

Competing Bilingual Schools in La Mancha City: Teachers' Responses to Neoliberal Language Policy and CLIL Practices

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Abstract: This article analyzes how neoliberalism as ideology and practice permeates CLIL-type bilingual education teachers' narratives collected as part of the sociolinguistic ethnography conducted in four Spanish-English bilingual schools in La Mancha City (pseudonym). The rapid implementation of Spanish-English bilingual programs in Castilla-La Mancha schools in the last decade (e.g. «MEC/British» programs; «Linguistic Programs» regulated by the regional «Plan of Plurilingualism», last amended in 2018; «Bilingual Programs» in semi-private schools) invites to reflect on how neoliberalism plays a role in the commodification of English language teaching and learning in these programs. Particularly, the article discusses how teachers participating in these programs position themselves towards their personal experiences teaching CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) subjects in these bilingual programs. The analysis shows how these teachers are appropriating and resisting in some cases bilingualism as a neoliberal ideology and practice that reconfigures their professional identities as self-governing free subjects who must know English at all costs to compete in the highly commodified global market of English.

Keywords: CLIL; bilingual education; neoliberalism; English commodification; sociolinguistic ethnography.

Recibido / Received: 19/06/2017

Aceptado / Accepted: 29/08/2017

1. Introduction

English language education in the autonomous community of Castilla-La Mancha (CLM), Spain, has been transformed by the rapid implementation of different «Content and Language Integrated Learning» (CLIL)-type bilingual

programs in public (i.e. state-run) and semi-private (i.e. state-funded private) schools in the last two decades. In the current academic year 2016/2017, a total of 588 bilingual programs have developed throughout the five provinces of CLM. Among them, fourteen schools (seven primary and seven secondary) were involved in the Bilingual Schools Project of the MEC/British agreement signed in 1996, while the rest have been progressively implemented against the backdrop of regional language planning efforts to democratize English language learning for all the students in this region, as well as European language-in-education policy initiatives to promote «plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship and social cohesion» (Council of Europe, 2014; European Commission, 2012). These bilingual programs have undergone different language planning phases and nomenclatures since 2005: European Sections (*Secciones Europeas*) (2005-2011); Bilingual Sections (*Secciones Bilingües*) (2011-2014); and Linguistic Programs (*Programas Lingüísticos*) (2014-present). In February 2017, a new plurilingualism decree, «Plan Integral de Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras de la Comunidad Autónoma de Castilla-La Mancha» (Integral Plan for the Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Autonomous Community of Castilla-La Mancha), was drafted and implemented in the academic year 2017/2018.

These language-in-education initiatives are central to understand the current status of English language education in bilingual schools in CLM. Following Park and Wee (2012), the status of English in these bilingual programs has been resignified, acquiring added value and new meanings, which are embedded in language ideologies and enacted in classroom practices.

Particularly, this article discusses how teachers participating in the different CLIL-type bilingual programs implemented in this region share competing narratives of prestige and elitism to comply with while defying the neoliberal order of educational competitiveness institutionalized in the bilingual schools of this region. That is, teacher narratives do not only inform us about the current status of bilingual education in this region, but they are also discursive sites of struggle by means of which teachers embrace, dispute, or reject the dominant social order of neoliberalism as ideology and practice.

The article is structured around the following overarching question: How does neoliberalism, as «the voice of global capitalism» (Holborow, 2015, p. 1) and a type of «economic ideology» (Piller and Cho, 2013), play a role in bilingual schools in CLM? We address this question from the critical sociolinguistic ethnography (CSE) perspective we have adopted in our research, which discusses the relationship between CLIL classroom practices, stakeholders' language ideologies (i.e. ideas, values and beliefs related to the concept of bilingualism and the role of languages, namely English and Spanish, in bilingual programs), and circulating discourses about how implied stakeholders, such as teachers, are adapting to the competitive global market of English.

Our analysis focuses on ethnographic interviews conducted with CLIL teachers in four bilingual schools of La Mancha City (LMC – pseudonym –). Specifically, we analyze how teachers' evaluations in these narratives regarding how «bilingualism as ideology, practice and political economy» (Heller, 2007, p. 2) is carried out in the different schools of this region map out what we define as «the moral dimension of

neoliberalism», or individuals' orientations towards English and bilingualism as a legitimate desire of the neoliberal subject. The latter is discursively appropriated by teachers in these narratives to embrace «the bilingual taste» as social «distinction» (Bourdieu, 1996) in the local market of English while engaging in social categorization processes regarding types of schools, teachers and students attending bilingual and non-bilingual programs in this region (Relaño Pastor, 2018a).

In section 2, we sketch out how neoliberalism as ideology and practice offers a comprehensive framework to analyze the body of teachers' narratives presented in this article. The methods section (section 3) focuses on the critical sociolinguistic ethnography perspective adopted in this article to discuss CLIL-type bilingual programs, including a brief contextualization of the four schools that are part of our research. In section 4, we analyze how teachers from these schools respond to the changes and transformations taking place in their schools with the implementation of bilingual programs. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of how the understanding of the costs and benefits of the implementation of CLIL-type bilingual programs in this region finds its logic in the relationship between English language learning and neoliberalism (Gao and Park, 2015; Park and Lo, 2012; Park and Wee, 2012).

2. Neoliberalism as ideology and practice in LMC schools

Neoliberalism, defined as «an economic philosophy or doctrine that rests on the belief that market exchange is the guide for all human action, and therefore, that states should ensure that conditions are created for the “free” market to thrive» (Holborow, 2015, p. 1), provides the framework adopted in this article to analyze the commodification of English language education in the different CLIL-type bilingual programs implemented in schools in LMC. The process of commodification implies that a global language such as English acquires added value and is highly desirable for the expected economic profit in the market (Park and Wee, 2012, p. 125). However, as Park and Lo (2012) suggest, «English language skills alone are rarely considered to be sufficient in marking the speaker as a valued individual in the global economy» (p. 157). In the field of language teaching, as Heller (2010) proposes, the commodification of language would emphasize English skills as central in the «new economy», as «a resource to be produced, controlled, distributed, valued, and constrained» (p. 108). This would mean to be able to control «what counts as legitimate language and who counts as legitimate speakers of any given language» (p. 108), English would then be constructed as a marketable, «soft skill» (Urciuoli, 2008) that can be acquired in the CLIL-type bilingual programs discussed in this article, and is detachable from identity (Heller, 2011), producing, instead, malleable bilingual subjects who comply with the neoliberal order as «the common sense way to interpret, live in and understand the world» (Harvey, 2005; Holborow, 2015).

