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Researching Multilingualism in Chinese Context with a Focus on English: A Qualitative Case Study of English Language Education in a Chinese Primary School

by

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Abstract

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Globalization has led to a multilingual sociolinguistic reality that no one can deny. Multilingualism is a complex and multidimensional concept (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). As Pennycook and Makoni (2020) point out, current discussion on multilingualism tends to focus on a Euro-centric perspective and understanding. It is thus constructive to explore possibilities of different forms and representations of multilingualism or multilingualisms (Heugh & Stroud, 2019). While multilingual practices include myriad material and non-material semiotic resources (e.g. Canagarajah, 2018; García & Li Wei, 2014; Kress, 2010), the concept of English as a multilingual franca (EMF) (Jenkins, 2015) opens up possibilities for considering English as a constructive part of multilingualism. English and multilingualism are 'mutually constitutive' (García & Lin, 2018, p. 77).

Concerning multilingual speakers with Asian background, previous studies have provided evidence that that national identity can hardly be ignored in discussing their multiple identities (e.g. Hashimoto, 2012; Le Ha, 2008; McPherron & McIntosh, 2020; Y. Wang, 2012, 2020; Xiong & Qian, 2012; Yim, 2007). Studies and discussions on positioning national identity in multilingualism with a focus on English are thus needed. Primary English language education in China is a prism of the Chinese societal language ideological issues and a context in which conflicting and competing language ideologies regarding English and being Chinese become pronounced. In this regard, a qualitative case study of primary English language education in China was conducted, which explored the shape and representation of multilingualism in Chinese context. Drawing from Spolsky's (2004) framework, the study explored the issue from three aspects, i.e., management of multilingualism, multilingual practices, and beliefs about multilingualism. The findings of this study suggest a shared desire for recognition in international settings, along with which there exists a paradox of the intention to consolidate and perform Chineseness through English and being self-marginalized as permanent standard British English learners. Establishing a 'new language' of national identity (Yim, 2007, p. 52) with a promotion of Chineseness through English largely shapes the form and representation of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education. Language ideological boundaries between the Chinese language and the English language are drawn while boundaries between the English language and non-linguistic modes are blurred. In this study, it argues that EMF-aware teaching can help to deal with the paradox in the way of preparing emergent Chinese multilingual speakers to engage with diverse English interlocutors in multilingual settings and empowering them with possibilities of identity construction and performance through English.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Yi Zou

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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Acknowledgements

Oranges are not the only fruit.

-- Jeanette Winterson

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During these five years studying in the UK, I fell in love with the British countryside and its coastal lines. But I still miss my hometown twenty years ago when there were still fields teeming with white butterflies, the echoing song of the cuckoo, the rustling bamboo forest, the sweet moonlight lotus ponds, and the pale pink peach and cherry flower hills. I dream of running through those fields with poems by Jorge Luis Borges and novels by Milan Kundera, and perhaps a basket of the juicy summer grapes and loquats.

My journey to Ixtlan continues.

Definitions and Abbreviations

ChELF .... Chinese English as a Lingua Franca

CLT .... Communicative Language Teaching

CoP .... Community of Practice

EFL .... English as a Foreign Language

EIL .... English as an International Language

ELF .... English as a Lingua Franca

ELT .... English Language Teaching

EMF .... English as a Multilingual Franca

EMI .... English as Medium of Instruction

ENL .... English as a Native Language

LA .... Language awareness

MOE .... Minister of Education

NESs .... Native English Speakers

NEST .... Native English Speaker Teachers

NNESs .... Non-native English Speakers

NNEST .... Non-native English Speaker Teachers

PEP .... People's Education Press

SLA .... Second Language Education

StE .... Standard English

TLA .... Teacher Language Awareness

WE .... World Englishes

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Introduction

This study is about the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education. This chapter starts with a brief sociolinguistic profile of China and the discourse of Chineseness in multilingual China, which contextualizes the background of researching multilingualism in Chinese context. In doing so, it also points out the focus of this study is about multilingualism among the majority Han ethnic group instead of other ethnic groups in China. Then it explains how the study is raised from and rationales behind the study. First, it reviews current debates on the limited understanding of multilingualism from Euro-centric perspective (e.g. Pennycook & Makoni, 2020), pointing out the need for shifting towards possibilities of different forms and representations of multilingualisms (e.g. Berthoud, Grin, & Lüdi, 2013), and calling for dialogues between multilingualisms (e.g. Heugh & Stroud, 2019). The exploration of the form and representation of multilingualism in Chinese context can thus contribute to continuous production and validation of our knowledge about multilingualism. Second, it points out the role of national identity in shaping the practices and representations of multilingualism is largely dismissed in current multilingualism discussion with a focus on English. Evidence from empirical studies on multilingual English speakers with Asian background (e.g. Hashimoto, 2012; Le Ha, 2008; McPherron & McIntosh, 2020; Y. Wang, 2012, 2020; Yim, 2007) suggests that national identity can hardly be ignored in discussing their multiple identities. The rest of the chapter provides a review of primary English language education in China which is the focus field of researching multilingualism. In the end, it provides an overview of the thesis.

1.1.1   Multilingual China

China is a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual country (e.g. Hong & He, 2015). The Chinese government officially recognizes a total of 56 ethnic groups within the country. The Han Chinese, comprising 92 percent of the population with approximately 1.37 billion people, are the majority, while the remaining 55 ethnic groups account for around 105 million people (see Figure 1-1). While these ethnic minority groups have distinct cultural traditions, the linguistic tradition is particularly notable. With the exception of the Hui and Manchu ethnicities, whose mother tongue is Chinese (the same as Han), most minority groups have their own languages, amounting to over 100 languages in total (see Figure 1-2). At the same time, the Chinese language itself can be categorized into seven major dialects, each encompassing numerous sub-dialects (see Figure 1-3).

Notably, Chinese dialects, particularly the southern ones, exhibit variations not only in pronunciation but also in vocabulary and certain aspects of syntax.

Furthermore, since English has become a compulsory subject in the Chinese education system (more detail review for this education policy is provided in section 1.3.1), most Han Chinese and ethnic minorities have been engaged with at least three main languages in schools: Mandarin Chinese, a local Chinese dialect, and English for the Han Chinese; and Mandarin Chinese, a minority language, and English for the ethnic minorities. It is important to note that Chinese dialects have gained prominence in Chinese popular culture in recent years. Such "grassroots multilingualism" involves dynamic relations between languages and other semiosis. They have found their places in popular movies, songs, and trending video blogs on platforms such as Kuaishou (快手) and Douyin/TikTok (抖音). Given their prevalence in the daily lives of Chinese people, particular in entertainment, Chinese dialects are gradually being used to promote Chinese nationalism. For instance, in the recent blockbuster movie "My People, My Country", which pays a tribute to the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, various dialects, alongside national symbols, anthems, and traditional music, are consciously and strategically employed by the Chinese government as discursive tools to promote a strong national identity (H. Huang, Blommaert, & Van Praet, 2020). It is worth noting that this ideological promotion has been seemingly depoliticized through commercialization (ibid.).

This study focuses on the multilingualism and multilingual education among the majority Han Chinese, but it is important to briefly review the concerns surrounding multilingualism and multilingual education among ethnic minority Chinese to provide context for the academic discussion. Understanding the different focal issues between these two groups and the dynamics of multilingualism in the Chinese context will be beneficial.

In mainland China, most ethnic minority students face the challenge of learning three languages in schools, including the standardized variety of their home language, Mandarin Chinese and a foreign language, usually English (Feng & Adamson, 2018). The study of multilingual education for Chinese ethnic minority groups has been recently active since the turn of the twenty-first century, especially with the introduction of English as a school subject in primary schools since 2001 (Feng, 2005, 2011). Researchers in this area primarily focus on policy making and implementation of various pedagogical models (e.g. D. Y. Hu, 2007; Q. G. Liu, 2013), as well as attitudes and motivation of ethnic minority students towards language learning (e.g. Wei, 2008; Yuan, 2007). Let's take studies conducted in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture (凉山彝族自治区) as an example. This region, located in the mountainous southwest China, is home to many Chinese ethnic groups, mainly including the Yi, Han, Tibetan and many others. The Yi people (彝族), who

make up the largest ethnic group in the region according to the Seventh National Census conducted in 2022, have a distinct language that belongs to the Burmese-Lolo language group, namely Nuosu (Matisoff, 2003). One strand of previous research on multilingual education in Liangshan has focused on language use and language attitudes among different social actors. In Wei's study (2008), Nuosu serves as the primary means of communication among Yi people in Ganluo, a county located in the northern part of Liangshan. Meanwhile, there is a strong desire among them to learn and become proficient in Chinese. In Ding and Yu's research (2013), they depicted the dilemma that Yi parents face in their choice of language courses offered by different school settings, which was often paralleled by unequal educational resources distributions. Similar issues were observed among other minority groups such as Uyghur and Tibetan (e.g. Tsung & Cruickshank, 2009; L. Zhang & Tsung, 2019). In a recent study, J. Yao and Turner (2023) identified a divide between literacy and oracy in multilingual education. While written standard Yi language was given priority in school, it was not commonly used in daily life. In contrast, spoken Nuosu Yi was frequently used by students and teachers in informal interactions but was largely excluded in the highly standardized and literacy-focused institutional setting of the school. The study demonstrated that students' existing multilingual repertoire were not considered valuable in the formal education setting.

Another line of research centres on language policy in education and its implementation. Aga (2007) found that a significant number of secondary schools located in Yi-dominated regions lacked the qualifications and resources to implement trilingual education. He argued for the feasibility of the implementation of trilingual education for Yi students. C. Y. Liu, Ding, Wang, Yu, and Yang (2015) identified the lack of coordination between the upper and lower policy bodies of government. The authors argue that the legally equal status of Nuosu and Chinese cannot be realized, as many socio-economic, historical and political factors correspondingly have a role to play in this respect. In the same vein, Feng and Adamson (2018) call for attention to contextual factors. Their paper argues that language policymaking in different domains including families, schools, regions, and the state should be informed by research evidence on practical models that are effective in meeting the cognitive and affective needs of children from ethnic minority backgrounds.

As seen above, most of the studies conducted in this area focus on language use and attitudes and the implementations of language policy and pedagogy, while the identity dimension of multilingualism and multilingual education among ethnic groups are sporadic. It seems that the stories of individual multilingual subjects are often overshadowed by grand narrative of history, top-down policies, and social structures. A more identity-focused perspective that looks at how ethnic minority children agentively construct their multiple identities while at the same time

exploring the discursive context in which social structure and ideological discourses contribute to their identity construction is urgently needed.

Above all, it is noted that issues related to language, identity, and culture among ethnic Chinese groups seem to be more evident and easier to point out. In contrast, these issues might be more *hidden and subtle* among the majority Han Chinese. Understanding the shape of multilingualism among majority Han Chinese is crucial not only to address their own needs but also help to promote the social justice, since the pursuit of openness, inclusion and cohesion, and equity is at the core of multilingualism (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty, & Panda, 2009). The fulfil of this pursuit lies on both shoulders of minority and majority groups of a society.

Figure 1-1 The Minorities Atlas of China (Source: 中国语言地图集 [Language Atlas of China])

Figure 1-2 The Minority Languages Atlas of China (Source: 中国语言地图集 [Language Atlas of China])
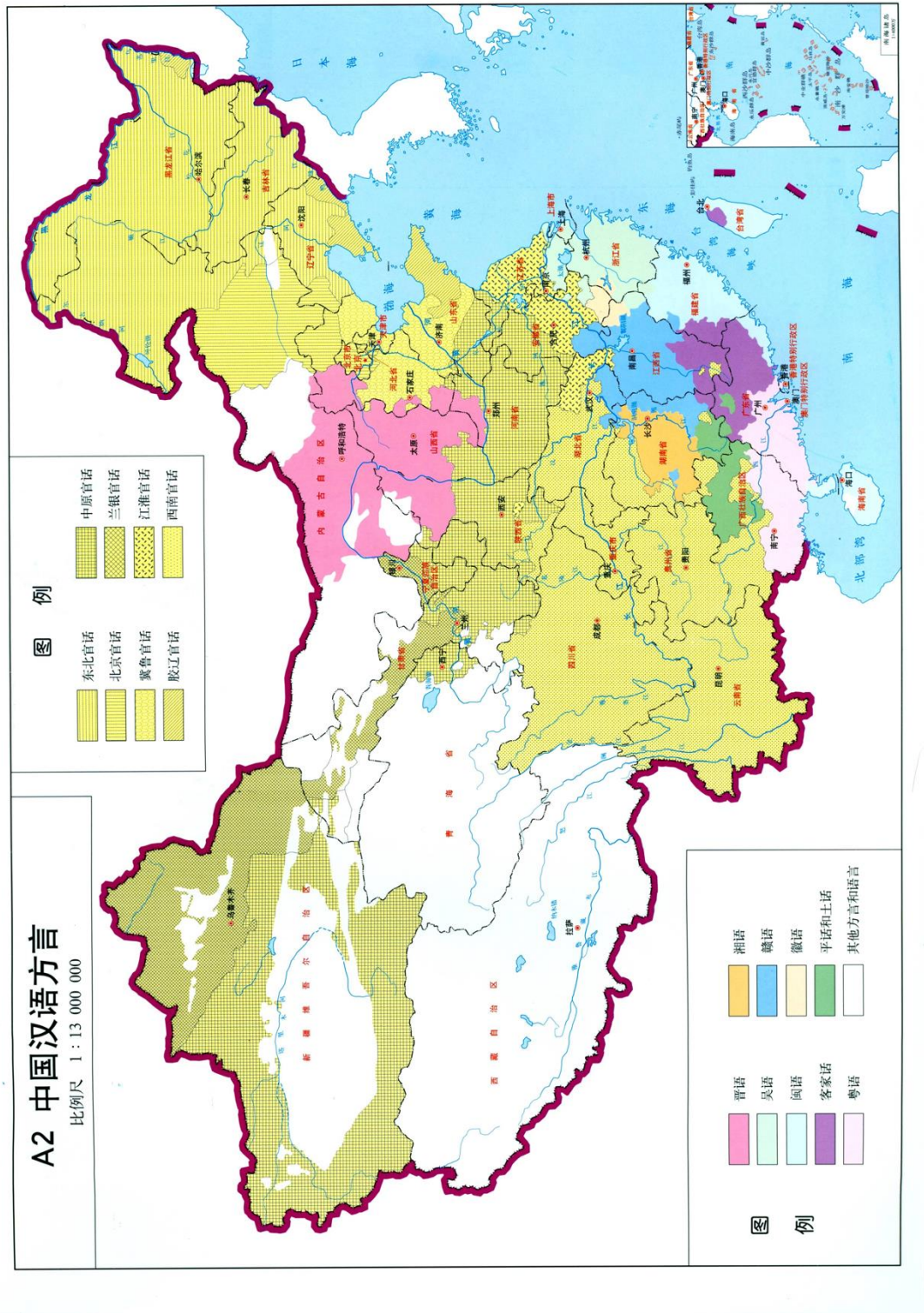
Figure 1-3 The Chinese Dialects Atlas of China (Source: 中国语言地图集 [Language Atlas of China])

1.1.2   Discourse of Chineseness

McPherron and McIntosh (2020) point out that English has been viewed as a means of connecting China to international community and promoting China on the world stage with a desire to

showcase the 'Chineseness' which has been historically, culturally, and politically shaped. To conduct a study on multilingualism with a focus on English in Chinese context, the concern of shared 'Chineseness' sits as the discursive context of my inquiries. Understanding Chineseness is important to examine and interpret the data of this study. In the following writing, I will discuss the discursive shaping of Chineseness in China in terms of the Chinese language, the Chinese culture, the China Dream, and the Confucian influence on Chinese identity, which encompass elements of power, bonds, and ethics established across time and space. These four dimensions interact with each other in the process of shaping Chineseness.

As for Chineseness in Chinese language, it is related to the power of the standard Chinese (Mandarin/Putonghua). The nationwide institutionalized campaign of the standard Chinese is largely state-directed with the aim of keeping an orderly and harmonized society (X. Wang, 2012). It is thus often related to the discussion of Chinese nationalism, which "demands monocultural and monolingual ideologies in times of economic development" (H. Wang & Yao, 2018, p. 42). The issue of Chinese nationalism and national identity will be further addressed in section 3.3. In China, language regime is strongly driven by language purism (C. W.-C. Li, 2004) and normative attention always revolves around the standard Chinese (Dong, 2010). Also, there is a strong belief in the superiority of Chinese over other languages historically, as Chinese used to serve as the medium of conveying the words and deeds of Confucius (Pan, 2014).

Second, root ('根' *gen*) and root-seeking practices ('寻根' *xun gen*) are concerned with the culture dimension in constructing Chineseness. The zeal for economic prosperity along with China's modernization and internationalization progress has leaded to an anxiety of identity loss (L. Chen, 2006). Root-seeking is thus an attempt to reconstruct the 'lost' identity. At the individual level, the Chinese word *gen* symbolizes the genesis and maintenance of life, which is inextricably tied to and equated with one's birthplace or ancestral village. Such bond to one's root is unique, sacred, and eternal. At the collective level, root indicates a collective imagination of Chinese culture within a geographic entity. While the notion of root has its cultural origination and manifests itself in the sentiment of 'soil complex' (Fei, 1992), it has come to denote a political entity – China as a nation state. The loyalty is constructed as an inseparable bond between Chinese and their cultural root in China. Loyalty to their homeland, both culturally and politically, has influenced the formation of 'Chineseness'. The individual and collective interacts in the way that the loyalty to one's home country and pride in one's culture is vital to the structuring of one's existence, to the formation of one's identity (L. L.-c. Wang, 1991).

Third, in current China, it is the China Dream that connects past, present, and future of the imagined Chinese nation. Callahan (2017) points out China Dream involves a nostalgic longing for

the past as a model for the future. In this sense, it connects past and future in the on-going China Dream. At the same time, the China Dream promotes a combination of individual dreams for happiness, fame, and fortune, and collective dreams for a wealthy and powerful nation. Also, the China dream has an *international element* (Callahan, 2017). It involves enterprise of increasing China's soft power, giving a good Chinese narrative, and better communicating China's message to the world. It also elaborates a security vision for China and the international community. Singh (2022) sees the complexity of China Dream which combines elements of Chinese nationalism, economic expansionism, foreign and security policy, and Confucianism. According to Singh (2022), China Dream articulates Chinese exceptionalism which seems to envisaging a China-centric narrative and offer a Chinese model to the world.

Fourth, the constructing of Chineseness is largely influence by Confucius idea on identity which emphasizes the role of ethics in identity construction. Confucian ethics is viewed as 'self-based ethics' (X. Chen, 2014, p. 68). The self is experienced and accomplished through living an ethical life. According to X. Yao (1996), the self can be completed only in one's engagement in social and righteous causes. An authentically ethical person in Confucius view is defined as someone who is "in harmony with others but does not lose himself/herself in others" (X. Chen, 2014, p. 67). Thus, one's self-development is a responsibility "not only for manifesting one's own nature and for manifesting the virtues of the family, but also for setting an example of integrity for others and for creating an environment in which every self can be brought to maturity" (X. Yao, 1996, p. 189). So, the bonds between individuals are essential in constructing self. Also, Confucian tradition situates identity in the discussion of time. It ponders questions of "Who am I?" (present), ''Where am I form?" (past), and "Who will I be?" (future) (X. Yao, 1996, p. 186).

In short, the discourse of Chineseness encompasses language-ideological, cultural, political, and historical dimensions, which contributes to an understanding of the complexity of Chinese national identity.

1.2   Researching multilingualism in Chinese context

1.2.1   Understanding multiple multilingualisms

In last twenty years, there are a plethora of and enthusiasm of empirical studies and theoretical discussions on multilingualism (e.g. Ayres-Bennett & Fisher, 2022; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Gabryś-Barker, Gałajda, Wojtaszek, & Zakrajewski, 2017; K. Horner & Weber, 2018; Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012). The 'turns' drawing on the studies of multilingualism in applied linguistics and language education is noticeable, such as the multilingual turn (Conteh & Meier,

2014; May, 2014), the translanguaging turn (García & Li Wei, 2014), and the translingual turn in writing studies (Canagarajah, 2018; Flores & Aneja, 2017; B. Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011), which comprise compelling responses to the monolingual bias that has historically permeated in the premises of the disciplines and their consequent practices and is "rapidly becoming a normative position for sociolinguists" (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 42). These are indeed important achievements. However, noticed by Makoni and Pennycook (2012, p. 439, my emphasis),

> Assumptions about the existence of languages and, ipso facto, multilingualism, are so deeply embedded in predominant paradigm of language studies that **they are rarely questioned**. Multilingualism, furthermore, viewed from this perspective, is **an indomitably good thing**: the task of linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguists and educational linguists is to enhance our understanding of multilingualism, to overcome the monolingual blinkers of Anglo- or Eurocentric thought, to encourage both the understanding of and the practice of multilingualism.

Argued by Duchêne (2020), this apparent historical shift or academic achievement deserves further examination. There is a need to be aware that what this enthusiasm might have erased even if we as researchers believe in good faith that multilingualism contributes to positive social change. The same as monolingualism, "multilingualism is also an ideological regime that produces difference and potential inequality" (ibid.: p. 95). At the same time,

> "We may also have acted naïvely and at times irresponsibly by not fully taking into account the capitalistic, patriarchal, colonialist, and nationalist societies in which we operate"
>
> (Duchêne, 2020, p. 96)

Here, Duchêne noticed two less-explored aspects of multilingualism, they are, the possible consequences of multilingualism as an ideological regime and the different contexts as an contributing factor to the shape and representation of multilingualism. These two aspects are in fact interrelated to each other. Multilingualism as an ideological regime that produces differences and inequalities in third-word developing countries actually have been noticed and explored by many scholars (e.g. Barakos & Selleck, 2019; Mohanty, 2010, 2017; Phyak & Ojha, 2019; Tamim, 2014). The concern of this issue mainly revolve around ideology of neoliberalism (e.g. Canagarajah, 2017; Kubota, 2016). For example, the very ideological form of 'elite multilingualism' can arise as a result of neoliberalism (e.g. Barakos & Selleck, 2019). However, another important aspect, the different contexts as an contributing factor to the shape and representation of

multilingualism, is still largely ignored, which is the concern of this thesis. Early in the edited book, *Exploring the Dynamics of Multilingualism* (Berthoud, Grin, & Lüdi, 2013), authors have discussed different representations of multilingualism, considering practices, policies, representations and contexts as fundamentally interrelated to shape different forms of multilingualism. While the contexts of these studies are still Euro-centric focusing on different 'forms of multilingualism in European history' (ibid.: xiii), these studies have inspired me to think of the form/forms of multilingualism in Chinese context. I am motivated to ask how multilingualism is shaped and represented as a result of the continuous interactions between Chinese local historicity, culture, practices, and policies. Duchêne's claim about "multilingualism as an ideological regime" seems strong for me in terms of its partial focus, though the ideological dimension is essential in considering issues of inequality. In fact, multilingualism is rather a complex and multidimensional concept that is always accomplied with issues as such as ideology, identity, and education (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). My concern is about current mainstream Euro-centric perspective on multilingualism that largely speaks for the whole diverse and complex multilingual world. The research contexts matter in our understanding of the complexity of multilingualism. Argued by Blommaert (2010, p. 24), "we need to see the world as a system of relatively autonomous local systems, we should realize that such systems have their own historicity". The local historicity, culture, epistemology, and policies can shape different forms and practices of multilingualism which needs to be critically studied.

Further, the concern about the research contexts of multilingualism is related to the debates on the dominance of Eurocentric knowledge production (e.g. Keim, Çelik, & Wöhrer, 2016). The Eurocentric knowledge production has been challenged and problematized by scholars whose research concern is beyond European and North American contexts. Claimed in both Shi-xu and Wu's edited books about discourses of cultural China that, current Eastern, third and fourth world cultural studies concerned still suffer from the problem of intellectual subjugation to Eurocentric, exclusive and universalizing concepts, values, theories, methods and even research questions (Shi-xu, 2007; Wu, 2008). Recent debates on such imbalanced knowledge production give attention to the perspectives of 'Global North' and 'Global South'. The epistemological dominance of Global North has been challenged (Fandiño-Parra, 2021; Kubota, 2020; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020; Sultana, 2022). In the field of multilingualism studies, Heugh and Stroud (2019) argue for turning attention towards southern ecologies of multilingualism. Thinking about the possibilities of multilingualisms, they suggest a new direction of conversations of multilingualism, that is, a direction of "mutual advantage in rethinking the social imaginary in relation to communality, entanglements and interconnectivities of both South and North" (ibid.: p. 1). Importantly, instead of asking for a replacement, what Heugh and Stroud (2019) argue for is pushing towards dialogues

between Southern multilingualisms and Northern multilingualisms, which are entangled and interacting with each other (see also Heugh, 2017). By doing so, a more comprehensive understanding of multilingualism can be achieved. Heugh and Stroud's concern about Southern multilingualisms and Northern multilingualism highlights the importance of contexts (instead of an essentialist approach to multilingualism) and knowledge production from different perspective. In the same vein, getting insights from Global South perspective, Pennycook and Makoni (2020, p. 42) supports the view on 'Southern mutilingualisms'. They problematize viewing multilingualism as a 'singular phenomenon' rather than embracing the full implications of a 'plurality of multilingualisms' (Heugh & Stroud, 2019, pp. 6-7, cited in Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 42). They point out the need to understand mutilingualisms as plural and diverse and argue for more sophisticated models that capture as far as possible the full panoply of contexts in the Global South, from urban to rural, from formally educated to informal, and from contemporary to historical sociolinguistic.

All in all, these debates and studies hold the intention of opening up our understanding of multilingualism from different perspectives with empirical research in different contexts, thus contribute to continuous production and validation of our knowledge about multilingualism. Understanding multiple multilingualisms, and possibilities as well as constrains of different forms and representations of multilingualisms is the starting point. Next section I will explain the consideration of positioning national identity in multilingualism when researching multilingualism in Chinese context.

1.2.2 Positioning national identity in multilingualism with a focus on English

Zhao (2022) points out the lack of studies of multilingualism and identity in non-Western contexts, which are urgently needed in order to validate, challenge, and expand dominant theories and approaches towards multilingualism. It seems hard to persuade that national identity is worth investigating in a globalized world where identities are multiple, fragmented, constantly changing in flux. But in such a world, there continue to exist national territories and nation-states where national identities matter in people's life in different ways to different degree (Omoniyi, 2006). Concerning multilingual speakers with Asian background, for examples, Chinese (e.g. Y. Wang, 2020), Japanese (e.g. Rivers, 2010), Vietnamese (e.g. Le Ha, 2008), South Korean (e.g. H. Park, 2012), and Singaporean (e.g. Alsagoff, 2010), studies suggest that national identity can hardly be ignored in discussing their multiple identities. Also, since the beginning of COVID-19 pandemic, the relevance and prominence of national identity have been pushed into the foreground (e.g. Tange & Jenks, 2023), which has motivated me to think about the intersections of national identity and multilingualism. Must multilingualism stand in opposition to the

formation and maintenance of national identity? In the recent edited book *Applied Linguistics and Language teaching in the Neo-Nationalist Era* (Mclntosh, 2020), studies in the collection across contexts demonstrate that national identity has become integral and inevitable, if sometimes invisible, in language education. Concerning English language teaching, argued by Motha (2020, p. 303, my emphasis),

> 'Throughout all of these critiques of nationalism in English language teaching, a nation-conscious applied linguistics practice needs to consider the degree to which those of us who are educated in English dominant nations are misusing our disproportionate global power and taking an imperialistic stance when we **dismiss the nationalistic commitments of others** and promote plurilingualism, openness to diversity, communicative pedagogies, learner autonomy, and other ideologies associated with the Global North'.

