab but when they came to Spain they took it off. Therefore, they say that they respect everything, and they say that if one person is not practicing Islam, there's no point in wearing hijab. Of course, I asked them "what happens if you want to take off your hijab and your husband doesn't let you? Or if your father doesn't let you? Or your brothers don't let you?" Because, well, it is true that, the women that we know- there have been situations of maltreatment. Maltreatment – e::h – psychological and physical maltreatment because of taking off their hijab. Well, they told me that that is true, but it also happens in the Spanish families. It is true, the maltreatment is here, but they condemn them. Of course, for example beating a woman because she is not wearing hijab, etcetera, you know? But they firmly believe that they wear it because they are good muslims."

(Interview with Mar, May 2012 Madrid, my translation from Spanish)

In this excerpt, I will focus on the way that Mar constructs *us* and *others*; more specifically, how she represents Moroccan and Spanish culture. In her discourse, the distinction between the two cultures is constructed by systematic argumentation, rhetorical figures, lexical style and story-telling (van Dijk 1993). Her main argument is that the women are mistreated in Moroccan culture and she uses negative lexical patterns to describe women's situation in Moroccan families (mistreatment, psychological and physical mistreatment, beating a woman, etc.) and she also uses a story to strengthen her argument (it is true that there have been situations of mistreatment, they beat women when they take the veil off, etc.). On the other hand, she uses rhetorical figures to construct Spanish culture (in Spain there is also maltreatment but we condemn them). Apart from constructing *them and us*, she also follows collectivization and categorization strategies, by means of constructing generic representations of these social actors mainly by means of locating them in the same religious group and gender category.

As for the social action of the learners, Mar instrumentalizes the learners ("What happens if you want to take off your hijab and your husband doesn't let you? Or if your father doesn't let you? Or your brothers don't let you?") by means of locating the male agents in subject positions, meanwhile locating the female learners in the object position of these transactive sentences. In the same sentence structure, the learners are represented as social actors that produce reaction (their male partners rejects their action), and their action is semantically and grammatically passivized. They are represented inferior to their male counterparts, as the social action belongs to the male actor meanwhile they are mentioned as instrumentalized subjects. Lastly, I will also focus on the last sentence, in which, after semantically coherent arguments regarding women's oppression in Moroccan families, Mar concludes her argument:

"Ellas creen firmemente en que lo llevan porque son buenas Musulmanas."
"But they firmly believe that they wear it because they are good Muslims."

In this sentence, Mar describes the social action of the learners in a very particular way. In this reported speech structure, learners hold a transactive material action (they wear the veil) which is reported by Mar as a cognitive reaction (they believe that they wear it…), which grammatically and semantically diminishes the authority of the social actors. Therefore she uses this structure, together with the previous sentence structures, in a way that learners' agency goes through a semantic passivation, and they are eventually represented as agentless social actors whose social action is driven by their male partners and by their religious beliefs.

In Catalonia, Laia followed other discourse strategies that represented the learners as agentless, oppressed bodies. Below, I will analyze the short interview that I conducted with Laia on the first day of my fieldwork in Catalonia. In this interview, I asked her about the main objectives and learner profiles in this classroom and below you will see her explanation:

Example 4.

Estas mujeres tienen que salir de casa. Este curso les ayuda para hacer algo fuera de casa. Lo que quiero hacer es, en cada clase presentarles a una persona que vive en el pueblo. Son muy reservadas y tienen que conocer más gente. Es la major manera de facilitar la integración social.

These women need to get out of their houses. This course helps them to do something outside home. What I want to do is to present them a person who lives in the village in each classroom. They are very reserved and they need to meet new people. This is the best way to enable social integration.

(December 2013, Interview with Laia at the first day of my fieldwork)

In this discourse, I will first focus on representation of the social actors, representation of their social action and lastly how Laia develops her argument regarding language education and social integration. The lexical patterns that Laia uses to represent these learners (these women, they, reserved) reveal a generic, collectivized representation which semantically attributes negative attitudes on them. They are represented as a group of women who do not go out, who are reserved, and cannot integrate into the Catalan society. The learners' collective representation also goes through a functionalization, because Laia represents them with over-generalized gender roles. As for the representations of the learners' collective social action, although material action used in this discourse is transactive (they need help, they need to get out of their houses), semiotic or described meaning represents these agents as passive actors, as sustained by the main argument of this narration (we need to help them). She depicts the language course as a leisure activity, rather than a competitive, efficient learning space. Laia argues that the language course is a way to help them because it enables them to get out of their houses and to meet new people. This is very similar to the attitude of Mar, who defended the idea that these learners needed to understand different perspectives and different life styles. And when she was describing the subjectivities of the learners

with regard to wearing hijab, Mar also constructed the learners as oppressed subjects, and she adopted the role of the "savior" who could make them see or realize that they were going through oppression.

When we consider the representations of the learners in these discourses, we see that there are some common features across the discourses produced by these three language teachers. First, learners are mainly functionalized and they are mainly categorized by their over-generalized gender roles and by their religious beliefs. Second, they are presented as actors that lack active social action. Grammatically and semantically language teachers represent these actors as subjects whose social action is driven by their male partners or religious beliefs. Third, especially Clara and Laia link these negative, deficient, oppressed representations to the linguistic agencies of the learners. Laia openly argues that language classroom is a space which gives these women the possibility to get out of their houses and meet people. Clara, on the other hand, argues that the learners are not socially and linguistically integrated into the receiving society because of their religious and cultural identity. All these discourse strategies work together to rationalize the disadvantaged position of the learners in relation to the linguistic capital and power. This rationalization is also reproduced in the term reports of Clara and Mar:

Figure 5.1. Term reports of the language teachers in the Madrid NGO, 2011-2012

Classroom Objectives of the intermediate level classroom, Mar 2012	**Objectives of the literacy and intermediate level classrooms, Clara 2011**
Describing present or past activities from their personal experience. Describing objects and the places. Discussing about practical issues of everyday life. Tackling with short social interchanges. Using usual expressions of courtesy.	Acquire minimum and sufficient vocabulary for minimum interaction in the society. Acquire a better knowledge of Spanish culture. Promote equality of opportunity between men and women within the framework of the strategies of Madrid City Hall.

I took these texts from the terms reports of Clara and Mar, where they mention classroom objectives and pedagogical focus. To start with, there is an important difference between these two term reports in terms of content. While Clara mentions social issues such as gender equality, social integration, introducing Spanish culture in her teaching objectives, Mar makes specific comments on the grammatical and vocabulary resources she is planning to distribute in the classroom. Therefore she mentions about tense structures, main vocabulary subjects that will be taught in the classroom meanwhile Clara's term report lacks these specific details about the classroom curriculum. In her term report, Clara does not make any division between level 1 and level 2 classrooms in terms of pedagogical focus and she writes one common text for both language classrooms. On the other hand Mar mentions two different pedagogical plans for each language classroom and the text mentioned above belongs to Level 2 (intermediate) classroom.

As I explained in the previous Chapter, in these language classrooms the language teacher dominated the turns and there were minimum space left for extended learner turns and obtaining fluency in the target language. We see that in their term reports these two language teachers reproduced the same idea. These term reports reveal the objectives of these classrooms, and they explain how these learners are situated in the linguistic market. In both classroom reports, language teachers mention "short social interchanges", "minimum vocabulary", "minimum interaction" within their pedagogical focus, which coincides with the speech exchange systems produced in their classrooms.

5.5. Reproducing the asymmetrical representations in the classroom interaction

In this section I continue with the analysis of the discourse systems produced by the language teachers, but this time I focus on the discourses produced during the classroom session. I mainly explain how these dominant ideologies were reproduced and how this discourse system was assumed or contested by the learners. And I finally explain how the learners were constructed as non-legitimate speakers. It is important to mention that the discourse strategies produced inside the classroom cannot be generalized as each language teacher followed a unique way of constructing the classroom content, discussion topics, speech exchange systems and inter-subjectivities. For instance, Clara held a distant position about talking about cultural, religious or ethnic issues in the classroom and she mostly avoided collective discussions. In contrast to Mar and Laia who initiated conversations on a variety of topics such as daily problems, kids, politics, leisure activities and

religion, Clara hardly opened up an interactional space for these personal or social issues. Nevertheless, Clara tended to give extended talks about the values and specific practices of the Christian religion. And generally, the learners tended to ignore her comments by means of not paying attention or by producing a counter-argument. Below, you will see an example in which she explained the meaning of a specific Christian festival:

Example 5.

(5')

Clara: Sabéis que día es? Es el día en que baja la Virgen.

Do you know what day it is? It is the day when the Virgin comes down from the sky.

(A lot of noise in the classroom)

(5')

Nabija: ° يا ألله

My dear God.

In this excerpt, I was sitting face to face with Nabija and there were around 10 learners in the classroom that day. Shortly after Clara explained the meaning of this religious day, most of the learners started talking to each other, meanwhile Nabija started staring at me and said 'My dear God' in a hardly audible voice. This expression (يا ألله) has various meanings in different Arabic countries and contexts. Nevertheless, taking the body language patterns of Nabija noted down during the interaction, this expression displayed a disapproval and indifference towards the classroom topic. The interesting thing about this excerpt is the learners' reactions to Clara's comments. They contested the classroom topic by means of not paying attention (note the pauses before and after Clara's turns) and Nabija produced a counter-argument by means of using semantic and paralinguistic patterns. This tension indicates how *you and us* were constructed by means of foregrounding religion based difference between the learners and the language teacher. It also demonstrates how the learners such as Nabija re-affirmed their Moroccan identity by means of constructing a counter-argument.

Clara's cultural based discourses in some other cases constructed the learners as subordinate subjects. In these cases she interpreted the agencies of learners according to their religious beliefs.

Below, you will see an interaction in which Clara initiated a conversation about leisure activities and she talked about going to the beach during the summer time:

Example 6.

Clara: Entonces qué hacéis en la playa? Un poco de sol en la cara (.) (enseña con sus manos la parte que se ve debajo de velo) y ya está (se ríe).

So what do you do at the beach? Very little sun at your face (.) (She indicates, with her hands, part of the face seen under the veil) and that's it (she laughs).

In this excerpt, she was explaining leisure time vocabulary, and the learners mentioned that they went to the beach during the summer time. As a response to their comment, Clara asked them if they could swim, wear a swimming-suit and sunbath. Most of the learners responded her, explaining that they did not wear swimming suit but they could swim with their clothes on. The sentence above indicates her reaction to their answers. In this discourse I focus on two major features: constructing the argument and paralinguistic patterns that should be included in contextualization. First, her main implication is that it does not make sense to go to the beach if you do not wear a swimming suit (so what do you do there?). This is withdrawn from the initial questions of Clara that are not included in this excerpt (do you wear swimming-suit, do you swim, etc.). Second, paralinguistic features of this discourse (making a circle around the face, semiotically referring to veil and the laughter at the end) construct the cultural-specific patterns of *the other* as negative and unwanted. In this excerpt, therefore, apart from constructing *you* and *us* by means of foregrounding cultural or religious specific practices, *you* in this discourse is constructed as negative and unusual.

Mar, on the other hand, tended to be subtle regarding culture-related conversations. She defended women's active position in social and economic domains, encouraged the learners to take initiatives to look for a job and being socio-economically independent (fieldwork notes, April 2012). Nevertheless, as it was briefly mentioned in previous section, she also represented these learners as oppressed agents and she held the idea that she had to help them understand that there were 'other ways of thinking and other practices that are more democratic and egalitarian (interview with Mar, February 2012). In her classrooms, she opened conversational topics such as sexism, equal gender rights, LGTB issues, women's emancipation, etc. Nevertheless, her discourse strategies that defended this 'mission' eventually reproduced these inequalities, as she represented the learners as *oppressed subjects to be saved*:

Example 7.

1. Mar:	También hay mujeres machistas.
1. Mar:	**There are also sexist women.**
2.Clase:	Sí, sí, hay mucho.
2.**Classroom:**	**Yes, yes, there are many.**
3. Mar:	Ah, "esto: no, esto lo hace la mujer", no? pues (.) sobre todo con las tareas → [domesticas]
3. Mar:	**Ah, "this, no, this is woman's duty, no? well (.) especially domestic work → [domestic]**
4.Clase:	[domestic]
4.Classroom:	**[domestic]**
5.Mar:	No? (.) claro, (.) hay hombres pues que (.) comen y no recogen sus platos, eso está muy feo.
5. Mar:	**Isn't it? (.) of course (.) there are men (.) who eat and do not clear the table, this is very ugly.**
6.A:	Sí
6.A:	**Yes**
7. Mar:	Un poco de ayuda, no? (.) Puess no? estás todo el día trabajando.
7.Mar:	**They should help, shouldn't they? Why not? You are working all day.**
8.A:	Está hecho: una burra ahí, venga [trabajando]
8.A:	**Like a donkey, [working]**
9. Mar:	[todo el día] trabajando, todo el día trabajando. Y luego te sientas en el sofá y tienes que descansar no- no puedes. No?
9.Mar:	**[working] all day, working all day. Then you should sit down and have a rest. No-no you can't do that. Can you?**
10.A:	No, no puedes.
10. A:	**No, you can't.**

This excerpt is taken from a speaking activity in which the learners were to make sentences with "the best thing about X is…" superlative structure (lo mejor de X es). Prior to this interaction, a learner gave an example, saying "the best thing about my husband is that he is not sexist".

Following her comments, there was a small conversation between Mar and the learners about sexism. In this excerpt, I focus on three aspects of interaction. First, I will focus on the main argument that Mar expressed, second on the way she encouraged the learners to react and last, on the responses of the learners. In this conversation, Mar expressed her main argument in line 1, which was, the women can also be sexist. Then she developed systematic arguments to defend this idea in lines 3, 5, 7 and 9. In these lines she followed a story-telling strategy and gave concrete examples to prove her main argument expressed in line 1. According to Mar, the actions that prove that the women can also be sexist are:

1. When women assume domestic work. (line 3)
2. When the men do not clear the table and the women don't complain. (line 5)
3. Women work all day and they can not have a rest while the man can have a rest after dinner. (lines 7 and 9)

When displaying her arguments, Mar repeatedly encouraged the learners to react by means of using contractions:

1. No? (line 3)
2. Isn't it? (line 5)
3. Shouldn't they? Why not? (line 7)
4. Can you? (line 9)

The most interesting aspect about this interaction is the way that Mar started with generic examples and she ended with making comments about learners' lives. She developed this strategy by means of starting with generic subjects in lines 1, 3, and 4. When we focus on the lexical forms of the subjects of these lines, they are "women and men" in generic forms, and therefore her examples are generic (there are sexist women, there are women who assume domestic work and there are some men who do not clear the table). Nevertheless, from the line 7 onwards, she changed her lexical patterns. Instead of generic lexical patterns, she used second person singular as the subject of these sentences (you work all day) and she addressed the learners in a direct, more specific way. In line 9, she followed the same second person singular lexical pattern, arguing that the learners worked all day but they could not have a rest not even after having dinner. Therefore she developed an argument from generic to specific semantic and grammar features. When we re-visit her main argument expressed in line 1, she represented the learners as agents who reproduce

sexism in their families. Her discourse strategy also represented the agents as passive, oppressed subjects because she represented them powerless against their male partners.

Besides, the turns of the learners indicate that they assumed this asymmetrical representation. In their turns (lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10), they confirm the arguments of Mar. I will especially focus on lines 8 and 10, in which the learner A, apart from affirming that the women work a lot, she expressed that "they work like a donkey", and in line 10 she also confirmed that they could not have a rest at all. Therefore, in this excerpt Mar attributed specific gender roles on the learners and she constructed them as sexist, oppressed social agents. At the end of her systematic arguments, the learners eventually (lines 8 and 10) assumed these representations.

All these interactional patterns indicate domination, power and negotiation. Clara and Mar produce knowledge about the learners and their subjectivities; they represent and categorize the learners. They fore-ground their ethno-racial and gender identity in order to construct these learners in specific ways. And all these power struggles produce a ground for negotiation, contestation or consent. In the following section, I will give another example about the discourses that produced asymmetrical representations or categories in the classroom. Nevertheless, this time I will focus on the legitimate and non-legitimate speaker profiles.

5.6. Constructing the learners as non-legitimate speakers

In Catalonia, in order to look into linguistic agencies of the learners I organized two discussion sessions, in which the learners were encouraged to express their opinions about their daily activities in Catalan and/or Spanish languages. The main aim of these sessions was to understand how legitimizations and delegitimizations occurred in different social settings in two levels: 1) how different social actors attributed authority or challenged their linguistic authority and 2) how the learners claimed this authority themselves as speakers of a new language. As Gal and Woolard (2001) argue, authority of a particular language can be explained through two concepts: authenticity and anonymity. While the ideology of authenticity locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community, anonymity locates the language in a disembodied, public domain which is supposedly freed through rational discourse from the constraints of socially specific perspective (Woolard 2005). Woolard (ibid) explains that anonymity allows dominant languages to neutralize their hegemonic position. But in order for anonymity to have this neutralizing power, that language needs to be dominant, because anonymity does not endow power to non-dominant languages. In Catalonia, as Woolard's (2005) longitudinal study proves, there is a shift in terms of the socioeconomic value of the Catalan language and therefore in the ways that the *outsiders* claim this

linguistic capital. She notes that there is a more positive attitude towards learning Catalan in contemporary Catalonia as a result of increasing political and economic prestige of the language. Public policies in Catalonia about teaching the Catalan language is also more extended and organized. Catalan is taught at schools and as I explained in the introduction of the thesis, many governmental and non-governmental institutions teach Catalan to immigrant population. In contemporary political environment in Catalonia, the motto that summerizes the political discourse about the language is "Catala per tothom" (Catalan is for everyone) which is supposed to be more inclusive towards different minority groups, and national and international immigrants. Nevertheless, everyday linguistic practices may be different than this political discourse and praxis-oriented anthropological approach to this question may reveal these everyday practices and in the discussion session below, I tried to focus on these questions:

Example 8. (see the original transcription in the Appendix III)

1. **Laia:** She says that she speaks very much.
2. (()) The girl working in the pharmacy.
3. **Bouchra:** Yes.
4. **Tulay:** Yes, therefore-
5. **Bouchra:** No, eh- the girl who works. [She doesn't speak-]
6. **Laia:** [Ah.]
7. **Neza:** [No,] yes.
8. **Laia:** The [girl.]
9. **Bouchra:** [The girl] who- eh-
10. **Fatima:** [Who works in the pharmacy.]
11. **Bouchra:** = [The girl who works] with her, yes, but the-
12. **Laia:** the boss, no.
13. **Bouchra:** [The boss-]
14. **Neza:** [The boss, no.] She is-
15. **Tulay:** [Very (())]?
16. **Mari:** [(())] You need to know her.
25. **Laia:** Of course, no, and maybe if you don't speak very much, she doesn't speak either.
26. **Bouchra:** No, I speak with her 'How are you, fine' na na, that's it.
27. **Neza:=** That's it.
28. **Laia:** [She is correct.]
29. **Bouchra:** [Eh- for- eh-] for medicine and that's it. I don't speak more.
30. **Laia:** But she is correct.
31. **Bouchra:** I am not like Mari, Mari, you know? Knows (her)- [(())]
32. **Laia:** [Of course.]
33. **Bouchra:** everybody. (())
34. **Laia:** Of course.
35. **Bouchra:** But we [don't.]
36. **Mari:** Well, but there are people- there are people of all (types).
37. **Bouchra:** Yes, ah, yes.

17. **Laia:** Of course. [Because they are Moroccan]
18. **Mari:** [Because I] was there yesterday and we were talking, eh?
19. **Laia:** No, well, but it depends, I think it depends,I want to [say-]
20. **Mari:** [Also] (depends on) the people.
21. **XXX:** [Of course.]
22. **Laia:** [Of Course.] If (you) unders-
23. **Mari:** We know each other for all my life.
24. **Bouchra:** A::h.
38. **Laia:** Yes.
39. **Mari:** There are some people that- that sometimes-
40. **Neza:** Yes.
41. **Mari:** =only because they are Moroccan [ja-]
42. **XXX:** [(())]
43. **Bouchra:** Yes, yes.
44. **Laia:** No, or because they don't understand the language and they think- they feel shy (when talking to) them. In other words-
45. **Mari:** Shyness (x) well, yes.

In the excerpt above, I asked the learners how they communicated with the women who worked in the pharmacy of the town, as this shop was one of the places frequently visited by the immigrant population and everybody knew the person that we were talking about. In this interaction, interventions of Laia (language teacher) and Mari (the volunteer worker of the Civic Centre) produced interesting patterns about the authority of Catalan In this excerpt, I will focus on the turns of Ana and Mari, who were the only native speakers of Catalan in the classroom. They construct, with systematic arguments, *you* and *us*, and this division involves categorizing the speakers of Catalan, basically as insiders and outsiders. To start with, I asked the learners how they communicated with the women in the pharmacy, and this question was responded by Bouchra, who showed a discontent about their everyday communicative activity. Her main argument was that the owner of the pharmacy did not get into extended conversations with her. This argument was confirmed by Fatima and Neza (lines from 6 to 15). Therefore, their common argument was that the owner of the pharmacy did not speak a lot to them. After line 15, Mari and Ana produced a set of arguments to explain why the owner did not speak to these learners. Below you will see the turns that they used to produce a counter-argument:

MARI, the volunteer worker	LAIA, the language teacher
• You need to know her. • [Because I] was there yesterday and we were talking, eh? • [Also] It depends on the people. • We know each other for all my life. • Well, but there are people- there are people of all (types). • =only because they are Moroccan	• Of course. [Because they are Moroccan] • No, well, but it depends, I think it depends, I want to [say-] • Of course, no, and maybe if you don't speak very much, she doesn't speak either. • No, or because they don't understand the language and they think- they feel shy (when talking to) them. In other words- Shyness (xxx). Well, yes

The main argument that both proposed was that the communication with this particular person *depend on who you are*. They used this argument by the repetitive use of "it depends" (depende de) in lines 20 and 21, by means of taking continuous turns. Besides, they mentioned two reasons that separated these learners (represented as outsiders) from the other speakers such as Mari (represented as insider): First, they are Moroccan (argument of Mari and Laia both) and second they do not speak or understand the language (argument of Laia). Therefore, in this conversation, racial differences were foregrounded to delegitimize these learners as speakers of Catalan, which suggests that these learners were categorized as outsiders and non-legitimate speakers, whereas the others (Mari and Laia) were categorized as authentic and legitimate speakers of the language. Therefore, this discourse system which delegitimizes the learners also normalizes the passive speakerness of the target language.

In the same excerpt we can also see that some learners assumed their *outsiderness*. I will especially focus on the turns that Bouchra took in order to respond to Laia and Mari. In line 27, Bouchra contested Laia, who delegitimized her by foregrounding her 'insufficient linguistic repertoire':

25 **Laia:** Of course, no, and maybe if you don't speak very much, she doesn't speak.

26 **Bouchra:** No, I speak with her 'How are you, fine' na na, that's it.

Bouchra contested Laia's delegitimization by claiming that she held sufficient linguistic resources to maintain a conversation with the pharmacy worker. On the other hand she assumed that she was an *outsider* in the following turn sequences:

31. **Bouchra:** I am not like Mari, Mari, you know? She knows (her)- [(xxx)]

32. **Laia:** [Of course.]

33. **Bouchra:** Everybody knows each other.

34. **Laia:** Of course.

35. **Bouchra:** But we [don't.]

36. **Mari:** Well, but there are people- there are people of all (types).

37. **Bouchra:** Yes, ah, yes.

38. **Laia:** Yes.

39. **Mari:** There are some people that- that sometimes-

40. **Neza:** Yes.

41. **Mari:** =only because they are Moroccan [yes-]

42. **XXX:** [(xxx)]

43. **Bouchra:** Yes, yes.

In this interactional pattern, after listening to the arguments of Laia and Mari, Bouchra assumed that the main reason that *they* were excluded from linguistic authority was because they were not authentic. In lines 32, 34, 36, 38 and 44 she constructed herself as an outsider, by means of showing consent to the arguments of Laia and Mari. This excerpt indicates how the authority of language was claimed by the learners and how the legitimate speakers -including the language teacher- excluded them from this authority and categorized them as outsiders. It also demonstrates that this delegitimization can also be reproduced by the learners when they assume their disadvantaged position in relation to the authority of the legitimate language.