In recent years, the interest in the process of language commodification within the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics has increased notoriously. Block (2017) critically examines the concept of language commodification as a process via which language is considered «a skill» that «can be bought and sold in job markets» (p. 4), and suggests instead that scholars should engage with the Marxist concepts of capitalism and commodity when discussing language commodification. Bearing

this in mind, we discuss neoliberalism as an ideology that «naturalizes the use of English as the language of global competitiveness» (Piller and Cho, 2013, p. 24) with repercussions for the linguistic (neo-)imperialism of English in Europe or «the dominance of English asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitutions of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages» (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47; 2008). This ideology of global competitiveness against the backdrop of neoliberalism becomes more obvious in the practices school agents have undergone with the implementation of different CLIL-type bilingual education programs in CLM. In the field of language teacher education, for example, one of the consequences of neoliberalism has been the «increasing marketized climate created in which language teaching and learning take place» (Block and Gray, 2016, p. 482). These scholars analyze «the degradation of language teaching in neoliberal times» in terms of «the production of teachers in a politico-economic context in which beliefs about education, ways of producing educators and ways of teaching are frequently in tensions with government and commercial imperatives» (Block and Gray, 2016, p. 492).

In the case of LMC bilingual schools, we analyze how teachers are appropriating and resisting, in some cases, English and bilingualism as a neoliberal ideology and practice that reconfigures their identities as self-governing free subjects who must know English at all costs to compete in the highly commodified «global market of English» (Park and Wee, 2012). In the following sections, we explore how English teaching and learning in LMC is resignified as bilingualism that is commodified, conveys added value, and is sought as as a source of «pride and profit» (Duchêne and Heller, 2012) among stakeholders to serve the interest of the local and global linguistic market.

3. A Critical Sociolinguistic Ethnography of CLIL-type bilingual programs in Castilla-La Mancha

In this article, we analyze data collected as part of the ongoing critical sociolinguistic ethnography-(CSE) – (Copland and Creese, 2015; Heller, 2006, 2011; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Martin-Jones, 2007; Martín Rojo, 2010; Patiño-Santos, 2012, 2016; Pérez-Milans, 2013; Rampton, 2006) conducted at four bilingual schools in La Mancha City (2015-present). Critical sociolinguistic ethnographies of education have developed more rapidly in the last decade, after the seminal work of Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) paved the way to study (bi)-multilingual classroom practices as situated interactional events that need to be interpreted beyond the classroom in relation to «analyses of institutional and historical processes [...] to wider discourses about language and about the role of schooling in the context of linguistic diversity» (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 172). In addition, Heller (2011) argues for an ethnographic approach to sociolinguistics, a «critical ethnographic sociolinguistics», as a form of critical practice, informed by political economy. She explains that ethnography would allow us to «discover how language works as situated social practice, and how it is tied to social organization» (p. 10). On the one hand, «a political economy perspective» would address «the importance of understanding the material basis of social organization, and how material conditions constrain how we make sense of

things» (p.10). On the other hand, engaging in «critique» would mean «describing, understanding, and explaining the relations of social difference and social inequality that shape our world» (p. 34). Drawing on Giddens' theory of social structuration (1984) and Bourdieu's concept of language as symbolic power (1992), Heller (2011) agrees that critical sociolinguistic approaches to education would allow for the analysis of «the complex role of language in constructing the social organization of production and distribution of the various forms of symbolic and material resources essential to our lives and to our ability to make sense of the world around us» (p. 34).

Following this group of scholars, we have conducted ethnographic research in the different CLIL-type bilingual programs implemented in four schools in LMC (one state-run primary, one state-run secondary, and two state-funded private, infant through secondary). By CLIL-type bilingual programs, we refer to the different ways of implementing the teaching of content subjects through the medium of English. CLIL research both in Europe and Spain have consolidated over the last two decades (Cenoz, Genesee and Gorter, 2014; Dooley and Masats, 2015; Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010; Pérez-Cañado, 2012; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2013) and has been highly praised by the European Commission and the Council of Europe as an initiative that promotes «plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship and social cohesion» (Council of Europe, 2014) in order to meet the mother tongue plus two languages (MT+2) mandate, according to which «every European citizen should master two other languages in addition to their mother tongue» (European Commission, 2012).

Despite the vast amount of CLIL research, there is a scarcity of sociolinguistic, ethnographic studies that address the complexity of CLIL-type bilingual programs in relation to wider social processes such as the commodification of English as a global language against the backdrop of globalization and neoliberal language-in-education policies. In the Spanish context, some exceptions are Labajos Miguel and Martín Rojo (2011), Martín Rojo (2013), Pérez-Milans and Patiño-Santos (2014), Relaño Pastor (2015, 2018a, 2018b), and Codó and Patiño (2017), which examine CLIL classroom interactions and stakeholders' views and opinions about CLIL as complex, situated linguistic practices that need to be analyzed in relation to the «wider political economy and the global processes of cultural transformation at work in contemporary society» (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 163). Our analysis of teachers' narratives below contributes to strengthen the ethnographic perspective to CLIL education.

3.1. Collecting data: methods and focal school sites

Our sociolinguistic ethnography data include long-term participant observations, pictures of the physical spaces and teaching materials, audiotaping and field notes of classroom interactions in content subjects taught in English, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders (i.e. teachers, students, bilingual program coordinators, language policy makers and educational inspectors), both individually and in small groups, and focus group discussions with some groups of students involved in the bilingual programs as well as institutional documents of the language-in-education policies implemented in this region.

For the purpose of this article, the interview extracts discussed in section 4 have been scrutinized according to the relevant content issues that better elucidate teachers' narratives of prestige and elitism in the transforming neoliberal social order of each bilingual school involved in this study.

3.2. *Description of school sites*

3.2.1. *Sancho's Primary School*

Sancho's state-run primary school has experienced a progressive transformation from being a school in the suburbs into a prestigious, elitist school in LMC. This shift began when it first implemented one of the MECD-British Council bilingual programs in Castilla-La Mancha, which started in 1996 as part of the Bilingual School Projects agreement signed by both the British Council and the Spanish Ministry of Education. This particular school, located in a rather deprived neighborhood, was originally serving the Gypsy community settled around its location. In the last decade, this area has flourished and, thus, attracted upper-middle class families in hopes of belonging to the bilingual school community that Sancho's has been promoting since its bilingual program was first implemented.

Over the last twenty years, Sancho's has struggled to maintain and develop the MECD-British Council bilingual program despite several confrontations with the regional administration, whose budget cuts on education led to the termination of four British teachers' contract in 2011. Until that moment, the so-called «British» program at Sancho's had already gone through different phases of implementation, including the hiring of these teachers, who became the backbone of the bilingual program. When the regional administration decided to fire these British teachers, the bilingual program experienced a significant critical point in its history according to the stakeholders we interviewed. For them, having British teachers in the bilingual program implied authenticity, which favored the reputation of Sancho's as being a prestigious and distinctive bilingual school (Relaño Pastor, 2018a).

Nowadays, Sancho's is still running the MECD-British Council bilingual program in primary education, thus offering 12 hours a week of different content subjects taught in English (i.e. science, English literacy and arts and craft). Recently, it has been acknowledged as of «excellence» by the regional administration due to the increasing number of content subjects taught in English (three or more) and the availability of teachers accredited with a B2 (intermediate) or C1 (advanced) level of English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning (CEFR, 2001).