The above statement gives the idea that nation-conscious applied linguistics practice equips researchers to recognize instances of national commitment. In particular, it concerns the possibilities for "pedagogical interventions that may help to balance the country's nationalist and internationalist desires" (McPherron & McIntosh, 2020, p. 218). Regarding this, EMF-aware pedagogical intervention has the potential to fulfil this goal (e.g. Ishikawa, 2020). Considering multilingual speakers with Asian background, the co-existence and complex interactions between their national identity and international engagement have gained researchers' attention. For example, Wang's research (Y. Wang, 2012, 2020) have shown that Chinese speakers of English see their national identity as important in their engagement in international communications. Based on thorough empirical examination, she proposes the notion of ChELF (Chinese English as a Lingua Franca), referring to Chinese speakers' own way of using English for intercultural communication that reveals Chinese speakers value as their expression of nation identity. In the educational context, Yim (2007) analyses the parallel between Korean engagement of globalization and Korean national identity construction in middle school English textbooks. The finding suggests that Koreans construct their national identities through English. Sungwon takes such co-existence of nationalist orientation and internationalist desire as integrated in the "new concept of Korean nationalism", in which "in responding to the challenges of globalization, Korea has developed a new language of nationalism, a language for constructing a new Korean national identity that embraces both national goals and global responsibility so that Korea can become a strong, prosperous, and influential nation in the world" (ibid.: p.52). In this case, Sungwon provides us an insight of how nationalism is redefined in recent research. Previously, nationalism is usually criticized for its exclusion and erasure (e.g. Silverman, 2011). Exploring new languages of nationalism for constructing new national identities can be constructive for us to understand the

dynamics of individuals' multiple identity constructions in the time of co-existence of rigid nation states boundaries and intense global mobility. Speaking of Vietnamese context, Le Ha (2008, p. 182) finds that Vietnamese English teachers show their insistence on preserving the "shared Vietnamese values" in language teaching. Le Ha (2008, p. 157) argues that there is a 'core' identity among multilingual Vietnamese English teachers. Her research seems to suggest that the core national cultural identity is rooted in her participants. Hashimoto (2012) examines the *Japanisation* of English education in Japan. He argues that the aim of English education in Japan is not really for the nation state's internationalization but for Japanisation with the emphasis on Japanese language. Similarly, Le-Ha (2013) analyses a policy document called *Action Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities* issued by Japan's MEXT. The policy document highlights the government's wish that being good at Japanese language is taken as an essential pre-requisite for learning English. It is not difficult to see that *sharedness* is highlighted in the nationalist discourse. From these studies, we can see that the sharedness mainly comprises of the shared cultural values among individuals and shared desire of international engagement and collective recognition in this engagement.

Above all, these empirical studies and theoretical discussions have pushed us to shift focus on the role of national identity in shaping the practices and representations of multilingualism, which is overlooked (intentionally or unintentionally) in current multilingualism studies. The ideas around how multilingualism and national identities intersecting is directly relevant to Badwan's (2021) intersecting perspective on language that sits on the borders of the political, economic, ideological, historical, and social. On the one hand, it aims to contribute to a critical reflection on national identity, since a 'new language' of national identity (Yim, 2007, p. 52) is being shaped, constructed, and developed through and in multilingual practices. On the other hand, it can complement current Euro-centric multilingualism discussions in which the role of national identification is largely dismissed. Accordingly, dialogues between Euro-centric multilingualism and non-Euro-centric multilingualism are expected.

1.3   Primary English language education in China

This part will focus on primary English language education in China, in which national economic and political agendas are highlighted. I will review the academic discourse on native-speakerism displayed in primary English language education in China and the concern about social inequality associated with it. The review suggests that primary English language education in China on the one hand is a prism of the societal language ideological issues. On the other hand, it is a site of struggle, in which conflicting and competing language ideologies regarding English and being

Chinese become pronounced. Taking primary English language education as a peeping lens, the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese educational context can be examined.

1.3.1 Review of the policy formation

Although since 1994 primary English language education in China had expanded with an increasing number of primary schools initiated their own English programs, it is 2001 that marks a renewed attempt to expand English education into the primary curriculum nationwide (D. Liu & Gong, 2001). The implementation of a document entitled *The Ministry of Education Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting the Teaching of English in Primary Schools* can be viewed as a milestone of Chinese primary education. From fall 2001, students started to learn English as a compulsory subject from the third grade (Due to the large economic differences across China, it was allowed that the introduction of English can be at the first grade of secondary school in less developed regions). It is said in the document that the purpose of teaching English in primary schools is to address the needs of further opening up of the country and continue the development in an age of accelerated globalization. As Li (2001, cited in Y. Hu, 2007), the previous Director-General of the Department of Basic Education under the Ministry of Education, wrote:

> Currently, economic globalization is accelerating; our country is on the verge of joining the WTO and is opening its doors wider to the outside world. In the meantime, communications and co-operations between our country and others are increasing day by day [...] The decision to teach English in primary schools was made precisely to address the needs of opening up; it also reflects our country's determination to accelerate the pace of opening up.

Factors behind the policy formulation are identified by Y. Hu (2007): 1) the fact that China was on the verge of joining the international organization WTO leads to an ever-increasing demand for English 2) English education is on the agenda of the 'Trans-century Quality Education Project' 3) there is a need to standardize the overall chaotic pre-policy primary English education 4) the former Vice Premier Li Lanqing plays a decisive role in the reform suggesting that English learning should be taken at the very beginning of primary schooling. 5) there was a corresponding demand of primary English education from the public as they hold the belief in benefits of an earlier start.

Meanwhile, researchers also expressed concerns about the implementation of the policy (e.g. G. Hu, 2005; D. Liu & Gong, 2001). Six main problems in the policy formation are summarized by Y. Hu (2007). First, there was a lack of need analysis considering the future extent of users and uses of English in China. A systematic analysis of the national demand for English was needed in that such policy would have huge effects on 130 million primary school students. Second, stakeholders

from various sectors of Chinese society were not taken into account in the top-down policy, in other words, it was released without careful consideration of its impacts on local education agencies, primary schools, pupils, and their parents. Third, the assumptions about benefits of an earlier start, that the optimal age to learn a foreign language is around eight, did not have empirical evidence. Despite there are still a lot of debates around the optimal age to learn a foreign language (Nunan, 2003), ideological issues behind this assumption are alarming. Fourth, the reality issues such as a severe shortage of qualified primary school English teachers and teaching materials indicated that China at that historical period was to a great extent unprepared for a large-scale promotion of primary English teaching. Fifth, the policy implementation schedule also created disparity among urban and rural schools since some rural schools were allowed to postpone implementing the policy. Thus, it can be concluded that the policy is rather a compromised decision. On the one hand, policymakers felt the urgency of promoting English language education in primary education for the sake of national development. On the other hand, they were still aware of the regional resources' constraints. With a large amount of emphasis on efficiency, "little if any attention was given to education equality" (Y. Hu, 2007, p. 372). Finally, the suggestions for solving the teacher shortage problem, such as college graduates holding a non-education degree in English and teachers of other subjects but with some English background were encouraged to teach primary English, reflected an underestimation of teaching challenges. What students can achieve in a foreign language learning, to a large extent, is determined by teachers' qualification. As argued by L. Cameron (2003), low quality instruction may de-motivate young learners. Such a hasty decision was likely to have disastrous effects on Chinese primary English language education.

To recap, the top-down implementation of primary English language education in China at the beginning is part of the larger blueprint of China's opening up and economic development, which overlooks many issues related to teaching primary school students.

1.3.2   Discourse of national agenda and instrumentalism

Primary English language education in China highlights the political and economic agenda of the state historically. After the ending of Cultural Revolution, PEP (People's education press) justified the education objectives in primary English education as:

> Teaching English to primary school students has its special significance in training a large number of personnel who are both 'red and expert' with thorough knowledge of English, and in achieving our country's goal of 'four modernisations'.

> (PEP 1984: 7 cited in Yang, 2004, p. 79)

The term 'red and expert' refers to professional and academics with strong political conscience. It is not surprised to find such a term in the document when English language education in China just went through a hyper-politicization period. However, later in 1989, the State Education Commission revised the objectives as:

> To enable young children to develop morally, intellectually, physical and aesthetically; to lay a foundation for the improvement of the national quality; and to cultivate the socialist citizens with ideas, morality and discipline.

(cited in Yang, 2004, p. 79)

Here, it adds the aspect of children's personal development in primary English education, while political messages still existed. Later, it came to the 2001 educational reform of promoting primary English language education nationwide which as reviewed in section 1.3.1 was directly related to national agendas for facilitating economic development and national modernization against the background of China's Reform and Opening up. Claimed by the Reform and Opening up leader Deng Xiaoping:

> Education is the most fundamental undertaking of a nation ... but knowledge cannot be acquired at once, nor can skilled manpower be trained in a few days. This is the reason why education must be conducted in real earnest and started from early childhood.

(Deng, 1995, p. 140, cited in Pine & Yu, 2012, p. 96)

In the MOE's (Minister of Education) English Curriculum Standards for Compulsory Education (2011 edition), it states:

> Learning a foreign language promotes people's mental development. It helps students understand the diversity of the world, develop cross-cultural awareness ... while preserving the *patriotic spirit*.

(cited in D. Liu & Wu, 2015, p. 355, my italics)

As shown above, the political discourse in primary English education has given a clear instruction in terms of Chinese patriotism. Ping (2015) finds that Chinese culture is more *favourably depicted* in the textual construction than any other national cultures in a series of primary English textbooks. The favourable depictions of Chinese culture are likely to "evoke Chinese students' pride in and love for their culture" (Ping, 2015, p. 175). The sense of greatness and uniqueness of Chinese culture are achieved in the discursive construction throughout the textbooks, which is likely to generate "a sense of cultural superiority among the child readers" (ibid.: p. 176). Ping

thus argues that Chinese nationalism and patriotism are cultivated in Chinese primary English language education. Y. Chen (2010) explored the semitic construal of evaluative stance in primary and secondary English textbooks against the background of education reforms which highlights emotion and attitude education. Besides the positive emotions in learning English, the research results also show that linguistic and images in textbooks also "may invoke appreciation of abstract concepts, such as the harmony value traditionally cherished in Chinese culture" (Y. Chen, 2010, p. 72). Shi (2016) conducted an ethnographic study in local education bureaus and three primary schools in Yuling, China. Her study shows that finds that Chinese government intends to advocate primary English language education to serve the national modernization and internationalization with a direct ideological instil of patriotism which is taken as one of the qualities of education purposes. Curdt-Christiansen (2015b) explored the dimensions of culture in a set of English language teaching textbooks use in China for primary school students. The study finds that there are cultural conflicts and competing ideologies in the texts. The author argues that these conflicts and contradictories can be used to develop students' critical language awareness and foster their critical analytical abilities. For her, juxtaposing different cultural and ideological perspectives can help students understand that cultural values are socially and politically constructed when they are confronted with complex linguistic and cultural environments in reality.

The inherent national political and economic agenda has led to a utilitarian approach to teaching English (G. W. Hu, 2002). This often referred to as instrumentalism. Instrumentalism in Chinese English language education derives from the traditional Chinese Confucian idea of separating "internal essence" and "external utility" (Y. Gao, 2009, p. 60), that is "Chinese learning for essence (*ti*), Western learning for utility (*yong*)" ("中学为体，西学为用"). The emphasis on the separation of essence and utility indicates China's aspiration of engaging with the world without losing its cultural and national integrity. "Through years of continual enactment, the *ti-yong* dualism and the valorisation of *yong* over *ti* have become internalized and have become a fundamental disposition of the Chinese foreign language learning habitus" (ibid.: p. 63). However, Gao also points out that a simple definition of English learning for utility does not realize how language functions in a social world, and the fear of identity loss cannot be released through instrumentalism.

Against the background of globalization, the *ti-yong* relation has "acquired increased intensity and complexity" (Y. Gao, 2009, p. 58), which may lead to the persistent 'ambivalence' (Hu & McKay, 2012) towards cultural issues in English language education.

1.3.3 Discourse of native-speakerism

In addition to its indispensable role in serving the ultimate political and economic agenda of the state with the emphasis on patriotism nowadays, primary English education in China has paradoxically been influenced by a far-reaching language ideology known as native-speakerism. Native-speakerism is characterized by the belief that native English speaker teachers (NESTs) represent a so-called authentic culture from which emanate the ideals both of the English language and of the principles English language teaching pedagogy (Holliday, 2005, 2006). This section reviews literature pertaining to three interconnected dimensions of native-speakerism within primary English education in China: language regulations, representation of Anglophone culture representation, and Anglophone context-based pedagogies.

First, language regulation concerns how much English should be used and what kind of English is preferred. Policy documents and textbooks in Chinese primary English education underscores a strong intention to isolate English from other languages. Littlewood and Yu (2011, p. 66) found that primary English teachers are expected to use English "as much as possible", and Chinese may be solely used for "explaining or translating abstract English words and expressions, or special English structure". Furthermore, a preference is evident for standard British English. Early in Adamson and Kwo (2002, p. 159) on official English in China, they found that "English is constructed for its economic and political utility, based on an exogenous model, British English". More recently, Y. Wang, Weng, and Li (2019) identified a Standard English ideology and an essentialist approach to language in *PEP Primary English* textbooks. Their textual data indicates a preference for British English in presenting linguistic features of English. Phonetic symbols highlight the British English as the whole of English, without provision for alternative pronunciations. The Received Pronunciation of British English is 'sought-after' (ibid., p. 9) in primary English language education. Other studies found that Chinese is used mainly for pragmatic reasons such as establishing constructive and positive relationships, ensuring understanding, and maintaining a disciplined learning environment. For example, Qian (2009) documented that two primary-school teachers of English in Beijing use Chinese in English language teaching for reasons which she categorized as either 'methodological' (e.g. translating, clarifying, highlighting, efficiency) and 'social' (praising, encouraging, disapproving).

The requirement that standard English forms of Anglophone countries should be taught always follows the assumption that the cultural knowledge of Anglophone countries needs to be introduced. Consequently, "the thematic content, especially in primary and secondary school textbooks is mainly related to situations in English-speaking Western countries" (Gong & Holliday, 2015, p. 202). Ping (2015) takes a critical stance to explore the ideological and political dimensions

of culture representations in PEP Primary English textbooks. Her analysis reveals a disproportional emphasis on Chinese cultural knowledge (ranked first). Foreign cultures of English-speaking countries from the *Inner Circle* receive heightened attention (with American culture ranks second), while culture of non-English speaking countries in the Outer and Expanding Circles are marginalized or even excluded. This rather limited representation of diverse global cultures fails to acknowledge the cultural diversity. In the same vein, Y. Wang et al. (2019) classified culture representations in *PEP Primary English* textbooks into three categories: Anglophone culture, traditional Chinese culture and the exchange between Anglophone and Chinese cultures. Notably, culture representations other than Anglophone and Chinese are absent. The representation of Anglophone culture aligns with native language ideology, underscoring an essentialist perception of language and culture as bounded. Y. Wang et al. (2019) argue that the sociolinguistic phenomenon of English as a global language necessitate a broader culture representation, acknowledging that English is used people from diverse backgrounds. Their viewpoint advocates for equipping young Chinese learners with an awareness that English relates to cultures beyond Anglophone and Chinese realms.

Third, in response to criticism about ineffective English language education, Chinese educational authorities resorted to implementing Anglo-American pedagogical practices such as communicative language teaching (CLT) in a top-down approach (Butler, 2011; Hu & McKay, 2012). Originating in the 1960s and 1970s within European and North American contexts, CLT's applicability within the Chinese context has raised concerns among many scholars. For example, G. Hu (2002) discussed this issue from two angles. One, the gap between policy rhetoric on CLT and teaching realities was largely ignored in this curriculum innovation. Especially in vast underdeveloped regions of China, it is unrealistic to adopt CLT due to a variety of contextual factors including a shortage of financial resources, a lack of teaching materials and qualified teachers, and heavy examination pressure. Two, Hu points to the potential cultural resistance stemming from clashes between Anglo-American based culture and values and Chinese Confucian ones. Motha and Lin (2014) the endeavour to align ELT curricula toward CLT orientations as reproduction of global capitalist ideologies. They harshly point out that CLT is not neutral but intrinsically implicated in the matrix of relations whin which capitalist desire is embedded. CLT as one of the communicative pedagogical methods are "inseparable from ideologies considered Western" (ibid.: p. 348). They argue that teachers should be aware of the role that desire plays in this pedagogical practice.

In summary, previous studies on primary English language education in China reveal the influential instrumentalism and native-speakerism, leading to an essentialist approach to language and culture in this area.

1.3.4   Social inequality in primary English language education

In Chinese educational system, "inequality seems even more evident in English language education in general (D. Liu & Wu, 2015, p. 369). The widespread sociocultural perception of English competence as cultural and symbolic capital has perpetuated the "existing social inequality and the creation of English-knowing elitism" (Hu & McKay, 2012, p. 357). Speaking of the 2001 reform, the disparity in policy implementation that socio-economically more advanced schools can firstly start teaching English from the third grade (some 'super-socioeconomic' advantaged cities like Shanghai try to promote the introduction of English from Primary 1 in almost all schools) has led to educational inequality between advantaged and less advantaged regions (G. W. Hu, 2002). Hu. Y (2007) identified the educational inequality from two perspectives: a socio-political perspective and a pedagogical perspective. First, from the socio-political perspective, a large proportion of students can be disadvantaged by the poor policy in that about sixty percent of China's population resides in rural areas. The existing urban-rural division is further exacerbated. Second, from a pedagogical perspective, junior secondary schools may face huge challenges because of the various levels of students' English competence due to the unbalanced access to English language education at their primary education level. If the schools choose to assign these students into classes regardless of their various competence in English, it would be undoubtedly challenging for teachers. Or if the schools decide to allocate students into different classes dependent on their prior English instruction, it will inevitably keep widening the gaps among students, and cause educational inequality.

In Zhang and Wang's (2011) review of English language teaching policies in primary schools situated in southern region of China, they revealed inequality in English educational resources, directly attributed to unbalanced economic development. The primary educational landscape comprises three distinct levels in this area. First-tier schools are those located in big cities and some in small and medium-sized cities. These schools, distinguished by their access to advanced material resources and qualified English language teachers, stand as exemplars of well-endowed institutions. The second-tier schools are those located in small cities and towns. These schools are less well-resourced regarding advanced hardware and qualified English language teachers. The third-tier schools are located in remote rural areas. These schools are badly in shortage of hardware and English language teachers. Many rural primary schools have to employ teachers of other subjects as part-time English teachers. The authors argue that inequality in English language teaching provision caused by unbalance economic development is no doubt a major challenge for educational equity.

In sum, this part starts from the 2001 educational reform which marks the nationwide expanding of English education into Chinese primary schools. It follows the discussion of English language education for the state's political and economic agendas (e.g. Shi, 2016). At the same time, primary English language education is deeply influenced by native-speakerism, which is characterized by the native language forms (Standard British English), native culture (Anglo-American culture), and native context-based methodology (e.g., CLT). At last, the social inequality issues related to English language education in Chinese primary schools are discussed.

1.4   Summary: rationale and research questions

One, this study intends to address several research gaps in the multilingualism. Previously, most of multilingualism research has focused on minority groups in certain contexts (e.g. Gal, 2006) which is an important agenda in addressing the issue of social inequality. However, there is few research which discusses the shapes and representations of multilingualism among groups whose language is recognized as the majority language and who belong to the majority group of the society. They are viewed as a monocultural, and monolingual group (Lambert, 1999; Silverstein, 1996; H. Wang & Yao, 2018). The majority L1-shared Han students in China can be disadvantaged if their multilingual repertoire and translanguaging practices are not acknowledged. Also, issues related to language, identity, and culture among them might be more hidden and subtle. At the same time, as the majority group in society, later in their life, they may take part in reproducing the unequal power relations with monolingual mindset internalized in their early education. Thus, this study aims to expand multilingualism research concern by giving attention to the L1-shared majority group of students in Chinese context. Second, reading the existing discussions and studies on multilingualism in superdiverse European and North American contexts has motivated my curiosity and thinking about the shape and representation of multilingualism among L1-shared Chinese in China. Meanwhile, in most discussion of different forms and representations of multilingualism, the role of English cannot be dismissed considering the status of English as a global lingua franca and the "mutually constitutive" (García & Lin, 2018, p. 77) relationship between English and multilingualism. Thus, a study on the shape and representation of multilingualism with a focus on English is needed.

Two, as for studies on English language education in China, among all, the limited research focus on certain levels of education is alarming. Previous studies which give attention to language ideologies in Chinese English education tend to focus on tertiary institutions (e.g. Y. Wang, 2015), while some focus on secondary (e.g. G. Hu & McKay, 2014) and high schools (e.g. Xiong & Qian, 2012). Seldom did studies touch upon English language education in primary schools in which majority of Chinese pupils "start systematic learning" and "develop their learning habits, thinking

patterns and skills" (Shi, 2016, p. 203). It seems that previous research fails to recognize that primary English language education in China is also a powerhouse as other levels of education, in which the dynamics of schooling, policy process and power relations can be unveiled (Shi, 2016). Primary schools are value-embedded, rather than value-neutral (Goodman, 1992). Childhood education is "the nexus of the complex social concerns and interests representing a given society" (L. Lee & McMullen, 2006, p. 119). What society at large deems necessary to be learned can be constructed as legitimate content and form for children in schools (Apple, 2004). In particular, for primary school pupils, linguistic and cultural experiences, as L. Moll (2005, p. 276) states, are "their most important tools for thinking". And pupils "need informed professionals to help them make sense of an increasingly complex and interlinked world" (Young, 2014, p. 106). In short, the gap of lack of focus on primary education level needs to be addressed.

Three, as for the research methods gap, most previous studies tend to collect and analyse one type of data which reflects part of the English language education, such as policy documents (e.g. Y. Hu, 2007), or textbooks (e.g. J. Li, 2012), or interviews (e.g. J. Liu, 2018). Argued by D. Liu and Wu (2015, pp. 357-358), people involved in English language education do not share the same understanding of the teaching objectives since the description of the teaching objectives in English curriculum standard are sometimes general and vague. Such vagueness could generate gaps among policy and practices, and beliefs. Further, the *decentralization* in China with which local areas are allowed to choose or design their own textbooks and other teaching materials can widen the gaps. Different stakeholders are confronting with "a minefield of conflicting demands in choosing content that is culturally and politically appropriate" (Adamson, 2001, p. 20). Language ideologies can be produced and reproduced among them. Thus, to present a more comprehensive and dynamic view of primary English language education and to better understand how multilingualism is shaped and represented in the dynamics, this study includes three main groups of data, they are, policy documents and textbooks, classroom observation, and interviews and focus group interview.

While primary English education has been expanded nationwide in China since the beginning of the twenty-first century, whether if it should be considered as a subject in primary education is still a controversial issue until today. A recent proposal, *Abolish the status of English as the main subject in primary and secondary school* (2021)["建议取消英语在中小学的主科地位" (2021)], made by a National Community member has attracted more than two hundred million Chinese netizens attention and triggered hot online and offline debates[1]. It should be noticed that the complex social concerns and interests have been projected into Chinese primary English

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[1] https://www.bjnews.com.cn/detail/161509802715082.html

education. However, few research has discussed the multiple language ideologies and has reflected the power-related conflicts and struggles in China's primary English language education. Thus, with a sociological thinking, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of primary English language education in China from a language ideological perspective. It intends to offer readers insights into how broader social tensions and struggles are played out and transformed in the smaller-scale dynamics of primary English language teaching classrooms.

All in all, this study intends to research multilingualism in Chinese context with a focus on English language education for L1-shared Chinese students. Taking Chinese primary English language education as a peeping lens, this study intends to critically explore the form and representation of multilingualism in Chinese educational context in terms of its management, practice, and beliefs. In doing so, it aims to contribute to the academic discussion on the possibilities of multilingualism in general, identify and critically reflect on the form and representation of multilingualism in Chinese context, and provide insights into the on-going construction of multilingualism in China. Also, this study will offer implications for primary English language education in China regarding its policy formation, textbook development, and teacher education.

A qualitative study of primary English language education in China was accordingly conducted with the objective: to explore the form and representation of multilingualism in primary English language education in China. The objective corresponds to the three main research questions and sub-questions posed below:

1. How is multilingualism managed through primary English language education in China?

   a. How is primary English language education framed by authorities in terms of repertoire, culture, and identity?

   b. What are prioritized in the frame of primary English language education by authorities?

2. How is multilingualism practiced in primary English language teaching and learning in China?

   a. What are the effects of primary English language teachers and students' multilingual practices?

   b. How are identities constructed and performed in and through their multilingual practices?

3. How is multilingualism perceived by Chinese primary English language teachers?

   a. To what extent, are Chinese primary English language teachers aware of English being used as a multilingual franca?

b. How do Chinese primary English language teachers perceive the relationships between repertoire, culture, and identity?

1.5   Structure of thesis

The thesis writing is based on a qualitative case study. The thesis is comprised of nine chapters. Chapter 1, as the introduction, sets out the rationale, the research gaps, the research context, and the research questions. Chapter 2 provides discussions on how to approach multilingual sociolinguistic reality, the relationship between English and multilingualism. Also, it proposes an integrated view on imagined community, taking into account of ideological, identitary, and educational aspects. Chapter 3 addresses the issue of language ideology, language policy and language education. It explained how language-ideological approach can be adopted to examine imagined communities in language policy and language education. Moreover, it presents English language education from the perspective of multilingualism. Next, Chapter 4 provides the methodology used in conducting the research. It presents how the study was conducted with different research instruments. It reports how the qualitative datasets were collected and analyzed and how the trustworthiness and reliability were addressed.

The findings regarding the three research questions are presented in Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7. Chapter 5 reports the discourse of 'Telling Chinese stories in English' constructed in policy documents and the themes under this discourse. Also, the prescriptions of imagined communities in textbooks are revealed. Chapter 6 explores teachers and students' multilingual practices and identity construction in English language teaching and learning practices. It presents the consistencies as well as gaps between teachers and students' practices. Chapter 7 is devoted to the investigation of how multilingualism is perceived by Chinese primary English language teachers. The investigation focuses on three domains, i.e., the multilingual speakers, the multilingual repertoire, and the social context. Chapter 8 discusses the findings across datasets. In the end, Chapter 9 reviews the whole study with conclusion, implication, and limitation.

Chapter 2   Researching multilingualism with a focus on English

2.1   Introduction

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework and basic assumptions about semiosis, communication, identity and imagined community, which warrants a rethinking of language policy and language education (Chapter 3).