5.7. Concluding remarks

The critical discourse analysis of the language teachers' discourses demonstrated how these learners were categorized in a way that they were subject to multiple discourse strategies such as generalization, functionalization, instrumentalization and passivation (Van Leeuwen 2008), which eventually reinforced their asymmetrical position in relation to power. The learners and their agencies were mainly represented by their over-generalized gender roles and religious beliefs. Their agencies were systematically passivized by means of instrumentalizing them and by linking their agencies to a male or religious decision. The analysis also demonstrated how these asymmetrical representations and subject positions were assumed by the learners, and, in some cases they were also contested.

The qualitative data have also shown that the ethno-racial and gender difference constructed a binary, opposing position between the learners and the teachers. While *the other* was represented as oppressed, instrumentalized, subordinate social agent, the opposing counterpart was represented as independent, active or saviour. These opposing social construes emerged in the discourse of Laia when she constructed the classroom as an opportunity to give the learners the possibility "to do something outside home", in various discourses of Clara when she linked their religious practices to their subordinate social and linguistic agencies, and in the strategies of Mar to "make the learners realize the invisible subordinate positions that they refused to admit".

When we inter-relate the qualitative data of the Chapter IV to this Chapter, we understand that there are two major interconnected dimensions with regard to subject-building in these so-called social integration programs. The first dimension involves constructing passive speakers and learners of the legitimate language, which locates them in a disadvantaged position in relation to the authority of language. Second dimension involves constructing subordinate social subjects by means of foregrounding their ethno-racial and gender difference. Therefore there are complex, inter-related techniques of power which construct an idealized form of speakers and learners. All these techniques produced knowledge about the speakers, constructed them in specific ways and eventually they normalized or rationalized the subordinate positions of these learners because they produced *a ritual of truth*. This is how normalization took place in the classroom.

In any case, this Chapter, together with the Chapter III demonstrated the complex techniques of power exercised in the classroom and how they were assumed or contested. Exploring these situated, micro practices demonstrated, in a detailed way, the power struggles occurring in the front-stage. In the following two Chapters, I will open up an important space to understand the voices that are silenced in the classroom. Drawing mostly on their biographical interviews, I will indicate the specific ways that the learners mobilize, commodify or invest the legitimate language and the specific ways that they attribute indexicalities (such as denial, emancipation, and self-achievement) to second language learning in different stages of their lives. Therefore, following two Chapters will contrast the representations of the learners constructed by the dominant actors, and they will also underline the complexity with regard to language learning from the standpoint of Moroccan

Part 3. Understanding the voice

CHAPTER VI.
SUBJECTIVITY, LINGUISTIC AGENCY AND SOCIAL POSITION ACROSS CHRONOTOPES

6.1. Introduction

Language practices and ideologies are, in many ways, inescapably implicated in the temporality inherent in social life. First, they are complex products of the historical context in which they arise. Second, they also contribute to the temporal structuring of social worlds by establishing links between the language, communicative practices, and social stances. This correlation between the legitimate language, temporality and social context was highly apparent during interviews that I conducted with my informants, for which reason I will use Bakhtin's (1981) concept of *chronotope* as an analytic frame to describe the subjectivities, linguistic agencies and social position that emerged in these biographical interviews.

Bakhtin's basic assumption is the idea that narrative texts are not only composed of diegetic events and speech acts, but also of the construction of a particular fictional world or chronotope. Therefore, the representations and contextuality are an important part of chronotopic analysis. Agha states (2007) that representation has two essential aspects in Bakhtin's concept. First, it links representations of time to those of locale and personhood. Second, it includes a participation framework. He explains that the act of producing or construing a chronotopic representation itself has a chronotopic organization which may be transformed by that act. Nevertheless, as for the analytic approach of this concept, there is a lack of precision in the writings of Bakhtin (Bemong et al, 2010). Ladin (1999:213) states that Bakhtin never provides a systematically articulated protocol for identifying and analyzing chronotopes. This lack of precision produced heterogeneous chronotopic approaches to literature and culture. Bemong et al. (2010:250) suggest that this heterogeneous approach already exists in the original work of Barktin, in *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics.* They explain that Bakhtin suggests four levels regarding the significance of chronotpic analysis, but he does not give any concrete analytical tools. These four levels of significance are: (1) chronotopes have narrative, plot-

generating significance; (2) they have representational significance; (3) they provide the basis for distinguishing generic types; and (4) they have semantic significance.

The representational significance of chronotopes has been used by various thinkers and researchers who deal with the link between language and nationhood or belonging. Benedict Anderson (1991) suggested that there is a close interrelationship between the rise of nationalism and the linguistic mediation of concepts of community. He claimed that the increase of literary/written communication driven by print capitalism resulted in the emergence of national consciousness. Another language-based argument of Anderson is a fundamentally new experience of time, which he refers as "empty and homogeneous". He suggests that this new form of experiencing time as linearly moving forward and measurable by clock and calendar enables modern subjects to establish links between otherwise disconnected events and to imagine a national community as progressing forward throughout history. Eisenlohr (2004:84) claims that this is not the only way language works to create ethno-national consciousness in particular temporal modes. He explains, in his article, that the cultivation of Hindi as the language of ancestors in Mauritius is a part of a long process establishing diasporic relationship to a homeland in India. His analysis shows that specific indexical alignment is used to establish this diasporic link. He calls this process as *diasporic calibration*, borrowing the *calibration* concept from Silverstein (1993), who demonstrates how sign events become interpretable by relating them to others. Similarly, Paz (2014) analyzes the indexical alignment of the Latinos living in Israel, who maintain a specific language ideology towards Hebrew and Spanish. He explains that Latino adults and kids tend to subscribe to the language ideology that Hebrew is a language bereft of education, while Spanish is treated as language of education. His analysis embraces the concept of temporality or chronotope, together with iconization and erasure as a semiotic process (see Irvine and Gal 2000).

All these studies explore language and nationhood by means of linking diasporic personhood to time and space and representations. In my analysis, however, I will focus on the other side of the picture regarding language and representation in immigration context and I will describe the representational significance and formulations of subjectivities in specific time and place regarding my informants' stance towards the language of the host society. Therefore, in this analysis I will underline the representations and ideologies that my informants subscribe to Spanish and/or Catalan (and the process of learning these languages) throughout their personal trajectories. Besides, there is another interesting aspect of the chronotopic approach which is crucial in my analysis. Beyond connecting time, space and personhood, chronotopic formulation also includes other levels of textual organization such as, what I shall call, *contextuality* in biographical interview narrations. This contextuality arises from the possibility of ideological reanalysis of the narratives. As Agha puts:

> More elaborate and coherent patterns of chronotopic formulation emerge through other levels of textual organization, such as patterns of textuality through which event-episodes are metrically configured into 'plot' and 'story' structures having distinctive types of recipient-design, and through forms of ideological reanalysis whereby metrically configured text patterns are linked to normative participation frameworks and given unified generic meanings. In the case of cultural chronotopes more broadly (i.e., leaving the novel aside as a special case), forms of deixis are re-configured into chronotopic formulations by both text-patterns and cultural ideologies (…)
>
> (Agha 2007:323)

This formulation that Agha proposes for the analysis of cultural ideologies can be applied to the analysis of the social context and social position of the individuals in the given text, which constitutes the social context. This approach suggests that socially constructed subject positions such as social class and gender can be included in the analysis of chronotopes, which will take us to concepts such as globalization, transnational movements and ascribed gender roles. As David Block (2009, 2012, 2015) suggests, identity inscriptions such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and sexuality need to be brought more to the fore in identity-based research in applied linguistics. He uses the term *intersectionality* to explain how multiple hegemonies intersect with language and he calls for a social turn in the studies regarding second language learning. Intersectionality has been a contemporary theoretical and analytical concern to escape from the "dangers of universality". Focusing on women as "women" addresses to only one group of women- white middle class women of Western industrialized countries and white feminism undermines the existing inequalities between different groups of women. As Lorde (1984) explains, believing that everyone is essentially the same and in need of the same things is a mode of thinking that comes from the dominant Western male thinking and she suggests that issues of class, race, age, gender and even health are fundamental to understand female experience.

In this Chapter, I describe the linguistic agencies and subjectivities of the learners within a specific socio-economic context. Incorporating social context in the analysis of their trajectories opens up a crucial space for explaining how language and social position enact in transnational mobility. As I mentioned in Chapter II, this approach can be linked to intracategorical intersectionality (McCall 2005) and the readers will see that language trajectories cross the boundaries of constructed categories such as such as age, class, religion and gender identity.

Another fundamental reason for including chronotopic analysis in this thesis is strengthening the power of individual voices and individual representations and performance of my informants. For Bakhtin, the concepts of 'voice' and 'chronotope' are closely linked, not just because

chronotopic depictions include depictions of personhood, but also for other reasons. Both concepts link a frame of representation to a frame of performance and subjectivity, which are crucial in my research. I will focus on linguistic agencies and subjectivities of the learners and underline their personhood within specific spatio-temporal frames. This concern about the subjectivity of the informants was initiated during the very early stage of this research, when I was designing the methods and techniques. As I briefly stated in Chapter I, the aim of carrying biographical interviews with the classroom members was to give them the opportunity to locate themselves in specific time and space, to construct their stories from the first person, to be the protagonist of their own life and linguistic trajectories. With respect to the inequalities constructed by means of the legitimate language, I strictly abstain from explaining the subject positions of my informants as mechanic actions, and also from classifying the linguistic capital as a tool which is merely used for social stratification. The qualitative data of this section will show that the informants take different subject positions regarding language learning and construct different linguistic ideologies attached to different temporalities.

Therefore, I suggest that the chronotopic analysis of language learners will enable to embrace time, space, subjectivity and social position in analyzing ideological and praxis-oriented approaches of my informants towards the legitimate language. Analyzing the subject positions that the informants assume in different chronotopes, I shall explain how my in informants take different subject positions toward the language, and how they construct different indexicalities of language through a particular regime of temporalization. This Chapter displays the main results of the chronotopic analysis of the interviews and does not follow a chronological order of the depictions that they construct in their spatio-temporal frames. Rather than this, the sections of this Chapter are organized according to the concepts and categories that emerged during the data analysis. In order to be more specific, it is important to describe the main analytical considerations that I followed when I was codifying the interviews and how the concepts discussed in the following sections emerged. During the analysis, I followed a bottom-up methodology and detected the main concepts that appeared in three main chronotopes in the migration trajectories of my informants: past (before emigration and adjustment period after emigration), present (present time subjectivities, actions and linguistic agencies) and future (future aspirations and plans). The concepts that emerged during the analysis indicated that there was an important difference between the elderly women and young generation with regard to the indexicalities that they attributed to the legitimate language. While the elderly women attributed indifference and in some cases unwanted otherness to the legitimate language, young generation women tended to mention concepts such as self-achievement or emancipation with regard to linguistic investment. As a result of this important conceptual difference between these two groups, I divided the following sections into two, in order to underline

the fact that the attitudes of immigrant learners towards the language show a transformation from generation to generation. This idea is also mentioned in the work of Woolard (2013), who indicated in her longitudinal study that her informants showed different stance toward Catalan language in their different time-space frames. Similarly, my qualitative data indicated that female immigrant community's stance toward Castilian and Catalan languages showed important changes over the years, and young generation immigrant women show a more positive, non-traditionalist and non-politicized stance toward learning the legitimate language.

Besides, the bottom-up analysis also indicated that social position played an important role in constructing my informants' stance toward the legitimate language. As I mentioned before, what Agha (2007) labels as contextualization in chronotopic analysis can be used to open up a second dimension in the analysis, which is the social context whereby agencies and subjectivities are constructed. During the data analysis I detected that, especially the young informants who held similar social position such as their access to material resources, their educational background or marital and motherhood status attributed similar indexicalities to the legitimate language in similar stages of their trajectories. Especially the narratives of young generation immigrant women (note that numerically I had more young interviewees than the elderly) indicated that new forms of gender roles that they adopted during their trajectories resulted in specific linguistic agencies and ideologies. For instance, the divorced immigrant women depicted the legitimate language as a tool of emancipation, in the sense that they invested in the legitimate language to construct socioeconomically independent life in Spain.

Consequently, the sections and subsections of this Chapter are organized according to the concepts and categories that emerged during the data analysis, and they will indicate how the legitimate language is constructed as otherness, denial, indifference, commodity, self-achievement and emancipation in the personal trajectories of my informants. The main objective of this Chapter is to underline the complexity of learner profiles and learner subjectivities and also enactment of language and identity within the political economy of transnational mobility. It is also important to mention that in this Chapter I present the English translation of the excerpts, and the readers can find the original transcriptions in the Appendix III.

6. 2. Elderly Women's Narratives: Language as "Otherness" and "The Unwanted Other"

Clifford (1994) explains that living in diaspora is fundamentally linked to an imaginary about being from an "elsewhere," or dwelling in displacement. This imaginary community is constructed due to a historical rupture from the place to which a return is hoped for but is interminably delayed. These

spatio-temporal signs of displacement or rupture are not mechanically constructed by a simple physical displacement, but rather by means of the emergence of locally-embedded practices that produce a historical awareness (Brubaker 2009). Therefore, studying with the immigrant communities requires taking into account how they produce this social imaginary. For instance, in her ground-breaking work on the relation of language and diaspora, Eisenlohr (2006) discussed the multiple temporalities always at work in a large-scale social formation, and explained how language ideologies help to mediate these different temporalities. Elderly women's narratives differ from the others' narrations in terms of how they used the language of the host region in order to mediate between different temporalities. They used the language of the host society to construct *otherness* and *self identification*. In their narratives I have found denial, refusal and in most cases an indifference towards learning and using Castilian and Catalan.

Their language and migration trajectories indicate that together with the social positioning of these informants, changing living conditions and life-style both in Morocco and Spain resulted in different linguistic demands and needs. First, in contrast to the younger generation of new comers (who showed more diversity in terms of the region of origin), older generation immigrants were mainly from the rural areas of Morocco and they immigrated to Spain mainly for better economic conditions. They were mostly from the Riffian area, where the literacy rate is relatively lower than the other parts of Morocco. Some informants spoke Shilha (also known as Tashelhit or Tashelhit Berber)[16], a populous variety of Berber language spoken by 8 million Berbers. Although the literacy rate is improving, these informants could not receive any formal education because, as their narratives suggest, decades ago it was more difficult to find a school in those rural areas. Therefore, this ethno-linguistic group was prone to linguistic isolation in Spain as they lacked knowledge of the Latin alphabet.

Second, elderly women's narratives indicate that the distinction between the public and private space was more sharply defined in 1990s and 2000s than 2010s. Taking four in-depth interviews that I realized with Habiba (62), Aisha (65), Imane (60) and Zoulika (49); there is an important difference between the old and young generation in terms of their life style that they lead in Spain and Morocco. Most of the elderly women used to live together with various generations in Morocco, as a big family. As I will explain in the following pages, life style of the Moroccan families living in the diaspora has gone through important changes over the years. In contrast to the families that immigrated decades ago, young generation immigrant women explained that they

[16] Shilha is generally spoken in High-Atlas Morocco, an area ranging from the northern slopes of the High-Atlas to the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas, the Great Canyon, bounded to the west by the Atlantic Ocean. They mostly inhabit in the rural areas and they live on agriculture and stock farming.

preferred to live as a core family in the diaspora. This changing life style has been subject to comparison between Morocco and Spain by the elderly women:

Excerpt 1.

Habiba: In Spain, poor people, they run in the morning to work. Run, run , run. Women and men, they both run. Run, run, run, run. In Tanger, not. In Tanger the women don't work. The women take care of the children. Then the husband comes home in the evening, they sit down, eat their dinner. Everything calm and tranquil. But here in Spain nothing is tranquil. The men help the women because the women cannot do everything alone.

In this excerpt Habiba explains the radical change that she witnessed after moving to Spain. She constructs two different, opposing chronotopes and compares the lifestyle in Morocco and in Spain. She defines Spain as a place where people run from one place to another; on the other hand, the life in Morocco is tranquil and slow. Similarly, she compares the Moroccan women before and after coming to Spain. She defends that even if her sons get married to Moroccan women living in Morocco, the daughter-in law should stay in Morocco:

Excerpt 2.

Habiba: Because my son got married to a Moroccan girl in Tanger, Neza, and he had a lot of problems. Now he is divorced, Mohammed. When she was in Tanger, everything was good. When she came here, in Spain, there is freedom and that's it. Now they are divorced. Ahh, too many problems, too many. She did not stay home, with me, no. She had a lot of friends; she went to see them all the time. She started wearing those European clothes, wearing make up, painting the nails (.) A lot of problems.

In this excerpt Habiba positions herself outside the Spanish traditions and lifestyle and she criticizes the young generation Moroccan women living in the diaspora. Her description is important to understand that elderly women wanted to live as a big family, attached to the

Moroccan traditions and culture. Like Habiba, most of the elderly Moroccan women defended that they belonged to private sphere and it was men's responsibility to work in the public sphere. This attachment to public sphere resulted in social and linguistic isolation among the elderly women. For instance, personal and linguistic trajectory of Aisha (65 at the time of the interview in 2011) is one of the extreme examples. She was born in the Riffian region of Morocco and she had been living in Spain for 21 years in 2011, when I met her in Madrid. Like most of other elderly women, she had not received any formal education in Morocco and the language classes that she attended in this NGO were her first schooling experience. She was a mother of thirteen, nine of whom belonged to the second wife of her husband. When this second wife died ten years ago, Aisha took the responsibility of her nine children and raised them as if they were her biological children. Her main activity, during two decades, was to provide housework to her family:

Excerpt 3.

Tulay: How long have you been living in Spain?

Aisha: Me (.) e:h twenty one years here, yes, twenty one years. I was always at home. Always at home. I didn't work, no. Home, home, home and home. Nothing more. I was looking after the children, I rarely went out. I want to learn the language because almost all of them have their own family and my husband is sick.

Aisha's decision to learn the language was related to the new life style that was obliged to adopt. For the first time in her life she was afraid of being left alone in Spain, and she was unprepared to face this challenge. Learning Castilian was an important step to adapt to the possible changes that she might experience in the near future. Although there was a physical rupture from Morocco, Aisha and Habiba continued their community lives during decades. Their attachment to the private sphere and to the traditional Moroccan lifestyle and their detachment from the culture and life-style of the host society produced a historical awareness and fortified the imaginary social community. On the other hand, their attachment to the imaginary social community and to the private sphere hindered their access to linguistic (and other) capitals. Analysis of the interviews indicated that this imaginary social community was also produced by constructing a detachment from the language of the host country or region. In the following pages I will indicate excerpts and

examples from the life histories of Habiba and Zoulika, who ascribe an undesired otherness to Castilian, which is depicted a language *fuera de casa*.

6.2.1. "I did not feel like speaking Spanish, and I did not need it either": Constructing language as something *fuera de casa*

Habiba (62 at the time of the interview in 2011) was born in the Riffian region of Morocco, into a lower class family. Her father died when she and her four siblings were small children. Her mother started to work in a factory in Tanger after becoming a widow, as they did not have any other income. Of all five siblings, only the boy went to school; four girls stayed home and dealt with the housework. Habiba explained that her mother encouraged them to get married early because she could not maintain her children. Therefore she got married when she was only 13 to a truck-driver who transported goods between Morocco and other European countries such as Spain, the Netherlands and France. She gave birth to 11 children, 9 of which survived. When her husband decided to move to Spain in 1995, she followed him with her nine children and they settled in Madrid. For Habiba, a speaker of Riffian language, language learning was always linked to her opportunities to acquire formal education. She could not read or write in Riffian, Arabic, nor French. Therefore her adult schooling experience in Madrid was her first "formal" education in her life. The interesting part about Habiba's trajectory is the fact that she was the only retired woman I encountered during my research. Therefore during the interview I repeatedly asked her if she needed to speak the language in her workplace, because she had a regular contact with the Spanish speaking community. She responded that she did not need the language and she was not motivated to learn it either:

Excerpt 4.

1. H: I speak to her "Habiba, clean here, clean the dust please." The last day she says "Habiba it is ready here, you have finished, and that's it." I know how to work by myself, as I do at home. I know everything. That's all.
2. T: Then you did not need to speak too much.
3. H : No. Because I did not feel like speaking too much.

4. T: But you speak pretty well.

5. H: I speak very little. Not well.

6. T: Yes, you speak very well.

7. H: (no, no)°

8. T: Didn't you want to learn Spanish?

9. H: Yes I wanted to learn but at home Arabic. Nothing in Spanish.

10. T: Yes because=

11. H: My son-my children they speak Spanish, my children. I go to Mohammed's house (()), (()) Arabic (@) No, at home (I) did not speak Spanish. Or in Vocoria's house, Marta (()), Vito (()), only three hours to go in and go out.

12. T: Wasn't it necessary (to speak the language)?

13. H: Not at all.

14. T: Then how did you learn the language?

15. H: You learn a little and well, that's it.

In line 1 she insisted that she did not need to speak Spanish at all because she knew how to work and she did not need to speak in order to work. In line 3 she also adds that she did not feel like learning it either. In this excerpt, Habiba divides Spanish and Arabic speaking spaces very sharply in her life, and she ascribes very little pragmatic use to the Spanish language. During the rest of the interview, as she made it clear in lines 13 and 15, she defended that she did not need the language at all, and at the rest of the interview she explained that she never had a problem nor needed to go to the hospital alone, even though her husband was constantly abroad, working as a truck-driver.

Zoulika (49 at the time of the interview in 2011) was born in a rural area of Nador. Her immigration history began with her father, who lived for 15 years in Europe and meanwhile she lived with her mother and her seven siblings in Nador. Like Habiba, she never received formal education in Morocco and she got married when she was 21. Her husband was living in Germany when they got married. After three years she moved to Spain, and later on she also moved to Madrid. Since 1998 she had been living in the same neighbourhood, in the same flat with her husband and her two nephews. As they could not have their biological children, they adopted their

two nephews and raised them in Madrid. Similar to Habiba, she also mentions that she did not feel like learning the language many years. She started Spanish classes in 2008, ten years after immigrating to Spain:

Excerpt 5.

1. T: But why didn't you start learning the language earlier?
2. Z: No:: Because I had (()) I didn't feel like learning.
3. T: You did not want to learn?
4. Z: I didn't want to, no. Last year and this year (I learn).
5. T: Yes, but how did you decide to start (learning the language)?
6. Z: I was fine, I was fine without learning the language but when I heard people speaking I didn't understand anything. When I went outside during six years I did not understand anything. But it is very difficult. During the last years it is fine.

After she mentioned successively in lines 2 and 4 that she did not want to learn the language, Zoulika explained that she was always among her close family members because both her husband and herself had relatives living nearby. Although she went out from time to time, she never took a bus or train to travel alone, nor did she go to public services by herself. Therefore, she started learning the language when she started raising her nephews. The interesting part regarding the way of constructing chronotopes regarding the language is how the elderly women attribute legitimacy to the next generation regarding second language; meanwhile they construct a detachment from the language for themselves. This is also seen in the Excerpt 4, when Habiba mentions about their children meanwhile she advocates that she does not need to speak the language. Habiba signals her home as an Arabic speaking space in line 9; she constructs her children as legitimate speakers in various contexts (line 11). In other parts of the interview she also told that her older daughter helped her when she first came to Madrid, because she had learnt Spanish in Tanger, before coming to Spain. Zoulika follows a similar strategy and she mentions that although she does not speak the language well, her nephews do it in a perfect way. The analysis of the interviews with these two women indicates that this legitimacy attached to the next generation Moroccans may also be depicted as disapproval and otherness. In the following pages I will show how these two

informants construct the unwanted other, by means of attributing disapproval to the Spanish speaking context.