3.2.2. *High Towers' Secondary School*

High Towers' School is a secondary state-run school located in the city centre of LMC and, like Sancho's, it has suffered a notable transformation parallel to the implementation and development of the MECD-British Council bilingual program. Before the bilingual program was first implemented, it was originally labelled as «a school for at-risk students» by the regional and local administration (Decree of June

7, 2016)¹. This particular category has traditionally included rural schools where the working conditions generally imply an extra effort on the part of teachers; more specifically, in urban areas, it also conveys having to deal with at-risk students due to social discrimination, behavioral problems or special educational needs. Despite belonging to this school category in the past, nowadays most students come from middle class families.

Since the MECD-British Council bilingual program started to be implemented in 2004, the status and reputation of this school has improved dramatically, to such extent that it is nowadays constructed by the school community as one of the most prestigious and best-running bilingual programs in LMC. One of the major reasons of this transformation was the authenticity of the bilingual program brought about by British teachers, constructed as «native», authentic and legitimate speakers of English. These native teachers are expected to play the role of language assistants and support content subject teachers in classroom activities of their choice. As a matter of fact, according to the bilingual program teachers, these native language assistants did not fulfill the necessary requirements to teach; i.e. they were not trained as they were just undergraduates with no pedagogical or education-related knowledge whatsoever.

In terms of the levels of implementation, this school has recently achieved the label of «excellence» based on the fact of offering three curricular subjects taught in English (i.e. science, history & geography, and music), and also the availability of one teacher accredited with a C1 level of English (the music teacher). As bilingual education in Castilla-La Mancha is considered a right of choice for all students, this school divides them into two different groups: bilingual and non-bilingual. Therefore, bilingual students are taught in English in the corresponding bilingual program subjects, while non-bilingual students follow the ordinary Spanish curriculum. In this sense, language-in-education-policies establish that students cannot be segregated in terms of their linguistic choice (Spanish or English medium of instruction); that is why all schools can only separate them in the «bilingual» subjects (those taught in English), but groups must remain heterogeneous (i.e. bilingual and non-bilingual) in the rest of the curricular subjects that are not part of the bilingual program.

High Towers' increasing demand of students' enrollment in the bilingual program is tightly related to the competing linguistic market it displays compared to other bilingual schools, namely, school trips and students exchanges to Ireland. In its attempt to compete with other bilingual schools at the local level, this school also boasts about the methodology and assessment carried out in English based on the Cambridge IGCSE (International General Certificate of Secondary Education). This type of qualification system is internationally well-known and recognized as «a mark of quality and evidence of real ability [in English]»².

¹ Portal de Educación de Castilla-La Mancha. Recovered 18/10/2016, from <http://www.educa.jccm.es/es/centros/organizacion-funcionamiento/puestos-centros-especial-dificultad-dificil-desempeno>

² Cambridge IGCSE Curriculum. Recovered 25/05/2017, from Cambridge International School webpage: <http://www.cambridgeschool.eu/en/curriculum-learning/cambridge-igcse-curriculum/>

3.2.3. *St. Marco's School*

St. Marcos' school, a hundred-year-old religious state-funded private institution, was originally built in the city center of LMC by a nationally well-known religious order. Its historical prestige still remains, but its reputation has boosted noticeably since 2010, when the regional bilingual program was first implemented in primary and secondary education at the development level. Before «jumping» onto the regional bilingual education policies, this school had already implemented the BEDA program (Bilingual English Development and Assessment), to which most Catholic schools – private and state-funded private – belonged, as a marker of distinction with regard to other schools in LMC.

Currently, St. Marcos' is competing at the local level with St. Teo's, the fourth focal school of this article. St. Marcos' most salient aspect regarding the regional language-in-education policies is the trilingual program it advocates for both within the school community and among other bilingual (and non-bilingual) schools. This type of program is unique at the local level, as it offers one of the curricular subjects taught in French (history and geography) in the third year of compulsory secondary education. Thus, students who opt for this «plurilingual path» receive instruction in Spanish, English and French. These trilingual students are privileged with foreign exchange programs (France) and one-week school trips (Great Britain).

With regard to the linguistic resources at this school, every year bilingual and trilingual students are taught fortnightly by a native English assistant (mostly from the U.K., Ireland or USA) in the English classes only, thus supporting the English language teacher and carrying out oral activities based on the English/American culture and civilization. This school is also one of the Cambridge English examination centers in LMC and offers extracurricular English classes to train those bi/trilingual students. On the contrary, non-bilingual students are gathered together in the same group in the ordinary curricular subjects – instructed in Spanish – while their bi/trilingual peers are taught in English in the bilingual program subjects (physics, biology, technology, math). This way, teachers who do not belong to the bilingual program are not assisted by those native teachers, nor do non-bilingual students benefit from this linguistic and cultural capital.

3.2.4. *St. Teo's School*

St. Teo's school is regarded as a bilingual school offering «the best bilingual classes» in LMC, according to one of the native English teachers at this school. It has traditionally boasted about its enviable reputation in terms of top quality education, strict standards and, more recently, a «bilingualism of excellence». Despite having implemented its bilingual program at the «development» level – considering the number of teachers with a B2 or C1 that teach content subjects in English –, St. Teo's stakeholders consider this educational site as offering the most prestigious bilingual education in the local community.

This lay state-funded private school founded in 1978 is located in the outskirts of LMC, an area that has developed in the last two decades due to new residential areas settled by wealthy families that coexist with the presence of traditional Gypsy

communities across the school site. Since 2007, St. Teo's has undergone different bilingual projects and levels of implementation in both primary and secondary education. It was not until 2008 when the bilingual program at this school became rather distinctive and unique as compared to the other bilingual schools in town. This turning point occurred when St. Teo's first hired two British teachers, whose role in the school has been transformed parallel to the development of the regional bilingual program. These native teachers are constructed by stakeholders as key figures in maintaining the school's prestige and elitist spirit that shape – and is shaped by – its «top» bilingual program. In order to maintain these native teachers, families whose children are enrolled in the bilingual curriculum are expected to pay an extra fee.

The native teachers at St. Teo's co-teach with the content subject specialists, but it is the native teacher who is actually in charge of the whole teaching practice. In primary education, science, English, and arts and crafts are taught in English, whereas in secondary education the content subjects taught in English may vary under the school's choice (biology, social sciences, technology, arts and crafts, religion, ethics, or philosophy).

Regarding the non-bilingual students, they attend the same classes as their bilingual peers taught by the native teacher. In these cases (not very common, though), the subject specialists must be present at all times in the classroom and, in some instances, they are also responsible for providing them with extra academic support (in Spanish) out of the ordinary classroom while their bilingual peers are receiving English-medium instruction.