2.2   Poststructuralism

The study's fundamental assumptions of regarding repertoire, culture, identity, discourse, and practice are rooted in theories of poststructuralism. Before delving into the relevant aspects, first it is helpful to draw on McNamara's (2012) examination of poststructuralism's relevance to applied linguistics. This will help outline the significance of poststructuralism and distinguish it from other critical theories. First, poststructuralism's importance lies in its social and political engagement, characterized by an ongoing critique of existing social, political, and cultural forms and a deep ethical concern for issues of justice. Additionally, it challenges the notion of stable truths and the stable structure of the linguistic sign, critiquing the idea of system, and rejecting beliefs in the idea of progress. Poststructuralism's social critique primarily revolves around analysing the relationships between categories within systems. Another critical aspect of poststructuralism lies in its awareness of the role of desire and the presence of the irrational within social structure. Following Foucault (1982), poststructuralism does not view power as simply derived from structural categories of sociology. Power, according to poststructuralists, operates through recognition and surveillance within discourse, which leads to its internalization and pervasive nature, making it difficult to identify and oppose. Furthermore, poststructuralism differs from utopian ideals, as that it does not embrace the notion of progress; instead, it looks ahead to a 'justice-to-come' (Derrida, 1992). In line with Nietzschean thought, poststructuralists exhibit an awareness of the irrationality of human social relations, the role of desire, and the contingency and discontinuity of powerful discourses. Moreover, it takes a critical stance of all systems, especially totalizing ones. This perspective sets poststructuralism in contrast with modernism and aligns it with the broader critique characteristics of the postmodernism.

Second, the term 'discourse' is commonly used and addressed within poststructuralism. It is also used throughout this thesis, which necessitates an explanation of how it is understood. The

notion of discourse can be traced back to Foucault, whose seminal work delves into the nature and the origins of some of the prevailing discourses of modernity. These encompass, inter alia, discourses of madness, of medicine, of punishment, and of sexuality. Foucault provides a critique of prevailing assumptions of the social and behavioural sciences by demonstrating their role in relations of power. His perspective posits that all systems of knowledge can be viewed as discourses, which do not represent truth itself but as "regimes of truth" - widely shared and accepted systems of representation. Following Foucault, Hall (1992, p. 291) defines discourse as "A group of statements which provide a language for talking about - a way of representing the knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment". This definition sees discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. "Since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect" (ibid.). It is not difficult to see that the notion of discourse in this usage is not purely a linguistic concept. It is about language and practice. Pavlenko (2002, p. 283) similarly views language as "an array of discourses imbued with meaning". Drawing a link between discourse and culture, Holliday (2013) conceives of discourses as cultural products like practices. They emerge as ways of using language to think about and organize ideas about culture. Holiday asserts that discourse "can draw people into adopting and conforming to cultural practice. this can result in a loss of agency, hiding and cutting off other practices, or encouraging the adoption of beneficial practices" (Holliday, 2013, p. 124). Gee's (2011) classification of discourses is helpful to help researchers to locate their discussion. According to him, there are two kinds of discourses: the 'little d' discourse and the 'bid d' Discourse. The 'little d' discourse (words, phrase, sentences, utterances, etc.) is considered as existing in combination with 'big d' Discourse (beliefs, values, customs, ways of thinking, etc.). The former derives its meaning not simply from its linguistic form but from the 'big d' discourse in which they are produced and read. The use of discourse in this thesis follows the concept of 'bid d' Discourse and would include what have been discussed such as 'discourse of Chineseness' (section 1.1.2), ''discourse of national agenda and instrumentalism' (section 1.3.2), and 'discourse of native-speakerism' (section 1.3.3), etc.

Last but not the least, as drawn from Duchêne's (2020) insights on multilingualism as an ideological regime, the understanding of repertoire, culture, and identity though poststructuralism is also ideological. As stated in W. Baker (2015, p. 59),

> "All understanding of culture, whether, for example, everyday folk theories, structuralist or poststructuralist are ideological. What is important is that as researchers interested in culture one must be explicit about the ideology that underlies the particular construction of culture that is being used".

2.2.1   About repertoire

Recent research on multilingualism frequently refers to the notion of repertoire and conceive it as multimodal. While this study focuses primarily on the linguistic repertoire, it also pays attention to the multimodal practices in primary English language teaching and learning. Therefore, this section will first present an understanding of linguistic repertoire and integrate it into a broader comprehension of multimodal semiotic resources.

Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) explicitly refer to the concept of repertoire in their discussion of metrolingualism, placing it on a par with language ideologies, practices, and recourses. Blommaert (2010) similarly addresses the notion of repertoire and argues that the focus should not be placed on fixed languages but rather on mobile resources when considering repertoire and competence. He introduces the concept of the *polyglot repertoire* (Blommaert, 2008, p. 16) which is not tied to a specific national space or specific language regime but is instead tied to a peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker. Similarly, Busch (2012) argues that linguistic repertoire should be conceived as a space of potentialities linked to life trajectories. It responds immediately to the needs of the present, at the same time, it also points towards the past and the future. Busch (2016, p. 53) explains how ideology, when translated into bodily and emotionally lived experience of language, impacts on the linguistic repertoire.

> "Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses, and codes, the linguistic repertoire forms a contingent space both of restrictions and of potentialities, which includes anticipations, imaginations, fears and desires. With every situated linguistic interaction, we position ourselves not only in relation to what is directly present – i.e. the respective interaction partners and interaction contexts – but also implicitly in relation to what is absent. This absence runs or resonates in the background and is therefore, whether welcome or not, also present in relevant others, other spaces and times by which we orientate ourselves or which demand our loyalty."

Likewise, Creese and Blackledge (2010) in their analysis of multilingual classroom interaction emphasize the complexity of linguistic repertoires, reflecting narratives and ideological constructs of home and nation, carrying the traces of past and present experiences, and lives lived locally and globally. These scholars' discussion on linguistic repertoire point to the significance of understanding *mobility* and *locality* against the background of globalization.

The ongoing process of globalization is characterized by "intensity, scope and scale" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 1), resulting in superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007). Engaging with the contemporary social changes associated with superdiversity, L. Cameron and Larsen-Freeman (2007) argue that all

natural languages are variable, continually in flux, complex and endlessly emergent. Blommaert (2010, 2016) identifies mobility as the key concept in his discussion of sociolinguistics of globalization, emphasizing *language-in-motion* (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5) with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another. He (2015) borrows Bakhtin's (1981) metaphor of 'chronotope' to explain the complex co-presence and flows of space and time in language practices with "invokable chunks of history organizing the indexical order of discourse" (Blommaert, 2015, p. 105). Blommaert (2010) also introduces the concept of 'scale' which suggests a vertical image of space which is stratified and power-invested. Any movement from one scale to another will invoke images of society and different social order. People draw on semiotic practices to make sense of space and time, that is, they "make physical space and time into controlled, regimented objects and instruments, and they do so through semiotic practices; semiotized TimeSpace is social, cultural, political, historical, ideological TimeSpace" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 34). Alongside mobility, there is also a focus on locality, as influences from global are contribute to "the context-generative aspect of the production of locality" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 23). Pennycook (2010a) views language as a local practice, arising from social and cultural activities. He emphasizes language as an activity rather than a static structure, deeply embedded in social and cultural life materially. Blommaert and Pennycook's work on mobility and locality both suggest that language in the context of globalization is characterized as fluid, dynamic, and indexical, which has important implications for language education. As research on multilingualism continues to explore the impact of globalization, mobility, and locality, educational linguistics has increasingly focused on understanding the connections human beings forge across time and space and their significance in meaning-making. This shift in focus has led educational linguists to explore how do educators and students use historical and geographical situated semiotic resources to position themselves and each other in moments of time and space; how do semiotic resources that circulate across time and space intersect to shape interaction; and how do ideas from national policy, media, and global culture find their way into classroom experiences. Central to this exploration is the notion of flows and connections (e.g. Bigelow & Ennser-Kananen, 2015) that captivates many educational linguists.

Apart from linguistic resources, individuals have access to a plethora of multimodal resources in their meaning-making practices. Multimodality, as defined by van Leeuwen (2014), entails the integrated use of semiotic resources in texts and communicative events. There are three interconnected theoretical assumptions underspin multimodality (Jewitt, 2013, pp. 141-142). One, multimodality focuses on the full repertoire of meaning-making resources. It assumes the existence of "a multiplicity of modes" in representation and communication, all of which contribute to fuller sense of meaning and knowing. Two, multimodality theory assumes that

meaning making resources are socially shaped over time. And three, people's selection and configuration of modes to make meaning are influenced by the perceived interests. Along with these three assumptions, there are four core concepts, namely semiotic resource, mode, modal affordance, and inter-semiotic relations. Semiotic resource basically connects representational resources and what people do or mean with them. A mode is understood as an outcome of social and cultural shaping of material-semiotic resources through its use in the daily social interaction. Modal affordance thus refers to the material, cultural, social, and historical use of a mode. Inter-semiotic relationships consider how different modes are configured in particular contexts. In short, besides going beyond the limited focus on linguistic modes in communication, multimodality also attends to the discursive affordances of different modes which are by no means neutral but reflect certain ideological stances (Lin, 2012).

2.2.2   About culture

Poststructuralism offers a discourse-based understanding of culture, highlighting its nature as being constructed, contested, and negotiated through social practice. The concept of discursive relativity explains how speakers of different discourses possess different cultural worldviews. They employ various resources of discourse such as affective and epistemic stance markers, speech acts and identity markers (Ochs, 1996) to link what they say to the broader context of culture.

Studies in applied linguistic studies have delved into culture by focusing on portable representations, process of identification, symbolic power struggles and identity politics (e.g. Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; Kramsch, 1998; Pennycook, 2007; Scollon, Scollon, & Jones, 2012). For critical applied linguists, culture is perceived as a process of language use that intertwines with other semiotic systems such as "ritual, dance, music, graffiti, beat-boxing, clothing, gestures, posture, ways of walking and talking" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 75). Language users are not merely performers of culture; they actively construct culture in interaction with others. Such constructivist perspective finds inspiration in the work of Foucault (1970). Culture is understood as a verb from a practice-oriented philosophy (Risager, 2006; Street, 1993). D. Cameron (2005) characterizes this constructivist perspective as 'post-modern' in which the emphasis has shifted from an essentialist view of culture as the performance of pre-existing values and beliefs to a view of culture as a performative process. With this performativity comes the reintroduction of time into a field that previously focused on spatial and geographical dimensions, considering culture as historicity and subjectivity instead (Kramsch, 1998, 2014). Kramsch (1998, p. 10) emphasizes the *historical* and *subjective* nature of culture, proposing the idea that culture involves "membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common

imaginings. Even when they have left that community, its members may retain, where they are, a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting". Importantly, Kramsch emphasizes that these discourse communities and their shared histories are largely constructed through imagination. The exercise of power and control underlies the realm of what imaginable, making culture as arena of struggle and conflict. Kramsch's idea on the role of (collective) imagination in constructing discourse communities is in closely related to Anderson's well-known concept of "imagined communities", which will be further reviewed with other scholars' work in section 2.4.

Adopting performative models of culture within a constructivist perspective allows us to reconceptualize time and space. It moves away from linearity and simplistic views of causality, instead highlighting the emergence of phenomena nested within one other and the "layered simultaneity" of timescales (Blommaert, 2005). He (2010, pp. 130-131) explains that:

> "We have to conceive of discourse as subject to layered simultaneity. It occurs in a real time, synchronic event, but it is simultaneously encapsulated in several layers of historicity, some of which are within the grasp of the participants, while others remain invisible, but are nevertheless present…People can speak from various positions on these scales. The synchronicity of discourse is an illusion that masks the densely layered historicity of discourse".

Likewise, Scollon, Scollon, and Jones (2012) argue that communication involves participation in multiple discourse systems simultaneously.

Besides the simultaneity, the performative turn in the study of culture also underscores the historicity and disciplining power of culture. On the one hand, it highlights how disciplining power of culture can impose social groups' definitions of what is considered as normal and shared understanding of people and events. On the other hand, the performative approach also shows that the very political forces that have constructed culture can be used to deconstruct and reconstruct it in different ways. As argued by Pennycook (2007, p. 77), performativity can indeed be seen as 'transformativity'. This perspective highlights individual agency. The tension between structure and agency is also addressed in Holliday's work (2011, 2013). He presents a theory of culture in applied linguistics that views culture as a constructed social practice. While acknowledging the influence of social structures and dominant discourses in the construction of culture, Holliday emphasizes the importance of individual agency and personal trajectories, underlining the potential for appropriation and adaptation of various discourse systems for diverse purposes. In this way, culture becomes more expressive and negotiable. Holliday also introduces the notion of "indefinite movement" (Holliday, 2011, p. 59), which highlights the

tension between the agency individuals have to negotiate and construct culture and the limitations imposed by sedimented cultural practices.

Notably from above, the political and power dimension of culture is an issue of concern in poststructuralist scholars' work, albeit to varying degrees. Pointed out by Eagleton (2000, p. 38), contemporary conceptualisations of culture have become highly political issue, with "culture as sign, image, meaning, value, identity, solidarity and self-expression is the very currency of political combat". The increased competition for economic resources and the growing global inequality have exacerbated culture wars and the symbolic power struggles in relation to culture have become more pronounced. The political dimension of language education has thus become an issue of concern. Over the past three decade, the fields of intercultural communication studies and applied linguistics have witnessed a convergence (e.g. W. Baker, 2015; W. Baker, 2020; Clark & Dervin, 2014; Houghton, 2013). In the intercultural approaches to language education, the emphasis lies in the idea of "mediation between cultures", "personal engagement with diversity", and "interpersonal exchanges of meaning" (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 8).

2.2.3   About identity

The relationship between language and identity has been extensively discussed within the poststructuralist paradigm. Language is viewed as the site of identity construction by poststructuralists (Gal, 1989). For example, as stated in Baxter (2016, p. 66), language is "the place where our sense of self and our identity or 'subjectivity' is constructed and performed". Similarly, Joseph (2004, p. 224) puts that, "identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, by every user, every time it is used".

Poststructuralists perceive individuals as shaped by the possibility of multiple subject positions within and across different and competing discourses. Moreover, the formation and reformation of identity is an ongoing process. As articulated by Belsey (1980, p. 132), individuals must be regarded as "a process, perpetually in construction, perpetually contradictory, perpetually open to change". Embracing this notion of fluidity, feminist poststructuralists such as Weedon (1997) prefer the term 'subjectivity', characterized by three defining features: plural and non-unitary aspects of the subjects, subjectivity as a site of struggle, and subjectivity as dynamic and changing over time. Poststructuralists argue that individuals are not fixed in unique positions, but rather produced as a "nexus of subjectivities" (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Within the positioning perspective on identity, agency is seen as more than just individual acts of resistance or compliance to discursive practices; it is the recognition that people can exercise

choice in relation to those practices. Davies and Harré (1990) acknowledge both the constitutive force of discourse, particularly 'discursive practices', while also recognizing that individuals emerge through the processes of social interaction, actively contributing to the construction of discourses of which they are a part. Davies and Harré suggest two types of positioning in which participants routinely find themselves: interactive positioning, where one person's utterances position their interlocutors through turn-taking, and reflexive positioning, where one has some agency to position oneself. Neither type of positioning should be perceived as intentional, but rather as part of the ongoing process of reproducing oneself within existing and emerging discourse.

The positioning perspective evolved by Davies and Harré is linled closely to the idea that we (re)produce ourselves through our lived autobiographies. This connects to what is discussed in section 2.2.1 about repertoire as a space of potentials linked to life trajectories (e.g. Busch, 2012, 2016). In other words, in order to produce some form of consistency and coherence between our multiple subject positions, we narrate stories to ouselves and others about how we have lived and how we intend ro live our lives. From those stories, we express our multiple belongings and desires. This need to develop storylines involving events, characters and moral dilemmas is an attempt to contain ways that disrupt the sense of sustaining a coherent identity.

In short, the study of the discursive construction of categories in general (the discursive construction of multilingualism in this study) and of the power that emanates from them is a central theme of poststructuralists thought. The core assumptions in this connection are, first, the temporally and spatially, that is historically and culturally, conditioned impact of discursively generated categories, and, secondly, the interdependence between symbolic, discursively produced power and subjectivity. Subjects are seen as shaped and constituted in their thinking, speaking, feeling, desire, and body by the power of discursively produced categories.

2.3   English and multilingualism

English as a global language have led to the fact that English and multilingualism are "mutually constitutive" (García & Lin, 2018, p. 77). Accordingly, English has become prominent in multicultural settings as "a multicultural language" (Honna, 2000, p. 9). Individuals' multiple identities thus can be constructed and performed through and in English. This study draws on literature on English as a multilingual franca (EMF) to discuss the mutual construction of English and multilingualism.

2.3.1   English as a multilingual franca (EMF)

The term "English as a multilingual franca (EMF)" and "English as a lingua franca (ELF)" are often used interchangeably in the literature. In this thesis, the use of EMF aims to highlight the multilingual nature of English as a global language and the inherent multilingualism of global encounters (Jenkins, 2015). Notably, despite varying perspectives on the conceptualizations of ELF users, a consensus among ELF researchers exists that ELF interactions are deeply intercultural. As claimed by W. Baker (2015, p. 43), "ELF is by definition intercultural in nature since ELF communication is typically defined as involving speakers from different linguacultures". Mauranen (2013, p. 43) similarly contends that "as ELF gains ground in international communication, the intercultural perspective comes increasingly to the fore". Both ELF research and intercultural communication research adopt a poststructuralist perspective to language, culture, and identity, viewing them as constructed, negotiable and contested (e.g. W. Baker, 2018). Besides, positioned as "a truly post-modern phenomenon" (Seidlhofer, 2018, p. 85), ELF necessitates examination through "a multilingual lens" (Schaller-Schwaner & Kirkpatrick, 2020, p. 247).

Jenkins (2015) identifies three phases of conceptualization and empirical research of ELF, categorized as ELF 1, ELF 2, ELF 3. In the initial phase, ELF researcher adopted the World Englishes (WE) paradigm, applying WE principles to the English users from the Expanding Circle (see Kachru, 1992). ELF 2, in contrast, moves away from emulating WE to complementing it, signalled by the shift from the notion of speech communities to that of community of practice. Where WE links Englishes to specific nations and geographically situated communities, ELF 2 aligns more closely with poststructuralist view of language, identity, and culture. Accommodation and the "inherent fluidity" of ELF interactions gained prominence in ELF research during this phase (Seidlhofer, 2009, p. 42). Gradually, the focus of ELF research shifted from form (e.g. Jenkins, 2000) to an understanding of "what is going on" (Seidlhofer, 2009, p. 56) underlying these forms, "to interest in the diversity, fluidity, and variability" (Jenkins, 2015, p. 50), and to a view of "ELF as social practice" (Kalocsai, 2013, p. 2).

ELF 3 represents a shift in emphasis, involving a repositioning of ELF within the paradigm of multilingualism. Jenkins (2015) claims that ELF is inherently a multilingual phenomenon. This phase gives attention to the mutual flow of ELF users' other languages and their English, featuring a trans-semiotic system of translanguaging. Prior to this, most ELF scholars tended to "focus on the "Englishness" of ELF ... rather than focusing on its multilingual nature and exploring it within a framework of multilingualism" (Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019, p. 5). They largely neglected the fact that "in the multilingual scenarios in which English is used as lingua franca other languages may

be used in a similarly fluid manner" (W. Baker, 2015, p. 8). In an attempt to include interlocutors' whole repertoire into discussion, Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013) examined ELF in "European multilingualism" (their categorization of multilingualism), showcasing the dynamic combination of elements from interlocutors' repertoires. In an attempt of giving multilingualism far greater prominence in ELF research and thinking, Jenkins (2015, p. 73) suggests changing ELF to EMF. The acronym is defined as:

> "Multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of
> choice, but is not necessarily chosen".

This definition attempts to redirect the focus of ELF research away from 'Englishness' to emphasize its intrinsic multilingual nature. Despite the passage of eight years since Jenkins' proposal, EMF has not yet gained firm establishment in the literature. Seidlhofer's definition of ELF remains the most frequently cited. She (2011, p. 7) defines ELF as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option". While this definition includes native English speakers (NESs) in ELF interaction, it excludes speakers of English who share the first languages. Yet, Y. Wang (2018, p. 151) raises the question of understanding "the connection between non-native English speakers who have shared L1 backgrounds and participate in respective intercultural communication where ELF is relevant for them". She thus argues that ELF "is relevant for non-native English speakers who need intercultural communication, no matter whether they are grouped in terms of their L1s or not" (ibid.: 152). Here, we can see that some ELF scholars attempt to address the mutual construction of ELF and multilingualism by focusing on ELF interlocutors' multiple identities rather than considering the purely semiotic aspect in ELF interaction.

The concerns about the relevance of ELF among L1-shared ELF users tackle the complexity of ELF users' identity construction and engagement through and in ELF. Wang's studies (2012, 2020) illuminate how L1-shared Chinese ELF users prioritize their national identity in their engagement in international communications. Based on thorough empirical examination, she proposes the notion of ChELF (Chinese English as a Lingua Franca), referring to Chinese speakers' own way of using English as a multilingual franca that reveals Chinese national and cultural identity. At the same time, it has important pedagogical implications for teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) and English as medium of instruction (EMI) in L1-shared classrooms. For example, Ishikawa (2020) discussed the EMF-aware pedagogic intervention in L1-shared Japanese EFL/EMI classroom. His study illustrates that individual multilingual experiences can "potentially turns L1-shared classrooms into EMF scenarios through foregrounding students' multilingual repertoires" (ibid.: p. 408). This is insightful for me to rethink what EMF is and where it happens. Perhaps,

Ishikawa may fail to recognise that EFL/EMI classrooms are already multilingual, thus EMF scenarios are already there. The focus on L1-shared contexts does not equal to the erasure of the diverse repertoires among L1-shared multilinguals, though his focus is on EMF-aware pedagogy. What matters more perhaps are teachers' awareness, beliefs, and pedagogical interventions. As for EMF-aware teaching, it will be further addressed in section 3.5.

To recap, the studies conducted by Wang and Ishikawa hold relevance in addressing my concern regarding the shape and representation of multilingualism in L1-shared Chinese primary English language education. There are two key aspects to be considered here: L1-shared Chinese, and primary English language education. Wang's research has informed me of how an imagined Chinese community makes ChELF users' national and cultural identity as important in their engagement in real international communications. That is to say, the discussion of ChELF in sociolinguistic field has made me aware of the pivotal role played by Chinese national and cultural identity. However, within the educational context, the focus shifts from merely highlighting powerful factors to considering the limits and possible alternatives. In this regard, Ishikawa's discussion on turning L1-shared classroom into EMF scenarios with a focus on multilingualism is considered as a possible pedagogy to empower L1-shared pupils throughout their language education.

2.3.2 Multiple identities through EMF

Insomuch as identities inheres in people's use of language (Joseph, 2004), identities disperse in the use of EMF. Early in ELF research, House (2003) takes the view that ELF communication is identity free. This view is challenged by sociolinguistic scholars who understand identity as embedded in language and communication. There are many empirical studies have identified the multiplicity of identities can be constructed, developed, and projected in and through EMF (Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Pitzl, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2015b; Virkkula & Nikula, 2010). Individuals may project their different kinds of identities for different purposes. The discussions in this respect have included for examples global citizenship (W. Baker, 2015; e.g. W. Baker & Fang, 2020; Sung, 2014), learner vs user identity, elite vs non elite identity, national and global identity (Y. Wang, 2012, 2020). Further, Virkkula and Nikula (2010) finds that their participants project different identities in EMF communication and EMF experience has changed their understandings to their identities as well.

While emergent identities in and through EMF are recognized, individuals' affiliation to certain groups are often ignored in discussion. Jenkins (2007) mentions that the extreme post-structuralist view on identity may result in ignoring individuals' affiliations to nation and state.

Individuals' affiliation intersects with the perceived sharedness. According to Mauranen (2018, p. 15), "the historical and situational constitute a priori sharedness (even though their being identically given or assigned to participants can be questioned), whereas the interaction itself generates its own shared domain as it moves on". It is recognized that structural influences are important "identity shapers" to individuals' identity construction (Block, 2006, p. 36). Individuals' affiliation to certain groups is manifest in their practices of (re)drawing boundaries. While it is agreed that boundaries in EMF communication are blurred, individuals' practices of (re)drawing boundaries should not be ignored as "boundaries are often drawn for social and political reasons, and not on the basis of linguistic features alone" (Mauranen, 2006, p. 154). Similarly, Seidlhofer (2011, p. 77) states the speakers' boundary (re)drawing practices in multilingual communications as "motivated by socio-political and other considerations, they mark out linguistic boundaries to define the communal space in which they can invest their group identity and in which they can feel socially secure".

The concern about EMF users' identity construction is directly related to the discussion of the communities that EMF users associate them with. Speech community has been traditionally adopted to conceptualize communities that language speakers' get involved. It refers to a homogeneous group of people who share and use the same linguistic forms (Yule, 2010). World Englishes (WE) scholars adopt speech community, attempting to theorize the localized varieties of English within certain geographical territories. As for EMF research, the notion of speech community does not in line with the language use and users in EMF communication which go beyond the geographical and linguistic boundaries (Seidlhofer, 2005). Considering this conflicts, House (2003) draws on Wenger's (1998) theory of community of practice (CoP) to think about the issue of community in EMF communications. This framework of CoP has been adopted as an analytical tool on understanding the issue of community in EMF communication (e.g. Cogo, 2016; Kalocsai, 2013; Mauranen, Hynninen, & Ranta, 2010). However, the framework of CoP still has its limitations as its emphasis on instantaneity of the multilingual context may not be able to account for individuals' affiliation with certain groups. Realizing CoP's limitations for conceptualizing the issue of community among ELF users who share same L1, Y. Wang (2012) borrows Anderson's (1991) notion of imagined community to account for the sharedness among Chinese EMF users.

2.3.3 Multilingual awareness in EMF

The concept of multilingual awareness has emerged from and is closely related to the field of language awareness (LA). Since its origins in 1980s (Hawkins, 1984), the concept of LA has covered a wide spectrum of interpretations. James and Garrett (1992) proposed five domains, which have been frequently used as a frame of reference: performance domain, cognitive domain, affective

domain, social domain, and power domain. Generally, there two strands in LA research: a more cognitive and (meta)linguistic dimension, and a more sociocultural and political dimension. The sociocultural and political dimension has recently seen increased interest as it takes aspects of multilingualism into consideration (Breidbach, Elsner, & Young, 2011). It focuses especially on developing an attitude to openness towards diversities, minority groups in society, and liberation from dominant language ideologies. Thus, comparing to the linguistic strand, the sociocultural and political strand is more concerned with attitudinal change, rather than with boosting merely linguistic skills. It is this sociocultural and political dimension of LA that becomes the core of the concept of multilingual awareness as an awareness of the multilingual self and the other, the awareness of multilingual (educational) settings. García (2017) calls for a more critical approach to multilingual awareness. She points out the need to not only raise students' awareness and tolerance of diversity, but also to promote a critical refection of the histories and ideologies that produced the multilingualism in society. It is argued that the more space we can create that can positively change the language ideologies adopted in language teaching classroom, the more we can strengthen multilingual opportunities for children. With a critical approach, multilingual awareness concerns how language learning can reinforce, perpetuate, or redefine existing power relations in society. García (2017) explains that the focus is not only on language itself, but also on those speakers of language. She also considers the notion of dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009) that adds a critical understanding of repertoire and translanguaging practices. She calls for teachers to understand critically how language use in society has been naturalized, effectively develop the understanding that language is socially constructed (see also Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). The notion of EMF positions English within multilingualism, and EMF awareness highlights the multilingual world of mobility. EMF awareness, according to Ishikawa (2020), integrates conceptual understanding, motivational attitudes, and communicative practices. It seeks "the integration of linguistic and cultural understanding, empowered attitudes, and emancipated communicative practices among multilingual English users" (ibid.: p. 416). Basically, EMF awareness includes linguistic and cultural awareness. It also involves conscious understanding to EMF users' transcultural and trans-modal communication by appropriating English and multilingual resources, which can contribute to their continuous development of the ability to communication through actual experiences and reflections.