6.2.2. Language as *the unwanted other*

The elderly women that I interviewed (and also some young women) tended to subscribe to the language ideology that Spanish is a language bereft of education and faith. Building on Irvine and Gal's (2000) definitions of iconization and erasure as semiotic processes, we can say that this ideology involves the equation of language with culture, which means that a narrow understanding of the denotational code is taken as an icon that stands for interpersonal pragmatics of interaction. In this specific case, Arabic or Berber tends to take on the veneer of the language of education and faith, while Spanish tends to be treated as a language of lack of education and faith. It is important to mention that education in this context is constructed as holding good manners or in other words, being a well behaved Moroccan Muslim in the diaspora. Therefore, these practices produce a historical awareness, which results in deterritorialization of education and faith. This section explains how the discursive practices associated with education and faith contributes in multiple ways to Moroccans' sense that they descended from an elsewhere, how language used in particular contexts can help project an imaginary that cuts across otherwise discontinuous geographies. Moreover, it also discusses how creating *undesired otherness* can also help to reinforce social identity.

In order to understand the link between languages and ideologies, there is a need to understand that in Moroccan culture, faith and education are considered to be closely linked. Local cultural practices such as code of conduct, personal diet and code of dressing are embedded to Islamic thoughts and teachings, which is also considered to be a part of education. Therefore, faith is normally considered to be an important part of education by my informants, especially by the elderly women. At this point it is important to mention that the religious ideologies and practices are undergoing a transformation in Morocco and in Moroccan Diasporas (Gray 2006:57) and concepts such as "personal faith" is extending especially among the young Moroccans. This concept suggests that the young generation immigrants increasingly detach from the traditional forms of religion and faith, and they develop their own understanding of these values in Diaspora. Nevertheless, Habiba and Zoulika (and some of the young informants) are not among this group and they strictly attach education to religious teachings and practices:

Excerpt 6.

1. **Z:** The Young generation does not believe (in religión). They wear those skirts. I don't know, I cannot say that they belong to a religion. They don't have religion, they go out too much. They don't have religion. The people from Casablanca (()) they don't have a religion, only the elderly people do.
2. **T:** Yes, and what do you think? Do you think=
3. **Z:** =No no I can´t (.) We have our religion, in our religion we wear a veil, we wear long clothes. When I see young people like that, without (proper) clothes I don't like it.

In the excerpt above Zoulika attaches education to faith and also she constructs link between education and the code of conduct derived from the religious teachings such as dressing, alcohol (going out at night), but she also makes reference to the youth in Casablanca. Her regime of temporalization, in other words, her way of locating the unfaithful and uneducated Moroccan youth includes the metropolitan areas of Morocco. This indexicality suggests that there is an interconnectedness of the social and economic changes, which brings the process of globalization into the question. The social changes are global and they are not restricted to one country or one region, as Zoulika mentions in her narration. Therefore, the social position of the immigrants, together with the linguistic demands and learning motivations are subject to constant change. The narratives of the young generation immigrant women, accordingly, prove this hypothesis. Apart from showing different language learning motivations and receiving different linguistic demands from the society, they construct different indexicalities regarding the language of the host region.

Habiba mentions the same disapproval, but towards the Spanish members of the family. Two of her sons have Spanish girlfriends and her nephew is married to a Spanish woman. Throughout the interview she expressed her disapproval about their relationship and that she did not even want to be in the same space with them. For instance, she mentioned that they never came to Habiba's house together, nor did they meet outside. They only greeted each other (as Habiba explains below "Hi, how are you and that's it") in the occasions that they come together by chance. During the interview I tried to get an explicit picture of their conversational patterns. Below, she answers my question "What specific things do you talk about?", referring to her conversational habits with her daughter-in-law. After giving a quick reply, she gives a concrete anecdote that took place in her nephew's house:

Excerpt 7.

1. Yes, "hi, how are you?" "Fine" (..) the (.) children of my sister (.), two boys they got married to
2. Spanish women (.) The sons of my sister, they did not smoke Mohammed didn't smoke, no
3. alcohol, nothing. Now he has two daughters. They eat pork, they do not feast in Ramadan.
4. She doesn't practice Ramadan. Nothing. Because my nephew they can note ven be (())e::h-
5. my sister's son does not even smoke. We went to the birthday party, we all went there. We all
6. went to her house. E::h- my sister's husband has a car. He took the car and we all went to the
7. birthday party. I (.) my sister- a::h- my sister's daughter, my sister's husband, Maribel's
8. mother, Maribel's father, Mar-de Mar-eh- Maribel's brother, A::h- Maribel's brother's wife.
9. Then Maribel was with my daughter's son. She cut the the (()) pork and she says "let him eat.
10. Eat my sweetheart, eat the pork" she says.

In this excerpt Habiba draws a picture of her relationship with her Spanish speaking family members. After her quick description of her conversational patterns with her daughter-in-law in line 1, she starts giving an example from another context, in the house of her nephew. She explains the birthday party that they attend: She gives an explicit definition of the time and place where the party took place and she gives a detailed list of the people participating. Interestingly, she makes a sharp distinction between the Moroccan and the Spanish members of the family. First, she uses a lexical order (line 7 and 8: my sister, husband of my sister vs. father of Maribel, mother of Maribel, wife of Maribel's brother) and then in line 9 she implies her disapproval of how the Spanish family educates the children because they do not approve that they make their grandson eat pork. Her religion-oriented disapproval also exists in line 3, when she mentions that the Spanish they don't do Ramadan. In her depiction, therefore, Spanish speaking communicative practices are associated with disapproval and unwanted otherness.

In these narratives, constructing detachment from the language of the host society for creating ethnolinguistic identities represents a different way of figuring community through language-mediated chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981). These ideologies attached to language are involved in processes of group identification by projecting notions of a Moroccan community through a particular regime of temporalization. They do so by means of combining ideas about language with every-day life performances (such as eating pork, doing Ramadan, smoking or drinking alcohol), which suggest a detachment from the host language and the culture and re-attaching to the diasporic imaginary. The analysis shows the ways in which metapragmatic regimentation (in Silverstein's

terms reflexive and reportive calibration) work together in the construal of the other's language as the undesired or as something bereft of education and faith.

On the other hand, young generation Moroccans are represented, in the narratives of the older women, as *in-between*. They are represented as legitimate speakers of the Spanish language and they are also agents who are claimed to be an important part of the group identification. In the excerpt 8, Habiba claims her nephew (and her sons at the rest of the interview) to be a part of the Moroccan community, and to be attached to the cultural and religious practices of the community. Nevertheless in her narratives the Moroccan youth are represented to be between the two cultures and languages. In the excerpt 6, Zoulika follows the same strategy, but she also makes reference to the youth in Casablanca. Her regime of temporalization, in other words, her way of locating the *unfaithful and uneducated Moroccan youth* includes the metropolitan areas of Morocco. This indexicality suggests that there is an interconnectedness of the social and economic changes, which brings the process of globalization into the question. The social changes are global and they are not restricted to one country or one region, as Zoulika mentions in her narration. Therefore, the social position of the immigrants, together with the linguistic demands and learning motivations are subject to constant change. The narratives of the young generation immigrant women, accordingly, prove this hypothesis. Apart from showing different language learning motivations and receiving different linguistic demands from the society, they construct different indexicalities regarding the language of the host region.

6.3. Young Women's Narratives: Language as a Convertible Commodity, Self Achievemnt and Women's Emancipation

When compared to the elderly, young women's language and immigration trajectories indicate that the socio-economic position of Moroccan women has been changing both in the mainland and in the diaspora. They are breaking from the conventional tasks assigned to them and they are rethinking their roles, private and public, and exploring new ground. In the diaspora, they tend to start learning the language earlier, they are keener to work outside the home, they tend to lead a more individualist lifestyle, and they are becoming more and more socially and economically independent. Therefore, in the narratives of young women, the language of the host society is indexicalized in a more pragmatic way in the sense that they link the linguistic competence closely to self-achievement, economic capital, or emancipation rather than losing traditional values.

In order to understand their investment in the legitimate language, I will first summarize the social and economic changes that they experienced as a result of immigration. Apart from physical

displacement from one country to another, immigration for these women suggests adopting a new lifestyle, despite the fact that this does not always facilitate their inclusion in the host society. Considering that the majority of these young women immigrate to Spain by means of family reunification, they tend to adopt care-giver, housewife, parenting roles, which normally result in social isolation especially during the first years of their adjustment period (which often coincide with their maternity period). Therefore during this period language learning process is mostly hindered, as most of the women started learning the language after giving birth. The average time to start the lessons, both in Madrid and Barcelona, is two years and the learning process is generally hindered by the successive pregnancies. Language learning becomes an important challenge and a matter of great importance when the second generation immigrants become members of the formal schooling system and they become the speakers of the language of the region. Both in Madrid and Barcelona, the young immigrants become more active speakers of Castilian and Catalan during this stage.

Apart from this, young immigrants tend to adopt a more individualist, more independent life-style, which pushes the immigrant women to be more active speakers as they assume more responsibilities outside their houses. They generally lead a more lonely life in Spain, as they start living in a core family unit, for instance just a couple and their offsprings. Interviews realized with three young women living with their close relatives suggest that the young generation males and females preferred living in an independent way. Therefore these women indicated that they had to live together with other family members only because of economic problems, in order reduce their rent expenses. This tendency towards a more independent life style suggests that they attribute more pragmatic meanings to the legitimate language.

These changes at the individual level go hand in glove with larger cultural and societal changes taking place both in Morocco and Spain. Regarding the social changes in Morocco, issues of women roles are gaining importance. For instance, the Moroccan Kingdom has recently been promoting the visibility of women; and prior to the September 2002 legislative elections, King Mohammed VI reserved exclusively for women 30 of the 325 House of Representatives seats. Each of the major political parties provided female candidates, and since 2002, 34 women have been in the legislature, which makes Morocco the only Arab nation to have women composing 10 percent of its parliament. King Mohammed VI has also proposed a variety of legal and social reforms in order to combat gender inequality in Morocco. The most wide-ranging legal initiative was the reform of the Personal Status Code (*moudawana*) in 2004. In July of 2005, it was announced that Moroccan women would be able to transfer their nationality to children born of non-Moroccan fathers. Another important adjustment realized by this Code is the re-definition of the family. Marriage in Morocco had traditionally been presided over by a man; for a woman, marriage meant

exchanging the tutelage of a father or a brother for submission to a husband. The Personal Status Code reform mandated a new understanding of family and the role of women therein, as men and women are now legally considered equal partners.

Gray (2006) states that in Morocco, more and more women enter the formal, documented workforce and they play a substantial role as wage earners in the family. There is a fundamental shift in the division of labour. Previously, the public role was supposed to be the domain of men. Whereas men inhabit the public sphere, women inhabit the private, or, the home, where relationships are clearly defined, rules of behaviour are supposedly unambiguous, and actions are accounted for. Currently, this patriarchially constructed gender roles are challenged and a transformation of women's role is underway.

On the other side in Spain and in other major receiving countries such as France, women of Maghrebi origin are part of that country's largest minority population. The so-called integration policies across European countries are more aware of the participation of the immigrant women in the social processes and each year more programs are assigned to appeal to them. Taking the strategic plans for social integration into account, immigrant women have recently been included in the reports and strategic plans as important members whose social participation is crucial for a successful social integration:

> *Immigrant women can suffer from double discrimination: because of being women and because of being immigrant. For that reason, The Strategic Plan pays a special attention to guarantee equality in various fields of public interventions and social life.*
>
> (Strategic Plan for Social Integration 2011-2014, p.80)

In the same document it is stated that language courses oriented to the immigrant population are initiatives that aim social cohesion, and that there is a need to develop a common curriculum, an accreditation system and formation of qualified teaching personal (p.89). Woman-only language courses constitute an important example of these initiatives and they aim to improve, in theory, the participation of immigrant women in different social fields. Nevertheless, these social or strategic improvements in Morocco and in Spain, nor learning the legitimate language do not guarantee fully accomplished socioeconomic (and political) participation and inclusion of the Moroccan women in the Spanish society. Depending on the social and economic status that they hold, they adopt different strategies to learn the language and they construct different attitudes towards the legitimate language. The trajectories of my informants also indicate that the specific ways that they mobilize their linguistic skills reproduce or re-establish the transnational social, economic, and gender

inequalities that they experience in both countries. Therefore, it is necessary to include social position within this analysis. As David Block (2012:82) suggests, identity inscriptions such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and sexuality need to be brought more to the fore in identity-based research in applied linguistics. I also claim that it is crucial to explain social positioning of the learners in order to understand the linguistic trajectories of my informants, which means that the political economy of language must be included in the analysis.

As mentioned in the introduction part of this Chapter, this section is divided into three sub-sections, according to the socio-economic position of the informants. I had opportunity to interview and observe nearly 40 young women belonging to different ethnolinguistic, economic, and domestic backgrounds in which they assumed, contested, or reclaimed different roles in Spain. Data analysis indicates that the main economic and social factors that divide the linguistic agencies of my informants are social class and marital status. Therefore the following sections will indicate how the language of the host region was used and indexicalized by: a) the lower-class women b) higher-class women and c) divorced women. I shall explain how language intersects with socioeconomic hegemonies, how it is used to reinforce or contest these inequalities and finally how these multi-layered power relations produce different types of female immigrant learners and speakers. Instead of focusing on the *discourse* per se, I will focus on the *politics of language*; assuming that female immigrants' access to language, their motivations to learn the language and their right to perform the language is constantly intersecting the inequalities and oppressions resulting from the global patterns of colonization, neoliberal economy and the patriarchal word order.

6.3.1. Language as a convertible commodity: Lower class women's narratives

"Before the crisis everything was different. Moroccan men didn't let their wives work outside home. They always asked me why I worked as a cleaning lady in the houses of Spanish people. They didn't understand why. Now everything is different, men can't find work and they ask the women to look for a job."

(Fieldwork notes in a birth ceremony. Conversation with Asma, 16 November 2013, Catalonia)

In December 2010, when I started my fieldwork in Madrid, the young immigrants mentioned an important reason for learning the legitimate language: finding a job to sustain the family. In 2013, when I started my second fieldwork in Barcelona, I encountered an important number of Moroccan woman workers who had sustained their families for years, while their spouses remained unemployed. This shift in the traditional gender roles, i.e. the emergence of female immigrants as active workers in the formal economy, and the uneasy situation of the male

immigrants, drew my attention to the driving force of the economic crisis over language and gender. I started questioning about how language was articulated in this process, how these women made use of (I will use the word *mobilize)* their linguistic capitals to reach other forms of capitals.

To start with, the economic crisis in Spain has created important structural changes in terms of employment among male and female immigrants. Beginning from the first quarter of 2008, the Spanish economy started to suffer by the effects of the global economic crisis, and male-dominated sectors such as construction started to collapse. Apart from the increasing unemployment, there was a very important structural change in the employment structure: feminization of the immigrant labor market in Spain (Aja and Alonso 2011). While the male unemployment rate continued to increase, demand for care labour stayed relatively stable during the economic crisis, which made commodification of female labour a visible process that appeared to have consequences for the language practices of female immigrants.

In order to understand the link between the language, the feminized job market and female immigrant labor force, there is a need to explain the socioeconomic process briefly. Commodification of the female labor and the disposability of the male immigrant labor can be interpreted as consequences of the neoliberal economy in the west. Farris (2012) points out that while the male immigrant labor constitute the reserve army in the western economy, female immigrant labor is not subject to this rule and they do not constitute a *reserve army* like male migrant workers. She argues that this exception shows one of the gendered sides of neoliberalism itself and she suggests analyzing the transformations undertaken by care and domestic labor and to interrogate their specific nature. Lutz (2002) also indicates the increasing number of female care workers as a part of the global economy, and she argues that feminized works can reproduce gender inequalities in the economy, and the analysis of agencies in micro level is necessary to have a better understanding of this phenomenon.

The narratives of the informants who struggle to get into the formal or informal labour market or who try to maintain their job provide valuable information regarding the role of language investment in order to survive the economic instability. The qualitative data indicate that these women made use of the legitimate language, or they mobilized their linguistic skills as they commodified their labour force. During my fieldwork, I observed that in some families this commodification was also forced by their husbands or by other close male family members. Especially among the families who had important mortgage debts, the women were forced to look for a job even when they were planning to study a degree, or even when they wanted to work in their own professions and refused to work as a domestic worker.

Given the general context, I will explain, with the excerpt below, that the young immigrant women of scarce economic resources attach an economic value to the language, evoking a vision of

survival or *a better future*. In the following excerpt we will see two sister-in laws, Alia and (25) Fariha (30) who were obliged to live together because they could not pay the monthly rent otherwise. Fariha's husband had been unemployed for more than a year, and Alia's husband was also unemployed for more than four years. Alia worked as a cleaning lady from time to time, but she explained during the interview that for more than six months she had not found any jobs. In the excerpt below they respond to my question, which is about the betterments that we can do in the NGO for more effective language classes. They suggest that the NGO help them to find a job and they also establish a link between the linguistic knowledge and better life conditions:

Excerpt 8.

1. T: Why do you need to learn Castilian?
2. A: To [look for a job].
3. F: [yes. yes.]
4. T: Did you ask for it here?
5. A: (You mean) job? Yes yes. ° in July. But there is no job offer now. Everything is so bad (.) But I want to live alone in a flat (@)
6. T: =With whom do you live now?
7. A: With my sister-in-law (pointing to Fariha). But she has three children.
8. T: aah=
9. A: = I have two ahhh rooms and one terrace. It is difficult two families together. Too crowded.

In line 2 Alia suggests that the NGO help them find a job, which is immediately approved by Fariha in line 3. In lines 7 and 9 they also express that they don't want to live together any more, and finding a job can be a good solution to lead a better life. I suggest that this way of linking the language with a possible commodification of their labour force and living conditions evoke a vision of a better future. In this indexicality, language is conceptualized as a pragmatic tool, a convertible good which may be used to get access to labour market. In the narratives of other job-seekers, the linguistic demands that they receive from other social agents are also mentioned:

Excerpt 9.

1. Z: I have to speak the language for example in order to speak at the school of my children, if somebody wants to speak with me at the school I have to speak with them. I also need to speak Spanish in order to work. I have been looking for a job nearly for one year. It may be any job. Because we are normally at home and anything that makes money is okay.
2. T: Do you think that it is important to speak the language in order to work? For example, in order to work as a cleaning lady do you need to speak the language?
3. Z: Yes, because there are many people (.) if you don't speak Spanish well, they won't give you any job. Language is important for everything. Besides, they always ask for Spanish speaking people for work, in order to communicate.

In the excerpt above Zohra (23) explains the demands that she received from the society during her job-seeking process. In paragraph 3 she establishes a strong link between the language and the possibility of finding a job. Therefore the language is something asked for, something demanded from the legitimate speakers and the female immigrant community responds to this demand by means of obtaining linguistic repertoire in cost-free language courses. In the language trajectories of the most of my informants, finding a job was the most important language learning motivation. Therefore they invested in language in order to commodify their labour in the Spanish formal and informal job market.

Nevertheless, even though the link between the language and commodification of female labour is closely established in their narratives, the interviews that I realized with working immigrant women suggest that the linguistic capital which is demanded during the job seeking process is under-valued in their workplace. Remember how Habiba constructed the legitimate language as something nearly completely unnecessary in the workplace (Excerpt 4). In Madrid and Catalonia settings, I have interviewed 7 working women, who had a regular job at least once during their immigration trajectory (I am referring to the jobs registered in the formal economy). Only two of them, Amal (32) and Hassiba (35) worked in a workplace which entailed active communicative skills in a public space. Amal was working in an aged care facility as a nurse's aide and Hassiba worked in the grocery shop of her father. In the chronotopes of these women the language is defined as a useful and indispensible tool (especially in the case of Amal), even though they stated that they did not have a very good level of Spanish nor Catalan when they started working in these jobs. In the case of household workers, on the other hand, their linguistic agencies are mostly passivized by the householders. The narratives of these workers indicate that the communication between them and the households were limited, and they actually did not use their linguistic skills at all:

Excerpt 10.

Watch television. We were watching TV movies together, for hours and hours. She wanted me to sit next to her, without any conversation. She loved TV programs from Andalusia, and we sometimes talked about these programs. That's it. Only television (….) I was bored at home with her. Sometimes I was talking on the phone with my husband or with my family or I was talking to my family on internet, she told me "No, Fariha, no. Come here, you will watch TV with me. Your work is not there in the computer; your job is being here with me.

(Interview with Fatima, December 2013 Barcelona. My translation from Spanish and Catalan)

Fatima was a household worker who started working as a cleaning lady immediately after her arrival in Catalonia. During her immigration trajectory which extended to eight years, she worked in many different jobs including cleaning, personal assistant, care-giver to the elderly, baby sitter and so on. This excerpt above indicates a communicative experience when she worked as a personal assistant of an elderly lady. She stayed in her house 7 days a week, and she only had half day off during the whole week. They spent the whole day together: they had breakfast, lunch and dinner together (although they cooked separately for themselves), they went to shopping together, they went to the hospital together, etc. Nevertheless, as Fatima explains in the excerpt above, they had very limited conversation.

In this narration, Fatima reveals that, in contrast to the job-seeking process in which the linguistic skills are demanded by the future employers (mentioned in the Excepts 8 and 9), communicative experience in the workplace might make the immigrant workers adopt passive subjectivities as speakers of Spanish or Catalan. Therefore, within the time-space patterns of working immigrant women, linguistic demands vary in different stages of their trajectories and the immigrant workers adopt different subjectivities according to these demands. In some other cases, they are forced to take passive subject positions as speakers or learners of the legitimate language because the process involves a rejection by the employers, which is the case of Malika (40). As I will explain in more detail in the following section, she was a divorced woman and a distant mother, who immigrated to Spain with the help of her sister Hadija. Hadija found a job in Madrid as a household worker and she asked the employers to hire Malika instead of her so that she could immigrate from Morocco to Spain. Therefore Malika obtained work permit and immediately after her arrival, she started working in the house of this family. She had no linguistic knowledge and tried to learn it by herself. When she realized that it was not enough, she decided to go to the classes

in the NGO where I conducted my fieldwork. She was working from 6 am to 8 pm and she wanted leave 2 hours earlier once a week in order to go to these language classes. Below, she explains how the negotiation with her employers failed:

Excerpt 11.

M: The thing is I was working from 6 am to 8 pm and I arrived home at 10 at night. Vallecas is very far away from here, I was spending one and half hour at transportation. In order to go to the Spanish classes, I needed to leave work at six. In the association there was another teacher then, named Javier, but the classes took place in the afternoon. I wanted to learn Spanish and a friend of mine told me that they gave classes in the association. When I told this to my employers, they did not want it.
T: Why?
M: I don't know. I think the landlady wanted me to study but the landlord not.
T: Didn't he want you to learn Spanish?=
M: =No. For that reason I quit. I talked to Hadija. She told the employers that I wanted to speak with the kids, that I had to learn the language. She responded to my sister "No. She understands me perfectly.

This negotiation involves, apart from Malika, her employers (the couple that hired Malika) and Malika's sister Hadija. As Malika could not speak the language she asked her sister to talk to the employers about the language classes. The employers forced Malika to maintain her passive subject position as a speaker of Spanish, arguing that high linguistic skills were not necessary for the job. In this excerpt and in the previous one (excerpt 10) the legitimate speakers construct these workers as illegitimate speakers of the language and they force the learners to adopt a passive subject position toward the language. When we compare the demands that they receive in the job-seeking process (excerpts 8 and 9), there is a contradiction between the linguistic demands that these women may encounter before and after getting into the labour market.

The informants looking for a job give a pragmatic meaning to the language and all of the young job-seekers that I interviewed, like Zohra, insisted that language was important to get into the feminized labour market. They indexicalized the language as a tool, which could give them access to the economic resources. Nevertheless, the fact that they were demanded to adopt passive subject positions indicated that even though the legitimate language might enable the working class immigrant women to obtain economic resources, it was also used by the legitimate speakers to

maintain power asymmetries in the workplace. Therefore in the narratives of the working women language is also constructed as *the language of the others*, but this time (when we compare it to the language of the elderly) this construction is operated by the subject positions that the legitimate speakers take.