Moreover, St. Teo's currently belongs to the Cambridge National Schools Project, which implies providing English assessment and Cambridge English official certification including special discounts on the exam fee. Furthermore, St. Teo's has recently implemented the international baccalaureate program (academic year 2016-17), which provides students with the possibility of obtaining the dual high school diploma (U.S. and Spain)³.

In the following section, we illustrate with four of the teachers' narratives we have gathered in ethnographic interviews the construction of elitism and prestige that these four schools are competing for in LMC. These narratives have been selected of a corpus of twenty-seven semi-structured interviews (20 individual and 7 group interviews) with teachers participating in the different bilingual programs of the four schools of our project. We have included the original language in which the interview took place and provided the translation into English in those cases. For a full understanding of the transcription conventions, see Appendix I.

4. Data Analysis

In the following narratives, we highlight how teachers from each one of these schools engage in different processes of «bilingualism marketization» that place the schools as legitimate competitors in the local and global market of English. By marketization, following Bourdieu's theory of the linguistic market (1992), we refer

³ More information about the Cambridge National Schools Project can be found at: <http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/es/cmp/national-schools-project/>.

to the processes by which languages, in our case English, are evaluated socially and, therefore, are hierarchically assigned different types of linguistic value in the dominant market of global English. As we pointed out in our introduction, English language teaching and learning have acquired new meanings for stakeholders in these bilingual programs. When teachers talk about bilingualism, sometimes they refer to the ability of using both English and Spanish, while at other times, they mean bilingualism as the knowledge of English, or even as the bilingual programs themselves. That is, «the indexical meaning» of bilingualism as an economic resource is highlighted by these teachers as part of the global appropriation of English for economic purposes (Park and Wee, 2012, p. 139).

The following narratives illustrate the dominant processes of marketization around bilingualism and bilingual education as emblems of prestige, elitism and social distinction in LMC's bilingual schools. By telling these narratives, teachers not only portray the bilingual programs at their schools as recognizably different from the rest, but they also engage in evaluative claims embedded in a moral order having to do with the best ways of «doing being» bilingual despite the contradictions, tensions and dilemmas they face on a daily basis.

Excerpt (1). «We have a school of Excellence» [Interview with Ramón (R), Head of Sancho's Primary School. Participants: R and M (May, researcher)]

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|---|----|--|
| 1 | R: | tenemos un colegio:: de excelencia | 1 | R: | we have a school of excellence |
| 2 | M: | sí | 2 | M: | yes |
| 3 | R: | yo creo que de excelencia de verdad | 3 | R: | I think it is really true excellence |
| 4 | M: | uhm | 4 | M: | uhm |
| 5 | R: | no de excelencia nominal que también tenemos la excelencia nominal | 5 | R: | not just nominal excellence although we also have the nominal excellence |
| 6 | M: | sí | 6 | M: | yes |
| 7 | R: | pero de excelencia pero=muy desorientados y la administración está muy desorientada con este tipo de colegios=no saben realmente qué hacer con él | 7 | R: | but [real] excellence=but the administration is very disoriented with this type of schools=they don't really know what to do with it |
| 8 | M: | uhm cambiarán las cosas ahora? nuevo | 8 | M: | uhmm will things change now? new |

- | | | | | | |
|----|----|---|----|----|--|
| | | gobierno | | | government |
| 9 | R: | (.6) no lo sé=el gobierno que estaba antes del que se va | 9 | R: | (.6) I don't know=the government prior to the one that is going to leave |
| 10 | M: | sí | 10 | M: | yes |
| 11 | R: | que era del mismo signo que éste jamás se atrevió [a] | 11 | R: | which had the same orientation as this one ever [dared] |
| 12 | M: | [no] hizo ningún cambio | 12 | M: | [it didn't] make any changes |
| 13 | R: | tocar esto=no lo entendía muy bien=es verdad que no lo entendía muy bien pero no se atrevió a hacer nada=todo lo más cuando hablaban que se dejaban dos de las cuatro nativas=bueno nosotros hablamos de nativas porque solo hemos tenido nativas | 13 | R: | touch this=they did not understand it very well=it's true they didn't understand it very well but they didn't dare do anything =all they did was talked about letting two natives instead of the four ones=well we talk about natives because we have only had natives |
| 14 | M: | sí | 14 | M: | I see |
| 15 | R: | las cuatro profesoras seleccionadas por el British se iba a quedar en dos | 15 | R: | the four teachers who were selected by the British=they were going to axe them |
| 16 | M: | sí | 16 | M: | yes |
| 17 | R: | el barrio se puso en armas casi y entonces mantuvo las cuatro=o sea no se atrevió a quitar las dos= es decir el gobierno de hasta 2011 mantuvo y dijo que a lo mejor quitaba dos | 17 | R: | the neighborhood almost armed itself and it kept the four=I mean=it didn't dare do without the two [native teachers]=I mean the government up to 2011 kept and said that maybe it would get rid of two [native teachers] |
| 18 | M: | sí | 18 | M: | yes |

- | | | | | | |
|----|----|---|----|-----|--|
| 19 | R: | y el barrio se levantó | 19 | R: | and the neighborhood rose up |
| 20 | M: | sí | 20 | M: | yes |
| 21 | R: | el nuevo gobierno que
empezó en el 2011
quito las cuatro de un
plumazo y salvo la
asociación de madres y
padres | 21 | R: | and the new government that
started in 2011
got rid of the four with one stroke
of a pen and
except for the parents' association |
| 22 | M: | sí | 22 | M: | yes |
| 23 | R: | que yo creo que estos
colegios siguen
teniendo esa especie de
plus | 23 | R: | that I think these schools continue
having this
sort of plus |
| 24 | M: | sí | 24 | M: | yes |
| 25 | R: | sobre las ordenes de
bilingüismo de
Castilla-La Mancha
gracias a las AMPAS | 25 | R: | over the mandates of the
bilingualism of
Castilla-La Mancha thanks to the
AMPAS |
| 26 | M: | claro (.5) se mueven
mucho no? | 26 | M: | of course (.5) they are very active,
right? |
| 27 | R: | se mueven bastante y la
de nuestro colegio
se mueve especialmente y
la de nuestro
colegio está
especialmente
concienciada
de la importancia que
tiene el programa | 27 | R: | they are very active and ours is
especially active and ours is
especially
conscious of the importance that
the program
has |
| 28 | M: | sí | 28 | M: | yes |
| 29 | R: | y entonces este colegio
esta que se sale | 29 | R:: | so then this school is kicking off |