2.4　An integrated view on imagined communities: ideological, identitary, and educational

One important and complex issue about multilingualism is that how to conceptualize and approach communities that multilingual speakers get involved. This study focuses on the role of

imagination in constructing communities and takes an integrated view on the notion of *imagined communities*. Following this view, I will put forward the idea that this study adopts an integrated view on the notion of imagined communities which consists of ideological, identitary, and educational aspects, with inherent chronotopic complexities. This integrated view can help to better address the complex issues of communities in researching multilinguslism in L1-shared educational contexts.

2.4.1 Ideological, identitary, and educational functions

"Every social event develops simultaneously in space and in time, often in multiply imagined spaces and timeframes" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 34). Clarke (2008, p. 25) further puts that imagination is a pivotal constructs through which individuals can liberate themselves from the potential constraints imposed by social structure. Wenger (1998, p. 176) explains imagination as "a process of expanding our self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves". Empirical studies have also revealed the influential role of future-oriented imagination of community in shaping present engagement and identification among individuals (e.g. Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte, & Cain, 1998).

Pavlenko (2003) points out the nexus of three functions emerging from ideas on imagination, they are, ideological, identitary and educational. These functions are notably exemplified in seminal works of 'imagined communities' in the (re)production of nationalism (Anderson, 1991), the notion of 'discourse community' (Kramsch, 2009), the conceptual framework of 'community of practices' (CoP) (Wenger, 1998), and 'imagined communities' in educational contexts (Norton, 2000, 2001; Vygotsky, 1987). Anderson (1991) highlights language's pivotal role in the construction of nations as imagined communities. The ways in which national identities are conceptualized and languages are implicated in this construction, therefore possess the potential to shape both societal attitudes and beliefs about language varieties. Moreover, they influence the ways a polity deals with linguistic diversity within its territory. Closely related to Anderson's concern on the role of language in constructing imagined communities is Kramsch's idea about discourse community. Members in a discourse community is conceived as sharing "a common social space and history, and common imaginings" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 10). She takes the view that the concept of imagined communities points out "the overwhelming power of nations to control the imagination of their citizens" (Kramsch, 2013, p. 197). Thus, even if members leave the discourse community, they may tend to keep "a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 10). Thus, clearly, Kramsch highlights the influence from structure, which is important but not decisive. Since individuals have their agency in imagining. In education, language and culture are viewed by Vygotsky (1987) as symbolic

artifacts that mediate children's cognitive and affective development. They play an essential role in the process of the future-in-the-making as identity formation through imagining potentials. Identity, then, in relation to affective development is of a dialectical nature since it is continuously produced and reproduced through engaging in both the past and present. In Norton's early work, she takes the view that an imagined community is in fact 'a community of the imagination', that is, a desired community with human agency, a community with possibilities for identity options. She (2000) then applies the notion of 'imagined community' to explore the relationships between learners' imagined future affiliations and their current learning progress. Her studies found out that learners can imagine and connect with communities that lie beyond the local and immediate. To envision an imagined identity within the context of an imagined community can impact learners' engagement with educational practices and therefore can re-frame their learning experience.

The model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) is considered as helpful for us to understand the recent years' developments on ideological, identitary, and educational functions of imagined communities. Norton uses the three concepts, i.e. investment, identity, and imagined community, to illustrate how learners can liberate themselves from imposed identities and the institutional communities imposed by society (Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). The notion of investment has been developed and given new meanings by Norton and other researchers. The narrative of individual agency in relation to investment (e.g. Block, 2006; Pavlenko, 2001) is now linked to the narrative of global injustices and ideological struggles (e.g. Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Holborow, 2012). As argued by Kramsch (2013, p. 198), previous research on individual cases of investment demonstrated that "the dream of renewed identities is clouded by the ruthless realities of economic and cultural globalization", suggesting that "a more political light" should be adopted. While Norton's early work have pointed out the political dimension of language learning, it is the model of investment proposed by Darvin and Norton (2015) that further exemplifies the interrelations between identity, ideology and capital with regard to investment. They state that what and how to make investment in language education is "contingent on the dynamic negotiation of power in different fields, and thus investment is complex, contradictory, and in a state of flux" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37).
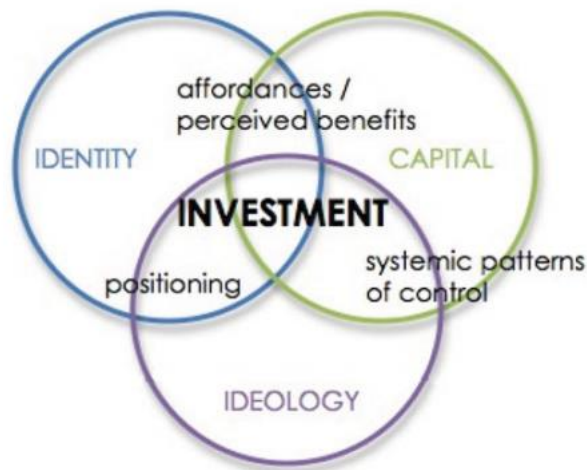
Figure 2-1 The model of investment

As for ideology in this model, it is defined as "a normative set of ideas" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 43). The interrogation of ideology aims to address the relation between the power dynamics within micro communicative events and the macro systematic patterns of control. It seeks to elucidate "how power manifests itself materially in the practices of a classroom, workplace, or community; the positioning of interlocutors; and the structuring of habitus" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42). The concerns on ideology extend previous research focus on individual learners' investment, but seek to question "What *systemic patterns of control* (policies, codes, institutions) make it difficult to invest and acquire certain capital? How have *prevailing ideologies* structured learners' habitus and predisposed them to certain ways of thinking?" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47, original italics). Darvin and Norton's view on ideology in language education align closely with Shohamy's (2006) discussion of manipulation, that broader social patterns and struggles are played out and transformed into the smaller-scale dynamics of language. At the same time, Shohamy also points out bottom-up grassroots initiatives to resist, protest and negotiate the top-down policies. Some researchers give more focus on the *dialectical relation* between macro and micro. They find the limitations of the 'macro versus micro' metaphor and argue for understanding the interrelations in terms of *nexus* (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Silverstein, 2004). This dialectical relation between macro and micro allows the space for speakers to negotiate.

In the discussion of identity, Norton shares the post-structuralist view on identity, seeing identity is multiple, fluid, dynamic, and continuously changing over time and space. In this model, they further point out that identity is discursively constructed, as a site of struggle, of competing ideologies, habitus, and desire. It is constantly re-assessed and re-negotiated in different discursive contexts under different power structures. Norton and Darvin highlight the role of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) which is theorized as an internalized system of durable and transposable dispositions shaped by ideology. Shaped by prevailing ideologies, language learners' habitus

predispose and guide them to think and act in certain ways. Darvin and Norton's discussion of habitus resonates with Shohamy's argument that language-in-education policy "is considered a powerful tool as it can create and impose language behaviour in a system which it is compulsory for all children to participate in" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 77). Blommaert (2018, p. 94) points out that the systematicity of habitus entails that a cultural community tend to present *a system of affinity* in certain values. The fact that individual identities "are dynamic and do change over time does not detract from the essential reproductive quality of social structures and the habituated characteristics they attribute to everyday social practice" (ibid.). In this sense, habitus as a nexus, allows the understanding of the interrelations between structure and individual. That is: the process of structure being turned into individuals as a system of disposition on the one hand; the way individuals jointly as a group consist of the collective on the other hand. This perspective implies that while habitus is stable and demonstrates continuity, it is also a dynamic system subjected to negotiation (Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015). When one set of habitus does not fit in a new field, individuals tend to confront or remake the structure. As evident, Darvin and Norton give attention to the effects of systemic patterns of control on the construction of identity in this model, while still underscoring the role of individual agency, consistent with their earlier work. They argue that while habitus can shape language learners' desire, learners can also act and exercise agency through their desire. Imagined identities become the means through which learners express their desire. Thus, imagined communities in educational contexts in this sense are conceptualized aspirational communities nourished by hopes for economic capital and social mobility (Kramsch, 2013).

Capital is viewed as "a tool of both social reproduction and transformation" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 44). Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of capital, the forms of capital of discussion in the model include economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. The different orders of indexicality point to a view of capital as shifting values in different contexts. Thus, capital is fluid and dynamic. It is subject to dominant ideologies of specific fields and the value of it shifts as the capital travels across time and space. Once these forms of capitals are recognized as legitimate within a specific field, they become what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital. The symbolic capital is defined as "a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). The critical examination also gives attention to power and inequalities, which is neglected in the 'multi- turn' discourse (Kubota, 2016). The notion of investment "accentuates the role of human agency and identity in engaging with the task at hand, in accumulating economic and symbolic capital" (Kramsch, 2013, p. 195). Darvin and

Norton argue that the value systems used to evaluate these capitals should also be questioned and re-evaluated.

In the field of multilingualism studies, P. H. Smith and Murillo (2015) also emphasize the role of capital in shaping individuals' multilingual development. They theorized multilingualism through human capital theory, in which they include affective capital, cognitive capital, social capital, cultural capital, academic capital, and economic capital. Defined by Smith and Murillo (2015, p. 64), affective capital encompasses "a person's emotional resources and feelings about oneself and others." According to Holt, Bowlby, and Lea (2013), the value of affective capital is "implicitly tied to its potential to be converted into other, cultural, and ultimately economic, forms of capital, reproducing a view of Bourdieu as being, at heart, a materialist". Cultural capital, according to Smith and Murillo (2015, p. 66), is analogous to "funds of knowledge". Defined by L. C. Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992), funds of knowledge refers to "the historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for households and individuals functioning and well-being". Multilingualism, according to Li Wei (2014), is a major source of "funds of knowledge" since the sociocultural knowledge is inherent in the languages. Academic capital is usually refers to the skills and knowledge that support individuals' educational persistence (Orta, Murguia, & Cruz, 2019). In academic settings, the evaluations of academic capital are often judgments of a person's ability to read and write. According to Smith and Murillo, the ability to comprehend oral and written information in multiple languages can open multilingual children's ability to learn. However, when test scores and passing rates are converted into data for ranking schools (which is usually based on acquiring standard language forms in language education), a form of *collective academic capital* is created, which can be used to reward and/or punish schools, teachers, and learners. Cognitive capital stands for the intellectual resources of individuals and groups. It is also linked to critical language awareness in language education. It stands for 'the individual learner's intellectual capabilities that are required for long-term, multifaceted struggles in various sociopolitical arenas' (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 15). As for social capital, it broadly refers to the networks of relations that individuals draw upon to pursue their different aims and goals. Networks are considered to include both real ones and imagined ones in the futured. The imagined future networks are anonymous to the imagined future communities which is exemplified in Norton's work. Speaking of economic capital, it includes both 'the material and financial resources that actors hold or can easily access' (Smith & Murillo, 2015, p. 68). Against current neoliberal globalization, economic capital is viewed as "the most liquid capital" (O'Brien & Ó Fathaigh, 2005, p. 69). As such, itself is easily transformed into other forms of capital. Depending on different perceived sociopolitical, sociocultural, and socioeconomic

interests tied to these forms of capitals, individuals can make investments oriented towards monolingualism or multilingualism.

In short, the discussion centers on the intricate interplay between ideology, identity, and capital in the model of investment. The model emphasizes the dialectical relationship between macro and micro levels, acknowledges the role of habitus, and underscores individual agency in negotiating power structures. Some scholars have noticed the explanatory power of investment and expanded the research scales of investments. For examples, Dagenais and Toohey (2014) discussed the relationship between materiality and investments and Duchêne (2014) investigated the political economy of language investment. For research focus on Chinese context, some researchers have applied the notion of investment to examine Chinese students' social, cognitive, and linguistic investment in English medium interaction (Arkoudis & Davison, 2008). Norton and Gao's research found that identity and investment are paramount considerations in understanding Chinese learners of English. They argue that with different types of investment, "Chinese learners of English continue to take greater ownership of the English language, redefine the target language community, and develop unique forms of intercultural competence" (Norton & Gao, 2008, p. 119). Overall, this model offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the complex dynamics between ideology, identity, and language education.

2.4.2   Belonging and desire

Besides taking into consideration of the ideological, identitary, and educational functions of imagined communities, this study focuses on two types of imagined communities: the imagined communities that individuals belong to and imagined communities that individuals desire to be a member of or participate into. Arguing a sense of belonging as a fundamental human motivation, Baumeister and Leary (1995, p. 499) define it as "a need to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of interpersonal relationships". It stimulates people to activate their agency to satisfy it. Hurtado and Carter (1997) further develop the notion that a sense of belonging has both cognitive and affective dimensions that influence how people evaluate their role in society and act accordingly. This thesis embraces a "weak theory" (Wright, 2015) approach to belonging. Rather than excluding, categorizing, judging, modelling, and getting things right, weak theory sees things open, entangled, connected, and in flux, and it opens to possibilities, all of which situate this theory within poststructuralism. Where 'strong' theory demands comprehensiveness and exclusivity, weak theory supports partial understandings and multiplicity, and allows for both contradictions and inconsistency. It calls attention to affective assemblages, recognizing how various things, people, affects and places, with different trajectories, may come together, albeit in often tentative, inconclusive, or evolving ways, necessitating attention to the radical

heterogeneity. In Wright's conceptualization of belonging through weak theory, first, weak theory highlights the importance of delving into how belonging is constituted by and through emotional attachments. The assumed emotionality of belonging is rarely explicitly explored. Few studies have discussed the work belonging-as-emotion does in constructing subjectivities, collectivities, and places. From a critical perspective, emotion/sentiment can be discursively constructed and imposed. For example, Yu (2009) discussed the relationships between the Chinese HEART and Chinese people's sense of belonging. Yu argues that belonging is highly emotionally invested, especially connected with the concept of heart. The heart is found often associated with the core of the individuals' political and emotional identity. Moreover, weak theory also directs attention to the affective domain, to the attunement and attachment through which belongings are constituted. This underscores the importance of process, of performances of belonging, and the ways belonging is actively constructed through the practices of a wide range of human and more-than-human agents. Here, weak theory encourages an exploration of belonging that engages both epistemological and ontological domains. In short, Wright draws upon material performativity, feminism, and indigenous geographies to discuss how belonging actively co-constitutes people and things and process and places. Belonging is "multiple and multiscalar - it is personal and structural, lived and contested, and discursive and material. It is imbued with powerful (but contested) sexist, racist, and exclusionary logics at the same time as it is used to generate inclusive ways of being in the world" (p. 394). This 'weak' stance of belonging can help us to understand an individual's sense of belonging and desire for change can co-exist and co-present moment to moment. This is also in line with the recent discussion of post-humanist and new materialist applied linguistic on identity (Pennycook, 2016; Toohey, 2019). Drawing on Wenger's (1998) model of communities of practice, Clarke (2008) examines three modes of belonging: belonging and engagement, belonging and alignment, belonging and imagination. As for belonging and imagination, Clarke (2008, p. 12) looks at "self-consciousness, reflection and creation as means through which community members continually reinvent their community of practice". The agency of community members is highlighted here.

The second type of imagined communities to be considered is those that individuals desire to be a member of. As puts out by Norton (1997, p. 440), "Identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety". According to in Kulick (2003), specific desires are socialized in every interaction. In educational context, desires that is assumed to be held by students may actually be "shaped in powerful but invisible ways by the state through curriculum, public media control, and language policy." (Motha & Lin, 2014, p. 336). Thus, desire is discursively constructed as well. For example, in Takahashi's (2013) study, Japanese desire for English is linked to their romantic and sextual choices of White English speaking males,

which is set up within the broader gender discourse in Japan. Carroll, Motha, and Price (2008) point out that desires can function as inspiring imagined communities, but simultaneously as oppressive regimes of truth, larger structures that regulate an individual's thoughts and behaviours, encourage compliance, and make resistance difficult.

One strand of discourse on imagined communities in the future is surrounded by the key words of desire (e.g. Motha & Lin, 2014; Norton, 2013), new worlds (e.g.Pennycook, 2010b), possibilities (e.g. Kanno & Norton, 2003), neoliberal opportunities (e.g. Phyak & Sharma, 2020), ideal multilingual self (e.g. Ushioda, 2017). And it is always about investment and emphasizes resistance and individual agency with imagination. In this sense, according to Li Wei and Zhu Hua (2019, p. 73):

> 'Imagination is defined here as the vision of where and what one might be or become at some future point in time.'

As argued by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 27), 'individuals are agentive beings who are constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways'. Motha and Lin (2014) argue that at the centre of English language learning practice lies desires, which include "desire for the language; for the identities that English represents; for capital, power, and images that are associated with English; for what is believed to lie beyond the doors that English unlocks". Kubota's (2011) study, it is found that English language learning attracted the desire of individuals who want to be included in a globalized social imaginary, and a seductive imagined English-speaking community.

It is also important to note that imagined communities are both individual and collective in nature (Holland et al., 1998). Recent years' studies give a focus on imagined communities in transnational space, in which the interactions between individual and collective imaginations are prominent. J. Song (2012), for example, found that Korean families strive to maximize their language learning opportunities overseas attempting to renew their memberships in the imagined Korean communities. In this way, it is noted that individuals' sense of belonging and desire are entangled. Individual imagination and desire should be recognized as situated, that is, individual imagination is not solely private but intersubjectively (re)constituted by the sociocultural, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic context.

Taking imagined community as an 'umbrella community' (Mauranen, 2018, p. 12), this section concludes with an integrated view on the imagined communities including ideological, identitary, and educational dimensions, and focuses on two entangled types of imagined communities. The basic assumption of this argument is that there are multiple imagined communities ('multiplicity')

being imagined simultaneously ('layered simultaneity') with different centres of authority ('polycentricity'), which I have addressed in discussing poststructuralist view on identity in section 2.2.1. The consideration of the multiplicity, layered simultaneity, and polycentricity is directedly related to the discussion of language ideological imagination, which will be explained more in section 3.2.

2.5   Summary

This chapter has explained how multilingual sociolinguistic reality is approached through post-structuralism, and how multilingual practices are understood through translanguaging studies and theory. Besides, this chapter discusses the relationship between English and multilingualism, focusing on multiple identities through EMF and multilingual awareness in EMF. In the end, it addresses the issues of community that multilingual speakers get involved. Taking *imagined community* as an 'umbrella community', this thesis proposes an integrated view on imagined community in researching multilingualism, which includes ideological, identitary, and educational dimensions.

Chapter 3   Language ideology, language policy and language education

3.1   Introduction

First, this chapter aims to explore the concept of language ideology and discuss its inherent multiplicity, simultaneity, and paradox, followed by a review of current language ideological debates in multilingual China. Second, besides drawing on Spolsky's work as a framework to understand and explore language policy, it provides details on how language policy is viewed as discourse. In the end, it discusses how English language education can be viewed from the perspective of multilingualism, drawing on scholars' discussion on multilingual turn, focus on multilingualism in language education, and EMF-aware teaching. At the same time, it will also address challenges of monolingual orientations and the role of language teachers as mediators between policy and practice.

3.2   Language ideologies

Multilingualism is a complex and multidimensional concept which is always accompanied with issues such as ideology, identity, and power (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Heller (2007, p. 1) argues for a critical approach to researching multilingualism that situates language practices in social and political. This study adopts this approach. In doing so, the notion of language ideology is of vital importance.

3.2.1   The concept of language ideology

This study adopts the view that language is not simply a neutral tool for communication but rather an ideological construct, suggesting that any meaningful behaviour is organized indexically in relation to social and cultural contexts (Blommaert, 2010; Gal & Woolard, 2001; Kroskrity, 2004; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity (1998) focus on the social dimensions of cultural conceptualization of language, particularly emphasizing the role of social power. This leads them to introduce the concept of "language ideology". Exploring language ideologies is crucial as it allows us to understand the complexity that language users use language to imagine and negotiate sociocultural worlds, as language ideologies "envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). A more unrestrained definition of language ideologies is adopted, that language

ideologies are "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). In this sense, the notion of language ideologies is taken as an umbrella term of beliefs and ideas about language in sociocultural worlds. These language ideologies and beliefs about language and language use, on linguistic normativity, appropriateness, etc., influence and finally translate into beliefs and how we perceive ourselves and other speakers. They also influence the ways in which these beliefs are enacted in language practices, whether reinforcing, challenging, or transforming categories, norms and rule (Busch, 2012). This translation into embodied beliefs and practices presupposes that language is not merely seen as a conventional and sedimented system of signifiers but rather as an intersubjective, bodily, and emotional gesture connecting the speaker to others and to the world. In section 3.5, the discussion on teacher beliefs will provide a further understanding of the use of language ideology and beliefs in this study.

Irvine (1989) argues that language ideology is constructed through the dynamic sociocultural experience of the speaker with their loading moral and political interests. This indicates that certain boundaries are highlighted, and identities are located within a field of power. Social hierarchies are thus generated, and interests of particular groups are advocated accordingly. Thus, again language is not merely linguistic structure but a "densely loaded ideological package" and "acquirable imagery of the Self as being in the world" (Blommaert, 2009, p. 245). Language ideologies embedded in discourses would inform individuals' social practices (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). They are "constantly constructed and re-constructed in discursive interaction" (Blackledge, 2000, p. 26), thus language ideologies can be traced in the discourse.

Furthermore, sociolinguists and applied linguists have underlined the notion of multimodality, acknowledging the "multiplicity of modes" in representation and communication (see section 2.2.1). It is crucial to recognize that language and other semiotic modes are "intrinsically ideological" (Lin, 2014, p. 215). All modes are considered as "the result of social shaping" (Kress, 2013, p. 45) and cultural resources with specific material and historical affordances, imbuing them with the potential to contribute to meaning-making. The wide range of available modes leads to "the varying appearances and effects of power in a largely unbounded and barely framed semiotic world" (ibid., p. 47). By attending to different modes, it becomes possible to move beyond the "reductiveness" often found in linguistic modes and towards a much comprehensive account. A text is viewed a "multimodal semiotic entity", where meanings are framed by the discourse present in a text "in an ideological arrangement" (ibid., p. 36). In light of this understanding, Keane (2018) proposes a shift from the notion of *language ideology* to *semiotic ideology*. However, the concept of semiotic ideology is not widely used in literature. Therefore, in alignment with the majority of the literature, this study continues to use the term *language*

ideology while also attending to other modes in practice and the underlying ideologies they represent.

In short, it becomes evident that language ideology provides a crucial lens through which we can explore the intersections of language and human beings in a social world. Through language ideology, we gain insights into the complexity of sociolinguistic phenomena and processes (Blommaert, 2016). The following writing aims to address the multiplicity and simultaneity inherent in language ideologies, leading to an understanding of inherent inconsistencies, contradictions, and the consequential paradox in discourse. Kroskrity (2004) and Blommaert's (2005, 2010) work are used to exemplify power issues and the related group and individual interests tied to certain language ideologies.

3.2.2   Multiplicity, simultaneity, and paradox

According to Kroskrity (2004), multiple language ideologies can be present in any discourse simultaneously. The multiplicity of language ideologies with its contestations and debates indicates the potential conflicts and contentions in social space. These language ideologies are constructed to serve the interests of a specific social and cultural groups, often tied to political-economic motives (Kroskrity, 2004). This stimulates a penetrating sociocultural analysis of the underlying attempts to use language as the means to promote, protect, and legitimate the political-economic interests. For example, the assertion of the superiority of Standard English is rooted in its association with the political-economic interests of privileged social classes instead of its structural properties or communicative efficiency (Lippi-Green, 2012). Nonetheless, Kroskrity also acknowledges individuals possess agency, enabling them to either accept or reject discourses from their own or other social groups.

In line with Kroskrity's discussion of the multiplicity of language ideologies, Blommaert (2005, 2010) introduces the concept of "layered simultaneity". Blommaert uses 'scales', 'orders of indexicality', 'polycentricity', to exemplify this layered simultaneity in any discourse. 'Scales' enable a comprehensive analysis of complex sociolinguistic phenomena as non-unified, layered and stratified. It complements the horizontal images of space with a vertical dimension of differentiation. Every scale is filled with *orders of indexicality*, which encompass with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal language use, as well as what does not count as such (Blommaert, 2005). Orders of indexicality highlight the important aspects of power and inequality in the field of semiosis. It imposes "differences in value onto the different modes of semiosis, systematically give preference to some over others, and exclude or disqualify particular modes" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 41). This valuation process of forms of semiosis bears

traces of power and authority, commonly observed in language standardization (Milroy, 2001; Milroy & Milroy, 1999). Polycentricity implies centres in a polycentric system are projected as "evaluating authorities" over clusters of semiotic features (Blommaert, 2010, p. 39). These centres of authority usually occupy specific scale-levels and operate as foci of normativity, representing ordered indexicalities (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein, 2003). In short, different modes of semiosis are valued and stratified at several different scale-levels, where different orders of indexicality dominate, with centres of authority operating as foci of normativity.

Within a given context, a number of language ideologies may exist, presenting conflicting views about languages, leading to contradictory language practices and management interventions (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). Studies (e.g. Henderson, 2017; Martínez, 2013; Zuniga, Henderson, & Palmer, 2018) have demonstrated that, even within one individual's articulations, language ideologies are multiple, fluid, and contradictory. In other words, language ideologies are not static (e.g. J. S. Park & Bae, 2009). Understanding the concepts of multiplicity and simultaneity is essential for analysing the juxtaposition of divergent language ideologies, identifying potential complex contradictoriness in discourse, and addressing the consequential paradox. The intrinsic nature of language ideologies as multiple and simultaneous necessitates an examination of discourse as *"language ideological assemblages"* (referring to clusters of language ideologies and other ideologies that impact on language) (Kroskrity, 2018), requiring an "*ideological clarification*" (which covers the conflicts and paradox of beliefs about languages) (Kroskrity, 2009).

3.2.3   Language ideological imagining

Important for the analysis of the data in this study is the connection between language ideologies and identity. It gives a focus to the role of language ideological imagining in shaping imagined communities and constructing identities accordingly. According to Blommaert (2016, p. 244), "ideological imaginings of language, culture, identity and political structure" are influential as they typically coincide with what kinds of and how imagined communities are constructed and reconstructed. For Tann (2010), imagining communities can be a multifunctional approach to identity management. The construction of these imagined communities necessitates a critical examination through the lens of language ideologies. Language education plays a significant role in shaping the individual's envisioned future, particularly in terms of accessing these imagined communities. Norton (2013, p. 8) explains imagined communities refer to "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination". S. Ryan (2006), identifies that EFL learners' sense of identity is influenced by imagined global community. This strand of research on imagined communities in language

education emphasizes individual's potential to transcend time and space, aiming for specific outcomes. Individuals strive not only for the imagined communities that they desire to integrate one day. They also aim to "renew symbolic membership" (J. Song, 2012, p. 510) in the imagined communities to which they maintain close ties.

However, the process of constructing imagined communities is highly dependent on who are perceived as the representatives or gatekeepers of these communities. Consequently, imagined communities can impose constraints. The concept of 'authenticity' often operates as a key motif in the constructing an imagined community. Seargeant (2005, p. 341) argues that the overarching effect of authenticity is to "create an environment which is not necessarily truthful to the original upon which it is purportedly based but is instead an imagined idea with its own logic and reality". In other words, it happens that authenticity can become a fake representation of reality that exists only within its own imagined depiction, driven by underlying ideologies.