These power struggles over the authority of language suggest that language is involved in the reproduction of transnational gender inequalities in the diaspora. Moroccan immigrant women form an important part of the registered and unregistered household labour market in Spain. As a result of the lack of regularization and growing demand for household services (and shrinking social state and social services in Spain), the immigrant women are subject to exploitation (long working hours, unrealistic payments, etc.) and they are mostly left out from the registered economy. The narratives of the domestic workers suggest that these women are also left out from the linguistic authority in their workplace and employers maintain minimum communication in "the three C activities" which is described by Bridget Anderson (2000) as cooking, cleaning and caring. The lived experience of my informants suggests that low linguistic skills are normalized in these low-profiled or feminized jobs, and the linguistic repertoire of these immigrant women reinforces their asymmetrical position in the labour market.

This stratification is also seen among the women who belonged to higher socioeconomic status in Morocco. No matter which social class they belonged to, job seeking immigrant women are located in low-paid, low-profile jobs in Spain. This de-classing process also involves de-capitalization of their linguistic knowledge and adopting inferior professional positions in diaspora. The immigrant women holding an official university diploma in Morocco go through bureaucratic gatekeeping and their diplomas are not recognized in the Spanish legal system. Nadia (32, Madrid) and Amal (34, Barcelona) are two examples who went through this professional de-classing process. Nadia holds a Law Degree and Amal holds a degree in Nursery in Morocco. Both of them studied French and Spanish at school, and both tried to get their diploma officially recognized in Spain. Amal's Nursery diploma was recognized as Nurse's Aide and she started working in elderly care in Barcelona. During the interview she explained that in the hiring process she was not asked high linguistic skills of Spanish and she was not asked for any knowledge of Catalan. She was told that in order to work as nurse's aide she did not need *any competitive linguistic skills*. In Nadia's case it was more difficult because she could not get her diploma recognized. When her husband lost his job she stopped looking for ways to work as a lawyer and started looking for low-paid feminized jobs:

Excerpt 12.

People always say that the women (.) can always find a job, but in my case I haven't found any. Cleaning jobs, I haven't found any. In factories, either. I looked everywhere, in all directions. I think the things have changed for everybody. From my point of view, it is not about being a Muslim woman or being Moroccan. I don't think so. In domestic jobs, people look for reliability, you know? There are some people who don't prefer Muslims, yes. But in my case (.) I don't know. I have been looking for a job through agencies, on internet, and I always have a photo without veil in my curriculum and I haven't found anything. I went to the industrialist zones, went to the restaurants to give my curriculum. There is nothing. There are many women like me. Before the crisis the situation was different. There are many people who live in Spain for many years. They had never thought about looking for a job but now they are. But they can't find anything."

(Interview with Nadia, August 2012 Madrid, My translation from Spanish)

The subject position that Nadia adopts in her job seeking process not only takes her to professional de-classing, but also to the subestimation of her skills, which also includes her linguistic skills. Therefore the women from higher social classes may be forced to employ their linguistic skills to perform this (self) de-classing, as they adopt lower class subject positions when encountered with scarce economic resources in the receiving countries. Thus, in their narrations, language is indexicalized as a part of her de-classing process. On the other hand, narratives of other high-class Moroccan women indicate that they define the legitimate language in a very different way when they are not subject to economic de-classing in Spain, which will be explained in the following section.

6.3.2. Language as a self-achievement: Higher class women's trajectories

In 2011, NGOs working with immigrants were encouraged to announce about the DELE exams in their language classes to improve the participation of the immigrant community. They also provided some funding and the immigrants were exempt from the exam fee. In the NGO where I was volunteering, the administration decided to offer extra classes during three months in order to help the students to pass this exam, which was going to be held at Nebrija University in December 2011. The successful candidates were to receive an advanced level language certificate. Most of the students took this event as an opportunity to include more merits in their curriculum (fieldwork

notes in A2 course, October 2011, Madrid) to find a job opportunity. Nevertheless, higher class women took it as a matter of self-achievement.

Zahra (22) was one of those who took this language test as a matter of self confidence and achievement. She was from a high class family in Morocco: She studied primary and secondary school, studied English, French and German, and she travelled to various countries before moving to Spain. She led a very different life compared to most of the informants that I observed in the field. For her, getting married was experienced as a burden, something that had worsened her living conditions because she considered that she had a better life in Morocco (Fieldwork notes in A2 course April 2011). She took the language classes very seriously: she came to the classes quite regularly, always did her homework and she also made an effort at home to study in order to progress faster. She started language classes immediately after her arrival and she became one of the most fluent students in very few months.

On the day of the DELE exam, the volunteer workers, the language teacher and 10 immigrant women went to the University Campus. Zehra arrived at the exam center with her neighbour Ana (45 at the time of the fieldwork), a middle-aged woman from Venezuela who was working for the Red Cross in Madrid. During the exam, I had the opportunity to interview Ana while we were waiting in the campus. In this interview, she explains her relationship with Zehra and she also explains the importance of linguistic capital in Zehra's life:

Excerpt 13.

Zahra has a very high level of intellectual capacity and she is from a very high-class family in Morocco, it is obvious. For example, I have met her parents and her father is a real gentleman; you can understand this from the way that he dresses to the way he speaks. It is obvious that he is from a high-class family. Her husband is a very modern young man, I think he has been living in Spain for more than 18 years; he has Spanish nationality and everything. Zahra is very lonely here in the neighbourhood, she doesn't know anybody, she doesn't have friends. From the day we met in the funeral of her mother-in-law we have been always together, we are very close friends (….) Learning Spanish means a lot to Zahra, it is like increasing her self-esteem. She takes this issue as a personal matter, she takes it quite seriously. She wants to work, no matter what job it is. She is a very smart woman and she is worth it. She needs to work; she needs to have an active life. She shouldn't be at home all day.

(26.11.2011 Madrid)

The interview with Ana is interesting because, apart from explaining the subjectivity of Zahra toward Spanish language, it also gives details about how other social agents perceive the Moroccan immigrant women of higher social class. She describes Zahra as a smart woman of high level of intellectual capacity, from a very high class family, whose father is a real gentleman, and whose husband is a modern young man. She also adds that Zahra is very lonely in Spain and she needs to find a job and be active, she needs to have a life outside home. She also constructs a link between language and her self-esteem, explaining that learning the language is a serious matter for her, something that is linked to self-achievement.

The young women who had adequate access to economic resources in Spain and who did not have any economic necessity to look for a job also constructed the language as a matter of self esteem, being Bouchra a good example. She (23 at the time of the interview in 2012) was married to a technician who worked in his own vehicle workshop. Her husband's business did not suffer during the crisis, and they never had economic problems during their migration trajectory. Bouchra was one of the most recent comers of the classroom. She immigrated to Spain in 2009 and she started learning Spanish in 2010. She was one of the most hard-working students in the classroom: She came to the classes regularly, always did her homework, she also studied Spanish regularly at home. Socioeconomic trajectory of Bouchra is different from Zahra's in the sense that Bouchra was born to a middle class family and her immigration to Spain resulted in betterment in her living conditions. She mentioned that she liked Spain because there was "more freedom" and that she liked spending time outside home. She explained that she would not like to go back to Morocco because she did not feel as comfortable as here in Spain. Therefore, from her point of view learning the language was linked to this betterment that she experienced in her living conditions. She was not learning the language for achieving better socioeconomic resources; instead, she was learning the language in order to make use of her good living conditions:

Excerpt 14.

Bouchra: I like (living) in Spain. I like our language classroom, too. Now that I know Spanish, I feel better. I just want a simple life in Spain. A small life with my husband and my children, in one house, that's it."

(June 2012, Madrid)

Bouchra mentions another important concept when I ask her about her language learning motivations, which is, dependency. When she immigrated to Spain her sister-in-law, who spoke Spanish, accompanied her to every single place during 2009 and 2010. Then her daughter started acting as an interpreter, and Bouchra was depending on them any time she needed to do anything in the Spanish speaking context. For example, school meetings were always a problem because she did not feel self-sufficient to go to these meetings. One day she came to the classroom with a paper, it was about the books that the parents needed to buy for the 2012 school year. She was not sure if she understood well the teacher's instructions, and she also felt embarrassed to ask it again during the meeting. Therefore she decided to bring the leaflet to the language classroom. (Fieldwork notes, September 2012, Madrid). She told us that she was afraid to ask question in the meeting, she felt embarrassed because of her Spanish. Mar encouraged her, saying that she spoke very well and there was no reason to be afraid. Her answer was "In a couple of years, I will speak better and I won't be embarrassed."

In these two trajectories, the representational significance of language is connected to self development. In their narratives and in the classroom Bouchra and Zahra positioned themselves as ambitious, studious, enthusiastic learners who wanted to achieve a self esteem by means of obtaining a competitive linguistic repertoire. Their socioeconomic situation located these women as agents who did not need to commodify their linguistic skills nor their labour force in the Spanish market. Instead, they defined the legitimate language as something that entailed self-assurance and self esteem.

Comparison between the higher class and lower class women indicate that their socioeconomic standpoint is closely linked to the subjectivities and the attitudes that these agents take toward the language. While the higher class women construct the language as a self-achievement tool, the lower-class agents attribute notions such as survival, better living conditions and they also use it to commodify their labour force. Similarly, in the following section, I shall explain how language can also be constructed as an emancipation tool, depending on the marital status of the agents.

6.3.3. Trajectories of divorced women: Metamorphosis and emancipation

In this thesis, divorced women's narratives have a special importance because they reveal that language investment can facilitate a personal transformation and in some cases it can enable emancipation. The social and linguistic agencies of divorced women in their time-space patterns indicate that social context, language and gender intertwine in complex subjectivities that they adopt. As Scott (1986) suggests, with regard to using gender as an analytic category, there is a need

to explain the processes as interconnected and we need to question "how things happened in order to find why they happened". This idea foregrounds agency in the analysis and we as researchers need to question our understanding of power in this process:

> "To pursue meaning, we need to deal with the individual subject as well as social organization and to articulate the nature of their interrelationships, for both are crucial to understanding how gender works, how change occurs. Finally, we need to replace the notion that social power is unified, coherent, and centralized with something like Foucault's concept of power as dispersed constellations of unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social "fields of force." Within these processes and structures, there is room for a concept of human agency as the attempt (at least partially rational) to construct an identity, a life, a set of relationships, a society with certain limits and with language-conceptual language that at once sets boundaries and contains the possibility for negation, resistance, reinterpretation, the play of metaphoric invention and imagination."
>
> (Scott 1986:1067)

Linguistic trajectories of divorced immigrant women enable us to understand how they adapt to their changing social roles after this rupture. Their agencies constructed across their time-space patterns indicate that language and gender work together to adopt new forms of subjectivities in the diaspora. Chronotopic analysis enables to see how these transformations happen in the sense that in divorced women's trajectories gender identity and linguistic agency constructed before migration, during the adaptation period and after separation from their male partners show an important difference, and I will define this process as *metamorphosis*.

It is important to mention that the majority of my informants immigrated to Spain as a result of arranged marriages. In most cases Moroccan families convinced their daughters to marry a working class immigrant man, arguing that they would have a better life in Spain. Usually these marriages were arranged between close relatives, and marriages between cousins were very common. They mostly married men in their 30s or 40s (and the average age that my informants got married was around 20) their main role was to provide the male immigrant with the core family that he was looking for and they were to bear children and assume traditionally feminized roles as soon as they arrived in Spain. Therefore, as my informants' narratives will demonstrate, for most of them immigration was moving from one segregation to another, as they were to reproduce traditionally ascribed gender roles in the diaspora. For that reason divorced women's personal and language trajectories can be best defined as a metamorphosis because they construct, by means of investing in

the legitimate language, a resistance to these structural inequalities. They go through a social and economic transformation after this rupture, and they attach to the symbolic resources to survive in Spain. I will show that, language is depicted as an important part of this transformation, as an indispensable capital that opens the doors to social and economic resources.

In this section I will explain the trajectories of four divorced women: Hayat (24 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012), Khadija (32 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012), Hassiba (34 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012) and Malika (40 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012). In their biographies, they define the chronotopes referring to before and after becoming single mothers as two different lives. They explain that they have made a radical shift in terms of economic activities, social responsibilities and individual life choices and they describe their language repertoire as an important tool to make this shift. Hassiba being an exception, the other three informants learned the language to be able to stay in Spain as socially and economically independent individuals. In the following sections, first I will explain Hayat's personal trajectory and I will underline that her linguistic agency and her changing gender roles worked together to construct a personal transformation. Following this, I will describe how Kadija and Malika challenged their social and economic segregation by means of adopting distant motherhood and investing in language. Finally, Hassiba's trajectory will demostrate what happens when immigrant women marry Moroccan men living in the mainland. Her divorce experience and her narratives on the symbolic resources that her husband lacked (including the linguistic capital) will indicate, when structural disadvantages are reversed and when immigrant men start their migration trajectory later than their female partners, they are also challenged in terms of their adaptation to the receiving country.

Hayat's trajectory: Language investment as a personal transformation

Hayat (24) was born in a rural area of Nador and her family lived on agriculture. Among her six siblings she was the only girl and she had to adopt household work responsibilities at a very early age, for that reason she only studied primary school in Morocco. For her parents, who had limited access to economic resources, marrying her to an immigrant worker was a way of assuring her future. Nevertheless, as I will explain in detail in the following pages, immigration for Hayat resulted in dramatic economic and social crisis. Most of my informants went through the same process: they were selected in Morocco to become mothers and care-givers in Spain, and most of the time they faced disappointment and a process of isolation upon their arrival. In their narratives, immigration was described as a process which worsened their living conditions instead of increasing them.

In the excerpt below, Hayat explains how she was forced to marry her cousin, who was 20 years older than her. Her discourse also reveals the imaginary diaspora that the Moroccan people construct in the mainland. Hayat's family believed that Hayat would lead a better life in Spain because they had no real information about the socio-economic situation of her future husband. They did not know, then, that this marriage was going to result in a social and economic segregation for Hayat:

Excerpt 15.

> My mother convinced me to marry him, I did not want it. I thought that he was too old for me, but my mother told me "it is okay, the men can be older than the women, it doesn't matter. He is your cousin, he lives in Spain, he will treat you all right." But he was unemployed, we did not know it. We don't know what is going on in Spain. He did not have a job, he was poor, and that's all. We, in Morocco, think that he has money because he lives in Spain. But we don't know the real world in Spain, we think that he is rich because we don't have anything in Morocco.
>
> (June 2012 Madrid, My translation from Spanish)

The social class of Hayat resulted in isolation and social unease both in Morocco and in Spain. When she got married, she started living in her brother-in-law's house in Morocco, where she waited for legal documents to arrive. Her husband was unemployed, he did not send remittance to Morocco, and she had problems with her sister-in-law, with whom she lived during one year until she received her family reunification visa. She was constantly subjected to psychological violence: they made fun of her slightly over-weight body and her inferior social and economic position within the family. When she came to Spain, this mistreatment did not change. She lived with her brother-in-law's, where her husband and his family kept mistreating her:

Excerpt 16.

> I arrived in Spain, five months passed and I was not pregnant. My husband told me that it was not normal, that I was not fertile. He told me to go to a doctor, but I did not want to go. I was normal, I

knew that. He was in a hurry, I don't know why, he wanted me to get pregnant and that's it. The other thing is that Moroccans want baby boys, not girls, because when the girls grow up they go away, but the boys always have the surname of the father, do you understand? A lot of stupid things, a lot of them (…) We did not have money; my husband could not pay the mortgage of the flat. But his brother could. He worked, his wife worked. I could not work because I could not speak Spanish, do you understand me? Only five months, it was so early. But my sister in law, a lot of time, eight years. She did not speak very well either, she never studied Spanish but she learned it speaking to people. I came here, my husband did not let me go out, or work because he wanted to have kids. I could not work because I didn't speak well. There were no language course either, it was a small town. There was nothing.

Hayat lived in social isolation during four years. She was deprived of economic, social and linguistic capital as a result of her social class and the gender roles forced on her. She was expected to be a passive agent whose most important virtue was fertility. And according to her husband, she was also bereft of this virtue. Her social and linguistic isolation reproduced her uneasy social position within the family, because she lacked important capitals that could empower her to resist this continuous mistreatment. She was completely left out of the important decisions of the family and she was uninformed about the legal issues regarding immigration. The Spanish visa system and civil code was totally unknown to Hayat. Her ex-husband made use of this, and he tried to get rid of her by sending her back to Morocco:

Excerpt 17.

Four years passed like this. We moved to Valles, to the flat of another brother of his. My sister in law treated me like a cleaning lady. They had money, everything because they both worked. I had nothing, not even decent clothes. They made fun of me all the time, uff, a lot of problems. Then I told him that I needed to see my parents, I wanted to go to Morocco. He said yes, I went to my parents' house. After four months he told me on the phone that he wanted to get divorced. Now I understand everything, he had planned it before. If I stay in Morocco six months, I lose my residence permit. He wanted to get rid of me. I was very stupid, I was so innocent. My parents bought my ticket and I came back to Spain with my son. I rent a room in front of my aunt's flat. I started learning Spanish here and I started looking for a job (…) Every day in the morning I wake up early, I go to restaurants, shops, to ask if they need an employee. I study Spanish every

day, for three months. From Monday to Friday I go to every single language course in the town. Because I want to speak, read and write. I want to learn, fast. I want to work here, live here, I don't want to go back to Morocco. In Morocco the women only do the housework and watch television, nothing more. I don't want to live like that. If I go back to Morocco as a divorced mother, I don't have any future.

This excerpt differs from the previous two excerpts in terms of Hayat's agency and subjectivity toward the legitimate language. In excerpts 15 and 16, which belong to her pre-migration and adaptation stages, she defines herself as a passive agent in terms of decision-making. She was forced to adopt passive subject position with regard to marriage and settling in Spain. She was also mistreated by various key actors after migration, and her narratives indicate a victimized, passive subjectivity in these two stages. Nevertheless, excerpt 17 suggests a different agency in terms of her decision-making, language learning and also her future plans. Her decision to become an independent single mother in Spain, to invest in the legitimate language, to look for a job and sustain her family transformed her personal trajectory. In this metamorphosis, her social and economic independence and her language repertoire worked together to enable her personal transformation. She not only defines her efforts to sustain the family, but she also underlines that she has no future in Morocco. She wants to live and work in Spain and language is a valuable symbolic capital to achieve her goals.

Hayat's trajectory explains that language becomes an indispensable capital when divorced women decide to continue their lives in the diaspora. They deploy their linguistic skills in order to survive, in order to make future plans and in order to cover the living costs of their core family. In the following section, the readers will see that some of the divorced women decided to adopt distant motherhood in order to survive in the diaspora. The narratives of Kadija and Malika will demonstrate their personal and professional decisions after divorce, their struggles for accumulating the linguistic capital, the importance of this symbolic capital in order to maintain their lives in the diaspora, and their future plans.

Trajectories of Kadija and Malika: Adopting distant motherhood and language investment

Adopting distant motherhood is a radical choice and a milestone in Moroccan women's trajectories, which brings about social, economic and personal transformation to divorced women's life. Distant divorced mothers are agents who resist traditionally organized gender roles and attributed motherhood responsibilities, they are the ones who make a radical shift from a domestic private sphere to a competitive, demanding public sphere. They assume the role of bread-winner in their

small family, and they claim the economic and social capital that they need to provide a sustainable life for their families. Giving up part of their motherhood responsibilities, in this process was, as Kadija and Malika explained, a *painful but necessary decision* in order to achieve a better future for their children. In their narratives, important investments were recounted: learning the language, studying a degree, looking for a better job, achieving better economic conditions; and these were pursued to obtain a better future for themselves and for their children who lived in Morocco. In their narrations, distant motherhood was described as a temporary situation which would come to an end when these social and economic achievements were accomplished. For instance, Kadija (32 at the time of the fieldwork in 2012) had to send her only son to Morocco when he was only five years old. When she got divorced, she started living in her sister's house in Castelló. Nevertheless, she realized that she had to become economically independent, and she decided to move to Madrid, rent a room for herself and send her son to Morocco to his grandparents'. She found a job as a cook in a fast food chain and for the first time she became economically independent. Below, she explains her major motivations regarding improving her language skills:

Excerpt 18.

Kadija: I really want to have a university degree to have a better life and to earn more money. I don't want to work in this restaurant all my life. I need a better job to bring my son here. I don't have anyone to take care of him in Madrid and I don't have money for baby sitters. In order to achieve a better life, I need a university degree and for that reason I need to speak better Spanish.

(Fieldwork notes in the classroom, 12.05.2012, Madrid)

When I met Kadija in the field in 2012, she was looking for a scholarship to study nursery degree at a university. For her, learning the language was an important step to construct a better professional trajectory in Spain and to live together with her son. Therefore, in her narration the language repertoire was attached to other formalized, institutionalized capitals such as holding a university degree. She claimed better economic resources and better labor conditions than she was offered in the restaurant where she had been working for more than three years.

Malika's biography, on the other hand, differs from Kadija's as she decided to leave her son in Morocco and she immigrated to Spain when she was already divorced. In her trajectory, she decided to immigrate to Spain because she was aware of the fact that she had very limited

socioeconomic possibilities in the mainland. In her narrations, she makes a lot of shifts between the two chronotopes: before and after getting divorced. Comparison of her subject position in these two time-space patterns indicates that apart from economic and social changes, she also went through an important personal transformation. She was born into a farmer family in Casablanca, with scarce economic resources. Until she got divorced, she assumed the gender responsibilities and traditional roles that her family and the society attributed to her: she quit school and started working at home, she lived as a well-devoted practicing Muslim, she got married very young because of the decision of her parents, she tolerated psychological and physical violence at her husband's (and her parents in law's) house. On the other hand, when she got divorced, she looked for a way to become independent and made a radical transformation in her life. In her narration below, she makes a comparison between the chronotopes before and after getting divorced, she explains that she sometimes cannot believe that it is the same person, and she also mentions language learning as an important part of this metamorphosis:

Excerpt 19.

Malika: I used to be always at home, never went out, never talked to anybody. I did not meet anybody, my family was afraid to let me go outside. They scared me. I never had boys around me, I went to a girls' school, I was afraid of boys, afraid of people in general. However I later understood that this is not true. When I got divorced, I did everything alone. I went to the court alone, I went to work alone. I went to learn Spanish alone, and it helped me to cross the border. Suddenly I took a chance and I became strong. Now I don't feel afraid to go out, and now I have my opinion. When I argue with somebody, for example with (my) husband, I can say "No. This is not right." Now I do the things because I want to, not because they tell me to. I am not a slave any more.

In this narration the expression *crossing the border* seems to collapse the physical/geographical with the symbolic. Her life trajectory indicates that apart from moving from Morocco to Spain, Malika went through a radical social and individual transformation after the immigration. When Malika got married, her husband was working in Italy. For one year she lived with her parents in law and when she was pregnant her husband left her. During many years Malika had to raise her child alone in her parent's house, because she did not receive any financial or moral

support from her ex-husband or his family. She worked in some irregular jobs in Morocco but she wanted to have better options to be able to offer a better life for her child. One day, her sister living in Madrid called her to say that she found a job for her, as a cleaning lady in Madrid. In 2007, Malika got her work permit and moved to Madrid thanks to this labor contract. During her stay in Spain, Malika invested in different skills. She went to language classes, she participated in many courses and programs that Civic Centre and other public institutions offered for free. Therefore, crossing the border in her trajectory was making a voluntary shift from the passive, introverted, weak, dependent subject position to active, extroverted, strong, independent subject position and language was one of the important investments she realized in order to achieve this personal transformation.

Hassiba's trajectory: Immigrant man as a follower

All trajectories presented so far have indicated that immigrant women have access to economic and symbolic resources later than their male partners because chronologically they arrive in Spain later. In most cases this resulted in social isolation and dependence, especially during their adaptation period. Among all my informants, Hassiba was the only woman whose migration trajectory began earlier than her male partner, in the sense that she was already living in Spain when she got married to a Moroccan man, and in her case she was the person who realized family reunification with her husband. Her trajectory is an excellent example to demonstrate what happens when this traditional mobility structure is reversed and it is the immigrant woman who holds socio-economic capital in the Diaspora, while her male partner lacks these capitals.