In this narrative, Ramón evaluates the evolution of the bilingual program at Sancho's and the significant changes the school underwent after the four British teachers who had been working over a decade at this school were fired unexpectedly. For Ramón, the labelling of this school as of «excellence» goes beyond the local administration's interest in classifying this school as such according to the levels of implementation and required human resources contemplated in the decree of plurilingualism up to 2017, which the new educational administration (2015-present) no longer contemplates, and instead suggests percentages of time of instruction in English. As head of one the very few «British schools» in the region (seven

primary schools in total), Ramón constructs the administration as «confused» regarding what to do with this type of schools, whose prestige is strongly embraced by the whole school community. The central role assigned to «native teachers» as emblems of social distinction is significant in this narrative to illustrate the extent to which «nativist» ideologies are embedded in the construction of this type of bilingual program as it is regarded as more «authentic» than the ones supported by the local administration. For Ramón, having native teachers selected by the British council (line 15) is a «plus» (line 23). That is, the evaluation of Sancho's as a school of excellence in this narrative conveys the adding value of «native teachers» as a *sine qua non* for the sustainability of any bilingual program. In this case, the prestige of Sancho's as the first bilingual school in LMC is embraced and fought for among the Parent-Student Association (AMPA) (lines 21, 25), as well as the neighborhood this school serves (line 27). In fact, the body of stakeholders' narratives collected in our ethnography reveals – as a turning point in the history of the bilingual program at Sancho's – the firing of the four native teachers, which resulted in a strong resistance among the school community to comply with the local administration's decisions to prescind from them (Relaño Pastor, 2018a).

The evaluation of Sancho's as a school of excellence, more genuine and authentic than the rest of the bilingual schools in town, due to its identity as one of the MECD-British Council bilingual schools in Castilla-La Mancha, is similarly embraced by the school community of High Towers (see section 3.1.2.). In this case, the agreement with the British Council is constructed as an emblem of quality and exceptionality:

Extract (2). «Our school is like an exception» [Interview with Charlie (CH), English teacher and bilingual program Coordinator at High Towers. Participants: CH and FR (Frances, researcher)]

1. FR: yeah (.) what's (.) what's in the center for the school to (.) to kind of (.) bring on the bilingual (.) program (.5) like (.) is the region really pushing fo:r↑
2. CH: well (.) our school (.5) is like an exception (.) i:n the sense that it's got quality as well
3. FR: yeah
4. CH: so: (.) it's good because we've got like this kind of agreement (.) with the British council
5. FR: yeah (.) yes
6. CH: this is kind of special
7. FR: yes
8. CH: so we've got like a different curriculum
9. FR: yes
10. CH: it's like the mixture of a Spanish and a British [curriculum]
11. CH: so: (.5) that's (.) probably (.5) what parents value the most
12. FR: yeah yeah
13. CH: that they've got more [English]
14. FR: [yeah] =
15. CH: = more English lessons
16. FR: yeah
17. CH: and it's good (.) [and then]
18. FR: [yeah] =

19. CH: = you can feel that is (.5) really good (.5) students
 20. FR: uhm uh
 21. CH: are good (.5) and also the methodology we use because I am using (.)
 I am teaching bilingual and non-bilingual students
 22. FR: yeah
 23. CH: and it's like I::'m (.5) a magical person [in the non-bilingual classes]
 24. FR: [((@@@)) really↑]
 25. CH: [yeah because (.) yes it's like eh]
 26 FR: [you've got a different identity↑]
 27. CH: I can't explain it but it's like (.5) non-bilingual are so: bad (1.0) they're really bad
 28. FR: ((@@@))

In this narrative, Charlie constructs the identity of High Towers' as «special» due to the signed educational agreement with the British Council (see section 3.1.2). He evaluates High Towers' as being an exception in the local public school market: the integrated British/Spanish curriculum is special, the methodology is good, the students who choose the British bilingual program are good, and the families who choose this program are satisfied with the level of exposure to the English language. This moral stance conveys nonetheless emerging processes of social categorization based on a hierarchy of value attributed to students who do not follow this program and attend the regular curriculum. As Charlie points out in lines 23-27, he becomes a «magical person» when teaching non-bilingual students, who are morally evaluated as being «so bad» and «really bad». The moral meanings associated to non-bilingual students in bilingual schools have resulted in a hierarchization of students based on academic performance, socioeconomic status and social behavior (Relaño Pastor, 2018b). Charlie reinforces this idea in the interview: «the problem is that (.) bilingual students are good so if you're not bilingual (.) by definition is that you're gonna be bad (.5) not only bad but difficult background». In fact, one of the main methodological challenges teachers in general agreed on, had to do with having both groups of students (those labelled «bilingual» and «non-bilingual») in the same classroom when they reach the first year of their baccalaureate degree, where the bilingual program is no longer in place. In fact, schools in LMC have to comply with the regional administration and can only offer CLIL classes during the stage of compulsory secondary education.

The positive evaluation of the bilingual program at High Towers' contrasts with the tensions and dilemmas CLIL teachers have to face on a daily basis, having to do, among other, with the lack of professional development support and additional hours they invest in the CLIL project to keep up with the prestige that the school management team and the regional administration demand from them:

Extract (3). Encarna: «You are a *pringada*». [Interview with Encarna (EN), CLIL music teacher at High Towers. Participants: EN and FR (Frances, researcher)]

1. EN: eh:: sometimes I feel a bit (.5) eh:: (.) stupid (.) eh (.) but (.) eh:: I feel stupid
 2. because I've been working very very hard (.5) and I haven't received (.) any sort of
 3. compensation (.5) in exchange (.5) ok? (1.0) eh:: (.) well sometimes eh: the work
 4. has been quite (.5) eh fine (.7) and I receive a sort of compensation of my students

5. (.) uhm uh and there are eh:: you don't feel any sort of eh gratitude (.) or you don't
6. feel any sort of something in exchange they are always asking you to do
7. something else (.) something more (.) so this is quite frustrating ((@@@)) and (.)
8. well I am not earning any more and other people (.) which is >well<(.) is not the
9. point no? (.) I am not worried about the money exactly (.) uhm uh [...] I don't know
10. how to translate in English (.) you are a pringada (.) eh:: pringada is a quite is slang
11. quite colloquial (.) just in Spanish is to say eh: (.) you receive a lot of work (.) uhm uh

This particular narrative of the CLIL music teacher in High Towers elucidates the extent to which institutional pressure affects those teachers involved in the bilingual program. In this case, Encarna is the only content subject teacher accredited with a C1 level, one of the essential requirements for schools opting to belong to the «excellence» category. This way, the good reputation of the bilingual program at High Towers mostly relies on the linguistic capital that Encarna symbolizes despite the negative personal implications this situation is causing her. In her own words, she feels «stupid» since she is overloaded with work – having to prepare her own materials – but receiving no compensation whatsoever from the regional administration. In line 10, the slang term «pringada» (meaning «looser») illustrates other teachers' perceptions of her role in the bilingual program, positioning her as undermined among her colleagues, but actually struggling to keep the school's good reputation despite these unfavorable circumstances.