Further, individuals' construction of imagined communities does not simply depend on the their own imagination. For example, Dagenais (2003) examines how parents vision future affiliations for their children. These parents "view multilingualism as capital and invest in language education as a means of securing their children's access to various imagined language communities" (p. 269). Thus, parents' planning and expectations for their children can influence children's imagination of future communities, which are usually associated with images of economically better life. S. J. Park and Abelmann (2004) reveal that South Korean mothers' interest in and commitment to English education reflect their class mobility (or maintenance) and cosmopolitan strivings. Besides parents, educational institutions also envision imagined communities for their students. As argued by Kanno (2003, p. 287) "education institutions have the power and expertise to navigate students' learning toward such visions in a systematic manner beyond the capacity of individual learners and parents". That is to say a school can communicate to its students an image of a society in which they will grow up to participate. These visions condition the schools' policies and practices and ultimately affect students' identity constructions. If a school tacitly assumes limited social participation in the future for certain groups of children, it becomes difficult for the children to counter thus influence, as it has been "normalized and internalized" (ibid.: p. 285). Language policies in education always project an imagined future linguistic situation and make provisions to bring this into existence. They may also serve a nation-building function, not only in terms of developing human resources, but also as symbolic reinforcements of the existing imagined national community embodied in the polity.

3.2.4   Language ideological debates in multilingual China

This section will have a look at recent years' language ideological debate about English in multilingual China, presenting the conflicting and competing language ideologies centring on English and being Chinese. As discussed in section 1.1.2, the discursive shaping of Chineseness brings front the monolingual and monocultural ideology. Spolsky (2004, p. 142) argues that monolingualism is "no longer the simplest policy" in the twenty-first century. On the one hand, it needs to consider the issue of the civil rights of minorities. On the other hand, it has to deal with the growing importance of English as a global language. This study gives attention to the latter issue. It has been noticed that the presence of nation-state ideology and cultural homogenization narrative in juxtaposition with the de facto multilingual and multicultural situation in China has created a "power and cultural dynamic" (H. Wang & Yao, 2018, p. 44) in which Mandarin Chinese competes with other strands of languages, especially with English. Seeing from language education policy, Chinese government seems to promote multilingualism since Chinese and English are both compulsory subjects in its educational system. However, behind the apparent multilingual policy, there exists a 'monolingual mindset' (Clyne, 2008) or 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 1997). As maintained by Hu and McKay (2012), China still fosters a dominant monolingual habitus despite its long-time foreign language education.

Language ideological debates regarding Chinese and English have drawn researchers' attention. Sercombe, Young, Dong, and Lin (2014) found that Mainland Chinese students and professionals are likely to adopt English names with an aim to become international or global. According to Cheang (2008), English naming practice is related to one's identity management in that it projects a desired image or personal characteristics to the public. Sercombe etal and Cheang's studies both point out that the Chinese English users' desire to construct certain identities through English. However, recently, H. Wang and Yao (2018) examined Chinese netizens' perceptions of a female Chinese celebrity's adoption of *Angelababy* as her stage name. Most of the netizens participate to reproduce the ideology of one nation and one language, claiming only Chinese names are considered normal and legitimate for being Chinese. They state that the introduction of foreign names can destabilize the construction of nationalism and claims it is an act of 'betray'. It seems that participants in their study link the sense of stability and security with the discourse of nationalism. However, the discourse of authenticity also exists in parallel with the discourse of nationalism. The name Angelababy viewed by their participants as illegitimate English name from native speakers' perspective. In such debate on English naming practices, the notion of authenticity and legitimacy is tied to the use of English. Here, it is clear that English native-speakerism co-exists with Chinese nationalism. The same phenomenon is identified in primary English education as reviewed in section 1.3.

Early in 1990s to 2000s, "Crazy English" stood out in Chinese English teaching industry by highlighting Chinese nationalism. Li Yang, as a progenitor of the "Crazy English", rose to national prominence (Bolton, 2002, 2003). In one of his television interviews in 2007, Li claimed that his public lectures which aimed to promote his way of learning by shouting English 'crazily' had attracted 30 or 40 million participants (L. Chen, 2007). According to Bolton (2003, p. 254), Li's Crazy English includes messages of 'a sharp and focused nationalism', which is evident in his enterprise motto: stimulate patriotism, advocate national spirit, conquer English and revitalize China. Li's personal prestige and Crazy English enterprise peaked when he was chosen to represent the Beijing Municipality for the 2008 Olympic Games as an ambassador, which could be an indication of the political endorsement of the Crazy English (X. Gao, 2012). Though the emphasis on Chinese nationalism ensured an ideological space in which Li could promote himself and his English teaching enterprise, the nation-wide learning of English has generated debates on whether if English is a threat to Chinese language and culture.

Regarding if English is a threat, a language ideological debate in 2010 in the Chinese media was triggered by an article named *English ants are digging holes in the Chinese levee.* The writer of this article is Fu Zhenguo, a senior editor of *People's Daily.* The debate ended with "the promulgation of new regulations banning China's media organizations and publishers from randomly mixing foreign languages with Chinese in publications" (Xi, 2013, p. 31). The 'one nation and on language' ideology can be coded in the metaphor of the article's title. English in this statement is regarded as a threat to Chinese purity and nationhood, as we can see a clear-cut boundary was drawn between English as an animated object (ants) and Chinese as an artifact (levee). The argument of this article is for the protection of Chinese language in the Chinese media. Wang Xuming, a former spokesman for China's MOE, responded to the debate proposing to de-emphasize English in Chinese schools. He held the view that English learning has not only waste considerable time and money but also have a detrimental effect on the learners' native language (Putonghua) proficiency, thus he suggested that schools should end teaching English to young children and more time should be attributed to Chinese learning (scmp.com, 2013). However, until now 2023, English is still one of the main subjects in primary schools besides Chinese and math while the proposals of de-emphasizing or even abandoning English subject continues being a hot topic over years.

Moreover, the interplay of Chinese monolingualism and English as a global language has also been addressed in Chinese popular culture field. Wang X. (2012), based on her research on a dense and intricate mixing and blending Enshi (恩施) hip-hop in China, found that there were struggles between language and cultural homogenization and purification led by the Chinese government and the global flow of the English language. The localized global spread of hip-hop indicates "the

local ideologies and politics of language, culture" (X. Wang, 2012, p. 338). Such localized Enshi style of hip-hop is also regarded as a form of vernacular of resistance to Mandarin Chinese hegemony. Her findings are in line with Pennycook's discussion of language as a local practice and the complex interactions between nationalism, identity and popular culture (Pennycook, 2010a, 2010b). Likewise, through their analysis of the language practices which critique and subvert the policies of language harmonization on the Internet, X. Wang, Juffermans, and Du (2016) found that a centripetal and monocentric social politics has clashed with a centrifugal and polycentric potential social reality. They argue that the application of language harmony to the totality of social life will lead to backfire, since "it is an inadequate descriptor of social process" which is characterized by the increasing polycentricity in the age of globalization and superdiversity.

In academic areas, the fact that English is used by more and more Chinese speakers has triggered debates about whether China English should be legitimized as a variety of English in World English (WE) framework (e.g. He & Li, 2009; X. Hu, 2005; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002). In WE framework, China English is treated as a relatively fixed variety and thus needs to be codified. These group of scholars try to look for similar linguistic features among Chinese English users' English and hope that China English as a variety of English can be recognized and accepted as the norm. Qiong (2004, p. 31) takes the view that Chinese culture can be better understood through China English, thus argues that Chinese English learners need to be more exposed to China English. However, traditional linguistic coding and legitimizing China English is a lengthy process, as pointed out by Yang and Zhang (2015), China English is still in its infancy. Some scholars have challenged such attempt to codify Chinese English users' English in simply linguistic sense. Y. Wang (2012), for example, argues that the establishment China English treat discourses as static and unchanged, which overlooks the fluidity and dynamics of using English for international communication. To step out the constraints of WE paradigm, scholars have turned to ELF paradigm to discuss and conceptualize Chinese English users' English (e.g. F. Fang, 2017; Y. Wang, 2020; Wen, 2012a). Among all, Wang's work (2012, 2018, 2020) has contributed to legitimize Chinese English users' English in both empirical and conceptual ways. Y. Wang (2012) draws on the notion of *similect* (Mauranen, 2013) and propose a conceptual notion *ChELF* to conceptualize how shared L1 influences Chinese English users' use of ELF. Clearly, ChELF distinguishes itself from China English which focuses on a fixed political-geographical and material boundary. At the same time, Wang's research suggests that Chinese ELF users tend to draw boundaries to mark their Chinese national and cultural identity based on their shared imagined Chinese community.

3.3   National identity and nationalism

National identity is viewed as an imagined collective identity that connects people across different geographical regions (Anderson, 1991; L. Berg & Hjerm, 2010). According to Wodak (2009), people share similar perceptual schemata, attitudes, and behaviour-related conventions share national identity collectively. Within its internal conceptual structure, national identity comprises two major attitudes: nationalism and patriotism (Blank & Schmidt, 2003), reflecting different but intertwined emotional tendencies. Previous work by Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) distinguished these two concepts, noting nationalism as perceptions of national superiority and a desire for dominance, and patriotism as emotional attachments to the nation, such as love and pride. Similarly, Grigoryan and Ponizovskiy (2018) argue that nationalism is associated with the evaluation of out-group entities, while patriotism is connected to in-groups. Although nationalism and patriotism are conceptually distinct, many scholars argue that drawing a clear-cut empirical distinction between them is difficult because they share a basic framework of nation-state and public relations, have similar psychological underpinnings, and can be mutually transformative in specific contexts (Z. Huang, Yang, & Meng, 2023). For example, Wodak (2009) found that citizen's patriotic attitudes can be reinforced during our-group threats, such as terrorist attacks or the onset of war, leading to an intensification of nationalistic sentiments. Also noted by A. D. Smith (2010, p. 72), the consciousness of belonging to a nation is accompanied with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity. Therefore, the emotional tendencies of nationalism and patriotism are closely intertwined. Throughout this thesis, the term nationalism is prioritized, but nationalism and patriotism are used interchangeably occasionally while interpreting the empirical data.

Discussions of nationalism also involves constructing typologies: ethnic/state nationalism and political/cultural nationalism. This study follows Guo's (2004) classification of Chinese nationalism – cultural/political nationalism – to situate the discussion in the Chinese context. Guo contends that while ethnic Han forms the majority of the Chinese population, a trans-ethnic national identity supersedes Han-centric identity, with cultural symbols and the common historical memory by political institutions playing a more significant role due to successive socialisation. Although there are fundamental distinctions between political nationalism and cultural nationalism in China, they also overlap, making their distinctions are nor clear-cut.

Chinese political nationalism primarily revolves around "a drive for a strong, sovereign state, national salvation, and modernity" (Guo, 2004, p. 17). It draws upon the narrative of the century of humiliation, manifesting as collective victimization in confrontation with Western and Japanese imperialism and an aspiration for national independence and great rejuvenation(Callahan, 2004,

2006). Therefore, the nation is seen by political nationalists as a political-territorial unit. Thus, the political nationalism encourages territorial bonding (Herb, 2004) that local governments often actively promote attachment to place. On the other hand, Chinese cultural nationalism views the nation as "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture" (Guo, 2004, p. 9). It relies heavily on Chinese cultural heritage and anchors the pride associated with being Chinese in the narrative of 5,000 years of glorious civilisation (Gries, 2004). As summarised by Guo (2004), the main discourse of Chinese cultural nationalism revolves around identifying China with its cultural traditions and its search for roots.

In global context, there are strong historical reasons for taking a critical and pessimistic stance towards nationalism, as nationalisms often involves elements of exclusion, setting up boundaries around specific cultural, linguistic, or geographic territory. Cultural theorist Bhabha (1994) questions the utility of viewing the world through the lens of nations and nationalities, highlighting the cultural flexibility and ethnic in-between-ness of individuals even within the same communities or nation states. Bhabha's perspective emphasizes the hybridity of the nation. For Bhabha, the nation is a blunt tool that is incapable of seeing beyond a monolithic cultural identity. Similarly, Wodak and Matouschek (1993) criticize the nation as a problematic tool that can be used to divide and marginalize ethnic groups and perpetuate the images of the Other. However, the diverse ways in which nationalism is discursively constructed suggest the need for a more context-sensitive approach, considering that the possibility that the construct can lead to good or be used in inclusive ways.

Noted by Piller (2011, p. 60), "schooling is a prime example of the way in which children are socialised into a national identity". In the field of language education, studies have found that foreign language learning can cause tensions related a learner's sense of national identity (e.g. Jenks & Lee, 2021; Z. Wang, McConachy, & Ushioda, 2021). Islam, Lamb, and Chambers (2013) emphasizes the need to understand the connection between English with the national identities and interests of learners. They define "national interest" in language education as "attitudes towards national socio-economic development, national integrity and the projection of a positive group/national in the international arena" (p. 44). The authors found that the Pakistani learners' motivation to learn English is influenced by their concern for national interests, including the desire to restore the reputation of Pakistan in its involvement in the international war against terrorism.

In short, in today's post-pandemic era, with a resurgence of nationalism globally (Jenks & Bhatia, 2020), there is an need for a more nuanced understandings of national identity and nationalism in various context. This study is particularly interested in the chronotopic complexities or timespace

dynamics (Bakhtin, 1981) in imagined communities and their impacts on the shape of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education context.

3.4 Language policy

3.4.1 Language policy as discourse

Language ideologies is an inherent part of policymaking. As Henderson (2017, p. 31) put it bluntly: "Language ideologies mediate language policy". Language policy studies have revealed language as a cite of struggle under power influences. Consequently, language policy researchers often engage with the structure-agency debate (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Johnson & Johnson, 2015). Within the realm of education, language policies serve as the one of the most powerful mechanisms for implementing, protecting, and maintaining official language policy rule. This, in turn, reproduces and perpetuates the sociolinguistic statuses of specific languages within and beyond the nation-state (e.g. Spolsky, 2012). In this study, the examination of language policies in education (referred to as language-in-education policy) is situated within the broader purview of language policy, considering the former as an integral component of the latter. This study considers the ways in which language policies in education contribute to shaping multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education context, encompassing the management, practices, and beliefs surrounding English multilingualism.

This study adopts the perspective of viewing language policy as discourse. As pointed out by Foucault (1972, p. 226), language education is not a neutral activity because "every education system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, which the knowledge and the powers it carries with it". Also noted by Schiffman (1996), language policy "is a belief system, a collection of idea and decisions that attitudes about language". Treating language policy as discourse gives attention to what kinds of and how language policy (re)produces and transmits values, presumptions and presuppositions about the phenomena they seek to impact. One noteworthy aspect is that language policy holds particular authority within the related complex discursive field, as they are vested with hegemonic power. Language policy is thus viewed as instances of *governmental truth* (Weir, 2008). Governmental truth, or in Foucault's words *regimes of truth*, resides in the theoretical knowledges and power apparatuses used by authorities to manage relations between individuals and things. It represents "images of official-authoritative truth" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 344). As authoritative discourses, language-in-education policy can be read as official versions of approved, but not always explicitly stated, ideologies about the role and functions of language in education and in society (Liddicoat, 2013). Hence, there is therefore a need to investigate such discourse in terms of its ideological framing.

Language policy indexes the both discourses which exist at the time of their creation and shape future discourses (Muetzelfeldt, 1992). It articulates projections of uncontested future social world in an imagined sense, the realization of which is dependent on the policies being endorsed and acted on. It constructs the world by conveying a pattern of meaning or frame of interpretation which can become normalised as common-sense ways of thinking about the world. As Van Dijk (2000, p. 102) states:

> "When a group accepts a dominant ideology as a reflection of their own goals, desires or interests, or as a representation of a natural or otherwise legitimate social order, their ideologies may turn into beliefs that are taken for granted or simply common sense".

Further, language policy as discourse is not self-contained but located within other social discourses (Lo Bianco, 2005). Language policy is viewed as developed and interpreted in complex ways, and they are unfinished texts subject to endless (re)interpretation, contestation, adaption, and resistance in local contexts and local power relationships (Ball, 1990, 1993, 1997). Thus, the implementation of language policy is not a straightforward application of texts in any policy document. Instead, it is subject to the various interpretations made by agents in the process, which is in line with Spolsky's ecological approach to language policy. Also, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) use the 'onion' as a metaphor to capture the multiple layers in the process through which language policy is processed and each of these layers can be understood as a discursive field. Teachers, program developers, materials and textbook writers, administrators, consultants, or academics are all involved in one way or another in making the de-facto language policy. The onion metaphor encapsulates the multiple layers through which language policy moves and develops, allowing for the exploration of different layers in language policy. While acknowledging the 'hegemonic power' of language policy, Hornberger and Johnson (2007, p. 509) argue for investigate the "ideological and implementations spaces" for multilingual language education policy and practices. In doing so, the agentive spaces can be possibly identified, in which local actors implement, interpret, and perhaps resist language policy initiatives in different ways.

To conclude, language policy as discourse, on the one hand, has the authority to provide official approved past and future social worlds in an imagined sense, the realization of which is hinges on how the policy being endorsed and acted on. On the other hand, language policy as discourse is also unfinished texts subject to (re)interpretation, contestation, and adaption by agents in different layers of the implementation process.

3.4.2   **Spolskyian framework**

As reviewed in last section, Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) framework of language policy holds significance for researchers who focus on the implementation of a language policy. Unpeeling the layers of the 'onion' helps researchers to identify the possible ideological and implementation spaces. It also shed lights on how agents operating at different layers (re)interpret, contest, resist, and adapt language policy to make the de facto language policy. Another critical approach to language policy is provided by Shohamy (2006), which the ways that broader social pattern and struggles are played out in smaller scale dynamics of language. While the bottom-up grassroots' agentive role is recognized, more emphasis is put on exploring the top-down manipulation and hidden agenda of language policies in Shohamy's approach. However, for a case study, a more nuanced understanding of the case from a micro and ecological perspective is needed. In this regard, Spolsky's framework is considered suitable.

Spolsky's (2004) framework of language policy has influenced many studies of language policy over the years. Spolsky advances a critical language policy framework which encompasses language practices, ideology or beliefs, and management decisions of a community or polity. The model presented here offers a perspective that views language policy as something much broader and complex than mere policy documents. Adopting an ecological approach, it invites an investigation of contextual factors that extend beyond the linguistic considerations to the relevant sociopolitical, economic, cultural, ethnic, and religious elements that collectively constitute the human world. It also encourages an examination of the ways that each of these elements interact constructively with the linguistic. The three components of the framework can act independent, but also interact with each other dynamically. Modifying any element of these three components can yield correlated effects and causes on any other part.

Language management refers to the deliberate and direct efforts undertaken by an individual or group to modify or influence the practices. It involves the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy about language use. Moreover, it deals not just with different named languages but also with what is considered bad or good language. Language practices refer to language choices made by an individual speaker or group. Language ideology and beliefs pertain to a consensus within groups about the values and prestige to assigned to language variable or named language varieties. These beliefs imply what people think should be done and may derive from language practices at the same time exert an influence on practices. They can function as a basis for language management, in turn, may be confirmed or modified by management. These three components are not necessarily congruent, which means that the exploration of each may yield a different picture of language policy. Additionally, Spolsky also points out four main forces

or conditions that often accompany various kinds of language policy. The first one is multilingual sociolinguistic situations, in which speaker modifying and developing their repertoire and proficiency. The second relates to the unifying force of national or ethnic or other identity within the community which is critical for language management. The third has to do with globalization and the consequent spread of English into almost every sociolinguistic repertoire. The economic benefits of gaining access to a network attached to English play a pivotal role in shaping national language policies. Lastly, the fourth condition revolves around human and civil rights of language choice, primarily concerning minority groups within a society.

Spolsky's model resonates with Schiffman's (1996) discussion on language policy, which encompasses two interrelated behavioural and ideational dimensions. The behavioural dimension comprises two different types of activity, i.e., practices and efforts to modify practices (management). The ideational dimension consists of belief systems, attitudes, and myths. Schiffman (1996) regards both together as the context from which language policy evolves. By delving into the multilingual democracies of India, France, and the USA, he argues that language policy is ultimately grounded in "the set of behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religion-historical circumstances associated with a particular language" (p. 5). For him, language policy is inherently contextualized in language ideologies. Notably, the main difference between Spolsky and Schiffman's frameworks of language policy resides in the conceptualization of language policy. Within Spolsky's framework, language ideologies and beliefs are deemed as one of the three components of language policy. In contrast, they are mainly viewed as contextual factors in Schiffman's discussion. This study aligns with Spolsky's perspective in considering the role of teacher beliefs in shaping the de facto language policy, which will be further discussed in section 3.5.3.

Last but not the least, language policies permeate in all societal domains (Ricento, 2006). This study takes the view that language education policy is part of language policy in educational institutions, which often has the most impact on the members of a society. It is important to pay attention to "complex entanglements of language ideologies that support economic interests (both real and imagined) in language education policies and explore how such interests create both ideological and moral challenges among language policy actors" (Phyak & Sharma, 2020, p. 2). It plays an important role in the ways in which the future of its members is articulated and planned sometimes in an explicit way but may often in more covert forms underlying the assumptions and practices of language use and learning in educational contexts. Language education policy, which, according to Shohamy (2006, p. 77) "is considered a powerful tool as it can create and impose language behaviour in a system which it is compulsory for all children to

participate in". Hidden behind the apparent content of any lesson are deeper messages about how the world operates, about what kind of knowledge is socially valued, and about who may speak and in what manner. Thus, broader social patterns and struggles are played out and transformed in the smaller-scale dynamics of each classroom, which needs our attention.

This study seeks to explore the shape of multilingualism by focusing on the construction of imagined communities in language education policy. This exploration encompasses language management, practices, and beliefs within Spolskyian framework.

3.5   English language education from the perspective of multilingualism

3.5.1   Multilingualism in language education

3.5.1.1   The multilingual turn

In contemporary world where multilingualism has been 'naturalized' (Lo Bianco, 2014), monolingual conceptualizations and approaches to language and language education are not realistic (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). Two seminal edited books from 2014 called for 'multilingual turn' in language education (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), highlighting the limited influence that insights from applied linguistics and sociolinguistics have had on language education. According to Meier (2017), two critical challenges that impede this pedagogical shifts are the persistent prevalence of monolingual norms among language teachers and a lack of guidance of multilingual approach for them. In the following writing, I will present the academic discourse on multilingual turn and FoM in education. Then, I will delve into reflections on the challenges associated the multilingual turn. These discussions offer insights into considering the significant role of teachers' beliefs and practices, which will be further explore in the subsequent section.

May (2014) argues for a critical multilingual perspective on theory, pedagogy, and practice. A multilingual perspective on language education is based on the assumption that "learners and teachers use more than one language to assess learning of languages and/or content in formal educational contexts" (Meier, 2014, p. 132). Further, multilingualism in language education embraces knowledge in a holistic way, conceptualized as multicompetence (Li Wei, 2011). Multicompetence is viewed as a more positive and productive way of looking at multilingual practices, as it highlights the value of students' creativity and criticality that manifest in their multilingual practices. Embracing multilingual turn in language education also has wider societal implications. Conteh and Meier (2014, p. 6) argue that "there is always a reciprocal relationship between classrooms and societies". It means that embracing multilingual turn in education will

not only benefit individuals and classroom, but also have wider social implications of enabling equal opportunities in a globalised and diverse world. Findings from a range of studies of the Dynamic of Multilingualism with English (DYME) research group imply that students can benefit more from multilingual classroom approaches than traditional monolingual approaches for their multilingual development (Jessner, Allgauer-Hackl, & Hofer, 2016). In the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM), Multilingualism or M-factor is an emergent property to be developed. The core component of the M-factor is multilingual awareness, which is composed of meta- and cross-linguistic awareness and is considered as the key factor in multilingual learning and use (Jessner, 2006, 2008, 2014). In some contexts, multilingual teaching practices have to be implemented gradually over time in order for teachers and students to get accustomed to this approach, for examples, as highlighted in studies conducted in German (e.g. Hopp, Jakisch, Sturm, Becker, & Thoma, 2020) and Canada (e.g. Galante et al., 2020).

In the context of English language education, Canagarajah (2005) suggests that English language education would benefit by shifting from a monolingual paradigm to a multilingual paradigm. This shift entails moving from targeting a static native speaker's norm to prioritizing competence in a repertoire of multilingual resources. Similarly, Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey (2011, p. 206) claim that the only way for English language and English language education to move forward methodologically, "is to open up the possibility of incorporating a multi-norm, multi-method approach", in which linguistic and cultural diversity is acknowledged and better understand. In other words, the major aim of English language education should be preparing students to "use English as a lingua franca in multilingual settings" (Kirkpatrick, 2011, p. 221), and offering students the opportunities to become a "multicultural person" (Alptekin, 2010). Several studies derive from contexts in which multilingualism is explicitly highlighted in the national curricula for English. The curricula of Austria and Norway, for example, highlight benefits of multilingualism and the value of a cross-linguistic approach to language teaching. However, findings from these countries do not show a strong impact on teachers' beliefs and practices (e.g. Erling, Foltz, & Wiener, 2021; Erling, Radinger, & Foltz, 2023). This indicates that a greater effort is needed to guide teachers about the aims of policy documents, how they can be understood and applied in practice (Meier, 2017).

Despite the above discussions of multilingual turn in language education, monolingual orientations still dominate current English language education (Canagarajah, 2013), partly due to the native speaker ideal (Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014) and the (mis)conception that mixing languages impedes learning and development (Pfenninger, 2014). In other words, there clearly remains a gap between research and practice in language education.

Weber and Horner (2013, p. 101) find that many of the 'self-avowedly' multilingual language policies are still bound up with the monolingual ideologies as the norm. They take the view that it still takes time before the "monolingual mindset" being replaced by a "multilingual mindset". Similarly, Pennycook and Makoni (2020) point out the understanding of multilingualism have been largely affected by and filtered through monolingual ideologies which cannot be so easily thrown off. Conteh et al. (2014, pp. 159-160) summarized five myths about best practice which are underpinned by monolingual orientations in language education, they are: 1) The separation of languages is needed, otherwise the learner will be confused. 2) There is no place for translation between L1 and L2 in the teaching. 3) The ideal language teacher is a native speaker. 4) More exposure to target language contributes to better learning results. 5) Language diversity is a 'problem', and target language is encouraged all the time. These myths are in most of time treated "common-sense notions" and are "intuitively attractive".

In English language education, the challenges of monolingual orientations are from native-speakerism and standard English ideology. Despite the growing academic criticism about native-speakerism, the resilience and persistence to native-speakerism in language education are still noticeable (e.g. Hino, 2018). It has become a big challenge to understanding and embracing multilingual social realities in language education. Bouchard (2020) argues that the resilience of native-speakerism is not exclusively a property of the ideology, but rather depends largely on reflexive engagement at the level of human agency, all within a contingent social realm. For Kumaravadivelu (2016), native-speakerism among non-native English-speaking teachers indicates a self-colonized mentality. He calls for "result-oriented action" (p. 66) to bring about epistemic decolonization with an alternative antioppressive epistemology. Besides native-speakerism, Standard English (StE) principles have been naturalized and implicit in much of the teacher training, curriculum planning, education policies, and classroom practices. Standard English relates native varieties and norms as correctness (Milroy & Milroy, 1999). It is criticized as a fantasy that encourages students to become norm followers of native varieties, and hence raise discriminations towards diversity of English (Lippi-Green, 2012). Jenkins (2014, p. 78) points out that StE may cause "pernicious effect" on NNESs in relation to the legitimacy of their use of English. Jenkins (2007) argues that most of English learners spend a long time on English learning yet still not be able to achieve the native-like competence.