Hassiba settled in Madrid with her parents, she learned the language and started working in the family business. When she got married to a Moroccan man living in the mainland, her husband immigrated to Spain. He was challenged by the language, working conditions in Spain, and by the new gender roles that he was asked to adopt. He was a man who had a technician diploma, but he had to work as a construction worker where Hassiba's father was working. This professional de-classing was not welcome and he quit a couple of similar jobs. As he could not speak Spanish, he did not have many other work opportunities. Therefore Hassiba started negotiating domestic responsibilities with him, asking him to participate in the housework. Below, you will see how this negotiation failed and how the rupture was claimed, this time, by the immigrant woman:

Excerpt 20.

We got married, I arranged all the papers and everything. He came here, everything was new to him. He could not speak the language, he was very funny. My father gave him a job he did not know how to work in a construction, he did not want to. Then we found him a job in a shop, he did not work there either. I was working day and night, even on Saturdays and he did nothing. I worked, took care of the kid, and cooked, I did everything. I asked him to help me, at least with the kid. He told me no, he did not want to help me with the housework (…) One day we quarrelled and I kicked him out, I could not take it anymore. When I decided to leave him, I did not feel lonely, no. Because I was used to doing everything alone, you know? I could live alone. He did not do anything anyway, he did not work, and he did not help me with the housework, with my son. I did not need him anyway. When we split up, instead of crying at home, being depressed, I decided to get a hair dresser diploma; my parents helped me to pay for it.

When compared to the other informants, Hassiba's subject position toward marriage is quite different. She holds the social, economic and linguistic capital in their family reunification process. She assumes an active subject position in different fields: as a worker, as a language learner, as a mother, as a household worker and she claims support from her husband. Nevertheless, her husband lacks the capitals that Hassiba holds: he doesn't speak the language, he is not familiar with the working conditions in Spain, and he does not assume the household responsibilities that Hassiba asks for. In this excerpt, Hassiba includes language among the capitals that her husband lacks, and constructs him as a passive social agent who has no active contribution to her life.

Hassiba's narration and description of her rupture suggest that when female immigrants realize family reunification with the Moroccan men living in the mainland, these men also suffer from social, professional and linguistic adaptation upon their immigration to Spain. They have access to crucial capitals later then their female partners, which might disrupt the traditionally-ascribed gender roles because the authority of these crucial capitals, in this specific case, empowers the woman, while the male partner lacks them. This reality suggests that first access to linguistic (and other symbolic) capital constructs asymmetries between the married couples who go through family reunification process. Nevertheless, while asymmetrical position of female immigrants is normalized by the fact that they are to stay in the public sphere in the diaspora, asymmetrical position of male immigrants is not normalized, as they are expected to take active agencies in the Spanish labour market shortly after their arrival and nor do they easily assume household work. Therefore, when symbolic capitals favour female immigrants against their male partners, female authority of these capitals may challenge men's predominant position within the family, which may result in a rupture driven by a female decision.

6.4. Reformulating Linguistic Agency and Social Position

It is frequently the case that Muslim immigrant women are associated with tradition, resistance to modernization, and their cultural practices such as veil are associated with male and religion-based oppression. These representations were also reproduced by the three language teachers, as I explained in the previous Chapter. I also mentioned that these discourses normalized under-distribution of the linguistic capital to the Moroccan immigrant women learners, and these learners were constructed as passive agents, including their linguistic agency. Narratives of my informants in this Chapter indicated that this passive subject profile is not universal, and immigrant women invest in linguistic resources for many different social and economic reasons. The narratives of young generation immigrant women revealed the complexity of learner profiles, their language investment motivations and complex subjectivities that they adopted during their immigration trajectories. Even among the elderly women, who generally linked the language to losing their traditional Moroccan values, there were some learners (for instance, Aisha, the only retired interviewee) who took active subject positions upon their arrival, invested in language and became an active agent in the formal labour market. Therefore one of the most important results of this analysis is the gap between the representations of these learners constructed by the language teachers and the self-representations of the learners in their own narratives. While these learners indicated diverse motivations for linguistic investment and they also held different subjectivities toward the language, they were overwhelmingly represented as passive subjects by the workers of these social integration projects.

This passivation also emerged in the narratives of the learners, especially in the working women's profiles. Their lived experience demonstrated that they claimed the authority of language in order to deploy this capital especially in the workplace. Nevertheless, in most of the cases legitimate speakers, employers in this specific case, challenged this authority and they forced these speakers to adopt passive linguistic agencies in the workplace. These struggles were quite evident especially in the narratives of Malika and Fatima, who were expected to have minimum interaction with their employers. This tension between the employers and the immigrant household workers suggest that, the market value of linguistic skills is determined by the key social categories such as gender, ethnicity, race and social class. Ethnicization and feminization of household work in the receiving countries involve passivation of immigrant women in these jobs, and gender and ethnicity based asymmetries constructed in the workplace are reinforced by pushing these agents to adopt passive speaker and learner agencies.

Nevertheless, these narratives also indicated that the agencies of these learners cannot be explained merely by transnational inequalities, capitalism or neoliberal economy and they suggest that there is also a notion of *unpredictability*. Instead of establishing categories such as powerful and powerless, there is a need to penetrate into these categories, deconstruct them and describe the complexity of these processes. Instead of constructing the west or the receiving countries as centre and sending countries as periphery, we need to cross-cut the multi-layered processes and construes that involve the linguistic agencies of these learners. There is no universal truth or reality across the agencies of my informants and they adopt completely different subjectivities in their narrations. For instance, especially young informants who describe competitive language skills as self-confidence and self esteem as well as a means of commodity, or informants such as Fariha, who deployed both her Spanish and Catalan skills in different fields challenge the local/global categories of ideologies attributed to language, opening up and important critical space for problemitizing multilingualism, globalization and transnational mobility. This unpredictability is also proposed by Canagarajah (2007), who defends that people may develop linguistic skills in contexts that generate an unpredictable mix of forms:

> "Thus, acquisition is not a cumulative process, but an ability to come up with diverse strategies for speech events that need to be addressed for their own sake. The mention of adhoc strategies reminds us that competence is not predictability but alertness and impromptu fabrication of forms and conventions to establish alignment in each situation of communication. Thus, acquisition aims towards versatility and agility, not mastery and control."
>
> (p. 932)

The narratives of my informants suggest that this unpredictability does not only involve the complex linguistic patterns that they deploy (such as investing in diverse language capitals and deploying them in specific fields as a form of negotiation, as Fariha did in Spanish and Catalan speaking environments), but also the indexicalities that they attribute to language. Therefore, there is a need to move beyond centre and periphery or powerful and powerless in conceptualizing multilingual practices of transnational subjects, and we need to underline this complexity in their investment strategies across shifting contexts. Focusing on these shifting contexts reveals how social implications of gender roles intertwine with linguistic agencies of immigrant women. I will mention two dimensions with regard to this inter-connectedness: These narratives reveal what transnational mobility *does* to language and gender and, second, they also reveal what language and gender *do* to construct complex transnational subjects. Taken the passivation process of the learners

in different settings, gender and language work together to signal differentiation and to legitimize asymmetrical social categories. This process was evident in the trajectories of working women, whose linguistic agencies and gender roles reinforced their asymmetrical position in their workplace. Therefore, gender and language become intertwined tools to signal differentiation. On the other hand, language and gender can work together to *produce* complex subjectivities in the diaspora. In the case of divorced women, for instance, language and gender become an important tool to construct metamorphosis, in the sense that they worked together to enable the immigrant women to make shifts between passive or oppressed subjects towards active, independent social agents.

Finally, understanding the voice of the learners and exploring their agencies in their own narrations reveals that questioning the significance of language and gender in these trajectories is also questioning the political economy of transnational mobility and globalization. Their attitudes, ideologies, subjectivities and agencies reveal the hegemonies that they encounter throughout their trajectories. Their trajectories indicated that their linguistic agencies intersected the political economy of mobility (shifting labour demands in the west, increasing feminization of labour market, economic crisis, etc.), patriarchal forms of female oppression both in the receiving countries and in the mainland, linguistic hierarchies in Morocco and Spain (Shilha speakers vs. Darija speakers or adopting Spanish and/or Catalan as the legitimate form of language), and social implication of social class (access to the economic resources in both sites). Therefore, in this Chapter I explained how my informants defined their trajectories and their personal decisions to invest (or not) in the legitimate forms of language. In the following Chapter, I go further with their voices and agencies and I will re-interpret the qualitative data within the postcolonial literature.

Section 3. Understanding the voice

CHAPTER VII.
UNDERSTANDING THE VOICE OF *THE OTHER*: MOROCCAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN AS POSTCOLONIAL LEARNERS

7.1. Introduction

When I started knowing more about the lives of my informants, I realized that the main objective of this thesis would be to foreground the voices of the learners, to include them in this work as authors and as subjects whose agencies, life experiences would be an important contribution to knowledge-building with regard to language, migration and gender. Therefore, in addition to the inequalities constructed in the classroom and in the process of distribution of the linguistic capital, I focused on their agencies and subjectivities in their own narratives. Chapter VI was an important transition of this thesis in the sense that it made a shift from the discourse of the powerful to the discourse of the powerless. I underlined the complexity of learner profiles and their linguistic and gender agencies in their narratives and I highlighted the contrast between the discourse of the teachers and the discourse of the learners. I also explained how these learners deployed their linguistic resources in order to negotiate their positioning inside the classroom and in order to contest multi-layered hegemonies that they encounter throughout their immigration trajectories, which I conceptualized as resistance. I explained how these learners were located in relation to linguistic capital and power, and how they negotiate their social position by means of deploying their linguistic resources.

In this Chapter, I aim to go further with the question of learners' voices, agencies and resistance strategies and I problematize the taken-for-granted representations of the post-colonial female learners in the West. Problematizing these representations will also enable me to open up a space for self-criticism as a researcher and as the author of this thesis. I consider that the way in which a researcher interprets the agencies of research subjects involves her/his stance because it implies an ideology, an active criticism with regard to the inequalities that the informants experience in their trajectories. In this Chapter I aim to problematize my own perspective as a social researcher and I complement the analysis of immigrant learner's agencies and resistance strategies. For that reason this Chapter gives a second opportunity to embrace the silenced voices, hidden agencies and resistance strategies which can be foregrounded by means of reading the data from the peripheries or, as Spivak suggests, by means of *learning how to unlearn*.

This Chapter is organized as follows. First, I mention and discuss how agency, resistance and voice are conceptualized by different authors of postcolonial literature. Introducing the ideas of Said, Bhabha and Spivak, I will situate the agencies, resistance strategies and voices of the learners within a postcolonial ideology. Following this, I introduce three concepts of Bhabha, which I used to problematize the binary oppositions constructed in the field: *hybridity*, *third space*, and *mimicry*. The readers will see the specific ways that the hybrid nature of the cultures open up unexpected spaces for resistance or re-appropriation of power. Finally, I visit Spivakian ideas on voice and agency, which will enable me to read the qualitative data from the peripheries. This is the very point that the researcher learns how to unlearn: in this reflexive exercise, I will try to re-interpret the agencies or resistance strategies that may have been overlooked during the previous Chapters.

7.2. Agency, resistance, and voice of the postcolonial learner

As I explained before, introducing the research informants as postcolonial subjects was not only driven by my own decision as a researcher who wanted to foreground the voices of the learners; it was also driven by the dominant discourses that constructed the learners as postcolonial subjects. The categorizations and representations that the language teachers used, which were explained in Chapter V in detail, made me think about the ongoing ideas, ideologies and social processes of colonialism. I realized that these discourses, the specific ways that they constructed the knowledge and subjectivities must be interpreted under the critical lenses of the postcolonial thought.

In a critical ethnography of education, when the learners are constructed as post-colonial subjects by the dominant actors, it is important to show how intercultural relations in these social integration programs are rooted in previous colonial relations. It is crucial to reveal that the way that these students are understood, represented and treated is rooted in a knowledge, which came from the colonial relations and economies (see also: Mignolo 2000) because in postcolonial and decolonial movements, racism and their epistemological bases are understood as the result of colonial relations. Critical sociolinguistics enables us to demonstrate these micro, localized practices that construct specific knowledge about the subjects, it also enables us to reveal how these subjects are located in relation to (linguistic) capital. Chapter IV and Chapter V of this thesis were written to underline these asymmetries. This Chapter, on the other hand, problematizes the specific ways that agencies, resistance strategies and voices are included in this study and it involves my self-criticism as the writer of this book. In this Chapter, therefore, I question my values as well as the macrological texture of power in this study. With regard to the micro/macro binaries, Spivak's criticism to Deleuze and Foucault would be a very pertinent introduction:

"The relationship between global capitalism and nation-state alliances is so macrological that it cannot account for the micrological texture of power. To move toward such an accounting one must move toward theories of ideology – of subject formations that micrologically and often erratically operate the interests that congeal the macrologies."

(1998:74)

In this abstract, Spivak's criticisms of French poststructuralist writers involve the lack of macrological perspective in the process of constructing consciousness, agency and identity in their theories. She claims that full class agency is "not an ideological transformation of consciousness on the ground level" or a desiring identity of the agents and their interests (1998:72) and the lack of this consideration troubles these thinkers. Other writers[17] also criticized Foucault, claiming that he ignored ongoing processes of colonialism in his writings and lectures. However, I consider that Foucauldian concepts of power, domination and resistance give important tools for a researcher to problematize historically constructed inequalities, dominant representations and discourses (see also: Castro-Gómez 2007). Both *archeology* and *genealogy* can be mobilized to question about the localized practices of producing truth and the subject, and this de-construction can be applied in postcolonial reasoning. Not only Edward Said[18] but also other writers (Ahmad 1992, Trigo 2001, Alva 1995, Young 1990 and 2001) used Foucauldian theoretical and analytic tools in postcolonial inquiry, focusing especially on the production of knowledge within the colonial power. Indeed, this thesis also exemplifies how Focuauldian writings on discourse and power can be mobilized to problematize the technologies of power and discourse, in order to look into the complex hegemonies that the postcolonial subjects experience in their linguistic agencies as well as in their trajectories.

Nevertheless, when we locate the agency, voice and resistance at the center of effective reasoning, this reflexive exercise brings the researcher's subjectivity into question. What resistance means to me as a social researcher is at the center of the process of interpreting the qualitative data. Therefore, at this stage of my thesis I have to question myself what I understand by resistance and how I depict my informants' agencies and subjectivities in this thesis. For this reason, this Chapter

[17] For a systematic discussion on Foucault and postcolonialism see: Legg, S. (2007). Beyond the European Province: Foucault and Postcolonialism. In *Space, Knowledge, and Power: Foucault and Geography* (pp.265–289). In this Chapter Legg develops a detailed discussion on the post-colonial writers' criticisms toward Foucault as well as the Foucauldian analytic tools used in post-colonial literature.

[18] For further discussion see Said, 1978, The Problem of Textuality: Two Exemplary Positions, Critical Inquiry, Vol.4. In this article Said compares and contrasts deconstruction methods of Derrida and Foucault. Drawing on the common grounds and differences in both thinkers' approach, he proposes that Foucauldian deconstruction may problematize the localized practices of domination as his approach might take the researcher *outside* the text. Said mainly argues that while Foucault was not interested questioning intentionality behind the social order or power structures, postcolonial thinkers may still use his ideas to problematize this 'voluntary intention' behind the power structures.

was the most difficult and the most critical one in terms of interpreting the qualitative data because it also involved questioning and problematizing my own theoretical and analytic concerns regarding the "representations" and agencies of my informants. I realized that analyzing and demonstrating domination and the techniques of power was apparently easier for me than understanding *the voices of the dominated*. I started asking to myself if I was reproducing the classical binary oppositions or if I was committing, in Spivakian terms, *the epistemic violence* by means of speaking on behalf of my informants. All these concerns made me visit postcolonial ideas in order to explore how agency, resistance and the voice of the subaltern were conceptualized in these writings.

Drawing on these concerns, I visited the writings of Said[19], Spivak and Bhabha in order to look for the agency and voice of the subaltern. As Robert Young suggests, the union of these writers construct "The Holy Trinity" of postcolonial critics (1995: 163) who achieved significant eminence in their field. It is obvious that the strongest common point of these thinkers is the way that they problematize and de-construct the taken-for-granted representations constructed within the Western epistemology, and they foreground the agencies of the colonized or subaltern, suggesting that the writers need to stop speaking on behalf of *the Other*. Nevertheless it is important to mention different epistemological approaches between these writers. For instance, Spivak and Bhabha also criticize their mentor Said, claiming that he also pays very little attention to the agency of the colonized in *Orientalism* (Gilbert 2000:452). Both Spivak and Bhabha focus extensively on the agency of the colonized in their works, although they do so from very different perspectives. While Bhabha focuses on the psychic identities of the colonized and the colonizer, Spivak provides a Marxist, material perspective on the representation of the subaltern.

In this Chapter, these two writers are visited for two main purposes: in order to abstain from totalizing data analysis which opens no space diversity, hybridity, transformation and, to abstain from speaking on behalf of my informants by means of limiting their linguistic agencies or resistance strategies to my own interpretation of agency as a researcher. While the former reflexive inquiry involves problematizing the absolute binary opposing powers, the latter involves problematizing and even getting rid of the representations and depictions that simplify the interpretation of the linguistic agency of the learners. These two approaches indeed share one common ground: rejecting the *absolute power of the powerful* and rejecting the *impossibility of emancipation or transformation*. This is the very point that various postcolonial thinkers (Said 1995; Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1998) and feminist writers (McNay 1992; Hartsock 1989; Deveaux 1994) criticized Foucauldian analytic tools, claiming that his conceptualization of power and

[19] This Chapter is mostly constructed on the theories and analytic tools of Bhabha and Spivak. I must mention that Said's ideas on textuality and discourse enabled me to interpret the opposing representations that emerged in Chapter V. Indeed, the specific ways that the language teachers constructed *you and us* in the classroom drove me to write this Chapter.

resistance did not open a space for transformation, and his conceptualization of agency was too deterministic, leaving no space for "a real resistance" [20]. To be more specific, feminist writers draw on Foucault's definition of power and resistance in *Discipline and Punish* and they argue that his conceptualization of power is monolithic and unidirectional (McNay 1992:134), which eventually ignores the impact of 'legal, social and psychological contructs. McNay (1992:47) argues that this centralized definition of power pushed the women back into the passivity and silence. I do not agree on the idea that Foucault's definition of power is centralized[21] and especially the classroom analysis of the Chapters IV and V demonstrates that Foucauldian concepts of power and resistance enable the researcher to study power as disperse and pervasive. Nevertheless, I agree on the idea that in his conceptualization of power makes it difficult to depict emancipation and transformation, which is the main objective in feminist and post-colonialist works. The omnipresence of power, and his conceptualization of the individual as a product of power beclouds the possibility of transformation, and according to some writers, leaving no space for female emancipation (Hartsock 1990; Deveaux 1994). In this discussion, I take an in-between stance, suggesting that Foucauldian thinking provides important analytic tools for problemitizing the discourses and the micro techniques of power that reproduce the socio-economic inequalities that a postcolonial agent experience. However, I suggest visiting post-colonial thinkers to especially to complement the analysis of emancipation, transformation and voice[22].

Taking these criticisms into account, in this Chapter I draw on the writings of post-colonialist writers in order to re-visit the qualitative data and look for the possible ways to problematize the essentialist power oppositions between the powerful and the powerless, and in order to trace the overlooked agencies and resistance strategies of the postcolonial learner. In the following sections, I first explain how hybridity and the dependence between the colonizer and the colonized construct a ground for resistance in the classroom setting. Following this, I continue with Spivak, and I will show that *the subaltern can definitely speak* when we learn how to understand their tools.

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[20] For feminist critiques on Foucaudian concepts of power and resistance see: McLaughlin, J. (2003). Moving on from Foucault. In *Feminist Social and Political Theory:Contemporary Debates and Dialogues* (pp. 115–135). New York: Palgrave.

[21] Foucault challenges the idea that power is wielded by people or groups by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive. 'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure. Instead it is a kind of 'metapower' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation. Resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power' (Foucault, 1978: 95). If power must be understood as an asymmetrical set of relations in which there exist a multiplicity of nodal points or relations, this multiplicity necessarily entails also the possibility of resistance at each node.

[22] For a systematic discussion on the analytic tools of power and resistance in the body of work of Foucault and Bourdieu see also: Cronin, C. 1996, "Bourdieu and Foucault on Power and Modernity", Philosophy and Social Criticism 22(6):55-85.

7.3. Hybridity as a ground for resistance

In his works, Bhabha (1983, 1994) seeks to revise and extend the aspects of Said's *Orientalism* and he criticizes the accounts that describe the colonizer's agency as monolithically powerful and unitary. He advocates that Said's notion of discourse pays inadequate attention to "representation as a concept" which is undermined by the polarities of intentionality as well as by the intentionality and unidirectionality of the colonial power (1994:103). Then he proposes to account for ambivalence of "consent in objectification, which Foucault asserts but fails to explain" (1994:109). For him, the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is more complex, nuanced and politically ambiguous. The colonizer is psychically and politically less secure than *Orientalism* implies and colonizer and colonized depend on each other to constitute themselves. He demolishes the familiar alignment of the colonial subjects (such as black/white, self/other) and moves the postcolonial subjects from the site of the political zone towards the site of psychic relations between the colonized and the colonizer, and he introduces a hybrid, in between zone in which the two parts constantly negotiate their representation. As I will indicate in the following section, this formulation will be used to re-visit the classroom interaction, looking for the specific ways that the learners foreground the hybrid, unessential power of the dominant culture and language in order to re-position themselves as legitimate speakers and in some cases as citizens.

Bhabha suggests that like all forms of power, colonial authority systematically produces a counter-power or resistance. Therefore, where there is oppression, there is an action for resistance. He suggests that hybridity, or the changeable character of language, culture, discourse of power etc. is also a form or resistance. Contemporary migrant interrogates and hybridizes the dominant culture's narratives of self-representation and self-legitimization. Insertion of the migrant communities into the West, for Bhabha, poses a crucial problem of identity and authority because the essentialist, traditional representations of the western culture are unsettled by the very fact that migrant communities living in the west opened a hybrid, in-between space. His thoughts opened a brilliant and unexpected space in postcolonial literature, in the sense that the postcolonial subject was recognized as a power that could circumvent or challenge the colonial power. His formulation of hybrid spaces and inter-dependence between the colonized and the colonizer provides an excellent critical analytical space for problemitizing multilingual encounters in the receiving countries because his formulation enables to go beyond the binary categories of the native speaker and the learner (immigrant) and re-formulate the legitimate language as an in-between capital. His ideas on oppression and contestation provides a frame for demonstrating how the hybrid feature of adult immigrant language classrooms, which he names as *third space*, can produce unexpected resistance strategies.

In an interview with Jonathan Rutherford, Bhabha (1990:221) describes this hybridity as a *third space* which enables other positions to emerge. He explains that this third space displaces the histories that constitute it and in this space new structures of authority are set up. It is a space where the authority is negotiated, translated and re-inscribed. The analysis of the classroom interactions indicates that such notions of unstable, shifting and plural identities along with Bhabha´s concepts of hybridity and third space are necessary to explain how the learners position themselves in this third space and how they construct hybrid categories and identities in the classroom, in a way that they contest asymmetrical representations. Nevertheless, as I stated at the previous pages, it is essential to mention that third space theory, in my research, makes sense only when situated within a post-colonial context that takes into account the material and political aspects of power struggles. As Floya Anthias (2001) argues, while the third space underlines the transgressive aspect of identity (especially in transnational spaces), it might underplay social realities such as alienation, exclusion, violence as part of cultural encounters, particularly where there is social asymmetry as in colonialism. Thus, classroom as a third space indicates the process of negotiating pre-established inequalities and constructing hybrid identities and realities in the situated discursive practices. On the other hand, as also mentioned by Bhabha himself, this hybridity does not indicate that the power asymmetries are overcome.