Being the only one at this school fulfilling the bilingual program requirements, her position at this school is comparatively privileged, as it implies teaching those academically «better» students instead of those who are not part of the bilingual program. This situation creates tensions and disputes among teachers who are not accredited to get involved in the bilingual program and, thus, are allocated with the non-bilingual students, who are generally labelled as «bad» students, as Charlie's narrative illustrates.

In terms of professional development, Encarna's frustration is compensated with her students' positive academic performance. In fact, as she further explains in the interview, there seems to be a selection of students in terms of socioeconomic background; that is, those belonging to the bilingual program are overstimulated by families who are deeply concerned about their children's education and can also afford to pay for extra curricular classes.

As it has been previously pointed out, within the local linguistic market, each institutional site adopts its own «selling strategies» in order to attract families. San Marcos', one of the two state-funded run schools, has recently been concerned about how to perpetuate, expand and promote its bi/trilingual program against the backdrop of the proliferation of so many types of such bilingual education programs in the autonomous region. The following extract illustrates the dominant discourse of teachers and coordinators of the bi/trilingual program in San Marcos' about how to move forward in order to stand out among the rest of the bilingual schools at the local level mutually competing for prestige.

Extract (4). «El colegio no se puede quedar atrás en todo esto». [Interview with Graciela (G), coordinator of the bilingual program at San Marcos' and English teacher in compulsory secondary education. Participants: G and M (May, researcher)]

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. M: la moti...del centro (.) ya como eh::
cuál es la motivación del colegio por la
apuesta de [(no determinado)] ↑ | 1. M: the moti...of the centre (.) like eh:::
which is the motivation of the centre to
fight for [(non determined)] ↑ |
| 2. G: [(hombre)] el colegio no se puede
quedar atrás e::n en todo esto | 2. G: [(well)] the school cannot be left
behind i::n all this |
| 3. M: sí | 3. M: yes |
| 4. G: o sea esto ha sido algo | 4. G: I mean, this has been something |
| 5. M: sí | 5. M: yes |
| 6. G: además eh:: desde el principio por ser
innovadores | 6. G: besides eh:: since the beginning to
be innovative |
| 7. M: uhm uh | 7. M: uhm uh |
| 8. G: porque es lo que digo (.) cuando
nadie (.) nosotros [ya] | 8. G: because this is what I'm saying (.)
when nobody (.) we had [already] |
| 9. M: [sí] = | 9. M: [yes]= |
| 10. G: estábamos con esto (.5) y ahora
pues fíjate (.) ahora (.) pues fíjate (.)
ahora que parece que todo el mundo se
está subiendo a::l carro [pues] | 10. G: been into this (.5) and now look
(.) now (.) look (.) now it seems that
everybody is getting on:: board [so] |
| 11. M: [sí] = | 11. M: [yes]= |
| 12. G: =tendremos que hacer algo para ir
[un poquito] | 12. G: =we will have to do something to
go [a little bit] |
| 13. M: [uhm uh] = | 13. M: [uhm uh]= |
| 14. G: =más allá | 14. G: =beyond |

According to Graciela, «the school cannot be left behind» given the fact that «everybody is getting onboard», implying that most schools in the region are implementing different types of bilingual education programs following the mandates of the regional administration. That is why San Marcos' attempts to «go further beyond» in terms of the services the school offers within its bilingual program. In this case, San Marcos' has implemented what they label «the trilingual program» in the 3rd grade of compulsory secondary education, thus teaching one curricular subject – geography and history – in an additional language (French). As part of this plurilingual education program, these students are given the opportunity to participate in a one-week exchange program in Bordeaux (France).

Apart from having implemented the regional language policy, this school still keeps the original label for its pioneering bilingual program: the BEDA (Bilingual English Development and Assessment) program. It was originally designed and implemented in most Catholic private and state-funded private schools, which provided these schools with a marker of distinction among other local/regional school communities.

In terms of how this school constructs elitism and prestige within its walls and beyond, it is remarkable how teachers and coordinators consider these «trilingual» students as being by far «the best» students, as the following extract highlights:

Extract (5). «The (big) difference is from the trilingual to the bilingual». [Interview with Juan José (JJ), CLIL math teacher, and Juan Luis (JL), CLIL biology teacher at San Marcos'. Participants: JJ, JL and A (Alicia, researcher)]

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. JJ: la gran diferencia no es del bilingüe al no bilingüe (.7) yo siempre lo digo la diferencia es del trilingüe al bilingüe [y se nota eh] | 1. JJ: the big difference is not from bilingual to non bilingual (.7) I always say the big difference is from trilingual to bilingual [and it's noticeable] |
| 2. [...] | 2. [...] |
| 3. JL: = son académicamente muy buenos | 3. JL: = they are academically very good |
| 4. JJ: [es que son] | 4. JJ: [they just are] |
| 5. A: [claro] = | 5. A: [sure] = |
| 6. JJ: = se piden notas (.) se pide nota también [con lo cual pues] | 6. JJ: marks are required (.) marks are also required [so then] |

In this interview, carried out with two CLIL teachers in the bi/trilingual program (the biology and math teacher, respectively), trilingual students are portrayed as being «academically really good» (line 3), given the fact that the ones who choose to be part of the trilingual group are those whose level of English is high enough and their marks are mostly brilliant (line 6). In their own words, what actually makes a difference between this school and other bilingual schools is the trilingual program (line 1), which naturally selects the best students, not only in terms of their academic achievement, but also in terms of social behavior in the classroom. Thus, three different competing levels of schooling are established: non-bilingual, bilingual and trilingual. These three categories convey ideologies having to do with beliefs, values and attitudes regarding who counts as «the best» or «the worst» students. Therefore, this school is socially deemed as elitist due to its unique trilingual program at the local level, to which only a few students are legitimate to belong.

Our ethnography at this school shows that different language ideologies surface teachers' narratives of bilingualism and bilingual programs. One of the most dominant, as the next narrative exemplifies, refers to both teachers' opinion about the use of English and what bilingual education entails:

Extract (6). «I always tell them “use your English as a tool”» [Interview with Juan José (JJ), CLIL math teacher, and Juan Luis (JL), CLIL biology teacher at San Marcos'. Participants: JJ, JL and A (Alicia, researcher)]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 JJ: luego hay un tema (.) yo:: siempre se lo digo a los chicos (1.0) es utilizar el inglés como herramienta (.5) vamos a ver el inglés es una herramienta (.) no es un fin (.) o sea (.) | 1 JJ: then there is an issue (.) I always::s tell this to the students (1.0) use English as a tool (.5) I mean, English is a tool (.) not an end (.) I mean (.) |
|--|---|