3.5.1.2 Focus on Multilingualism (FoM)

In response to the call for multilingual turn in language education, Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2014) propose Focus on Multilingualism (FoM) as an approach in educational contexts.The three

dimensions of this approach are the multilingual repertoire, the multilingual speaker, and the social context.

As for the multilingual repertoire, Cenoz and Gorter consider multilingual speakers' repertoire as a whole, emphasizing the connectivity and dynamic interplay between semiosis. Similarly, Blommaert and Backus (2011) reconceptualize the multilingual repertoire as part of individuals' 'indexical biographies' which can be activated as vehicles for learning. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005, p. 197) contend that multilingualism often occurs as "truncated competence", leading to the understanding that language use is often 'fragmented' and 'incomplete'. Thus, multilingual speakers' repertoires need to be conceived as "specialized but partially and unevenly developed resources" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 9). As explained by Blommaert (2010, p. 23), the truncated repertoires are grounded in multilinguals' biographies and in the wider histories of the places where they were composed. In the same vein, following new materialist conceptions of ontologies (being/becoming), Hornberger (2003) sees individual semiotic repertoire as a continuum biographically assembled throughout lifespan. Horner and Weber (2018) point out that a repertoire is "biographically assembled", noting that a repertoire is dynamic, fluid, constantly changing over time and would never be completed throughout lifespan. They characterize these as indexical biographies, referring to "different resources indexing various aspects of people's language learning experiences and life trajectories" (Horner & Weber, 2018, p. 118). In this sense, it becomes apparent that to varying degrees we all engage in multilingual practices, selecting and moving between language continuum in communication. Besides, Horner and Weber (2018, pp. 283-284) underscore the importance of "normalization of multilingualism" at the beginning of the continuum (for example, foreign language education at young ages). Such normalization, they argue, includes three themes: 1) understanding the ubiquity of multilingualism; 2) acknowledging the linguistic and cultural diversity in the world; 3) and language learning building upon the whole students' linguistic repertoire.

In language education, multilingual speakers have been assessed mainly from a monolingual perspective against the yardstick of the ideal native speaker, while most of them never achieve the ideal native level in each of the languages in their multilingual repertoire. As a result, a leaner identity is imposed and ingrained into multilingual speakers' identities. The notion of 'permanent learner' (Medgyes, 1994, p. 91) and "incomplete acquisition" (Otheguy, 2016, p. 301) highlights the native-speakerism, which can lead to multilingual speakers' anxiety and low self-esteem (e.g. Llurda, 2014). On the contrary, FoM approach challenges this stance, maintaining that multilingual speakers should not be viewed as monolingual speakers of each of the languages of their multilingual repertoire. It proposes to look at different ways that multilingual speakers learn and use languages, acknowledging that traditional ways relying solely on ideal native speakers as

benchmark are inadequate. Multilingual speakers have different life trajectories which shape the way multilinguals learn and use language (Canagarajah, 2018). FoM suggests a radical shift from simply foregrounding "the perspective of the language itself" to describing languages from "the perspectives of the users themselves" (García, 2009, p. 45). Multilingual speakers can negotiate "who they want to be" (García, 2010, p. 524) with their repertoire at disposal. The potential proliferation of identities through their multilingual trajectories is highlighted in identity research (e.g. Kunschak & Girón, 2013).

Third, Cenoz and Gorter (2014) argue that FoM has a social dimension. Multilingual speakers learn and use languages in classroom context while engaging in language practices in a broader social context, which help them recognize the diversity of language use and language users. Research has identified that multilingual speakers learn and use languages in a social context and in turn shape the context in communicative interactions (e.g. Kramsch, 2009). Cenoz and Gorter's concern on social context is mainly about the positive aspects of social media regarding the multimodal resources that multilingual speakers use to communicate. They believe that when multilingual speakers are not constrained by school regulations, they are more likely to learn and use their multimodal resources in more creative ways. The same insight is articulated by García and Li Wei (2014, p. 24), that:

> "Multilingualism by the very nature of the phenomenon is a rich source of creativity and criticality, as it entails tension, conflict, competition, difference and change in a number of spheres, ranging from ideologies, policies and practices to historical and current contexts".

In short, FoM as an approach posits the multilingual speakers and the whole repertoire in the centre, surrounded by the social context. The concerns of FoM are in line with discussions of translanguaging in language education, which is addressed in next section.

3.5.2   Translanguaging

Empirical studies in the past two decades have focused attention on multilingual practices that have been designated by terms such as *language crossing* (Rampton, 1995), *translanguaging* (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014), *polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen, 2008), and *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). Among those, the notion of translanguaging are less interested in the distinct codes people fall back on and the affiliations these codes refer to, and more interested in how different communicative resources are employed to create meaning and what such a heteroglossic language practice means to speakers (Rampton, 2011).

While poststructuralism and new materialism helps to theorize multilingualism from epistemological and ontological aspects, translanguaging helps to the understand the complex multilingual practices in detail. Multilinguals use resources at their disposal "to make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 109). Drawn from research in bilingual education, translanguaging is defined by García and Li Wei (2014, p. 7) as

> "the dynamic process whereby multilingual users mediate complex social and cognitive activities through strategic employment of multiple semiotic resources to act, to know and to be".

In other words, translanguaging itself emerges from the contextual affordances in the complex interactions of multilinguals. First, it challenges language separation and the idealized notion of a language (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Noguerón-Liu & Warriner, 2014). It emphasizes speakers' agency in the act of languaging rather than viewing speakers as belonging to any specific language system itself. Second, García and Li Wei (2014) take the view that translanguaging includes all meaning-making modes. It is multi-semiotic (Blommaert & Varis, 2013). Considering this, Canagarajah (2011) proposes the term *codemeshing* to refer to " the realization of translanguaging in texts". This means that translanguaging is about "boundaries crossing, be it the boundaries between languages, modalities or materiality, or at the symbolic level, the existing status quo and structures" (Zhu Hua & Li Wei, 2022). Further,

Noguerón-Liu and Warriner (2014, p. 183) link translanguaging and identity practice, arguing that "translanguaging practices have been an integral part of identity and belonging". Similarly, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 29) argue that identity constructions through translanguaging are "incorporated and performed" in the multi-semiotic features. The dynamic and complex identities are articulated and negotiated within "newly created social spaces" (Li Wei & Zhu Hua, 2013, p. 532). According to Li Wei (2011, p. 1223), a social space for the multilinguals is created "by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity". He further (2011, p. 1222) puts forwards the concept of translanguaging space, "a space for the act of translanguaging as well as space created through translanguaging". Drawing on Bhabha (1994), he defines this space as one which different identities, values, and practices do not simply co-exist, but generate *new* identities, values, and practices. In this way, a translanguaging space has its own transformative power. This transformative power situates in the multilinguals' creativity and criticality. Creativity refers to the ability to choose between following and breaking the rules and norms, and to challenge boundaries and make something new. Criticality is about the ability to question received knowledge, and to express views (Li Wei & Wu, 2009). Noted by García and Li

Wei (2014, p. 24), multilingualism "by the very nature of the phenomenon is a rich source of creativity and criticality". Also, what is often overlooked when we refer to multilingualism is that it is "a way of thinking, a world view, an intellectual orientation" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012, p. 444). As a way of thinking, multilingualism is conductive to individual creativity and criticality.

Therefore, translanguaging in education can enable students to construct and constantly modify their sociocultural identities and values as they respond to their historical and present surroundings critically and creatively (García & Li Wei, 2014). It contributes to identity investment and positionality to engage students. In education, translanguaging refers to both an act of multilingual performance and a multilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning. As a pedagogy, Cenoz (2017, p. 194) defines pedagogical translanguaging as "planned by the teacher inside the classroom and can refer to the use of different languages for input and output or to other planned strategies based on the use of students' resources from the whole linguistic repertoire". Therefore, it can be say that pedagogical translanguaging is an arrangement of classroom language practice that normalizes multilingualism (C. Baker, 2011). Further translanguaging in education as 'transformative practice' (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 44) can provide "a trans-space of change and an interdisciplinary of knowledge and understandings". It emphasizes students' own creative languaging drawing from their entire linguistic repertoire. In this way, it supports students' literacy development. Multiliteracy through translanguaging which are interrelated as flexible give credit to students' agency to use their entire semiotic system (García, Bartlett, & Kleifgen, 2007).

In recent years, a number of intervention studies and studies conducted by teacher-researchers point to positive outcomes linked to a translanguaging approach. Benefits described include linguistic aspects such as vocabulary development (Kapoyannis, 2019) and increased metalinguistic awareness (Cenoz & Santos, 2020; Martin-Beltrán, Guzman, & Chen, 2017), as well as affective aspects such as the development of multilingual identities and learner engagement (Cahyani, de Courcy, & Barnett, 2018; Galante et al., 2020). However, some studies on teachers' use of the language of instruction also reveals that translanguaging practices mainly are connected with classroom management (F. Fang & Liu, 2020) or specific functions within a lesson, such as explanations of grammar features (Inbar-Lourie, 2010) or checking student comprehension (Then & Ting, 2011). Regardless of the different findings in previous studies, what is agreed by researchers is the significant role of language teachers in normalizing multilingualism and developing translanguaging pedagogies in language education. The next section will discuss the issues concentrating on teachers' beliefs and practices.

3.5.3   Teachers' beliefs and practices

In some studies, the terms "teachers' beliefs"/"teacher beliefs" and "teachers' language ideologies"/"teacher language ideologies" are used interchangeably (e.g. Bacon, 2020; Bernstein, Anderson, Close, & Rodriguez Martinez, 2023). This study takes the term language ideologies to represent systems of beliefs. The notion of beliefs is approached as "propositions individuals consider to be true and which are often tacit, have a strong evaluative and affective content, provide a basis for action, and are resistant to change" (Borg, 2011, pp. 370-371). These beliefs are situated, constructed, and developed through social interaction, highlighting the importance of understanding of the context in which they are constructed. Further, wider discourses are always presented in individual beliefs suggests that beliefs are both individual and shared (Benson & Lor, 1999). This dual implies the existence contradictory and conflicting voices within an individual's beliefs (De Costa, 2011; Kalaja, Barcelos, Aro, & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2015).

Language teachers' beliefs have a significant impact on how they behave in the language teaching (Borg, 2006). Teachers, as Borg (2003, p. 81) notes, are "active, thinking decision-makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex, practically-oriented, personalized, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs". In many situations, teachers are asked to implement macro-level, official language policies from school leadership or local or national government. Simultaneously, they participate in shaping the de facto policies through their day-to-day classroom decision-making (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Spolsky, 2004). In this way, they act as mediators between policy and practice. additionally, they are also in positions to translate their beliefs into practices through the implementation of classroom language policies (Johnson, 2010). The language policy decision made by teachers are important, as they significantly influence language teaching and learning practices (e.g. Godley, Reaser, & Moore, 2015).

Despite teachers' agentive role in making the de facto language policy, disparities also emerge between teachers' beliefs and their actual practices. In Burner and Carsen's (2023) review, evidence spanning varying national contexts suggests that English language teachers often hold more positive beliefs about multilingualism than are evident in their teaching practices. Bacon (2020) argues that contextual factors, such as subject area, practicality, and local policy, can hinder the translation of teachers' beliefs into practice. In some studies, even when teachers express multilingual beliefs, they may still feel constrained by dominant monolingual school cultures (Schissel, De Korne, & López-Gopar, 2021), or by practical concerns such as lack of multilingual materials (e.g. Deroo & Ponzio, 2019; Metz, 2019). It is therefore critical to understand the context in which teacher beliefs form and how those beliefs interact with the

larger sociopolitical context (Mettler, 2016). Researchers have noticed the tension between educational research on the one hand and political discourse on the other hand in response to the uncertainty of globalization (Burner & Osler, 2021). For example, Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) found that teachers and students were clearly constrained by the wider institutional and ideological context in which they were working. Besides, time management is also seen as a significant obstacle by a number of teachers (Pacheco, Daniel, Pray, & Jiménez, 2019). This reflects the view that multilingual teaching practices takes time away from other important aspects of their teaching, rather than an approach underlying their entire practice. In other words, a multilingual pedagogy cannot be separated from language teaching and learning. Additionally, studies also report teachers' concerns on assessment practices. For example, Teachers in Galante's (2020) draw attention to the mismatch between the expectations of a multilingual approach and the monolingual format of established assessment practices.

In conclusion, teachers' beliefs play a crucial role in language teaching and learning practices. Teachers can agentively mediate between macro-level language policies and classroom practice. At the same time, teachers' beliefs and practices concerning multilingualism are deeply rooted in established norms within specific school cultures and broader social contexts.

3.5.4 EMF-aware teaching

The empirical work and theoretical discussions of ELF have significant implications English language education. To name just a few examples, early in 2000, Jenkins' research shows that native English pronunciation is not optimum in ELF communication contexts. Mauranen's (2006) research indicates that provocative strategies are frequently used to ensure intelligibility in ELF interactions. Hülmbauer (2009) demonstrates how the shared non-nativeness is exploited by ELF users through using their multilingual resources, highlighting the shifting relationship between correctness and effectiveness in ELF communication. Cogo (2010) presents how ELF users present their identities by making codeswitching. Baker's work (2009) examines how ELF is used to represent and create the hybrid, fluid and liminal communities and cultural identities. In addition to the numerous empirical studies, ELF corpus (e.g., VOICE - the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), serves as important database for English language educators to reconsider the nature of language and culture in practice. The inherent multilingual and hybrid nature of English explored and discussed in ELF studies should be acknowledged. Applications of ELF has been explored for examples in classroom teaching (Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018), teaching material development (Galloway, 2018), and assessment (Shohamy, 2018). As stated by Widdowson (2012, p. 5), "What ELF research reveals so clearly is the need to review the distinctions that have become conventionally established in the description and the teaching of English", for example,

distinctions between English varieties. It helps in the way that "raises general epistemological and practical issues in (socio) linguistics and language pedagogy" (ibid.). It works as "a catalyst for change in established ways of thinking" (ibid.). It is thus transformative.

Increasingly, many ELF scholars have turned their attention to consider practical ways in which ELF can impact on pedagogy, using terms such as, "ELF-aware" pedagogy (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015), "ELF-informed" pedagogy (Seidlhofer, 2015a), "ELF reorientation" pedagogy (Patsko & Walker, 2017), "transformative perspective" (Sifakis, 2014), and a "post-native, multilingual model" (Blair, 2015). As for "ELF-aware teaching", it is referred to as:

> "the process of engaging with ELF research and developing one's own understanding of the ways in which it can be integrated in one's classroom context, through a continuous process of critical reflection, design, implementation and evaluation of instructional activities that reflect and localize one's interpretation of the ELF construct"
>
> (Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018, p. 457).

They further explain the two essential characteristics of ELF-aware teaching: its ecological nature and its potential transformative power. The ecological aspect highlights the need for teachers to be fully aware of their own "classroom culture", the "local features" of each teaching situation, in other words, their *context*. The transformative aspect underscores the importance for teachers to understand themselves and become conscious of their own "frames of reference", their deepest convictions about language use, teaching, and learning which guide their way of teaching. Sifakis and Bayyurt (2018, pp. 462-463) argue that being ELF-aware can help teachers to become aware of how English is used among non-native speakers; realize themselves as users of English instead of learners; focus on their own teaching context and the real needs of their learners; and actively engage in critical reflection. However, they also recognize that understanding ELF and implementing ELF-aware teaching are not an easy conduct. Teachers' resistance to change may be rooted in their unwavering beliefs about the uncontested usefulness of Standard English (Suzuki, 2011). Learners and other stakeholders' perspectives and expectations which prioritize Standard English also hinder the implementation of ELF-aware teaching (Sifakis, 2009). Additionally, the prevailing norm-referenced and textbook-centred mentality can make integrating ELF-aware teaching challenging (H. Song, 2013). To implement ELF-aware teaching, it is essential to enhance teachers' awareness and understanding of the ELF construct in teacher education programs. In this vein, Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015) developed an ELF-aware teacher education model which consists of three levels: 1) introduction of theoretical aspects of ELF through reflective practice; 2) development and implementation of ELF-aware activities/lessons in their classrooms 3) critical

reflection of ELF-aware practice through evaluating their implementation of ELF-aware activities/lesson plans.

In sum, ELF studies unfold the inherent multilingual and hybrid nature of English, indicating that English should be viewed within the framework of multilingualism, and that students' full repertoire needs to be considered in English language education. ELF-aware teaching can help teacher become aware of the local teaching contexts and be conscious and critical of their deepest beliefs about language use, teaching, and learning. Teachers' beliefs, again, play a significant role in implementation of ELF-aware teaching.

3.6   Summary

This chapter has explained how language ideology is understood in terms of its inherent multiplicity, simultaneity, and paradox. It has reviewed language ideological debates in multilingual China, which contributes to the understanding of issues in language policy and language education in China. Taking language policy as discourse, this chapter has also explained exploring the shape and representation of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education regarding the three components of Spolsky's framework. In the end, how English language education from the perspective of multilingualism is addressed concerning the multilingual turn in language education, FoM in language education, and EMF-aware teaching. The resilience and persistence of native-speakerism and standard English ideology are considered as challenges in the process of change.

Chapter 4   Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This chapter starts with situating this study within a social constructivist paradigm. I devote some space to describe the qualitative case study research design. The research site and participants are introduced, followed by the reflexivity of the role of researcher and ethical considerations and approval. Next, it explains the research instruments used in this study and how the data collection process was carried out. The process of data analysis is clarified. The chapter closes with a review of the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the study.

4.2   Constructivist paradigm

A research paradigm refers to "a way of examining social phenomenon from which particular understandings of these phenomena can be gained and explanations attempted" (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007, p. 112). It embodies the philosophical orientation that underpins a researcher's understanding of reality and knowledge regarding a specific subject (McKinley, 2020). In essence, it shapes how the researcher perceives the world, poses questions, uses language, and filters the information from participants and makes meaning of it, ultimately influencing the study's findings and conclusions (Berger, 2015). Understanding the dimensions of a research paradigm involves three key concepts: ontology (i.e., views on the nature of reality), epistemology (i.e., views on the nature of knowledge and its acquisition) and methodology (i.e., the research approach used to investigate reality) (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

At the epistemological level, a researcher's core beliefs come into play, encompassing notions of truth, beliefs, and justification. Epistemologies can significantly vary based on diverse backgrounds, including cultural, political, religious, socioeconomic, etc. Theoretical stance is often linked to epistemological stance as it is how the researcher proposes their way of thinking about the study. For instance, as outlined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, this study draws on poststructuralism, multilingualism, language ideology, and language policy as theoretical stances to examine culture, identity, discourse, and practice, thereby reflecting the researcher's epistemological orientation. On the other hand, a researcher's ontology consists of a set of concepts used to identity the nature of a phenomenon's existence. It guides researchers in collecting data and/or evidence considered valid, legitimate, or trustworthy in research process. Predominant research paradigms in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language education, and

intercultural communication studies include positivist, interpretative, critical, constructivist, and realist paradigm (Zhu Hua, 2016).

This study adopts a constructivist paradigm. Constructivism is a research philosophy that perceives social realities as multiple and dependent on the involved individuals, the subject under study, and the context in which the study is conducted. Reality is seen as being socially co-constructed, setting it apart from positivism and post-positivism with the realist or critical realistic perspective. Instead, constructivism adopts a relativist stance recognizing the existence of multiple realities. The researcher's task is to understand and present social settings or events as they without manipulation. Constructivists emphasize the fundamental distinction the subject matter of social science and that of physical or natural sciences, necessitating a different goal for inquiry and a different set of methods for investigation. The ontological assumption underlying this paradigm suggests that social realities are discursively constructed, and that researchers should attempt to understand the complex world of lived experience from the perspective of those experiencing it (Schwandt, 2000).

Within the constructivist paradigm, researchers reject the idea of an object reality that can be known. Instead, their goal is to grasp "the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge" (Mertens, 2010, p. 18). This study, as stated at the beginning section 1.2.1, challenges current 'singular' representation of multilingualism in academic discourse and argues the need to understand and explore the possibilities of multiple representations of multilingualism. Consequently, the data, interpretations, and outcomes within this paradigm are grounded in specific research contexts. As for the methodology, qualitative methods including interviews, observations, and document reviews are predominant in this paradigm, and multiple resources of data are expected to achieve validity of research (Burnard, 2008), which will be presented in the following sections.

4.3   Research design

4.3.1   A qualitative case study

Case study offers a valuable means to focus on a certain set of units, providing a detailed description, enhancing knowledge of a particular issue, and developing the theoretical concept (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Yin, 2009). In the field of applied linguistics, case studies are useful in uncovering new areas of inquiry, shedding light on previously unexplored factors, and revealing new perspectives from participants themselves (Duff, 2008). Characterized by in-depth examination, a holistic view of interrelated relationships and processes,

and the utilization of multiple data collection methods (Denscombe, 2014), case studies offer a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. To fully comprehend a micro-level case, the research must also consider the meso- and macro-contextual levels in which it is nested like a "Russian doll" (Chong & Graham, 2013). Furthermore, while the findings of case studies are not often generalized to larger populations or different contexts, their highly detailed nature aids in improving the understanding of the specific units, possibly help to improve practice of the case, and provide insights into other contexts with similar issues (Richards, 2003).

Qualitative case studies can be understood as presenting "robust and diverse possibilities" (Duff & Anderson, 2015, p. 114). Case studies have contributed substantially to not only theories and models in multilingualism but also influenced educational policies and practices. As stated in Duff (2014, p. 234),

> "They have helped practitioners and stakeholders better understand the experiences and issues affecting people in various socioeducational and linguistic settings. The attention to individual cases has thus raised awareness of the complexities associated with multilingualism and language teaching, learning, and use internationally, particularly in increasing mobile, transnational, and multilingual societies impacted by globalization".

Considering all above, a qualitative case study was conducted in a Chinese public primary school located in southwest China. The focus of this study is the school itself, but it is essential to acknowledge that the school operates within a broader context. The school's dynamics are influenced both by top-down policies, reflected in a range of policy documents from the national to the school level, and by its interactions with the local community. As mentioned above, to fully comprehend a micro-level case requires examination of the meso- and macro-contextual levels in which it is nested like a "Russian doll" (Chong & Graham, 2013). Consequently, while the school serves as the primary case, the study also makes efforts to examine the top-down policy and the school's engagement with the local community.

The adoption of a qualitative case study allows for a comprehensive analysis of how multilingualism is shaped and represented in the school (Yin, 2009). It facilitates an understanding of the complexity of multilingualism (see section 1.2.1). Recognizing the importance of multiple data resources to identify the phenomenon adequately and support the findings effectively, this study employs multiple methods of data collection, including document archive, classroom observation, interview, and focus group interview. By triangulating the data, the researcher can corroborate findings across datasets and mitigate potential biases. In doing so, this case study

aims to address the three helps bring the three research questions and sub-questions that guides its exploration of the shape of multilingualism in the Chinese public primary school.

Table 4-1 Research questions and datasets

Research questions	Dataset

1. How is multilingualism managed through primary English language education in China?
 	
   a. How is primary English language education framed by authorities in terms of repertoire, culture, and identity?
 	
   b. What are prioritized in the frame of primary English language education by authorities?
	● Policy documents
	● Textbooks
	● Posts from the school's website

2. How is multilingualism practiced in primary English language teaching and learning in China?
 	
   a. What are the effects of primary English language teachers and students' multilingual practices?
 	
   b. How are identities constructed and performed in and through their multilingual practices?
	● Audio/video recordings from classroom observations
	● PowerPoints designed by teachers
	● Students' artifacts
	● Posts from the school's website

3. How is multilingualism perceived by Chinese primary English teachers?
 	
   a. To what extent, are Chinese primary English language teachers aware of English being used as a multilingual franca?
 	
   b. How do Chinese primary English language teachers perceive the relationships between repertoire, culture, and identity?
	● Semi-structured interviews with English teachers and the headmaster of the school
	● Focus group interview with English teachers

4.3.2   Research site and participants

This section provides a detailed description of the institutional context and an introduction to the participants involved in the study. The public primary school is situated in suburban Chengdu, a southwest Chinese city with around 16 million permanent residents[2]. In terms of the economic background, the annual gross national product (GDP) of Chengdu, with 1.53 trillion yuan in total, ranks top 1 among 21 cities in Sichuan province and 9th among 661 cities in mainland China. Notably, Chengdu achieved the top position among China's fifteen "new first-tier cities" (新一线城市) in 2018. During the period 28th July to 8th August 2023, the city is hosting the FISU Summer World University Games[3], and international event, which the school has been actively participating in by organizing activities. As part of its efforts to engage with the international event, the school introduced a new course for students named *Education for International Understanding* (国际理解课程教育) which is taught by English teachers. At the same time, the school is trying to promote and showcase Chinese culture during the event. The school is an experimental school of Chinese traditional culture inheritance (全国中小学中华优秀传统文化传承示范学校). This designation signifies the school's official role as a model public school for promoting Chinese traditional culture within its district. In other words, other schools in the district are encouraged to learn from, be motivated by, and follow the practices of this model school. It is essential to acknowledge that this institutional context might affect/shape the study's findings as certain cultural practices might be more evident and dominant in this setting. However, it is also important to clarify that this study does not primarily focus on how the appointment as the model school impacts the school's educational practice. While it may present challenges in capturing the complexity as the school tries to profile itself as a good model, it also offers the researcher valuable opportunities to explore issues related to the shape of multilingualism within an experimental school context. The local and school context provides the researcher with an "experimental case" where both national and international elements are magnified in a specific social background.

As for English language education in the school, there are 7 classes in each grade and the average student number in each class is approximately 50. Before September 2020, like the majority of other public primary schools in China, the school starts English subject from grade 3 with usually 4-5 lessons per week. However, from the new semester in September 2020, the school includes grade 1 and grade 2 in English education. As for the teaching staff, there are nine English teachers (7 female and 2 male) in the school. A bachelor's degree in English education from either colleges

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[2] The information is obtained from the official website of Chengdu: www.chengdu.gov.cn
[3] More information about the event please see https://www.2021chengdu.com/cn/

or universities is held by every teacher. Two of them had studying abroad experience. Further, six of them have more than ten-year teaching experience (18 years, 17 years, 17 years, 17 years, 16 years, 14 years), while the other three are relatively new (4 years, 2 years, 1 year).

4.3.3 Ethical considerations

The study was conducted within the ethical guidelines provided by the University of Southampton. After I designed the field work and selected the participants of the qualitative case study, I therefore submitted the ERGO forms required to the University Ethics Committee for the ethical review process. After gaining the ethical approval, I contacted the school headmaster the details of my study to obtain the permission for access to the school. Since the headmaster approved my access, she introduced me to the nine English language teachers in the school directly. As the research ethics is matter of concern, informed consent of participants was addressed before collecting students' work and conducting classroom observation, interview, and focus group interview (See Appendix A, Appendix B, Appendix C, and Appendix D). The main challenge of ethical issues is about children in the classroom observation. A participant information sheet and consent form were designed for their guardians. Their guardians were informed of the main purpose of the research and the research methods. It was clearly stated that this research intends to benefit primary English language education in general with no harm to their children. Also, to make sure that all participants fully understand the terms in the consent form and participant information sheet, it was written in English but at the same time provide translation in Mandarin Chinese. Teachers were informed of the main purpose of the research and the research methods. They were also told that the data will only be used for research purpose. They were recruited voluntarily and kept anonymous in the dissertation, and they are informed that they can withdraw anytime without giving a reason.