Taking into account such criticisms of the concept of hybridity, in this section I shall focus on the transgressive aspect of identity in the classroom and how the learners and the teachers positioned themselves in a way that created a common space in which the learners and the teachers constructed the social reality together, making the social barriers get blurred. I will illustrate this in different ways. First, I will demonstrate how the legitimate speakers depend on the learners' representations in order to maintain their superior status with regard to the authority of language. Second, I will demonstrate how learners deployed a resistance strategy by means of adopting the tools or values of the dominant culture in order to claim authority in the classroom. I consider that Bhabha's formulations and analytic frame applied in this section constitutes a transitional space where I move from post-structuralist ideas on resistance towards postcolonialist thoughts on resistance and representation of the colonized. For that reason, this section is followed by Spivak, who suggests that the researcher needs to unlearn her/his western-centred tools and frames to represent *the Other* and must learn to understand their voices instead of giving voice to them.

7.4. Social integration programs as a third space

Bhabha suggests that the narcissistic demand of the colonizer to be addressed directly and the dominant ideology that the colonized should recognize his priority and repeat his preferences indicate the vulnerability of the colonizer's identity (1994:98). This idea is fundamental for problemitizing "native or legitimate speakerness" of the key actors participated in my fieldwork, in the sense that Bhabha constructs these key actors as dependent and vulnerable, whose authority and power depends on how they construct the *non-native*. Obviously this ideology is transversal among postcolonial thinkers such as Said and Spivak, nevertheless, the innovative feature of Bhabha is thanks to his way of constructing the colonizer as vulnerable and dependent. This insecure depiction of the colonizer (or native speaker in this specific case) enables us to ask the strategies that these speakers use in order to declare superior authority of the legitimate language.

The excerpt below was used in Chapter V when I was demonstrating how inequalities were normalized in the classroom setting. In this specific example, the legitimate or native speakers constructed the learners as non-legitimate speakers of Catalan, basing their argument on the fact that they are from outside. Re-visiting this excerpt and keeping in mind the inter-dependency between the native and non-native speakers, makes it possible to see how the native speakers constructs themselves by means of constructing the learners as outsiders. Below, the readers will see that Laia and Mari construct themselves as legitimate speakers of Catalan, but this self-construction depends on the image of *the Other*. Although Bouchra claims that she holds sufficient linguistic resources to be counted as a speaker of Catalan, Laia and Mari implies that the social location of a speaker is important, and not any speaker can be included in everyday interaction as a legitimate speaker. In this excerpt, I will especially focus on the specific ways that Bouchra negotiates power. She claims power by underlining the linguistic resources that she holds, but eventually this strategy fails to make her recognized as *an insider*:

Excerpt 1. (See the original transcription in the Appendix III)

1. Laia: She says that she speaks very much. 2. (xxx) The girl working in the 3. pharmacy. 4. Bouchra: Yes. 5. Tulay: Yes, therefore-	26. Laia: Of course, no, and maybe if you don't speak very much, she doesn't speak either. 27. Bouchra: No, I speak with her 'How are you, fine' na na, that's it. 28. Neza:= That's it.

6. Bouchra: No, eh- the girl who works. [She doesn't speak-]	29. Laia: [She is correct.]
7. Laia: [Ah.]	30. Bouchra: [Eh- for- eh-] for medicine and that's it. I don't speak more.
8. Neza: [No,] yes.	31. Laia: But she is correct.
9. Laia: The [girl.]	32. Bouchra: I am not like Mari, Mari, you know? Knows (her)- [(xxx)]
10. Bouchra: [The girl] who- eh-	33. Laia: [Of course.]
11. Fatima: [Who works in the pharmacy.]	34. Bouchra: everybody. (())
12. Bouchra: = [The girl who works] with her, yes, but the-	35. Laia: Of course.
13. Laia: the boss, no.	36. Bouchra: But we [don't.]
14. Bouchra: [The boss-]	37. Mari: Well, but there are people- there are people of all (types).
15. Neza: [The boss, no.] She is-	38. Bouchra: Yes, ah, yes.
16. Tulay: [Very (xxx)]?	39. Laia: Yes.
17. Mari: [(xxx)] You need to know her.	40. Mari: There are some people that- that sometimes-
18. Laia: Of course. [Because they are Moroccan]	41. Neza: Yes.
19. Mari: [Because I] was there yesterday and we were talking, eh?	42. Mari: =only because they are Moroccan [ja-]
20. Laia: No, well, but it depends, I think it depends,I want to [say-]	43. XXX: [(xxx)]
21. Mari: [Also] (depends on) the people.	44. Bouchra: Yes, yes.
22. XXX: [Of course.]	45. Laia: No, or because they don't understand the language and they think- they feel shy (when talking to) them. In other words-
23. Laia: [Of Course.] If (you) unders-	46. Mari: Sí.
24. Mari: We know each other for all my life.	47. Laia: Shyness (xxx). Well, yes.
25. Bouchra: A::h.	

This excerpt, especially line 27, is a good example to explain what Bhabha conceptualizes as *mimicry*. Bhabha defines it as a strategy in which the colonized subject imitates the forms and values of the dominant culture in order to claim authority and power. Adopting the legitimate forms of language, deploying this capital in specific fields can also be regarded as using the colonizer's tools to contest the inequalities with regard to their positioning in relation to linguistic capital and power. In line 27 Bouchra foregrounds her linguistic skills in order to claim membership and equal

standing in this particular field. In this sentence ("I speak with her 'How are you, fine' na na, that's it.") she implies that she also holds sufficient tools to maintain conversation with the pharmacists, as Mari and Laia do. Nevertheless, as she also confirms in line 32, adopting the linguistic tools is not enough to be included in the society as a legitimate speaker. This is in line with the writings of Bhabha on the strategies of mimicry, in which he argues that this strategy never succeeds because this process always requires that the subordinate remains different from the dominant in order for the latter to maintain its control. Therefore Bhabha suggests that mimicry "appropriates the Other" but the dependence of this process on cultural difference between the colonizer and the colonized poses an essential threat because it maintains the normalized knowledge and disciplinary power (1994: 86). The failure of this strategy is also obvious in the excerpt below, in which Aisha's claim for equal standing results in reinforcing asymmetrical positions between the language teacher and the learners:

Excerpt 2.

1. **Clara:** Soy Española o soy de España. Fatima, de dónde eres tu? 2. **Fatima:** Soy de Marroquí. 3. **Clara:** Soy Marroquí. Por ejemplo, soy Española. Aisha, y tu? 4. **Aisha:** Soy Española, tengo la tarjeta yo también. 5. (risas en la clase) 6. **Elena:** Bueno, decimos, soy de Marruecos o soy Marroquí.	1. **Clara:** I am from Spain or I am Spanish. Fatima, where are you from? 2. **Fatima:** I am from Moroccan. 3. **Clara:** I am Moroccan. Aisha, and you? 4. **Aisha**: I am Spanish, I also have the card. 5. (laughter in the classroom) 6. **Clara:** Well, we say, I am from Morocco or I am Moroccan.

In this excerpt, Clara is teaching how to talk about nationalities and she asks the learners where they are from and what their nationalities are. When she asks the same question to Aisha, she claims that she is also Spanish because she holds a permanent resident card in Spain. Therefore, in line 4 Aisha negotiates her social position in Spain, and her strategy emerges in the form of mimicry (attachment to the equal legal status with the Spanish citizens). With her comment, Aisha challenges the concept of nationality and proposes a re-consideration of taken-for-granted forms of citizenship by claiming that, the fact that she is a permanent resident must bring her equal

standing with the Spanish citizens. Nevertheless, in line 6, Clara's semantic repair re-attributes the Moroccan nationality to Aisha, and re-constructs the classical binary opposition between the Spanish and the Moroccan nationalities (note that this binary category was constructed in line 1). Therefore, inter-dependence and mimicry emerging in these two excerpts challenge the absolute power of the native speaker but finally these strategies do not abolish the superior position of the dominant group and the learners are finally located in inferior social positions.

The most common strategy that the learners followed to claim power or equal standing in the Spanish and/or Catalan society was foregrounding the hybrid feature of the western societies. They especially underlined the in-between status of the new generation immigrants in order to claim legitimacy in the Spanish and Catalan societies. In the excerpt below, the readers will see how this negotiation occurred in the classroom. In the following excerpt, I asked learners about their motivations to learn the Catalan language. Note that throughout this discussion session, which lasted one hour, I was the only one who spoke in Spanish and therefore I was unintentionally constructed as (or I constructed myself as) "a Spanish speaker who was trying to understand why these people were learning Catalan". For that reason, as it will be better explained in the analysis of this excerpt, the alignment of the learners is important because it reveals how these learners claim the authority of the Catalan language and they challenge my stance as a speaker of Spanish. I will especially focus on the stance taking features of Bouchra and Fatima upon my question. Stance taking strategies of Bouchra and Fatima will indicate how they claim the authority of Catalan and how they underline the in-betweenness of their children in order to claim for a better social position in the Catalan society:

Excerpt 3.

1. **Tulay:** Por qué queréis hablar Catalán? 2. **Bouchra:** Porque nosotr- no- nosaltres eh- vivimos a Catalunya. 3. **Tulay:** Sí. 4. **Bouchra:** Eeh- a- o eh- primera lengua es catalán en Cataluña. 5. **Tulay:** Sí. 6. **Bouchra:** Eh- quieres algo más? 7. **Totes:** [{rialles}] 8. **Laia:** [Molt bé, molt bé.]	1. **Tulay:** Why do you want to learn Catalan? 2. **Bouchra:** Because we- no- we eh- live in Catalonia. 3. **Tulay:** Yes. 4. **Bouchra:** Eeh- a- o eh- the first language is Catalan in Catalonia. 5. **Tulay:** Yes. 6. **Bouchra:** Eh- do you want more reasons?

9. **Fátima:** I nosaltres, marroquines i catalanes. 10. **Totes:** {rialles} 11. **Tulay:** [Ah, muy bien.] O sea, os sentís catalanas? 12. **Fátima:** Sí, el- al- la- el meus fills- 13. **Tulay:** Sí? 14. **Fátima:** = sé que catalanes. 15. **Asma:** Catalanes. 16. **Fátima:** Perquè néixer a Catalu- a Catalunya.	7. **Totes:** [{laughs}] 8. **Laia:** [Very good. Very good.] 9. **Fátima:** And we are, Moroccan and Catalan. 10. **Classroom:** {laughter} 11. **Tulay:** [Ah, very good.] So do you feel Catalan? 12. **Fátima:** Yes, el- al- la- el my children- 13. **Tulay:** Yes? 14. **Fátima:** = I know that they are Catalan. 15. **Asma:** Catalan. 16. **Fátima:** Because they were born in Catalonia.

In lines 6 and 7, Bouchra and the other learners answered my question (lines 1,3,5) as I wanted to understand their reasons to learn the Catalan language. In line 6 Bouchra underlined the link between the territory and language, implying the obvious reason of learning Catalan (line 6: Do you want more reasons? @@). Laia, the language teacher, also showed an alignment to Bouchra's statement in line 8. When we take into account my immigrant identity, this interactional space demonstrates how language authority can be a complex issue in contemporary societies and centralized/localized languages are claimed in very complex and unpredictable conversational patterns in multilingual encounters. Especially in bilingual societies immigrant groups' investment in the centralized and the localized forms of language may, like in this excerpt, may construct tensions between the speakers of these languages, which suggests that the immigrant community learn, adopt and defend the linguistic resources that they invest. In this specific case while I was constructed as a legitimate speaker of Spanish, they constructed themselves as legitimate speakers of Catalan and they defended the symbolic value of the language (lines 2, 4, 9). And in this case "who held the authority of which language" was not decided by the native speakers but by the immigrant learners. This is what Bhabha advocates with regard to the vulnerability of the absolute authority of the western societies because the western culture and language in this specific case, is hybridized by the immigrant communities' introduction to these societies.

Second, this hybrid space demonstrates how immigrant community claims authority and equal standing by foregrounding the legitimacy of the second generation migrants. In line 9 Fatima states that they are both Catalan and Moroccan, and my intervention in line 11, where I ask for confirmation, can be interpreted as a lack of alignment. In line 12 Fatima responds to my question, showing a restriction of her previous stance in the sense that she foregrounds the identity of their children. In lines 12, 14 and 16 Fatima attributes Catalan nationality to her children and she uses their in-betweenness to justify her legitimacy (we are Moroccan and Catalan because I know that my children are Catalan). Therefore in this excerpt the mimicry strategy of Fatima involves constructing her children as in between subjects who hold the right for equal standing in the Catalan society. This creates a very particular representation in this interaction in the sense that Fatima claims equal standing by using the hybrid patterns of next generation immigrants. In other words, hybridity or "in betweenness" is foregrounded to re-appropriate power relations in the receiving society, which suggests that hybridity itself can be foregrounded by the immigrant community to challenge the asymmetrical representation that they hold in the receiving societies. More interestingly, especially in the interviews many immigrant women also foregrounded the linguistic skills of their children in order to claim for a better social position in the Spanish society:

Excerpt 4.

E: No querías aprender español?

T: Didn't you want to learn Spanish?

Habiba: Sí pero quieres aprender a la casa, habla árabe. Nada español. Mi hejo- mi hejo: sí sabe español, mi hejos. Voy yo a la casa, Muhammed, (()), (()) árabe (@) No:, no, la casa no hablaba español.

Habiba: Yes I wanted to learn but at home Arabic. Nothing in Spanish. My son- my children they speak Spanish, my children. I go to Mohammed's house (()),(()) Arabic (@) No, at home (I) did not speak Spanish.

In this excerpt I asked Habiba why she started learning Spanish very late. At the time of the interview, she had been living in Spain for nearly 20 years and she had started attending to language classes three years ago. It is interesting that, when she explained the reasons of her unwillingness to

learn Spanish, she mentioned that they spoke Arabic at home but her children spoke Spanish. Therefore, "my son-my children they speak Spanish, my children" (note the repetitive structure of "my children") is deployed in a way that their speakerness or their linguistic skills also legitimize their mothers' memberships in the receiving society, therefore attributing them a kind of legitimacy. Like the previous excerpt, this excerpt also demonstrates how in-between or hybrid status of new generation migrants is used by their mothers to claim authority in the receiving societies.

In conclusion, all these examples demonstrate how hybridity challenges the representational features of the powerful and the powerless. The first two excerpts demonstrated that learners used mimicry strategies, in other words, they adopted the dominator's tools to contest power asymmetries and to claim authority and better representation in the classroom. The first two excerpts demonstrated that they foregrounded their legal rights and their linguistic skills for this strategy. Second, and more interestingly, they contest the power asymmetries by means of foregrounding the hybridity of the Western culture. By constructing the next generation immigrants as in between or hybrid, they also challenged the absolute power and integrity of the western society, which is, I consider, one of the strongest strategies that they followed. Because while mimicry reinforces the superior position of the imitated, taking hybridity as a ground to challenge the unitary, essential power of the dominated challenges this superiority, as the hybridity itself indicates that this essentialist, traditional unitary of cultures and languages is unsettled.

7.5. Learning how to unlearn: Spivak and understanding the voice of the female postcolonial learner

In her writings, Spivak focuses on *the subaltern* (adopting the Gramscian term), referring to the subordinate or marginalized social groups in the western societies. Her main concern is to question to what extent the subaltern subject enjoys agency and in her ground-breaking essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" she blatantly responds to this question claiming that there is no space from which the subaltern may speak, and she draws attention to the itinerary of silencing. In this essay, she accuses Deleuze and Foucault for assuming that they are outside the general system of the exploitation of the "Third World". She claims that the western tools of cultural analysis and representation are also implicated in this exploitation and, underestimation of the notion of agency in their works is a utopian idea especially for the marginalized groups. For her, in French poststructuralist theory networks of power/desire/interest are so heterogeneous that their reduction to a coherent narrative is counterproductive. She suggests that these intellectuals must attempt to

disclose and know the discourse of the *Other* because what they do is speaking on behalf of the subaltern by ascribing voice to these subjects rather than understanding their voice:

> "According to Foucault and Deleuze (in the First World, under the standardization and regimentation of socialized capital, though they do not seem to recognize this) the oppressed, if given the chance (the problem of representation cannot be bypassed here), and on the way of solidarity through alliance politics (a Marxist thematic is at work here) *can speak and know their conditions*. We must now confront the following question: on the other side of the international division of labor from socialized capital, inside *and* outside the circuit of the epistemic violence of imperialist law and education supplementing and earlier economic text, *can the subaltern speak*?"
>
> (1998:78)

I defend that Foucault's model of localized, situated power is not an alternative to macrological struggles along Marxist lines, but it can definitely complement it. As stated before, Foucauldian ideas on discourse and textuality have been used to problematize the specific ways that the postcolonial subjects are constructed in the dominant cultures. As I mentioned in the previous pages, while Foucault did not seek for intentionality behind the exercised power, postcolonial thinkers linked his analytic tools to the relations of power between the cultures. For me, the most interesting criticism of Spivak in her article is her call to authors and thinkers about the specific ways that they define and explain the agency of the subaltern. With regard to the postcolonial female subjects' subjectivities and resistance strategies, the main question should be to what extend these subjects enjoy agency in sociolinguistics. The transnational agency and identity are key concepts to focus on if we want to demonstrate how African women speak for themselves, and also how they negotiate their subject positions as speakers, learners and as social agents. Therefore there is a need to learn the tools of *the Other*, rather than trying to represent them with the tools of the intellectual. This is, as Spivak suggests, a process of constant unlearning: the researcher must de-construct the normalized, taken-for-granted representations of resistance and agency, and must re-construct the meaning by learning the tools of the powerless. As for the analytic considerations, Spivak suggests learning how to understand the *Other* rather than speaking on behalf of them, in order not to fall into the trap of *epistemic violence* of imperialism. And paradoxically she contradicts her own argument in her essay: While she strictly argues that the subaltern cannot speak, she suggests learning how to understand their voices, which implies that actually the subaltern *can speak* but we, as thinkers and researchers must learn how to understand their voice. I

defend that *the subaltern can definitely speak* but we must unlearn the taken for granted perspectives and we must learn how to understand their voice.

In Chapter VI, I mentioned the itinerary of resistance to patriarchal structures of the society and I explained my informants' strategies to get out of male-dominated social structures by means of deploying their linguistic skills. The divorced women's itinerary was the best example to demonstrate how these women became independent single agents and mothers in Spain. Investing in the language was a tool that enabled a metamorphosis or self-transformation in their trajectories. Given that most of the women immigrated to Spain after their male partners and they had access to linguistic and other social capitals such as socialization in the receiving society later than their spouses, language investment was deployed to overcome these asymmetries in the receiving society. Nevertheless, the fact that these women became workers of three-C feminized jobs (cleaning, cooking, caring: mentioned in Anderson 2000), getting out of one patriarchal structure of their families resulted in getting involved in the capitalist patriarchal structure in the sense that the capitalist patriarchal system located these agents in the feminized or inferior labor market. Similarly, the learner's strategies to re-position themselves in relation material resources (especially driven by the economic crisis) drove these agents to the asymmetrical labour division of patriarchal capitalism. Informants such as Fariha, for instance, became the bread-earner of her core family and contested the male-dominant patriarchal division of labour. Nevertheless, escaping from one patriarchal structure, she was trapped in another one. Tracing the linguistic agencies of these agents enabled me to describe how they negotiated across these hegemonies.

Similarly, in the narratives of the middle class or higher class women, investing the language was a resistance to de-classing or exclusion from socialization in specific fields. Given that these agents lost the social status that they held in their homeland, they claimed better social representation in the receiving society by means of investing the language. This was obvious in the narratives of Zahra and Bouchra, who deployed their linguistic competence to extend their social network and to gain self-confidence, for instance, in the school networks of their children. Remembering Bouchra's comments on her hesitation in the school meetings of her daughter (In a couple of years, I will speak better and I won't be embarrassed), she considered that learning the language would help her to achieve better socialization skills in the school meetings of her daughter. Or, in Zahra's trajectory language was a self achievement in the sense that she had access to social capitals in the receiving country. Therefore, these two agents deployed their linguistic skills in order to claim better self-representation and better socialization skills to be used in specific social settings.

Besides, my informants also negotiated their position as speakers of the legitimate language when they received ambiguous or complex linguistic demands from the receiving societies. This

negotiation was more obvious in the narratives of the working women. For instance, when Malika wanted to acquire competence in Spanish and her demands were rejected by her employers, she quit her job, and she started learning the language and started working in another part-time job. Therefore Malika contested her employers' attempts to construct her as passive speaker of Spanish and she decided to invest in language in order to claim better labour opportunities in Spain. In the case of Fariha and Fatima, who were asked to be competent both in Spanish and Catalan skills in different work places, negotiation involved investing in both languages in order to respond to these demands. Fatima, for instance, knew that she had better labour options if she also spoke Catalan, and her social network also helped her to socialize in both languages. As I also explained in previous Chapter, she deployed her Catalan in order to look for a job in newspapers or on internet, and she also received help from her Catalan speaking neighbors and friends in order to achieve better job opportunities. In the trajectories of working women, therefore, investing localized and centralized forms of language was a strategy to contest language based exclusion from the society. In order to respond to the complex linguistic demands, they invested in different linguistic forms.

Having explained various forms of resistance strategies of the learners, I admit that I committed the error of what Spivak calls *epistemic violence* during my chronotopic analysis. When I was analyzing the concepts constructed across the time-space patterns of my informants' trajectories, linguistic agency or resistance, for me, was adopting active agencies in the labor market or adopting active learner agencies for personal and/or economic reasons. I underestimated the fact that attaching to the private sphere, being dominant actors within the household space, or showing strong attachment to the language of origin and showing denial toward the Spanish or Catalan languages were also forms of resistance and active agencies in these trajectories. Therefore, this section is a self-correction and a self-criticism as a researcher and aims to go beyond the Western tools and concepts regarding deploying linguistic skills as a form of resistance.

In order to understand the voice of the *Other*, there is a need to unlearn the obvious or in other words, to unlearn what resistance means in the linguistic trajectories of the informants. In order to achieve this, Spivak suggests *deconstruction*. In her analytic considerations, Derrida furnishes Spivak in two important ways, which I shall also apply in order to reconceptualize, problematize or de-construct the epistemology of language learning trajectories of the African immigrant women. First, she proposes reading against the grain, or in other words contrary to its ostensible logic. Second, she suggests taking apparently marginal material and demonstrating the racialized nature of the presuppositions informing the privileged meaning of the text. Obviously Spivak proposes this methodology for textual analysis and she suggests deconstructing the obvious facts and constructs in these texts. I suggest that this strategy can also be used to analyze narratives of the learners in order to de-construct the taken-for-granted meaning of resistance in their

trajectories. Rather than assuming that resistance is merely related to claiming more linguistic capital or claiming socioeconomic capital in specific fields, showing attachment to the language and culture of origin can also be a form of resistance and self-identification.

As mentioned in Chapter VI, especially the elderly women's narratives indicated rejection toward the cultural and linguistic patterns of the receiving society. For these learners Spanish society and its linguistic forms were *something outside home* and they represented lack of education and faith. Although this depiction constructs these learners as unwilling, reluctant or passive speakers of the legitimate language, qualitative data indicated that they still invested in the language for a set of reasons such as becoming a more independent agent in everyday activities, communicating with the Spanish members of their families, etc. Nevertheless, they started learning the language nearly 10 years after their settlement, and I consider that this reluctance or rejection to learn the language also indicates a form of resistance, but this time to the cultural hegemony of the West. I consider that this form of resistance involves the rejection of culture in a holistic way because they define the language, lifestyle and other cultural patterns of the west as *the Other* and they constructed their own cultural identity by means of opposing these cultural and linguistic patterns. For example, in the excerpt below, Habiba explains how she rejects the European life style:

Excerpt 5.

Habiba: In Spain, poor people, they run in the morning to work. Run, run, run. Women and men, they both run. Run, run, run, run. In Tanger, not. In Tanger the women don't work. The women take care of the children. Then the husband comes home in the evening, they sit down, eat their dinner. Everything calm and quiet. But here in Spain nothing is quiet.

Habiba's comparison between the two cultures suggests that, immigrant culture and dominant culture depend on each other for self-construction and, both sides use this comparison and opposition for self-identification. As a part of this strategy rejecting the western cultural patterns and showing attachment to the household space are also a form negotiating their position in the receiving society and also a form of self-affirmation. Besides, most elderly women also rejected to accept hybridity, in the sense that they showed disapproval toward the second generation immigrants' *in-betweenness*:

Excerpt 6.