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| | <p>el inglés se ve como las matemáticas=como las ciencias (.) como la lengua (.) como no sé qué (.) como un fin >no no no< (.5) es una herramienta: (.5) el inglés te vale para cosas (.) [no estudias]</p> | | <p>English is seen as math=as science (.) as language (.) as I don't know what (.) as an end >no no no< (.5) it is a too:l (.5) English is useful for things (.) [you don't study]</p> |
| 2 | A: [uhm uh]= | 2 | A: [uhm uh]= |
| 3 | JJ: =inglés como:: (.) yo es que quiero saber mucho inglés no no (.) estudio inglés porque me va a servir para esto para lo otro (.) yo creo que los programas de bilingüismo te sirven para:: darte una idea de lo que sirve el inglés [...] | 3 | JJ: =English a::s (.) I want to know a lot of English no no (.) I study English because it is going to be useful for this for that (.) I think bilingual programs are useful to:: give you an idea of how useful English is [...] |
| 4 | JJ: [sí hombre] (.) yo creo que los padres lo enfoca:n (1.2) más como mercado laboral (.5) ahora yo a los chicos se lo digo (.) yo les digo (.) yo no voy a decir eso (.5) ya os lo dicen vuestros padres (.5) yo creo que es (.) es más la oportunidad personal (.) o sea el hablar un idioma | 4 | JJ: [yeah well] (.) I think that parents thi:nk of it as a job market (.5) now I tell this to the students (.) I tell them (.) I am not going to say that (.5) your parents already tell you this (.5) I think it is (.) more like the personal opportunity (.) I mean speaking a language |
| 5 | A: uhm uh | 5 | A: uhm uh |
| 6 | JJ: hace que conozcas que puedas conocer (.) otros (.) doscientos trescientos mil millones [de personas] | 6 | JJ: makes you meet (.) other (.) two hundred three hundred thousand million [people] |

Both teachers agree on the instrumental value of the English language (i.e. «English as a tool», in line 1), thus sharing parents' opinion about English as key access to the labor market and better job opportunities in the future (line 4). However, the math teacher seems more concerned about the use of English as a global language for personal development and contact with other communities of speakers (line 6). This commodification of English as a global language has resulted in the rapid implementation of bilingual education programs, which are attributed different values according to the marketization strategies employed in each one of these schools to achieve «bilingualism».

It is precisely on this «bilingualism path» where most teachers involved in these bilingual programs in LMC find themselves surrounded by uncertainty, tensions, dilemmas and constraints. As the following extract reveals, the urgent implementation of bilingual education programs has pressured those teachers accredited with a B2 or C1 level of English to deliver their content subjects in English despite all the difficulties this entails for them. Extract 7 illustrates San Marcos' physics teacher's concerns and anxiety about how to improve his own teaching practice:

Extract (7). «My English my English my English my English». [Ernesto, the physics teacher talking about CLIL teachers' challenges in his presentation «Implementing CLIL in physics Classes: Challenges and Difficulties», at the V Congreso de Competencias Lingüísticas, Faculty of Education, UCLM, April 2016]

1. E: the fi:rst (1.0) eh: I would say (.) the main >the first of the aims< (.) eh:: (.)
2. challenge a CLIL teacher has to face is (.) the confidence about their level
3. in English (.) this is the first (1.0) un=unless (.) you were eh: a native CLIL
4. teacher (.) if you are a non native CLIL teacher (.) you'll always have this (not
5. determined) (.) ok (.) in over your heads (.) always (.) >my English my English
6. my English my English< (.) and you will see now why (.) knowledge (.) not only
7. English in general >of course yes< but knowledge of this specific (.) academic
8. language (.) ok (.) this is the first (.) >for example< in my case (.) subject
9. specific vocabulary (.) a (bit) of this for example (.) velocity versus speed (.) in the
10. no:rmal(.) use of the language (.) people say speed (.) however >we in
11. physics<distinguish between velocity and speed (.) velocity is a: a:: holistic concept
12. (0.8) ok (.) comprising (.) speed (.) there are different aspects (.) this is not a
13. physics class of course >but< (.) this subtlety (.) has to be distinguished (by) an
14. English teacher

In this narrative, Ernesto evaluates how his major concern relies on his scarce confidence in his English skills. Despite being one of the few teachers with a C1 accreditation at this school, Ernesto is fully aware of his own teaching practice and the linguistic constraints he is exposed to when dealing with his physics classes in a second language. Being a content expert but lacking the needed linguistic expertise makes his teaching practice become a challenge as well as an arduous task.

Two different categories emerge as part of the new social order established in these bilingual programs: native and non-native CLIL teachers (lines 3-4). This way, Ernesto aligns himself with the identity of a non-native CLIL teacher to position himself towards the several obstacles he has to face in his daily classroom practices.

As such, he would like to be supported by the native English assistants who only work alongside English teachers in the bilingual program. In this regard, Ernesto feels helpless as he invests time and effort in preparing his classes without receiving any compensation or feedback about his own practices.

In San Teo's, as section 3.1.4 has previously addressed, the role of native teachers is central in the organization of the bilingual program. In fact, the school has adopted its own labelling to group those teachers who participate in the bilingual program. The term «bilingüista» includes, in addition to the «native teachers», both English subject teachers and CLIL teachers who fulfill the linguistic requirements of the local administration and are accredited with a B2 or C1 level.

Extract (8). «Tenemos mucha suerte con los bilingüistas». [Interview with CL (Claudia) and R (Rosario), bilingual program coordinators in St. Teo's. Participants: A (Alicia, researcher), M (May, researcher), CL (Claudia) and R (Rosario)]

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|-----|--|
| 1 | CL: | yo creo que de hecho nuestro bilingüismo e:s (.)
eh:: bueno [porque::] | 1 | CL: | I think that our bilingualism i:s actually (.)
eh:: good [because::] |
| 2 | R: | [porque:] porque están (.)
porque están ellos
[profesores nativos] | 2 | R: | [because:] because they are (.)
because they are [native teachers] |
| 3 | M: | [claro] | 3 | M: | [sure] |
| 4 | CL: | [>bueno<] también hemos tenido casos
que hemos tenido nativos<que:::
>sabes?< que es verdad que [que:::] | 4 | CL: | [>well<] we have also had cases
in which we have had natives <that::>
>you know?< it is true that [tha::t] |
| 5 | M: | [sí]= | 5 | M: | [yeah]= |
| 6 | CL: | = es que tenemos >los nativos que tenemos<
es que son muy buenos = | 6 | CL: | =we have >the natives we have<
they are really good= |
| 7 | M: | =claro= | 7 | M: | =sure= |
| 8 | CL: | =que te quiero decir que es que tenemos mucha suerte con los bilingüistas | 8 | CL: | =I mean that we are really lucky to have the bilingüistas |

San Teo's relies on the hiring of English «native» teachers to compete in the local market of English language education (Relaño Pastor and Fernández Barrera, forthcoming; Fernández Barrera, 2017). The difference with the rest of the schools in our research is the central role and value assigned to these teachers. Sandra, a British woman in her mid-30s, who started teaching in San Teo's as a language assistant in 2008 working 10 hours a week, was a full teacher in the academic year 2016/2017, with a schedule of 32 weekly hours, including content subjects in biology, physics, chemistry, philosophy, technology and arts in teacher partnerships with subject specialists, in addition to her English classes to prepare students for the different levels of Cambridge exams. In the following narrative, she evaluates her role in the bilingual program:

Extract (9). «I'm obviously not qualified in any of the subjects». [Interview with SA (Sandra), native teacher in Compulsory Secondary Education in St. Teo's. Participants: A (Alicia, researcher), M (May, researcher), FR (Frances, researcher)]

1. SA: so: eh: I (.) I'm obviously not qualified in any of the subjects (.) a:nd (.5) I don't know uhm: I mean what I do is I learn it all
2. FR: [uhm uh]
3. SA: [I teach myself] eh:: because I think I must must be perfect for the children hh I am not entirely sure is that is what (.) it's very like because it's me and the teacher (.5) [in the room]
4. FR: [uhm uh]
5. SA: so: for example in biology (.) you know (.) the idea is that I'm the English (.) but I'm the biology teacher >like I don't (.) I am not supposed technically (.) need to know biology<
6. FR: uhm uh
7. SA: I am not sure >because I do< I study everything so I do know it
8. FR: yeah
9. SA: so I can just teach and the teacher does (.) nothing (.) the only class when the teacher really participates is in physics
10. FR: uhm uh

In this narrative, Sandra recognizes matter-of-factly she is not an expert in the subjects she teaches (line 1). She explains how she accommodates to the school's demands by learning about the content in the subjects she is hired to teach. Her linguistic expertise is more valued than her lack of qualification as a content teacher in these subjects. Although San Teo's uses the hiring of these native teachers as a market strategy to attract middle and upper-class families in LMC, the bilingual program at this school remains as of «development» in terms of content specialists who have been accredited with a B2 level of English, in this case, in biology and physics.

Overall, this body of narratives have illustrated how the implementation of the different types of bilingual programs in LMC is transforming the social organization of bilingual schools, demanding extra work from teachers (Codó and Patiño-Santos, 2017), and creating social hierarchies among teachers and students based on the legitimate belonging – or not – to these bilingual programs and the central value

assigned to «native» teachers (i.e.: «bilingual/non-bilingual» teachers and students or CLIL native/CLIL non-native teachers).

5. Concluding discussion

This article has analyzed how neoliberalism as ideology and practice is embedded in the narratives of CLIL teachers participating in different bilingual education programs in LMC. Although each of the four schools of our data appropriates the role of English language education and its relationship with neoliberalism in particular ways, having to do mostly with the allocation of material and human resources that the local educational administration permits, the responses towards the dominant neoliberal order that has institutionalized bilingual programs in LMC's schools have proved their analytical worth in our research.

To start with, teachers' narratives of prestige and elitism share comparable motivations in the frenzy pursuit of English learning in the different CLIL-type bilingual programs. Similar to the Korean case, analyzed by Park and Lo (2012), English is constructed as «an acquirable commodity, something one can gain by strategically deploying the material resources at one's disposal to move to a particular geographical location» (p. 158). Except for Sancho's Primary, all the schools in our study organized cultural trips to English-speaking countries as part of the neoliberal goal to achieve a marketable command of English that satisfy families' investment in the best bilingual program of LMC (Relaño Pastor, forthcoming).

Secondly, bilingualism is portrayed in these narratives as a «detachable, malleable, marketable resource or skill» (Park and Lo, 2012, p. 150), a commodity that schools can offer and students can gain as future qualified workers of a competitive «English plus» job market. The achievement of English competence in these bilingual programs becomes a legitimate and «responsible act of investment» (Park, 2010) in an important «soft skill» (Urcioli, 2008) that should maximize labor opportunities in neoliberal job market. As excerpt 6 has illustrated, bilingual programs increase the dominant visibility and instrumental value of English in the labor market despite the promotion of other languages such as French in the trilingual program of San Marcos'.

Thirdly, despite displaying different strategies of bilingualism marketization (i.e. the identity of Sancho's and High Towers' as «British» schools due to the MECED-British council bilingual programs; the «trilingual» program and the BEDA program at San Marcos' as innovative and pioneering emblems; and the construction of native English teachers («bilingüistas») as a badge of authenticity and academic success in San Teo's), teachers' narratives also find commonalities in terms of the anxieties, tensions and dilemmas the implementation of these bilingual programs have resulted in. Even if the investment in English is «internalized and naturalized as a moral issue and a necessary component of the ideal image of the neoliberal self» (Gao and Park, 2015, p. 87), CLIL teachers participating in these bilingual programs evaluated their performance with a range of emotions, from frustration and disappointment in the case of Encarna (excerpt 3), whose personal investment in the bilingual program was not recognized among her colleagues, to worry and distress in the case of Ernesto (excerpt 7) for not having the required English competence to

teach physics, as well as uneasiness and uncertainty in the case of Sandra (excerpt 9), who understands her central role as an English native speaker in the bilingual program, but distrusts the school's decision to make her teach content subjects she is not qualified for.

Overall, the commodification of English language learning in the different bilingual programs of our ethnography must be understood, following Gao and Park (2015), as «a process grounded in complex material conditions and inequalities that make up the sociolinguistics and socioeconomic landscape of neoliberalism that we live in» (p. 80). That is, in order to understand the moral dimension of neoliberalism (i.e. individuals' orientations towards English and bilingualism as a legitimate desire of the neoliberal subject) articulated in these narratives, we must consider them as situated linguistic practices in relation to wider socio-political, moral and economic orders. For this reason, more ethnographic research is needed to approach CLIL-type bilingual programs in its full complexity to tell a comprehensive story that explains why teachers, in this case, engage in the practices they tell and how they are part of the neoliberalization processes involved in the global spread of English.

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7. Appendix. Transcription conventions (adapted from Sacks, Jefferson, & Schegloff, 1974)

↑	rising intonation
↓	falling intonation
CAPS	louder than surrounding talk
.	at the end of words marks falling intonation
,	at the end of words marks slight rising intonation
-	abrupt cutoff, stammering quality when hyphenating syllables of a word
!	animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
> <	speech faster than normal
_____	emphasis
:::	elongated sounds
• hh	inhalations
ha ha	indicates laughter
uhm uh	shows continuing listenership
◦ ◦	soft talk
	time elapsed in tenths of seconds
(.)	micropause
[]	overlapping speech
(())	nonverbal behavior
()	non audible segment
=	no interval between adjacent utterances

8. Acknowledgments

Data presented in this chapter was collected as part of the research project «The Appropriation of English as a Global Language in Castilla-La Mancha Schools: A multilingual, situated and comparative approach» –APINGLO-CLM– (Ref.: FFI2014-54179-C2-2-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO), 2015-2017. We are particularly indebted to the four schools that opened their doors to this project and all the participants who kindly shared their conflictual, yet rewarding, stories with us. Special thanks to Ulpiano José Losa Ballesteros for patiently transcribing these interviews and moving this project forward.

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