4.4 Research instruments and data collection process

After gaining the access and the formal consent, I collected the extensive data of the qualitative case study by using various research instruments including document archive, classroom observation, interview, and focus group interview (from 2020 September to 2021 July). The considerations of using these research instruments, the process of data collection, and summary of the data collected are displayed as follows.

4.4.1 Document archive

During the data collection process, I copied and archived policy documents, textbooks, teacher-

designed PowerPoints used in classrooms, students' work, and posts from the school's website. The analysis of the documents is "a helpful precursor to observing and interviewing" (Simons, 2009, p. 64). Texts in policy documents are explicit, tangible and authoritative statements. Seven policy documents are included for analysis which consist of recent key policy documents produced by authorities from national level to school level (see table 4-2 for summary). Collectively, these documents are considered as the officially articulated and ratified policy discourse relating to English education and education in general in China. The final selection of the documents for analysis was based on two criteria: 1) the documents provided by the headmaster when being asked about policy documents related to English language education they were studying and trying to implement; 2) the documents that were referred to as authority or guidance to follow by English language teachers during interviews. Textbooks, as cultural products, can be studied to understand ideological discourse as school textbooks project images of society (Valverde, Bianchi, Wolfe, Schmidt, & Houang, 2002). The textbooks used in the school is *New Standard English*, designed by the cooperation of a Chinese press (*Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press)* and a British Press (*Macmillan Publishers Limited*). The whole series is made up of 12 issues for pupils from grade 1 to grade 6. Each issue consists of ten Learning modules, one Review module, one Reading for Pleasure module, one Project module, four Word Lists (including words and expressions in module order, in A-Z alphabetic order, words in songs and chants, and proper nouns). Every Learning module is divided into two units. Besides textbooks, another main teaching materials used in classrooms are PowerPoints. All 120 PowerPoints for all learning modules of the textbooks were collected. Besides, a total of 65 posts relating to English education, Chinese education, and education in general were collected from schools' website. Finally, a total of 205 pieces of pupils' work was collected ranging from third grade to fifth grade students (see table 4-3 for summary).

Table 4-2 Summary of policy documents data

Levels	Documents
National	English Curriculum Standard in the Compulsory Education (2022) [义务教育英语课程标准 (2022)] ('the Standard' hereafter) This is the key policy document of MOE for compulsory English education in China.
	Guidance of Integrating Fine Chinese Traditional Culture in Secondary and Primary Textbooks (2021) [中华优秀传统文化进中小学课程教材指南(2021)] ('the Guidance' hereafter)

	This document describes policy and practice for the role of fine Chinese traditional culture in compulsory education.
Provincial	Announcement of launching Sichuan's first patriotism exhibition of 'Telling Chinese stories in English' by primary and secondary school students, Sichuan Institute of Education Science (2022) [四川省教育科学研究院关于开展四川省首届中小学生 "用英语讲好中国故事"爱国主义主题展示活动的通知 (2022)] ('the Announcement I' hereafter)
Municipal	Instructions on Strengthening International Understanding Education in Primary and Secondary Schools, Chengdu Bureau of Education (2015) [成都市教育局关于加强中小学国际理解教育的指导意见 (2015)] ('The Instructions' hereafter)
	Announcement of launching Chengdu's first patriotism exhibition of 'Telling Chinese stories in English' by primary and secondary school students, Chengdu Institute of Education Science (2022) [成都市教育科学研究院关于开展成都市首届中小学生"用英语讲好中国故事"爱国主义主题展示活动的通知 (2022)] ('the Announcement II' hereafter)
	Announcement of launching Chengdu primary English teachers' classroom teaching exhibition and evaluations activity under the new English Curriculum Standard (2022) [成都市教育科学研究院关于开展成都市小学英语教师新课标理念下课堂教学展评活动的通知 (2022)] ('the Announcement III' hereafter)
School	XX Primary School's innovative way to achieve high-quality education under 'Five-principle Education' (2020) [XX 小学校高质量实践五育并举创新之路(2020)] (the 'School's innovative way' hereafter)

Table 4-3 Summary of students' artifacts data

Themes	Total amount
Daily life	40
Idols/models	103
Self-portraits	20
Correction notes	9
Social events engagement	14
Chinese history	9

Introducing festivals	10
Total amount	205

4.4.2   Classroom observation

Observation is the fundamental practice of modern sciences (Daston & Lunbeck, 2011; Marvasti, 2012). Observing how teachers teach and then talking with them is an essential tool when the researcher wants to gain access to teachers' perceptions about teaching (Alexander, 2000). Observation offers the researcher an opportunity to obtain 'first-hand' insights in the 'natural' occurring situations (Wellington, 2015, p. 247). Since there may be discrepancies between "what people say that they have done, or will do, and what they actually did or will do" (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 320), observation is a powerful tool for gaining insight into situation and provides a reality check. It also can enable researchers to look afresh at what might be taken for granted or unnoticed with "valid or authentic" data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018, p. 542). However, observations are theory-laden and experience-laden (Barrett & Mills, 2009) implying that complete neutrality is unattainable (Denscombe, 2014; Wellington, 2015). The researcher needs to stay open to unexpected classroom observation data and re-check them in interviews with teachers. In this study, non-participant observation was conducted, which claimed by Yin (2009) is a mainstay tactic for data collection in case study. Such kind of observation literally means that the researcher observes the activities without any direct engagement. Due to COVID-19 pandemic, English language teachers were asked to help video-record and/or audio-record the English language classes and then send to her via email. The researchers did not ask for English language teachers to record particular lessons. She let teachers to decide which classroom teaching they were willing to and felt comfortable to be video or audio recorded. In total, ten video-recorded English teaching classes, one audio-recorded class, and one video-recorded online class were collected (see table 4-4 for classroom observation data summary). For analysis, things to observe include language choices (e.g., medium of instruction), language expectations (e.g., rules/standards to follow), cultural practices (e.g., thematic topics for classroom activities), students and teacher interactions.

Table 4-4 Summary of classroom observation data

Class	Teacher	Location	Method of recording	Length	Teaching unit

C01	T6	Classroom	Video-recorded	40m	G3-1 - M4U1 - It's red![4]
C02	T8	Classroom	Video-recorded	38m	G5-1 - M5U2 - There are forty.
C03	T4	Classroom	Video-recorded	39m	G6-1 - M9U2 - I want to go to Shanghai.
C04	T7	Classroom	Video-recorded	51m	G3-1 - M6U2 - How old are you?
C05	T8	Classroom	Video-recorded	42m	G5-1 - M9U2 - I feel happy.
C06	T5	Classroom	Video-recorded	42m	G4-1 - M10U2 - Merry Christmas!
C07	T6	Classroom	Video-recorded	49m	G4-1 - M10U1 - We have a big family dinner.
C08	T3	Classroom	Video-recorded	39m	G6-1 - M9U2 - I want to go to Shanghai.
C09	T9	Classroom	Video-recorded	48m	G4-1 - M6U2 - Happy Halloween!
C10	T1	Classroom	Video-recorded	40m	G4-1 - M5U1 - Can you run fast?
C11	T3	Classroom	Audio-recorded	42m	G6-1 - M4U1 - Thanksgiving is my favourite festival.
C12	T2	Online	Video-recorded	20m	G4-1 - M7U2 - There are twelve boys on the bike.

4.4.3   Interview and focus group interview

Interview is conducive for teachers to elaborate on their opinions which cannot be observed (Dörnyei, 2007). What is going on in the participants' mind can "become accessible to interpretation" (Flick, 2006, p. 160) in the form of the given answers, information, and stories. Interview is a theme-orientated instrument with the purpose of describing, understanding, and reflecting the central themes the participants engage in their everyday life (Kvale, 1996). Thus, data elicited from interviews is contextualized with reference to the interviewees' life world. The use of this instrument deals with teachers' beliefs about language and culture in general and their perceptions about linguistic and cultural practices in English education. Themes identified after

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[4] "G3-1 - M4U1 - It's red!" stands for Module 4 Unit 1, titled "It's red!", in the textbook for the first semester of the third grade. The same convention for rest of the abbreviations.

analysing documents and classroom practices were also further probed during interviews, which "provides a concrete context for elicitation of teacher beliefs and ensures that these are grounded in actual observed event rather than abstractions" (Borg, 2015, p. 493). Semi-structured and open-ended interviews were conducted online in this study with stimuli questions prepared before interviews (see Appendix E). I chose this type of interview because it provides me the direction to explore the target research topics while it allows me to be flexible in seeking more details on the rising issue with open-ended discussions (Dörnyei, 2007). Sichuan dialect and accented Mandarin Chinese which are the teachers and researcher's mother tongue and school language occurred in interviews. Teachers feel more natural and comfortable to elaborate their ideas in Sichuan dialect and their Mandarin Chinese sometimes. As pointed out by Wagner (2015), the languages used in interviews need to be comprehensible at respondents' level. All interviews were audio-recorded with the permissions of the interviewees to enable transcription for later analysis. In sum, fourteen interviews with nine English teachers were conducted, which lasted approximately from 30 minutes to 50 minutes. As some teachers were willing to share more their thoughts and career stories, they were interviewed twice. Besides, a one-hour interview was conducted with the school headmaster.

A focus group interview with all nine English teachers was conducted, which provides the researcher a chance to see how group members interact with each other to articulate, construct, and challenge their perceptions related to multilingualism in in general and in primary English education in a context that is socially constructed by themselves with their peer members in a group. It can enable the researcher to observe and understand how group members support, challenge and affect each other. The examination of what attracts the participants' attention and how the group's members influence each other can further provide information on what are the teachers' attitudes towards the subjects. Focus group interview is defined as a form of interview in which a small group has discussions on particular topics of interests (Barbour, 2008). It is frequently used in combination with individual interviews (Morgan, 2002) and it is useful for research involving beliefs (Lune & Berg, 2012). According to Duff (2008), focus group interviews can help (a) reveal several participants' perspectives on the issues in a fairly short time frame (b) prompt participants to comment on themes that they might not have thought of in individual interviews as different top (c) make participants less intimidating. However, the quality of data is largely dependent on the skills of the researcher as a facilitator to motivate and moderate. The researcher needs to moderate the discussion to allow different opinions to emerge and develop. Just as mentioned in B. L. Berg (2004, p. 124), when focus groups are managed properly, dynamic interactions among participants can stimulate discussions. Taking all these scholars' considerations into account, this instrument was used in this study. At the beginning, two sessions of focus group

interviews were planned with four or five teachers in each group. Each one is expected to have both experienced as well as fresh teachers to ensure the heterogeneity of the group. However, due to the teachers' different teaching schedules and other personal time plan, I can only arrange one session of focus group interview which lasted around one and half hour. I prepared stimulus materials such as some scenes from video-recordings of the teachers' classroom.

The Summary of interview and focus group interview data is as below:

Table 4-5 Summary of interview and focus group interview data

Interview types	Participants	Gender	Teaching experience	Experience of studying abroad	Length
Individual interviews	T1	Female	1	None	45 minutes
	T2	Male	17	None	45 minutes + 40 minutes
	T3	Female	18	6 months in a university of America	50 minutes
	T4	Female	2	None	45 minutes
	T5	Female	4	None	35 minutes + 30 minutes
	T6	Female	16	None	35 minutes +35 minutes
	T7	Male	17	None	43 minutes + 30 minutes
	T8	Female	14	6 months in a university of America	42 minutes + 50 minutes
	T9	Female	17	None	40 minutes
	School's headmaster	Female		None	60 minutes
Focus group interview	All nine English				90 minutes

	teachers (T1 – T9)		

4.5 Data analysis

4.5.1 Transcribing and coding the data

The transcription of the observation data will follow Richards's (2003, p. 199) three criteria, namely, "fitness for purpose, adequacy and accuracy". An adapted transcription conventions from Richards (2003) is attached as Appendix G. The data collection and coding occur "simultaneously and continuously" in qualitative case studies (Hood, 2009, p. 78). The transcripts of all observations and interviews and document achieves were sorted into the computer-assisted qualitative data software, NVivo12. For coding, I turned to Corbin and Strauss (1990), who discussed three distinct types of coding to open up inquiry and to move it towards interpretation. For the first stage of open coding, this exercise helped me get familiar with the datasets and ground my analysis thoroughly in the datasets. It is a process of breaking down the data for the purpose of categorizing and conceptualizing. I wrote down anything that came to my mind while reading my data. As for axial coding which refers to the process of organizing the data, it involves making connections between codes. The codes were also assessed as whether the codes can be identified as categories, collapsed into other codes, needed to be further separated into subcodes. Finally, at the stage of selective coding, categories were refined, which were subjected to further scrutiny by means of discourse analysis. The whole process helped me to revise research questions, to shape the idea and the scope of the research, and to see the research direction.

4.5.2 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data, which is a method for "identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It is considered a qualitative descriptive method that offers essential skills to researchers and provides detailed and nuanced account of data. Thematic analysis allows for the identification of themes in various ways, providing flexibility in identifying themes and their meaning within meaning within their particular context (Loffe & Yardley, 2004). It can be conducted within both realist and constructivist paradigms, but the outcomes and focus will differ based on the chosen paradigm. In this study, thematic analysis is conducted within constructivist paradigm. It is important to note that in thematic analysis, the significance of a theme does not necessarily rely on quantifiable

measures, but rather on whether it captures relevant aspects relate to the overall research questions (Spencer, Ritchie, & O'Connor, 2003).

This study follows the process of data analysis in thematic analysis provided by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87) . The process is as follows:

1. Familiarising with data: This involves transcribing data, reading, and rereading it, and noting down initial ideas.

2. Generating initial codes: Interesting features of the data are systematically coded across the entire dataset, and data relevant to each code are collated.

3. Searching for themes: Codes are collated into potential themes, and all data relevant to each potential theme are gathered.

4. Reviewing themes: Themes are checked in relation to the coded extracts and the entire dataset, leading to generation of a thematic map.

5. Defining and naming themes: Ongoing analysis refines the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis tells, leading to clear definitions and names for each theme.

6. Producing the report: The final analysis includes the selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, further analysis of selected extracts, relating the analysis back to the research questions and literature, and producing a report of the analysis.

Initially, the study followed the topics outlined in the research questions, investigating three main areas: the management of multilingualism, the practice of multilingualism, and beliefs about multilingualism. These research questions served as a framework for data analysis. The data was systematically coded, organised, and connections between categories were established, leading to the identification and selection of relevant themes based on the research questions. It should be also point out that data analysis process is not linear, simply moving from one phase to another phase, but be recursive with frequent reviews (G. Ryan & Bernard, 2000).

The quality of findings can be examined by whether new insights into the phenomenon under study have been provided, thus enhancing the understanding of particular phenomena or informing practical actions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This aspect will be addressed in the discussion and conclusion chapters, focusing on the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education.

4.5.3 Trustworthiness, reliability, validity

The combination of different instruments with various data sets collected in this study offers a multifaceted perception of the issue, namely, how multilingualism is shaped and represented in primary English language education. At the same time, it validates the data and strengthens the reliability of the findings through data triangulation (Hood, 2009), which shows the comparability of the research finding as well. Furthermore, the reliability is also obtained by checking the interview and focus group interview questions with two primary English teachers from another school before using them.

Since case studies are prone to problems of the researcher's bias, researcher need "reflexivity, respondent checks or checks by external reviewers of the data, inferences and conclusions drawn" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 382). It enables the researcher a more comprehensive and thorough understanding of the phenomena than would be a single method could offer. Reflexivity has been recognized as a crucial strategy and an inherent part throughout the process of rigorous qualitative research to secure reliability, validity, and trustworthiness (Berger, 2015; Drake, 2010). It is related to the acknowledgement of the researcher's positionality in research (Dowling, 2006). The positions of the researcher can shape the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which, in turn, can affect the information that participants are willing to share. As stated by Berger (2015, p. 229), "[t]he degree of researcher's personal familiarity with the experience of participants potentially impacts all phases of the research process, including recruitment of participants, collecting data via interviews and/or observations, analysing and making meaning of the data, and drawing conclusions". The processes of collection and interpretation are filtered through the qualitative researchers' biography (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Rossman & Rallis, 2012). The clarification of the researcher's position will allow the researcher to become more "transparent" when presenting the subjective influence (Darawsheh, 2014, p. 562) and allow readers to better understand what it is that is communicated (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Research positions are usually categorized into two categories: insiders (those who share a cultural background with participants and/or research site) or outsiders (those without shared cultural experience). However, the dichotomy does not capture the full spectrum. Some researchers fall into the category in-betweeners, characterized by with a partial shared experience, or known as a *halfie*. This term refers to a researcher "whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage" (Abu-Lughod, 1991 cited in Subedi, 2006, p. 573). In this case study, I identify myself as a halfie, possessing a partially shared cultural experience with the participants. My efforts of understanding of my own Chinese

national identity, combined with my experience of overseas education, helps me to interpret the data from the angle of political ideological stance and social emotional attachment.

Moreover, my Chinese background and my previous educational experiences in China enable me to locate myself in the field where the educational activities I intend to investigate occur. Below I briefly deliberate on what I bring to this study and what impact my biography has had in the construction of this study. The research site is in my hometown. I gained my primary and half of secondary education there. Such personal experience enables a deeper engagement and insight into the research context understanding and interpretation of participants' lived experience. It also enables a connection between me and my participants. At the beginning of every interview, I introduced myself to the interviewees in Mandarin Chinese. As long as they knew my connection with the city, they switched from Mandarin Chinese to Sichuan dialect to continue the dialogue which made them more comfortable. However, exposing my biography also carries the risk of making participants assume that I know everything about the context, thus they thought no need to explain more to me. Being aware of the participants assumptions, I tried to position myself as a learner in the interaction inviting participants to explain subjects in detail, asking questions such as "What's that in detail? Can you explain more to me?" etc.

4.6   Summary

This chapter has justified conducting a qualitative case study within a constructivist paradigm explore the complexities associated with multilingualism. It has explained the research instruments used in this study and how the data collection process was carried out. Data triangulation and reflexivity are included to insure the trustworthiness, reliability, and validity of the study.

Chapter 5   Management of multilingualism through prescriptions of imagined communities

5.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the top-down management of multilingualism in primary English language education. By delving into discourses in policy documents and the school's website posts, as well as examining the representations of imagined communities in English textbooks, this chapter aims to answer the first research question along with its sub-questions:

How is multilingualism managed through primary English language education in China?

   a. How is primary English language education framed by authorities in terms of repertoire, culture, and identity?

   b. What are prioritized in the frame of primary English language education by authorities?

The analysis of prescriptions of imagined communities in textbooks focuses on what textbook readers are invited to assume and engage, including participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values. Moreover, as reviewed in previous chapters, evidence has shown that imagined Chinese community is in parallel with Chinese EMF users' engagement in international community (Y. Wang, 2012, 2020), also there is a the potential to turn L1-shared EFL/EMI classrooms into EMF scenarios (Ishikawa, 2020). Besides, as discussed in section 2.4.2, this study focused on two types of imagined communities: the imagined communities that individuals belong to and imagined communities that individuals desire to be a member of or participate into. Therefore, the analysis of textbooks delves into the representation of both imagined Chinese community and imagined international community.

A preliminary coding framework, initially grounded in the two sub-questions, is outlined as follows:

- Top-down management of English language education

- Prescriptions of imagined communities

  -Imagined Chinese community

  -Imagined international community

Following a comprehensive and repeated examination of the data, the codes underwent a process of evolution, updates, and revisions. Discourses pertaining to the management of multilingualism through English language education are identified. Also, the two major kinds of imagined communities in English textbooks are revealed. At first, noteworthy codes emerging from the data, aligned with the initial coding framework, were grouped into potential themes. Subsequently, these themes were checked with the code excerpts. Ultimately, the themes were refined, accompanied by clear definitions for each theme. The developed coding frame is presented as below:

- Discourse in policy documents: 'Telling Chinese stories in English'

   - Multimodal communicative capacity

   - National cultural confidence

   - Moral accomplishment

   - International understanding

- Prescriptions of imagined communities: a Chinese-centred narrative

   - Imagined Chinese community

     - *Harmony and unity*

     - *Pride and love*

     - *Connections across time and space*

     - *Urban lifestyle*

 - Imagined international community

     - *Cultural exchanging*

     - *Linguistic boundaries*

5.2   Discourse in policy documents: 'Telling Chinese stories in English'

The data for analysis consist of recent key policy documents produced by authorities from national level to school level (see section 4.4.1 for detail). Collectively, these documents are considered as a sample of the officially articulated and ratified policy discourse relating to English education and education in general in China. It is identified that the top-down discourse of English

language education highlights the theme of 'Telling Chinese stories in English', which serves as the main rationale for a national investment on primary English language education.

Extract 5.1 from the Standard (p. 1) sets out the rationale of English education in terms of the role of English for China and for the world.

Extract 5-1

> English belongs to the Indo-European language family. It is widely used in current world economy, politics, science and technology, culture, and other fields. It is an important communication tool for international exchange and cooperation and is also one of the carriers for spreading the achievements of human civilization. English plays an important role for China to go to the world, for the world to understand China, and for building a community with a shared future for mankind[5].

> The Standard p.1

English as a global language has become an important imagination tool of community and identity. There are three types of communities cross time and space being imagined in the above text: the imagined *Chinese* community, the imagined *Indo-European* community, and the imagined *world/international* community. The imagined Indo-European community as the origin of English language gives the idea of native/non-native speakers of English. The imagined Chinese and the imagined world communities indicate a very collective sense with 'China' as the central of imagination. It expresses the collective shared desire of China to engage in the imagined world community, and the assumption of the monolingual use of English in that world community. By saying that "English plays an important role for Chinese to go to the world, for the world to understand China", it points out a shared desire of searching for recognition. Behind this wish, it seems to indicate that China in a collective sense has not been (fully) understood or misunderstood by others, and the learning and using English can help tackle this issue. Following this, it gives a political blueprint of "building a community with a shared future for mankind". The sequence of sentences seems to give the idea that a shared future of mankind will come based on the achievements of communication between China and the rest of the world, and China being fully understood. Following this overall idea about China and the world, below I will present the four elements identified in the discourse of 'Telling Chinese stories in English', including multimodal communicative capacity, cultural confidence, moral accomplishment, and international understanding.

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[5] The original Chinese texts are translated by the researcher.

5.2.1   Multimodal communicative capacity

First, there is a remarkable calling for developing pupils' multimodal communicative capacity, which shows an understanding of meaning-making resources beyond just linguistic modes. In the Standard, it separates language capacity into two parts: capacity to understand (Extract 5-2) and capacity to express (Extract 5-3), both of which underline multimodal communicative resources.

Extract 5-2

Inferring the meaning conveyed by images, sounds, colors, etc. in multimodal texts (e.g., front and back covers of books and other printed materials, invitation cards and greeting cards);

Inferring the speaker's mood, emotion, attitude and intention from tone, intonation, gestures, and facial expressions, etc.

The Standard p.25

The above description of capacity to understand highlights a multiplicity of modes in representations and communications. It suggests that meanings are conveyed through material and non-material things which are viewed as assemblages (Canagarajah, 2020) in communicative circumstances. Thus, it gives the idea that students need to make sense of meaning in a flexible way from a configuration of modes other than just concentrating on English language used itself.

Extract 5-3

Perform short stories or sketch with the help from teachers;

Use charts, posters, homemade picture books, and other creative ways to convey meaning as needed.

The Standard p.27

As for multimodality in the ability to express, performing stories or sketch can be an effective way to engage students to construct, develop, and perform their multiple (fictional) identities creatively and imaginatively. Students are encouraged to make meaning with resources at disposal. Creatively making their own special charts, posters, and picture books helps students to engage with multimodal texts. It seems that translanguaing practices (García & Li Wei, 2014) are encouraged here, that students' creative language learning practices are encouraged. Teachers are expected to be the guider and helper in such student-centered practices.

While the above extracts highlight the flexibility and creativity with modes (other than linguistic modes) in communication, the reference to linguistic modes is on the contrary very rigid. Reading through all the policy documents, no direct reference is made to specific variety of English. However, there is still an emphasis on a 'standard' English. Extract 5-4 gives details of the language requirements in terms of accuracy and fluency in the activity of 'Telling Chinese stories in English' (from the policy document "Announcement of launching Sichuan's first patriotism exhibition of 'Telling Chinese stories in English' by primary and secondary school students"). In the appendix of the document, it gives a detail of how to assess students' performance with points assigned to different aspects. Among others, the aspect of language requirements of English consists of 30 points out of 100. The descriptive words 'correct', 'standard', 'proper' used indicate a standard English ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 1999). The idea about English language here suggests that English as abstract, idealised homogeneous language.

Extract 5-4

Language requirements	Language accuracy: correct language, standard phonetic, clear pronunciation, proper intonation and pitch.	15 points
	Language fluency: express fluently, pay attention to continuity, word stress, sentence stress, and language rhythm, etc.	15 points

The Announcement I, p.5

To recap, it seems that while multimodality is recognized in communicative events and thus encouraged in English language education, the diversity of English language itself has not been suggested.

5.2.2   National cultural confidence

The second element is need of cultural confidence in Chinese culture while participating in telling and spreading Chinese stories in English, which is perhaps the most self-evident requirement. Foremost, the link between Chinese culture and English language is established through idea that language and culture are inseparable from each other. They are co-constructed and influence each other. Extract 5-4, the schematic diagram of the content structure of the compulsory English subject, presents an essential summary of current idea about language and culture. Language knowledge ('语言知识' *yuyan zhishi*) and culture knowledge ('文化知识' *wenhua zhishi*) are at the core of this diagram, which is designed based on BaGua. BaGua is used in Taoist cosmology to

represent the fundamental principles of reality, commonly known as Ying Yang principle. Its epistemology highlights dynamic, endless changing, and transient aspects of reality.

Extract 5-4

图1　义务教育英语课程内容结构示意图

This diagram seems to echo current post-structural theorization of language and culture in the field of multilingualism and EMF that language and culture are fluid and dynamic. However, its detail explanations about the culture knowledge/content suggest an essentialist conceptualization. It tends to give a general category of culture in the world based on nation states, using words:

Chinese and foreign ('中外'*zhongwai*); different countries or cultural backgrounds ('不同国家或文化背景' *butong guojia huo wenhua beijing*); main countries in the world ('世界主要国家'*shijie zhuyao guojia*)

While suggesting an essentialist approach of culture based on nation state, China and Chinese culture are the protagonist. As shown in the extract 5-5, the Guidance, which is an important educational policy document, explains the central government's emphasis on the role of Chinese culture in Chinese educational system. As Chinese educational system is centralized, it is influential and has significant impacts on educational practices.

Extract 5-5

Conducting Chinese fine traditional culture education in primary and secondary schools is of great significance for perpetuating the root and soul of Chinese nation, adhering to the common ideals and beliefs of Chinese nation, building the foundation of confidence in national culture and

values, maintaining China's culture security, strengthening country's cultural soft power, and educating dignified and imposing Chinese.

<div align="right">The Guidance p.1</div>

The vocabularies used in above quote: 'root and soul', 'common ideals and beliefs', 'confidence', 'security', 'power', 'dignified and imposing', contribute to rationale of integrating of Chinese culture in primary and secondary textbooks with their positive connotation and undenied necessity. It is hard to challenge such noble aspects assigned to Chinese culture. Also, the line between individual and collective is blurred in the text. Besides suggesting a collective sense in the words such as 'common', the bond between individual and collective are also created in the matter of 'security' reason.