Habiba: When my children were kids, I took care of them and they listened to me. Now they are grown ups, they have Spanish girl friends and I can't say anything. I didn't choose their wives, I don't like them. I never go to their house and my husband, either (...) When we see each other I say 'hi, hello' and that's it.

In this excerpt hybridity emerges with the next generation immigrant's networks and relationships established with Spanish citizens. As Spanish people are introduced into the family as new members, their place is negotiated within the family, and in this specific case these Spanish members are rejected. Therefore, elderly women's strategies to construct the legitimate language as *the unwanted other* (see Chapter VI) is a part of systematic resistance to the cultural and linguistic patterns of the Spanish society, and they deploy this strategy as a form of self-identification and claiming their Moroccan identity.

7.6. Concluding remarks: Can the postcolonial female learner *speak*?

Re-formulating Spivak's question: *Can the Subaltern Female Learners Speak?* This Chapter, together with Chapter VI confirm that they definitely do. Tracing their linguistic agencies deployed in the classroom and throughout their trajectories indicates that female learners claim authority or empowerment by means of deploying their linguistic resources in very different ways. Data analysis demonstrated that constructing the dominated and the dominator as interdependent subjects revealed the vulnerability of the former in the sense that the hybridity itself was a threat to the essentialist domination of the receiving culture or language. Therefore Bhabha's ideas on hybridity and mimicry demonstrated how the immigrant community challenged the absolute power of the dominant culture and language, and opened up an unpredictable space for resistance. They used strategies of mimicry by means of adopting the dominant culture's tools to claim authority. Besides, they also claimed authority by foregrounding the hybrid feature of the western culture. They foregrounded the hybridity of their children, and contested essentialist, unitary representation of the dominant culture and language. This section, therefore, was an important transition in terms of *unlearning the obvious* and learning how to understand the tools of *the powerless*.

The same strategy was used to underline resistance in the longitudinal trajectories of the learners. Using Spivak's writings on *the subaltern*, I revisited the chronotopic analysis of Chapter VI and reconceptualized how negotiation of power and self-appropriation emerged in the narratives of my informants. I claimed that not only adopting the western tools (adopting active roles in language learning or in the labour market) but also attachment to the culture of origin and being dominant actors in the household sphere was a form of negotiating their social position as well as a form of self-identification. In the life trajectories of learners, linguistic agencies indicated how they contested the multi-layered hegemonies such as patriarchal structures within their families, the economic pressure that they suffered during the economic crisis, the European life-style and European cultural patterns imposed on them and the linguistic demands that they received from the dominant actors. By means of showing attachment to or detachment from the legitimate forms of language, they negotiated their linguistic authority, self-identification, better access to material resources and their emancipation. For instance, while divorced women invested the legitimate language in order to become economically independent, the elderly women invested in the language and culture of origin to construct a self-affirmation. Therefore, hybridity in their trajectories was depicted as something to contest or something unwanted. Nevertheless, the same actors foregrounded hybrid features of cultures and languages to claim authority in the classroom. For instance Habiba foregrounded the hybrid identity of her children to claim authority in the classroom, while she constructed hybridity as something unwanted during her interview. In Habiba's case, while hybridity empowered her in the classroom setting because it challenged the legitimate speakers' absolute authority, in her biographical trajectory it was depicted as a threat to her Moroccan identity. This suggests that the learners negotiate their social position deploying different cultural and linguistic strategies in different settings.

Locating language as a form of resistance strategy in the trajectories of immigrant women is apparently demonstrating the lived experience of these agents across two lands. Immigrant women deploy their linguistic skills in order to contest their asymmetrical social and economic positioning or to challenge gender inequalities established in the mainland and in the receiving countries. They negotiate their access to economic resources and they claim better social representation in their social encounters. Nevertheless, this negotiation or their empowerment re-locates them from one patriarchal structure to another one, which is partially in line with Foucauldian conceptualization of agency and power. "The individual is the product of relation of power" (1972:14) suggests interconnectedness of hegemonies on the one side, and agent's inescapable positioning across these hegemonies on the other. As linguistic capital empowers the learners to resist the patriarchal structures of their core families, they are re-located in capitalist patriarchy as workers in the

household space. Language in this case, reproduces structural hierarchies existing in international and gender division of labour.

However, this politically pessimistic idea is also challenged by the very fact that these hegemonies and the empowerment of the dominant and the dominated is not essential or unitary. Understanding the tools of *the Other* and demonstrating their complex resistance strategies indicate that the dominant and the dominated depend on each other and especially the dominant is, as Bhabha (1994) suggests, more vulnerable than depicted in postcolonial writings. Multilingualism as a form of hybridity in the western cultures challenge the absolute domination of the West, and the immigrant population foregrounds this reality in order to claim authority and empowerment in multilingual encounters. Resistance is a form of negotiating social positioning in a bilateral way. Not only dominant culture or dominant language but also dominated cultures and languages construct themselves as opposing the other, and this opens up unexpected spaces for re-appropriation of authority.

Part 3. Understanding the Voice

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSIONS: TRANSNATIONAL LANGUAGE TRAJECTORIES

8.1. Introduction

> "Mingling with the remains of the plane, equally fragmented, equally absurd, there floated the debris of the soul, broken memories, sloughed-off selves, severed mother tongues, violated privacies, untranslatable jokes, extinguished futures, lost loves, the forgotten meaning of hollow, booming words, land, belonging, home."
>
> *Salman Rushdie*

The paragraph above is taken from Rushdie's famous work called *The Satanic Verses*. It is about the author's own identity crisis and his in-betweenness which reveals Rushdie as a victim of nineteenth century British colonialism. It talks about migration, identity, alienation, rootlessness, metamorphosis and divided selves. This is how I would depict the trajectories that I encountered during my four-year-long ethnographic inquiry. I started from the social practices situated in the so-called social integration programs in Madrid and Barcelona and I moved towards their personal trajectories. Tracing their itineraries enabled me to foreground the silenced experiences, stories, struggles, disappointments, joys, hopes, confrontations occurring in and across two countries. In this ethnographic journey, I travelled to these lands and tried to understand the trajectories of my informants from their own memories. Based on an ethnography realized between 2010 and 2014 in Madrid and Barcelona, this study has analyzed the linguistic and social practices taking place in these sites from a critical perspective.

This study contributes to the linguistic anthropology of globalization, transnational mobility and education (Heller 2011; Blommaert 2010; Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) as well as to the studies of language and gender (McElhinny 2007; Norton 2000, 2013) that analyze the linguistic practices of transnational female subjects as materially and sociologically embedded trajectories. Rather than representing immigrant women as *the oppressed other*, this thesis has attempted to understand their agencies, voices and resistance strategies in their personal itineraries. For that reason this study brings together sociolinguistic inquiry with the social identity of the learners (Block 2013, 2015) as

well as their positioning in the linguistic market and in other social domains as post-colonial subjects (Freire 1970; Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1990). It reconciles contemporary sociolinguistics with identity and postcolonial thought and it also calls for a material turn that takes into account the class struggles of the postcolonial agents in multilingual sites of the receiving countries.

This Chapter is organized as follows. First, it synthesizes the findings of the qualitative data analysis by means of interpreting the Chapters of this thesis as interconnected, interdependent parts of an entire story. For that reason it will integrate the most important findings emerged throughout the analysis. Drawing on the main results with regard to the pedagogical orientation of these social integration programs, I also mention some policy-making implications of this research and explain the possible improvements that can be applied especially in the pedagogical practices taking place in these language classes. Following this, I interpret the complexity and intersectionality that emerged in the linguistic trajectories of the learners. I finish this Chapter by mentioning the main contributions of this research to linguistic anthropology and feminist linguistics and suggesting possible directions and recommendations for the future studies.

8.2. Which multilingualism? Which linguistic integration? Re-interpreting the social integration programs as the key access points

In this thesis, I focused on the language practices of Moroccan immigrant women and how they accumulate and deploy the linguistic capital inside and outside the classroom. In this section, I aim to re-formulate the findings of the classroom interaction analysis by means of situating these practices within the political economy of language (Gal 1989:347–48). The main idea of this critical approach is that the situated discursive, pedagogical and social practices taking place in these classrooms should be understood within a larger systems of inequality, and these social integration programs should be understood as sites whereby the social difference is constructed (Heller 2001b) and the learners are situated in specific subject positions with regard to power and capital (Heller 2001a).

I demonstrated that the specific ways in which learners were (not) allowed to accumulate the linguistic capital, and the subject and learner positions that they were provided situated the learners asymmetrically in relation to power and linguistic capital. The detailed analysis of the classroom interaction indicated that in these classrooms decapitalization (Martin-Rojo 2010, 2013) occurred in three inter-connected directions: 1) by providing the learners with elementary linguistic resources 2) by discouraging the accumulation of the linguistic capital and 3) by orienting these learners to subordinate social domains. In other words, these language classes provided the immigrant women

learners with the *vital minimum* (term that I borrowed from Foucault 2010), they overlooked the necessity of these learners to acquire competitive and professional linguistic resources, they oriented these learners to feminized labor market and they re-attributed the taken for granted gender roles on them. When these situated practices were compared to the complex learner profiles demonstrated especially in Chapter VI, it became clear that these language programs did not respond to the learning motivations and language investment (Norton 2000) strategies of the learners, given that especially the young learners invested in the legitimate forms of language in order to achieve better economic and social resources in the receiving society, as well as to contest the socio-economic de-classing that they suffered after immigration. Among the learners, there were working women or professionals holding an advanced educational background who invested the legitimate forms of language to acquire better labor conditions, meanwhile the linguistic resources that they received were limited to elementary resources. Besides, in the case of the Catalan classroom, the teaching methodology mostly focused on the vocabulary skills of the 'feminized' household vocabulary and activities. Therefore the linguistic resources that they were allowed to accumulate in this classroom were driven by their taken for granted gender roles.

The analysis of the speech exchange system (Seedhouse 2005, 2011) and the interactional competence of the classroom (Walsh 2006, 2011) indicated that especially in the classrooms of Clara and Laia, the learners were pushed to understand the linguistic resources rather than deploying them, which produced passive speaker and learner positions. Therefore, the social integration programs analyzed in this thesis not only acted as the key access points to the symbolic capital, they also re-configured the historically constructed social positions of the learners in the receiving society. The learners were categorized as social agents who needed only limited or elementary linguistic capital to be deployed in feminized domains, as agents who did not need professional or advanced symbolic resources, which reproduced the asymmetrical social position of the learners in relation to power and linguistic capital.

When the pedagogical and discursive practices occurring in these so-called social integration programs are located under the lenses of a critical ethnography, the qualitative data call for visiting the *a priori* assumptions with regard to the historically constructed social identity of the learners. As it was indicated especially in the critical discourse analysis of the language teachers, the Moroccan immigrant women and their social position as learners or speakers of the legitimate language was linked to their ethno-racial and gender identity in the discourses of the three language teachers. The language teachers not only provided these learners with passive speaker and learner positions in the classroom; they also constructed these learners as passive and oppressed social subjects whose social and linguistic agencies were driven by their ethno-racial and gender identity. Therefore the language teachers produced specific knowledge about the agencies and social identity

of the learners by constructing them as agentless, oppressed and passive agents, and they normalized the idea that these learners do not need advanced linguistic resources. These findings of the classroom analysis opened a window to see how the ethno-racial and gender identity of the learners constructed by the dominant actors reconfigure the inequalities with regard to the authority of language as well as the asymmetrical subject positions from where they invest and deploy their linguistic skills.

On the other hand, the qualitative data also indicated that the learners challenged these asymmetries and they negotiated their learner, speaker and subject positions in the classroom. They contested the elementary language teaching and their passive speaker positions by means of re-positioning themselves as active speakers and learners. They contested the classroom speech exchange routine by claiming unexpected extended turns and also by claiming more efficient linguistic capital. They also contested the dominant discourses that located them in subordinate subject positions in the receiving society. While the dominant discourses constructed a dichotomy of powerful and powerless between the Moroccan and Spanish cultures and languages, the learners contested these dichotomies by re-affirming their Moroccan identity or, they also challenged the absolute power of the dominant culture by foregrounding its hybrid and unessential nature. All these negotiations produced a possibility of re-appropriation of the learners' positions and opened a space for negotiation. The classroom interaction, therefore, not only explained the detailed techniques of exerting power on the learners but it also demonstrated that this domination was open to resistance strategies deployed by the learners.

Given the power struggles, domination, and resistance that take place in these classrooms, how should we interpret multilingualism and linguistic integration in the globalized world, especially in the receiving states? Drawing on the paradigm shift in the contemporary sociolinguistics which fore-ground super-diversity (Vertovec 2007), translanguaging (Creese and Blackledge 2010) and linguistic repertoire (Blommeart and Rampton 2011) that underline mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding in the study of languages, language groups and communication, this thesis has problematized the increasing absence of identity and material inquiry in contemporary sociolinguistics. This study recognizes and also demonstrates the increasing unpredictability and hybridity of the speech systems as well as the speaker profiles emerging in the West. Nevertheless, it has demonstrated that gender, ethnic and racial identity of the specific immigrant groups is still fore-grounded by the dominant actors in a way that the learners are (re)located in subordinate and disadvantaged positions in the receiving societies. Without falling into determinism and demonstrating the possibility of re-appropriation of the subject positions of the learners, this thesis has explained that language education in social integration programs re-configure the *a priori* inequalities with regard to power and capital.

This thesis defends that materially and sociologically embedded concern should not be left out in postmodernist account of constructing identity and linguistic agency. It criticizes the fact that while the so-called social integration programs and their taken-for-granted roles of fostering multilingualism and linguistic integration propose celebration of cultural and linguistic diversity, their commitment to production of specific knowledge with regard to gender roles, racism and ethnocentrism is generally overlooked (see also: Bannerji 1995, 1996). This study revealed that these language classrooms not only located the learners asymmetrically in the linguistic market, but they also produced specific knowledge about these learners in a way that the dominant discourses eventually normalized these asymmetries. Therefore, it has demonstrated that it is important to embrace identity and material history in contemporary sociolinguistics as well as in feminist linguistics in order to reveal the location of immigrant women learners in relation to symbolic capital and power.

8.3. Policy-making implications of the study

The interaction analysis of this thesis demonstrated the major breakdowns in the pedagogical practices taking place in these so-called social integration programs. As indicated in Chapter IV, the accumulation of the linguistic capital was hindered by various reasons. In the Madrid field the decision of the NGO administration to keep the number of the students at maximum produced incoherence between the learners in terms of their pre-acquired linguistic resources and it also hindered extended learner participation in the classroom. Furthermore, the teaching methods of Clara and Laia located the learners in passive speaker and learner positions. The comparison across the four classrooms that I analyzed revealed that the educational and professional background of the language teacher was crucial in allowing the learners to accumulate the linguistic resources. Mar, the only language teacher who studied Spanish Literature and who had professional experience in teaching Spanish to foreigners, promoted more learner-participation in the sense that she prioritized the speaking exercises which encouraged learners' participation in the target language. Her decision to divide the literacy classroom into two groups to have better-organized and less crowded classrooms, and to use different teaching materials to initiate conversation in the classroom (short films, team projects, etc.) increased learner participation and facilitated the capitalization process. Therefore it is not a coincidence that the speech exchange system of her classroom showed the most extended learner participation and dynamism. Recruiting language professionals who hold professional knowledge on language teaching is, therefore, one of the most important strategies to adopt in order to increase the pedagogical efficiency of these programs.

Another important finding is that the lack of a common curriculum, together with the lack of an effective auditing system hinders the capitalization process. Given that the provision and execution of these social integration programs are de-centralized and mostly privatized, this ethnography carried out in an NGO and in a Civic Centre demonstrated that this welfare strategy reproduced the asymmetrical social position of the disadvantaged groups because they re-located these learners in disadvantaged learner and speaker positions. The qualitative data indicated that the pedagogical competence of these classrooms mostly depended on the personal and professional decisions, methods and techniques adopted by the language teacher rather than depending on organized and regularized teaching methodologies adopted by the institutions. As it was explained in the Chapter VI, the female immigrant profile and therefore the learner profile in the receiving countries is changing, and the learners invest the legitimate forms of languages in increasingly unpredictable ways. These social integration programs, nevertheless, overlook this complexity and they fail in responding the changing linguistic requirements and investment strategies of the female immigrant learners. The breakdowns demonstrated in Chapter IV can be overcome by regularizing adult immigrant language education in the receiving countries, and by making competitive, professional and cost-free language classes available to the disadvantaged immigrant groups. Professional and competitive language education must be considered as one of the priorities with regard to encouraging the social and economic participation of the immigrant groups in the receiving states. Rather than providing them with elementary linguistic resources, they should encourage advanced linguistic skills which can respond to the social and economic needs of the learners.

8.4. Language trajectory and complexity: Bringing the social class and identity 'back'

This thesis has sought to illuminate the personal and linguistic itineraries that the learners constructed during their lifetime trajectories. With this aim, I demonstrated how they depicted the legitimate forms of language in their specific time-space patterns. The analysis of their biographical interviews demonstrated that the learners invested in the legitimate language in different phases of their trajectories for a vast variety of reasons. Their learning motivations, the social domains that they planned to deploy their linguistic resources as well as their future aspirations drew a map of social and economic struggle and each learner had a unique way of indexicalizing the language in her time-space patterns. I grouped these indexicalities and mentioned that these learners depicted the legitimate language: a) as otherness or as the unwanted other, b) as a convertible commodity, c) as a self-achievement instrument, and d) as a tool for achieving female emancipation.

The comparison between the narratives of the older and the narratives of the younger new-comers revealed that there is a significant change in the Moroccan immigrant women's attitudes toward the legitimate language. While the older learners depicted the legitimate language as an *unwanted other* that threatened their traditional Moroccan identity, the young women took the adoption of the legitimate language as a more positive, acceptable, necessary investment; and in some cases they linked the language investment to achieving social and economic independence in the diaspora. Most of the young learners started learning the legitimate language before settling in Spain, and their alignment with the Spanish and Catalan culture and language started in Morocco, not in the receiving regions. This finding has problematized the so-called "modernization after mobility" tenet, because the qualitative data indicated that the Moroccan women's social and linguistic participation is not (only) linked to the social change that they experience in Spain. Rather than this, the social, economic, educational and linguistic profile of Moroccan women is going through an important transformation in Morocco and the social change or modernization is linked to these socioeconomic changes that they experience in the mainland (see also: Salih 2001, 2003; Desrues and Nieto 2009; Gray 2006). In contemporary Morocco, women are increasingly present in the educational system, in the public sphere in general and also in the labor market. Therefore, the young Moroccan women learners hold a diverse social, educational and socio-economic background, which means that there is an increasing complexity and unpredictability in language learner profiles as well as in their learning motivations.

I also explained that the linguistic agency of immigrant women intersected their gender roles, ethno-racial identities, age and social class. Moreover, for these learners language investment was also a class struggle because they claimed better social and economic standing in the receiving society by means of deploying their linguistic resources. This intersectionality (McCall 2005; Block 2015) revealed the specific ways in which the linguistic agency overlapped systemic injustice and social inequality on a multidimensional basis. The older women contested hybridization (Bhabha 1994) by rejecting to adopt the language and culture of the other, and they reclaimed their Moroccan identity by means of showing detachment from the dominant culture and language. Other profiles of women who had limited access to the economic resources in Spain contested the material inequalities by means of accumulating linguistic resources to become members of the registered or unregistered economy in Spain. In their itineraries, the linguistic resources were depicted as a convertible commodity (Heller 2010), as a tool to be mobilized in the labor market. Further, the women holding better economic and social resources contested de-classing by means of accumulating linguistic capital as a form of self-achievement and a better-standing in the receiving culture. Finally, the women who were divorced contested their economic and social dependence on their families and male partners by means of learning the language to become socially and

economically independent agents. Besides, the learners negotiated their social standing by foregrounding the non-unitary, unstable and non-essential feature of the dominant culture and language, and this negotiation re-located their subject position as speakers of the legitimate language. To sum up, the linguistic capital re-positioned these learners *within* and *across* these hegemonies in the sense that linguistic resources were mobilized to contest the patriarchal family structures, de-classing after migration, material inequalities and asymmetrical social standing in the Spanish and Catalan society.

8.5. Contributions of this study to contemporary sociolinguistics and to feminist linguistics

This thesis intends to contribute to sociolinguistics and feminist linguistics theoretically and methodologically. It explains the subject and speaker positions that the female immigrants are given in the receiving societies as well as their linguistic itineraries that they construct throughout their personal trajectories. It focuses on *discourse* as well as the *politics of language*, and it sheds light into female immigrant language practices and agencies in late capitalism. It embraces complexity, unpredictability, identity and material history in language itineraries by exploring social practices located inside and outside the classroom.

This study has sought to perform a de-construction: it de-constructed the micro practices of power, it de-constructed the dominant discourses that represent and categorize the learners and it de-constructed these opposing categories. This de-construction was enabled by the methodological choices that I took from the very beginning of this critical ethnography. Instead of focusing merely on the discursive practices situated inside the classroom, I also foregrounded the learners' voices and lived experiences that they narrated in their biographical interviews. This methodological design that combines the longitudinal participant observation with the biographical interviews allowed me to understand the neglected or silenced voices and the complexity in linguistic practices of these learners. Their discourses contrasted the dominant categories and representations constructed by the dominant actors, and foregrounding their voices enabled me to abstain from reproducing the deterministic, static binary oppositions or categorizations between the learners and the dominant actors. In this sense, I not only de-constructed the power techniques but also the central/periphery or powerful/powerless subject positions. I tried to read and understand the qualitative data from the peripheries towards the center and located the overlooked agencies, voices and discourses at the center of the epistemology. For these methodological choices, this study demonstrated that going beyond the classroom interaction, de-constructing the dominant categories

and representations enables the researcher to embrace complexity and voice in sociolinguistics inquiry.

Apart from its ethnographic design, this thesis also mobilized complex analytic tools to analyze the qualitative data in order to achieve the aforesaid deconstruction. I mobilized detailed conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis techniques to understand the subject and the speaker positions that the learners are given in the social integration programs; I mobilized intra-categorical intersectionality (McCall 2005) analysis in the narratives of my informants in order to reveal the complexity emerging in their specific time-space patterns; I also problematized the categories and representations emerged in the qualitative data by mobilizing the post-colonial thoughts on agency and resistance. All these theoretical and analytic tools have enabled me to build an original, complex and detailed interdisciplinary research that draws on inductive and critical inquiry that abstains from determinism and simplification. It abstains from overlooking identity and social positioning of the female learners and it also abstains from establishing absolute, essentialist power categories which make the emancipation or social transformation impossible.

Taking all these theoretical and analytic approaches as a base, this study analyzed the discursive practices (Foucault 1972, 1996) that produced specific knowledge about the immigrant women learners and constructed them (Foucault 1982, 2010) as subordinate, agentless and oppressed subjects and demonstrated how their disadvantaged position in the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991) as well as in the dominant society was re-configured. This inquiry revealed that in these sites the division between the dominant and the dominated culture and language was re-enacted, and the dominant actors constructed the classical binary opposition of *you and us* in their discursive practices. The learners were categorized or 'represented' as oppressed and passive agents whose agencies were instrumentalized and collectivized (Van Leeuwen 2008), which revealed that the learners were constructed as post-colonial subjects (Said 1978; Spivak 1998; Bhabha 1994) in these social integration programs. This thesis not only revealed this *symbolic violence* (term that I borrowed from Bourdieu 1998), it also problematized these representations and categories by enabling these learners to speak for themselves. In this thesis, the learners have depicted their linguistic agencies in their own lived experiences, and as a researcher I have assumed the role of transmitting their voices. In the analysis of their personal itineraries, I have strictly abstained from representing them or speaking on behalf of them, and have sought to avoid deterministic, essentialist conceptualizations of resistance and agency. This detailed ethnographic, analytic and theoretical approach has indicated that there are other ways of analyzing complexity, plurality, power and domination in sociolinguistics inquiry, especially in ethnography of education. When the researcher goes beyond the situated discursive practices, s/he encounters complex and diverse

voices that are silenced in the classroom and these voices should be foregrounded in order to overcome determinism and simplification in sociolinguistics inquiry.

This theoretical and analytic approach opened a space for questioning or problematizing contemporary sociolinguistics and post-structuralist feminist linguistics. As I stated at the beginning of this Chapter, this thesis criticized under-theorization of social class in sociolinguistics (Block 2015) and the lack of material inquiry in contemporary feminist research (Hartsock 1983, Bannerji 1995, Modleski 2014). This study has demonstrated that the itinerary of language not only reveals the socioeconomic standpoint of the transnational female subjects, but it also demonstrates how these agents move across the interconnected categories of social, economic and cultural domination (Grewal and Kaplan 1994), and the specific ways in which they deploy their linguistic skills act as a *counter-hegemony* (term that I borrowed from Gramsci 1971; for a neo-Gramscian definition see also: Pratt 2004). Therefore, linguistic itinerary or sociolinguistics inquiry may demonstrate the agencies, struggles and resistance strategies of the transnational female subjects, and the politics of language can contribute to the feminist linguistics by means of explaining how these subjects are situated in the receiving societies in relation to power and capital. For that reason this study calls for material inquiry in sociolinguistics and feminist linguistics in order to indicate how the female transnational subjects are situated in the receiving societies, and how these agents re-position themselves by means of mobilizing their linguistic resources.

8.6. What now? Future directions

As I underlined before, ethnography is a strong tool to analyze the increasing complexity in communicative practices in the globalized world. It enables the researcher to understand how language means empowerment, disempowerment, emancipation or subjugation for the female immigrant learners. It reveals their journeys, trajectories taking place in and across different lands, and it also demonstrates the struggles over the legitimate forms of languages in the contemporary world.

Today, I am still in contact with some of my informants in Madrid and Barcelona. Especially the divorced women that I met in Madrid keep looking for better ways to continue their lives in Spain. They move across different regions in order to reach better socio-economic conditions and in order to achieve a better future for their children, some of whom live in Morocco. As depicted in Rushdie's paragraph, their fragmented lives, divided selves, in-betweenness and metamorphosis continue, so do their linguistic trajectories. The social integration programs that I analyzed in this study have gone through interruptions and changes, too. The Madrid NGO

interrupted this program in 2013, and re-started these language classes in 2015 thanks to the fact that they could find funding for the project. In Barcelona, the local municipality made an agreement with an NGO to administer all the social projects of the town. Apart from January 2015, the Catalan classes started to be organized by this NGO. They continued working with Laia, but they closed the conversation classroom which I had analyzed in this thesis.

Therefore, the story that I started in 2010 in the Madrid literacy classroom continues, although it is not narrated anymore in this thesis. These language programs will get into the lives of many immigrant women in the future, in different cities, municipalities, in different NGOs. Future research on social integration programs should focus on the complexity of the social practices in these sites, underlining the power struggles, social categories, domination strategies, and they should foreground the voices that may be silenced in the classroom. These programs should be understood as historically constructed sites where the social inequalities are re-configured, whereby the learners are located within the linguistic market in a way that their disadvantaged social position in relation to power and capital is maintained. Understanding and demonstrating these practices will enable to question social integration or linguistic integration policies in the receiving states, as well as multilingualism and plurality in the globalized world.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Transcription Conventions

Convention	Meaning
words in blue	words in Spanish
words in black	words in Catalan
:	turn
( )	comments made by the transcriber
=	instant shift between two turns
[ ]	turn overlapping with similarly marked turn
-	interruption
(.)	short pause (0'5" seconds)
(..)	long pause (0'5—1'5" seconds)
	rising intonation
-	falling intonation
®	intonation of suspension
RIGHT (all capital letters)	loud talking
(( ))	incomprehensible speech
( )°	low talking
a: (doubled vowels)	vowel lengthening
Ss (doubled consonants)	consonant lengthening
?	questions (also used for tag questions such as "right?", "eh?", "you know?")
!	exclamations
(@)	laughter
	audible breath
< >	fast speech

Appendix II. The Original Consent Scripts

1. Consent script used for recording the classroom interaction

En este proyecto investigo la experiencia de las personas que aprenden Castellano/Catalan en los proyectos de la integración social. Me interesa entender la rutina del aula y qué tipo de recursos linguisticos se aprende en la clase. Para poder analizar las conversaciones tengo que grabar la sesión. Es importante saber que su participación es voluntaria y todo el mundo tiene que estar de acuerdo para que yo pueda grabar. Los datos personales serán confidenciales y la identidad de los participantes se protege con pseudónimos.

2. Consent script used for recording the discussion sessions

En este proyecto investigo la experiencia de personas que utilizan o han utilizado varias lenguas en su vida cotidiana. Me interesa entender cómo las personas pueden adoptar el uso de lenguas diferentes a las de su primera socialización, las circunstancias en que esto se produce, los condicionantes que lo facilitan o dificulta, y las implicaciones que tiene para cada uno/a. Es importante saber las siguientes cosas sobre la sesión:

El grupo de discusión durará 60 minutos.

Necesito grabar.

No se ofrece compensaciones económicas.

Su participacion es voluntaria y cada uno tiene que estar de acuerdo para que yo pueda grabar.

Los datos personales van a ser confidencial. La identidad de los participantes se proteje con pseudónimos.

Podéis terminar la sesión en cualquier momento o podéis pedirme los resultados del proyecto llamandome por el teléfono (x) o mandando un correo a tmartinezf@uoc.edu.

3. Consent script used for recording the interviews

En este proyecto investigo la experiencia de las personas que aprenden y utilizan Castellano/Catalan en su vida cotidiana. Me interesa entender cómo las personas pueden adoptar el uso de estas lenguas, los condicionantes que facilitan o dificultan el aprendizaje y las implicaciones que tiene para cada uno/a. Es importante saber:

La entrevista dura entre 40 y 120 minutos.

Necesito grabar.

No se ofrece compensaciones económicas.

Tu participacion es voluntaria y puedes terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento.

Los datos personales van a ser confidencial. La identidad de los participantes se proteje con pseudónimos.

Puedes terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento o puedes pedirme que lo borre escribiendo a tmartinezf@uoc.edu o llamando por el numero (x).

Puedes pedirme los resultados del proyecto llamandome por el teléfono (x) o mandando un correo a tmartinezf@uoc.edu.

Appendix III. The Original Transcriptions

Chapter V. Example 8. and Chapter VII. Excerpt 1.

Tulay: [Entonces] quiero que me- que me expliquéis un poco como- como- eh- es vuestro- el- vuestra conversación con la gente, cuando por ejemplo estás comprando, cuando por ejemplo estás viendo tele, hablando por teléfono o tenéis internet en casa, no? En tu caso- en tu caso qué era, Neza? En la farmacia, por ejemplo, aquí, no? Esta mujer es muy habladora, por ejemplo. [{rialles} La de la farmacia.]

Laia: [Diu que parla molt.] (xxx) parla molt la de la farmàcia.

Bouchra: Sí.

Tulay: Sí, entonces-

Bouchra: No, eh- el chica que trabaja, [ella no habla-]

Laia: [Ah.]

Neza: [No,] sí.

Laia: La [noia.]

Bouchra: [El chica] que- eh-

XXX: [Que trabaja farmacia.]

Bouchra: = [El chica que trabaja] con ella, sí, pero la-

Laia: La jefa, no.

Bouchra: [La jefa-]

Neza: [La jefa, no.] Está-

Tulay: [Muy (xxx)]

Mari: [(xxx)] l'has de conèixer.

Laia: Clar. [Perquè són marroquines]

Mari: [Perquè jo] ahir vaig anar i vaig estar xerrant, eh?

Laia: No, bueno, però depèn, suposo que a lo millor depèn, vull [dir-]

Mari: [També] de les persones.

XXX: [Clar.]

Laia: [Clar.] Si entén-

Mari: Que nosaltres ens coneixem de tota la vida.

Bouchra: A::h.

Laia: Clar, no, i que pot ser també que si tu no parles molt, ella tampoc parla, clar. I-

{parlen àrab}

Bouchra: No, yo hablo con ella 'qué tal, bien' na na, ya está.

Neza:=ya esta

Laia: [És correcte.]

Bouchra: [Eh- por- eh-] por la- medicamento y ya está. No hablas tanto.

Laia: Però és correcte.

Bouchra: Como Mari, la Mari, sabes? Conèixer- [(xxx)]

Laia: [Clar.]

Bouchra: tot (())

Laia: Clar.

Bouchra: Però nosaltres [no.]

XXX: [{parla àrab}]

Mari: Bueno, però hi ha gent- hi ha gent per tot.

Bouchra: Sí, ah, sí.

Laia: Sí.

Mari: Hi ha gent que- que a vegades-

Neza: Sí.

Mari: = només per ser marroquines [ja-]

XXX: [(xxx)]

Bouchra: Sí, sí.

Laia: No, o perquè no entenen molt l'idioma i pensen- també els hi fa vergonya amb elles, vull dir-

XXX: Sí.

Laia: La vergonya es va (xxx) elles. Bueno, bueno.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 1. and Chapter VIII. Excerpt 6.

Habiba:
Está que todos pobrecitos, por la mañana corre, corre, corre. Igual como (.) la mujer igual como la hombre, igual como la-ll-todos, todos. Corre, corre, corre, corre, corre. La Tánger, no. Tánger, mujer trabaja. La mujer a cuidadora niños.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 2.

Mi hijo se casó con una chica marroquí en Tánger, Neza, y tuvo un montón de problemas con ella. Ahora él esta divorciado, Mohammed. Cuando ella estaba en Tanger, todo estaba bien. Cuando llegó aquí, en España, hay libertad y, ya esta. Ahora ellos están divorciados. Ahh, demasiados problemas, demasiados. Ella no se queda en casa, conmigo, no. Ella tenía muchas amigas; iba con ellas todo el tiempo. Usaba esas ropas europeas, llevaba maquillaje, pintura de uñas (.) Muchos problemas, muchos.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 3.

Tulay: ¿Cuánto tiempo llevas en España?
Aisha: (.) Me e: h veintiún años aquí, sí, veintiún años. Yo estaba siempre en casa. Siempre en casa. Yo no trabajo, no. Casa, casa, casa y casa. Nada mas. Yo cuidaba a los niños, salía muy poco. Quiero aprender el idioma, ya que casi todos ellos tienen su propia familia y mi marido está enfermo.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 4.

Habiba: Habla con ella "Habiba, limpiales aquí, limpia el polvo que está aquí por favor" Ultimo día a:h-ella toca "Habiba, está listo aquí, está lista aquí, ya está". Yo sabes trabajar la:-igual como va

mi casa. Sabes todos. Ya está.

E: Entonces, no necesitabas hablar mucho.

Habiba: No.(.) Porque yo no: tiene la gana: hablar mucho.

E: Pero ahora hablas muy bien.

Habiba: Un poquito, no muy bien.

E: Sí, hablas muy bien.

Habiba: (no, no)°

E: No querías aprender español?

Habiba: Sí pero quieres aprender a la casa, habla árabe. Nada español.

E: Claro porque=

Habiba: Mi hejo-mi hejo: sí sabe español, mi hejos. Voy yo a la casa, Muhammed, (()), (()) árabe (@) No:, no, la casa no hablaba español. O: la casa de Victoria, Marta (()), Vito (()),yo tres horas para bajar y salir.

E: No hacía falta?

Habiba: Nada, nada.

E: Pero entonces, cómo aprendiste?

Habiba: Aprendes un poquito y bueno, ya está.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 5.

E: Pero por qué no has empezado [antes] ¿

Zoulika; [no::] como:: tengo poquito: (()) yy no tengo gana.

E: No-no querías?

Zoulika: No quería, no. E:l-el año pasado y este año.

E: Sí, pero cómo decidiste?

Zoulika: Yo está bien, está bien sin pren-aprende pero cuando: se:-si:-oía- sí::- la gente se habla y no entiendes nada:, cuando - sí::- vas yy-si fuese: seis años fuera de casa y no sabes nada:. Pero es súper difícil. Del uno:-de: últimos dos años está bien.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 6.

Zoulika**:** Jóvenes no creen. O sea, se andan conn falda nomás. No se::n - no se le: decir tienen una religión. No tienen una religión de::-de salir mucho. No tienen una religión de:-no:- de: Casablanca (()).No tienen religión, solo la:-las personas mayores.

E: Sí (.) y tú cómo lo ves? Te parece::=

Zoulika: =No, no, yo: no puedo. (.) No, pero tenemos re-religión de nosotro:s, no se:-se::-religión de nosotros y vamos con e:l-el pañuelo:, con l-la ropa: hasta aquí: abajo: Cuando Veo jóvenes asi: sin nada, no me gusta.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 7.

Habiba:

Sí:, "hola, qué tal?" "Bien" (..) la: (.) hijos de hermana (.), dos chicos, a casarse españolas(.) Hijos de mi hermana, no fomaron Mohammed no foma, no bebía: alcohol, nada. A-ahora tiene dos -ah-niña, un niño. Ella va a comer cerdo, no hace Ramadan. Un Marroquí hace Ramadan, ella nada Ramadan. Nada. Porque chico - eh-chicos-no puede: ni ser (())e::h-hijo de mi hermana no forma no (()) comple:años- e:h-hecho de:-de mi hermana y (.) mi hermana vamos todos-a-arriba-vamos a: su casa. E::h-marido de mi hermana tiene el coche. El va coger el coche, marcha a: cumpleaños y yo (.)-mi hermana - a::h-hija de mi hermana, marido de mi hermana,(.) la: madre de Maribel. Padre de Maribel y hermano de Mar-de Mar-eh- Maribel. A::h-la mujer de hermana de Maribel, un Maribel,

un chico de mi hija. E::lla corta: la:-la: (()) de la cerdo, “déjala que ella come, cariño mío come el cerdo” le dice.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 8.

T: Que más necesitáis para aprender castellano?
A: Para: ayudar[buscar trabajo].
F: [si.si.]
T: Habéis preguntado aquí?
A: Trabajo? Si.si. julio.° Si. Si. Pero ahora no hay trabajo. Esta mal todo. (.) Pero quiero vivir en una casa sola (@)
T: =Con quien vives ahora?
A: Con mi cuñada (indicando a Fariha). Pero ella tiene tres hijos.
T: aah=
A: = tengo dos ahhh habitaciones y una terraza. Es difícil dos familias. Mucha gente.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 9.

Z: Tengo que hablar por ejemplo para:, en el colegio con los niños tengo que hablar, por ejemplo, si quieren hablar conmigo en su colegio, para trabajar también, tengo que hablar español. Ahora estoy buscando casi un año. Puede ser cualquier cosa. Porque nosotros estamos en casa normalmente, cualquier cosa que pagan está bien.
T: Tu piensas que es importante hablar el idioma para trabajar? Por ejemplo, para trabajar de limpieza tu crees que necesitas castellano?
Z: si, porque hay mucha gente que (.) si no: si no hablas bien español, no te dan trabajo. La lengua es muy importante para cualquier cosa. Además, siempre piden gente con español, para que podemos comunicar.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 11.

M: Es que fui al trabaja desde las 6 de la mañana hasta las 8 y llegue a casa a las diez, es que está muy lejos Vallecas, viajaba una hora y media. Cuando quiero aprender el idioma, tenía que salir a las seis. En la Asociación estaba un profesor se llama Javier, pero era por la tarde. Quería aprender el idioma, me ha dicho una amiga que en la Asociación daban clases. Y cuando le he dicho a ellos, no lo querían.
T: Por que?
M: No lo sé. Creo que la señora quería pero él no.
T: No quería que aprendes Español?=
M: =No. Por eso lo he dejado. Hable con Hadija y ella le ha dicho a ella que yo quería hablar con los niños, que tengo que aprender, ella le ha respondido "No. Ella entiende perfectamente."

Chapter VI. Excerpt 10.

Ver la tele. Estábamos viendo películas juntas, durante horas y horas. Ella quería que me sentara a su lado, sin ningún tipo de conversación. Le gustaban los programas de televisión de Andalucía, y que a veces hablábamos de estos programas. Eso esto. Sólo la televisión (...). Yo estaba aburrida en casa con ella. A veces yo estaba hablando por teléfono con mi marido o con mi familia o yo estaba hablando con mi familia en Internet, me decía: "No, Fariha, no. Ven aquí, tienes que ver la tele conmigo. Tu trabajo no está allí; tu trabajo es estar aquí conmigo."

Chapter VI. Excerpt 12.

La gente siempre dice que las mujeres (.) siempre pueden encontrar trabajo, pero en mi caso no he encontrado nada. Trabajos de limpieza, no he encontrado. En las fábricas, tampoco. Miré por todas partes, en todas las direcciones. Creo que las cosas han cambiado para todos. Desde mi punto de vista, no se trata de ser una mujer musulmana o ser marroquí. No lo creo. En los trabajos domésticos, la gente busca confianza, ¿sabes? Hay algunas personas que no prefieren los

musulmanes, sí. Pero en mi caso (.) No lo sé. He estado buscando un trabajo a través de agencias, por internet, y siempre tengo una foto sin velo en mi curriculum y no he encontrado nada. Fui a las zonas industrialistas, fui a los restaurantes para dar mi currículum. No hay nada. Hay muchas mujeres como yo. Antes de la crisis, la situación era diferente. Hay mucha gente que vive en España desde hace muchos años. Nunca habían pensado en buscar un trabajo, pero ahora están. Pero no pueden encontrar nada.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 13.

Zahra tiene una capacidad intelectual enorme y ella es de una familia de clase alta en Marruecos, es obvio. Por ejemplo, he conocido a sus padres y su padre es un caballero; se puede entender esto de la forma en que se viste, de la manera en que habla. Es obvio que él es de una familia de clase alta. Su marido es un hombre joven y muy moderno, creo que lleva viviendo en España más de 18 años; él tiene la nacionalidad española y todo. Zahra esta muy sola aquí en elbarrio, no conoce a nadie, ella no tiene amigos. Desde aquel día que nos conocimos en el funeral de su suegra, hemos estado siempre juntas, somos muy buenas amigas (....) Aprender español significa mucho para Zahra, es como mejorar su autoestima. Ella toma este tema como un asunto personal, lo toma muy en serio. Ella quiere trabajar, no importa en qué. Ella es una mujer muy inteligente y ella lo merece. Ella tiene que trabajar; ella necesita tener una vida activa. No debería estar en casa todo el día

Chapter VI. Excerpt 14.

Me gusta () en España. Me gusta nuestro curso, también. Ahora que hablo español, me siento mejor. Sólo quiero una vida sencilla en España. Una pequeña vida con mi marido y mis hijos, en una casa, ya esta.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 15.

Mi madre me convenció para casarme, yo no lo quería. Pensé que era demasiado viejo para mí, pero mi madre me dijo "está bien, los hombres pueden ser más mayores que las mujeres, no

importa. Él es tu primo, vive en España, él te trata bien. "Pero él estaba en paro, no sabemos. No sabemos lo que está pasando en España. Él no tenía un trabajo, él era pobre, y eso es todo. Nosotros, en Marruecos, pensamos que él tiene dinero porque él vive en España. Pero no sabemos el mundo real en España, creemos que él es rico, porque no tenemos nada en Marruecos.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 16.

Llegué a España, cinco meses pasaron y yo no estaba embarazada. Mi marido me dijo que no era normal que yo no era fértil. Él me dijo que fuera a un médico, pero yo no quería ir. Yo era normal, lo sabía. Él tenía prisa, no sé por qué, quería que me quedo embarazada y eso es todo. La otra cosa es que los marroquíes quieren los chicos, no chicas, ya que cuando las niñas crecen se van, pero los chicos siempre tienen el apellido del padre, ¿lo entiendes? Un montón de cosas estúpidas, muchos cosas (...) Nosotros no tenemos dinero; mi marido no podía pagar la hipoteca del piso. Pero su hermano podía. Trabajaba, su mujer trabajaba. Yo no podía trabajar porque no podía hablar español, ¿me entiendes? Sólo cinco meses, era tan temprano. Pero mi cuñada, mucho tiempo, ocho años. Ella no hablaba muy bien tampoco, nunca estudió español pero ella aprendió hablando con la gente. Vine aquí, mi marido no me dejaba ir, o trabajar porque quería tener hijos. Yo no podía trabajar porque no hablaba bien. No había cursos de idiomas, era una ciudad pequeña. No había nada.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 17.

Cuatro años así. Nos mudamos a Valles, al piso de otro hermano suyo. Mi cuñada me trató como una señora de limpieza. Tenían dinero, todo, porque ambos trabajaban. Yo no tenía nada, ni siquiera ropa decente. Se burlaban de mí todo el tiempo, uff, un montón de problemas. Entonces le dije que tenía que ver a mis padres, yo quería ir a Marruecos. Dijo que sí, fui a casa de mis padres. Después de cuatro meses, me dijo por teléfono que quería divorciarse. Ahora lo entiendo todo, él había planeado antes. Si me quedo en Marruecos seis meses, pierdo mi permiso de residencia. Quería deshacerse de mí. Yo estaba muy estúpida, yo era tan inocente. Mis padres compraron el billete y me volví a España con mi hijo. Alquile una habitación en frente del piso de mi tía. Empecé a aprender español aquí y empecé a buscar un trabajo (...) Todos los días por la mañana me levanto temprano, me voy a restaurantes, tiendas, para preguntar si necesitan un empleado. Yo

estudio español todos los días, durante tres meses. De lunes a viernes voy a cada curso de lengua en la ciudad. Porque quiero hablar, leer y escribir. Quiero aprender, rápido. Quiero trabajar aquí, vivir aquí, no quiero volver a Marruecos. En Marruecos las mujeres sólo hacen el trabajo de casa y ver la tele, nada más. No quiero vivir así. Si regreso a Marruecos como una madre divorciada, no tengo ningún futuro.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 18.

Tengo muchas ganas de tener un título universitario para tener una vida mejor y para ganar más dinero. Yo no quiero trabajar en este restaurante de toda la vida. Necesito un trabajo mejor para traer a mi hijo aquí. No tengo a nadie para cuidarle en Madrid y no tengo dinero para niñeros. Para tener una vida mejor, necesito un título universitario y por eso tengo que hablar español mejor.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 19.

Yo siempre estaba en casa, nunca salía, nunca hablaba con nadie. No conocía a nadie, mi familia tenía miedo de dejarme salir. Ellos me asustaron. Nunca tuve chicos a mi alrededor, iba a una escuela de niñas, tenía miedo de los niños, miedo de la gente en general. Sin embargo, mas tarde comprendí que eso no es cierto. Cuando me divorcié, hice todo sola. Fui al juez sola, me fui a trabajar sola. Fui a aprender español sola, y esto me ayudó a cruzar la frontera. De repente, me arriesgué y me hice fuerte. Ahora no siento miedo de salir, y ahora tengo mi opinión. Cuando discuto con alguien, por ejemplo, con mi marido, puedo decir "No. Esto no está bien. "Ahora hago las cosas porque quiero, no porque me dicen que lo haga. Ya no soy una esclava.

Chapter VI. Excerpt 20.

Nos casamos, he arreglado todos los papeles y todo. Él vino aquí, todo era nuevo para él. No podía hablar el idioma, fue muy gracioso. Mi padre le dio un trabajo, no sabía cómo trabajar en construcción, él no quería. Luego le encontramos un trabajo en una tienda, no trabajó allí. Yo estaba trabajando día y noche, incluso los sábados y el no hacia nada. Yo trabajaba, cuidaba al niño y cocinaba, hacia todo. Le pedí ayuda, al menos con el niño. Él me dijo que no, que no quería

ayudarme con las tareas del hogar (...) Un día nos peleamos y le eché, no podía soportarlo más. Cuando decidí dejarlo, no me sentí sola, no. Ya estaba acostumbrada a hacer todo sola, ¿sabes? Yo podría vivir sola. No hizo nada de todos modos, que no trabajaba, y no me ayudaba con las tareas del hogar, con mi hijo. Yo no le necesitaba de todos modos. Cuando nos separamos, en lugar de llorar en casa, estar deprimida, decidí a obtener un diploma de peluquería; mis padres me ayudaron a pagar el curso.