Following a nation-wide promotion of Chinese culture, it is not surprised to see that the culture element is also highlighted in the school's policy. Instead of simply following the general reference to Chinese culture from the national policy, the school adopts 'Stone' culture to signify its uniqueness and suggest its innovative way of implementing national policies. In both Taoist and Confucian perspective, the image of a stone embodies essential qualities related to harmony, balance, resilience, and self-improvement. The school chose an embodied 'stone' culture to echo the policy at the same time display its agency to a certain degree.

Extract 5-6

Stone culture is an important component of Chinese traditional culture, which contains the unique Confucianist and Taoist pursuit of values. Our school's education goal is to cultivate future world changemakers who are rooted in Chinese traditional culture. […] The concrete 'stone' is chosen to represent and inherit our school culture, and we expect the 'stone' to carry and convey 'Tao'. Thus, our school's culture can be touchable, memorable, and expressible.

<div align="right">The school's innovative way, p. 1</div>

Extract 5-6 firstly justified 'stone' culture as an important component of Chinese traditional culture which is promoted by the national government. It points out that the Confucianist and Taoist values are embodied in the stone culture. Then, it sets out the educational goal of the school, that is, "to cultivate the future world changemakers who are rooted in Chinese culture". Here, it suggests that Chinese pupils will bring with the Chinese culture with them in the engagement of an imagined future world. At the same time, their agency in the imagined future world is highlighted and manifested in their role as changemakers. In the end, it states that the culture can be "touchable, memorable, and expressible". These three words indicate how culture

is approached as an embodied thing, as (collective) memory, and as part of communicative resources by the school.

5.2.3   Moral accomplishment

There are many general reference to the importance of moral education in the policy documents suggesting a requirement of moral accomplishment ('道德修养' *daodexiuyang*). Extract 5-7 is a teaching example provide by the Standard (pp.55-56). It is an activity of inspiring students to think about 'how to find ways to resolve conflicts between children and parent'. Firstly, the teacher guides students to finish some language practices. Then, the teacher asks students to think about their own solutions to the problems, which aims to deepen the learning activities, and develop their sense of innovation and problem-solving ability. This teaching example is explicitly made for teachers to understand how to conduct classroom evaluation, while it implicitly gives the details of how moral development and accomplishment can be integrated into everyday teaching.

Extract 5-7

Case example

1   (Peter's parents don't want to let him join the basketball team.)

2   Teacher: Now, do you have any ideas to help Peter solve the problem?

3   Student 1: If Peter talks to his parents and invites his parents to come and watch him
4   play, he will solve the problem.

5   Teacher: That sounds like a great idea. Perhaps they can even play basketball together.
6   Very good! Any other ideas?

7   Student 2: If Peter do something for his parents, such as …, he will solve the problem.

8   Teacher: If Peter...?

9   Student 2: "Does."

10   Teacher: OK. "Does." Can you say it again?

11   Student 2: If Peter does something for his parents, such as ..., he will solve the problem.

12   Teacher: Yes, excellent! By doing so, Peter shows his love and respect for his parents.
13   Perhaps, his parents will allow him to play basketball. Any other ideas?

14   Student 3: If Peter cries, he will solve the problem.

15   Teacher: (Pretending to be sad and crying) "Mum, basketball." Then do you think Peter's

16   parents will allow him to play basketball?

17   Students: Maybe.

18   Teacher: Why? Is this a good idea to solve his problem?

19   Student 4: Maybe not.

20   Student 5: I think if Peter leaves his home for two days or two months, he will solve the

21   problem. (Other students laugh)

22   Teacher: Well, this is not funny at all. Look, if you leave home without telling your

23   parents, your parents will worry about you! Do you want your parents to worry about

24   you?

25   Student 3: (The student thinks about the problem for a while) No.

26   Teacher: No. Of course not. You don't want your parents to worry about you. So, you

27   need to think of more effective and safer ways to solve your problem.

28   (Students continue sharing more ideas.)

29   Teacher: Well, class. You have shared so many different ideas. Let's work in groups

30   again. Each group should vote for the best way to help Peter solve his problem. Also,

31   write down your reasons.

Lines 7-11 give readers an example how teachers are expected to identify and correct students' grammar errors in classroom. However, it seems that it is a very rare situation that the student knows where he/she is incorrect and gives the right answer. Lines 11-13 show how a perfect answer should look like: correct language with approved moral values. To be a good child, you are expected to do thing for your parents, show your respect, and love them. Following this, student 3 and student 5 seem to give a wrong answer, even they use correct language. On the one hand, this case example highlights the standard English language ideology in constructing a 'perfect' classroom. On the other hand, it implicitly suggests how bonds with families should be valued and how teachers should act as a moral guidance in classroom. Extract 5-8 is an explanation provided following the case example. It further confirms what and how can teachers do to achieve a 'perfect' teaching result.

Extract 5-8

Case explanation

This activity integrates teaching, learning, and evaluation. The different solutions given by students reflect their active thinking and bold attempts to express themselves in English. The teacher teaches wisely. On the one hand, he/she provide feedback on the content and promote the development of students' thinking. On the other hand, in response to students' grammatical errors, he/she guides the students to realize that 'do' is used incorrectly by raising his/her tone and repeating. The student realizes the mistake immediately and make self-correction. The teacher then encourages the student to repeat the correct expression in order to assess whether the student understands how to use the expression. When the student says that 'If Peter cries, he will solve the problem', the teacher pretends to cry to simulate the situation. This reflects the teacher's attention and understanding of the student's suggestion. When the student says, 'If Peter leaves his home for two days or two months, he will solve the problem.', the teacher identifies the negative thoughts of the student in time. He/she then guides the student to recognize his/her negative thoughts by asking questions and giving suggestions. The student then gives up the negative idea.

As claimed at the beginning, the students are expected to think and express themselves in English. However, it follows to show how the teacher teaches 'wisely' to make the student 1 realize the grammar mistake immediately and make self-correction. Here, this kind orientation is confirmed in interviews with teachers. Teachers said that they are expected not to explain grammar directly however in reality they all always have to explain, highlight, and repeat grammar issues in a clear way (most of time in Chinese as well). In short, the case example constructed and explained in the Standard shows a standard language ideology and expectation of moral development through English language education.

5.2.4   International understanding

English language education is tied to a broader policy of 'Education for International Understanding' ('国际理解教育' *guojilijie jiaoyu*). In the school, it is the English language teachers who take the teaching responsibility of developing students' international understanding. It is expected and assumed that English language teachers should and can integrate 'Education for International Understanding' in everyday English language classrooms. The Chinese word *guoji* (国际, 'international') is made up of components *guo* and *ji*, which together imply meetings between countries. In policy rhetoric, this consists of understanding cultural diversity, raising intercultural awareness, and developing ability for intercultural communication. However, all of these are

based on one prerequisite, that is, students should have had a profound understanding and identification with Chinese traditional culture. The Instructions explicitly state:

Extract 5-9

> Education should aim to cultivate 'world-oriented' students. Education for international understanding aims to cultivate international talents who inherit traditions at the same time hold the openness. Through education for international understanding in primary and secondary schools, students, with profound understanding and identification with Chinese traditional culture, can better understand the diversity of the world. This aims to raise students' international awareness, improve their ability for intercultural communication, help them to learn to respect, interact and cooperate other people, and raise their concern for common problems and development of mankind. All contributes to forming students' proper world outlook, life outlook, and values, thus promoting all-round education.

> Instructions, p.1

As we can see from above abstract, learning cultures of the world is detached from possibilities of developing multiple identities. Instead, the main purpose claimed here is to set out as understanding and respecting others (non-Chinese). The conditional clause 'Based on…' prioritizes the role of Chinese culture among all other different cultures. Therefore, it can be concluded that what is promoted in policy documents is a 'simplified' and 'stereotyped' international understanding, in which the important aspect of understanding the multiple, fluid, and dynamic cultural practices and identity constructions is ignored. Such international understanding seems to intend to make the distinctions between 'us' and 'them' clearer.

At the school level, it follows the idea of introducing Chinese culture in English. Extract 5-10 is from the school's post on its website named as: Love Chengdu, welcome FISU, and learn English. The sequence of these three phrases suggests that to love Chengdu, to love your hometown, should be the precondition. FISU here refers to the international event held in Chengdu and international people coming to Chengdu to join the event. At last, it comes to the need to learn English to welcome and communicate with international people coming to Chengdu, which seems to indicate an imagined international community with the domination of English. It assumes that English is needed, perhaps the only choice, when engaging in international interactions. The linguistic and cultural diversity is ignored. Nevertheless, an interesting point here is that the school is trying to promote the local Hakka culture in their international engagement, instead of the general traditional culture as stated in national, provincial, and municipal documents. The Hakka people have a history of migration and settlement in different regions. The work 'Hakka' itself means 'guest families' or 'visitors' in Chinese. Family values hold a significant place in Hakka

culture. The strong sense of community and unity is often reflected in their collective way of life and architecture. Family clans and ancestral worship play an important role in maintaining connections between generations. The history of migration and resettlement has instilled adaptability within Hakka culture, which is reflected in their ability to integrate in new environments.

The statement that 'The World Hakka is One Family' ('天下客家是一家' *tianxia kejia shi yijia*) seems to project an imagination of Hakka communities across the world and try to connect them with the bond of the notion of family. At the same time, they still locate the Hakka culture within Chinese culture as they equal Hakka dialect to Chinese culture (and English language to western culture). There is one conflicting idea identified here. While the inner diversity of Chinese culture is recognized with reference to Hakka dialect and Hakka communities is recognized within an imagined Chinese community, the international community is imagined in a monolingual and monocultural way with reference to the 'English language' and the 'western culture'. Also, it is problematic here that the international understanding is exclusively developed when students see "the sparks and the collision of Chinese and Western cultures". It confirms the boundary between Chinese and Western cultures and suggests sharp differences between them, which leads to the 'collision'.

Extract 5-10

> Taking FISU Summer World University Games as the opportunity […], we will share with everyone the customs and foods of Chengdu in English, guide everyone to explore Luodai town with activities, such as taking and enjoying Hakka tea. […] English language teaching took "The World Hakka is One Family" as the theme and did a comparative learning of Hakka dialect and English language, letting students to see the sparks of the collision of Chinese and Western cultures, and gain international understanding.
>
> Post from school's website: Love Chengdu, welcome FISU, and learn English

5.3 Prescriptions of imagined communities in textbooks: a Chinese-centred narrative

Prescriptions of communities in textbooks has influence on the readers' imaginations. As reviewed in previous chapter, evidence has shown that imagined Chinese community is in parallel with Chinese EMF users' engagement in international community (Y. Wang, 2012, 2020). Besides exploring how an imagined Chinese community is prescribed in English teaching textbooks, this section also explores how an international community is imagined and prescribed in textbooks.

Ishikawa (2020) has pointed out the potential to turn L1-shared EFL/EMI classrooms into EMF scenarios. The prescriptions of international communities in textbooks are the main recourses that L1-shared Chinese pupils draw on to imagine and engage with.

5.3.1 Imagined Chinese community

5.3.1.1 Harmony and unity

The discourse about imagined Chinese community in textbooks revolves around sentiments, connections, and urban lifestyle. Overall, the imagined Chinese community constructed in textbooks is represented as linguistic and cultural harmonious. The inner diversity in China is almost absent in the depiction. Chinese ethnic minority is mentioned briefly in only one dialogue. In the B5-2-M6U1, Lingling introduces her uncle to Amy. Lingling's uncle lives in Hainan province, south of China. He and his three children are all of Li ethnicity (黎族). While the ethnicity is introduced and their cultural costumes are shown in the picture, their languages are not mentioned.
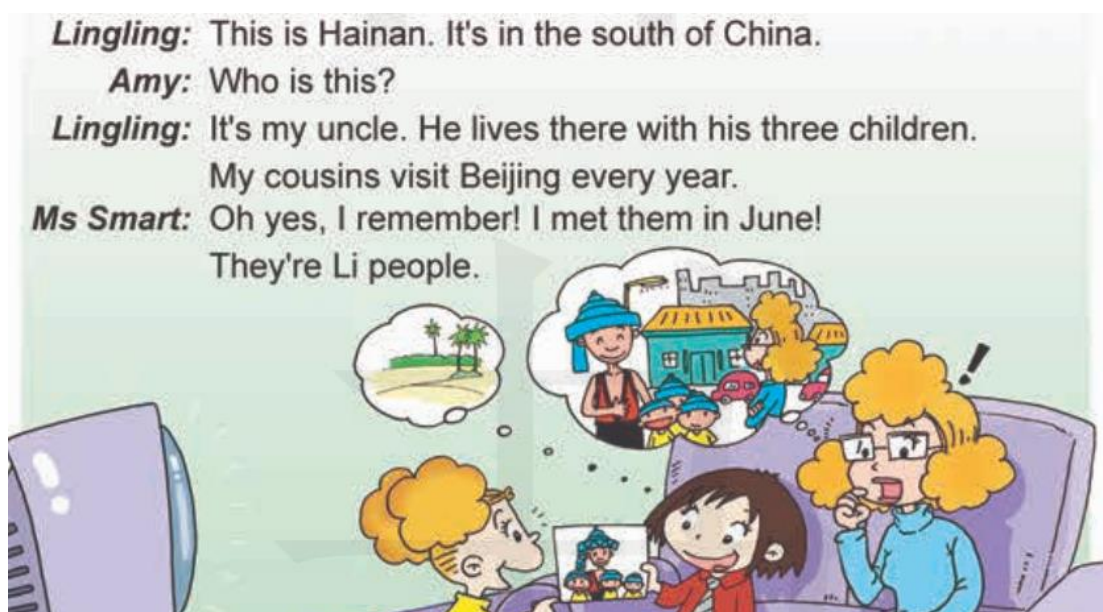
Figure 5-1 Chinese ethnic minority represented in English textbooks

Besides, a sense of unity is discursively constructed. Map of China e-occurs as resources for different learning activities in the textbooks. For example, in B6-2-M2U2, of which the topic is talking about weather, map of China with several different cities across latitudes and longitudes is present. The activity is designed to ask students to work in pairs. In the first place, it is a multimodal semiotic practice. On the left column, besides every English word of specific weather,

there is a corresponding image to construct the meaning. On the map, instead of English words, those images are used to represent different weathers in different cities. To cooperate in the activity, one student needs to describe a weather of a city on the map "translanguaging" the image into English and ask the question. Another student needs to understand her peer's question in English firstly, then go back to the map to find the corresponding image translanguaging English into image, identify the city name, and answer the question. Considering multimodality theory, it attends to the discursive affordances of different modes which are by no means neutral but reflect certain ideological stances (Lin, 2012). While the image of weather is of low modes affordance, the map is on the contrary. It is not difficult to point out that Taiwan is in the same colour with the mainland China. It sends a political message that Taiwan is part of China.

Figure 5-2 Map of China in English textbooks

5.3.1.2   Pride and love

Pride and love are attached to the imagined Chinese community. These sentiments are discursively constructed in the different topics. For example, B4-1-M4U1 is about Chinese inventions and the following U2 introduces inventions made by people from UK and US. Positive words 'many' 'important' 'very' 'clever' are used when the teacher and students are talking about inventions made by Chinese people. By contrast, the information cards of introducing inventions made by people from UK and US are rather objective without using any sentimental words.
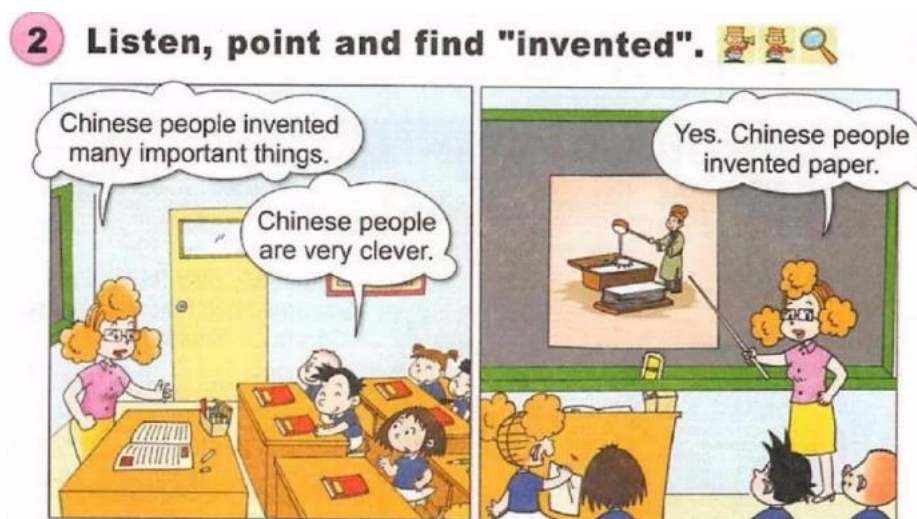
Figure 5-3 Introducing inventions by Chinese people
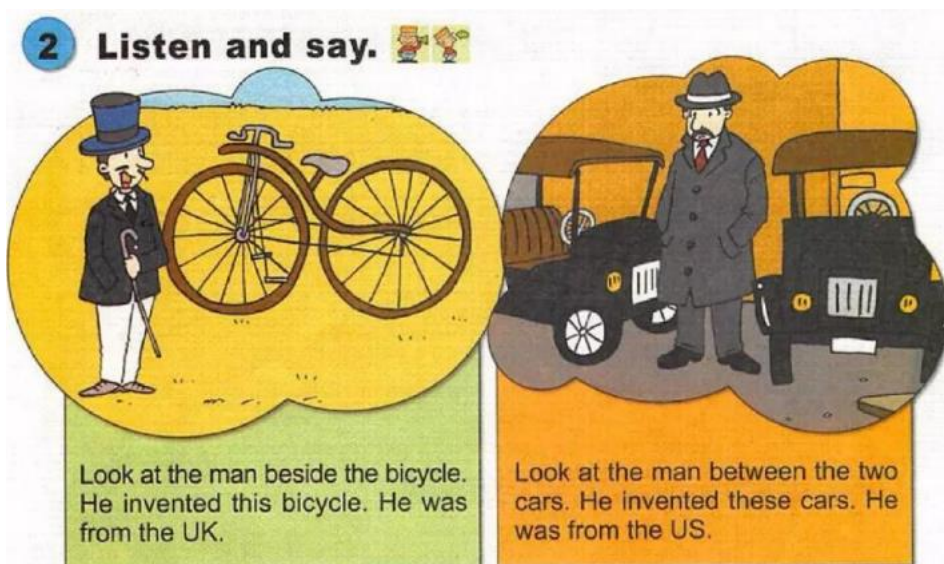
Figure 5-4 Introducing inventions by people from UK and US

Topics related to arising pride for the imagined Chinese community usually have more space in textbooks. And the activities designed are more interactive-oriented. For example, there are two modules are designed based on the topic of spaceship Shenzhou V. While B6-2-M6U1 "The name of the spaceship is Shenzhou V" introduces some basic information about the spaceship, B6-2-M7U1 "My father flew into space in Shenzhou V" raises students' sense of pride for the achievement in a figured story. Positive words, 'very famous' 'happy' 'great' 'proud', contribute to raise students' sense of pride for the taikonaut Yang Liwei.

In October 2003, my father flew into space in *Shenzhou V*. He spent about twenty-one hours in space. He did a lot of work there. He also made a video in space. Then he came back to the earth.

My mother and I went to the airport to meet my father. We were very happy. It was a great day! I was very proud of him. Now he still tells me about his space travel. I want to go into space someday too.

Figure 5-5 "My father flew into space in Shenzhou V"
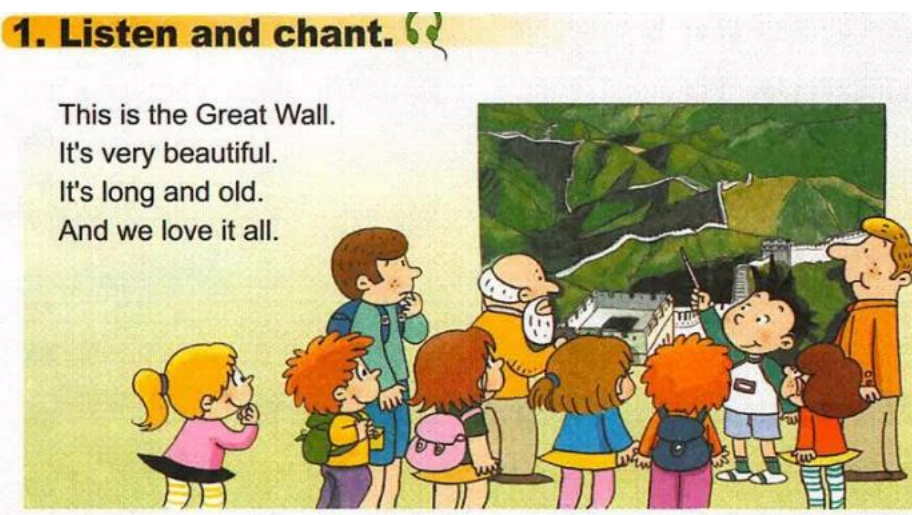
Figure 5-6 Love for the Great Wall

The Chinese characters of the textbook series introduce and express their love for Chinese historical sites, architectures, festival, and food (B6-1-M4U1 for example). Besides, China's development and modernization are also related to raising the sense of pride. The textbooks present China's development and modernization progress in two major ways: Intra-comparison and Inter-comparison. They all follow a similar narrative pattern of establishing differences which highlights China's development and modernization process since the launch of the Reform and Opening up policy. Two examples are given below. For inter-comparison, a simple dialogue in the B4-2-M2U2 is interesting. Two birds standing on the Big Ben are discussing their homes. The blue bird's home is in London, which is described as 'old'. The orange bird besides introduces its 'very famous' home, the Bird's Nest, with the picture holding in its mouth. The Bird's Nest was built for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Together with the Water Cube in Beijing Olympic Park, they have become two landmark buildings in Beijing and represent China's modernization and internationalization. While the intention of presenting China's achievements is more covert with inter-comparison, intra-comparison presents the information much directly.

Figure 5-7 Inter-comparison of presenting China's development

The following example of intra-comparison in the B5-2-M5U1, presents detailed information about how China is changing these years. The Chinese girl Lingling travelled to UK and stayed with her friends Sam and Amy. Amy noticed a programme about China on the TV and asked Lingling come to watch. The dialogue between the lady and the interviewer mainly revolves around two questions: How was it different? and how about now? The differences are shown in the use of the past tense and present tense accordingly. The visual images presented in the page are also in line with what is said by the lady and helps to enhance the meaning. In the first picture, it presents what the lady has in mind while she is talking: not many decorations in the room; only one dish on the table; firewood is burnt for cooking. In the second picture, it presents the room in which the lady and the interviewer now stay. The decoration is quite good with a photo and flowers left besides the window, and a telephone and a TV right beside the window; the various dishes on the table is eye-catching; buses and cars are showing outside the window. Besides, the text uses the inclusive first-person 'we' and 'I' pronouns which have the function of establishing solidarity and a sense of participation. Textual features and rhetorical strategies are crucial symbolic processes and markers among other strategies that have ideological implications. From a pragmatic view, this is a strategy to attend to the readers in a way that the writers' ideas are more easily passed onto the readers.

Figure 5-8 Intra-comparison of presenting China's development

In short, this section suggests how the sense of belonging to the imagined Chinese community becomes manifested in emotions, namely pride and love. These emotions are discursively constructed in the textbooks to influence textbook users.

5.3.1.3   Connections across time and space

The construction of imagined Chinese community in the textbooks seeks to build the connections across time and space. In B6-2-M7U2, the students are asked to make a poster about a famous person and introduce him/her to the other classmates. The example of Confucius is presented. Besides the information about name, date of birth, and his profession, what should be noticeable

is his nationality. Historically, Confucius lived in the Spring and Autumn Period. At that time, the current notion of China of course is not yet developed. However, the attempt to identify Confucius as a famous person from China is a way to build the connection of the past, thus to imagine the past as part of current Chinese community.

Figure 5-9 Introducing Confucius

5.3.1.4 Urban lifestyle

The textbooks profile members of imagined Chinese communities as all live in big cities and have urban lifestyle. The urban lifestyle depicted in the textbooks includes travelling abroad or go to beach or go to Disneyland for holiday, going to shop in big shopping mall and supermarkets, going to cinema or zoo on weekend, going to the park to play football, and so on. For example, in B4-2-M10U2, Lingling writes a post card to Daming introducing him how she is enjoying traveling in the UK.

Figure 5-10 Travelling abroad to UK

Figure 5-11 I live in Beijing

A letter in B2-1-M6U2 one the one hand represents the character Tingting, who are from Beijing, is introduced as a member of urban Chinese community with the hobby of swimming and basketball and receiving education in a good school in Beijing. At the same time, the texts also set three questions, intending to engage students to connect themselves with the imagined urban Chinese community. However, it can also disengage students from rural or suburban areas of China. In this case, it can lead to students' desire (Motha & Lin, 2014) to be a member of this urban community.

5.3.2   Imagined international community

5.3.2.1   Culture exchange

There are four main characters with names in the textbooks, they are, Chinese students Daming and Lingling, Sam and Amy from UK, and Simon from US. They are prescribed as the main participants of international interactions, in which the diversity of English users is totally absent. Besides, the non-Chinese participants tend to show their appreciation of and even passion for Chinese culture.
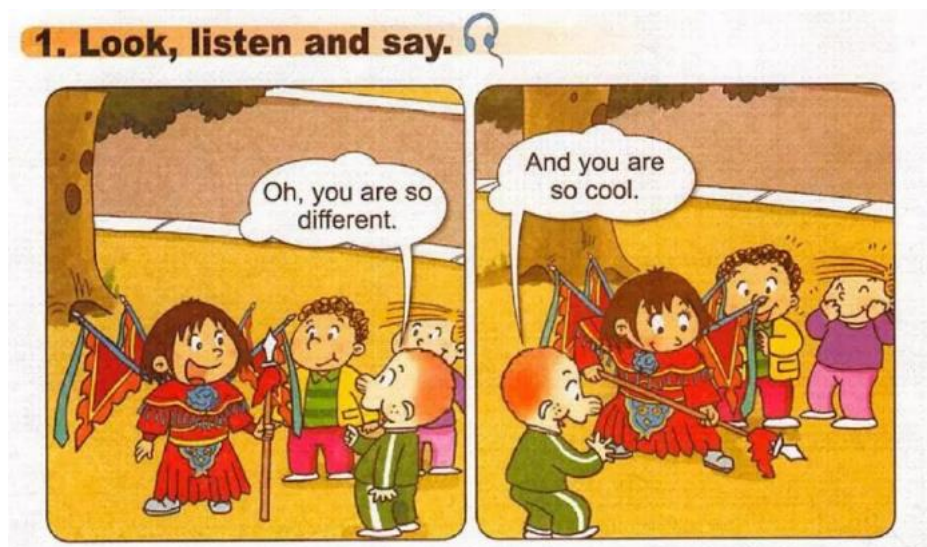
Figure 5-12 The appreciation for Dao Ma Dan performance

B5-1-M2U2 presents an international interaction between the Chinese girl Lingling and the British boy Sam. Lingling's performance of Dao Ma Dan (a female warrior role in Peking Opera) is 'so different' to Sam. In the second image, Sam appreciates the difference and makes a positive comment on Lingling performance as 'so cool'.
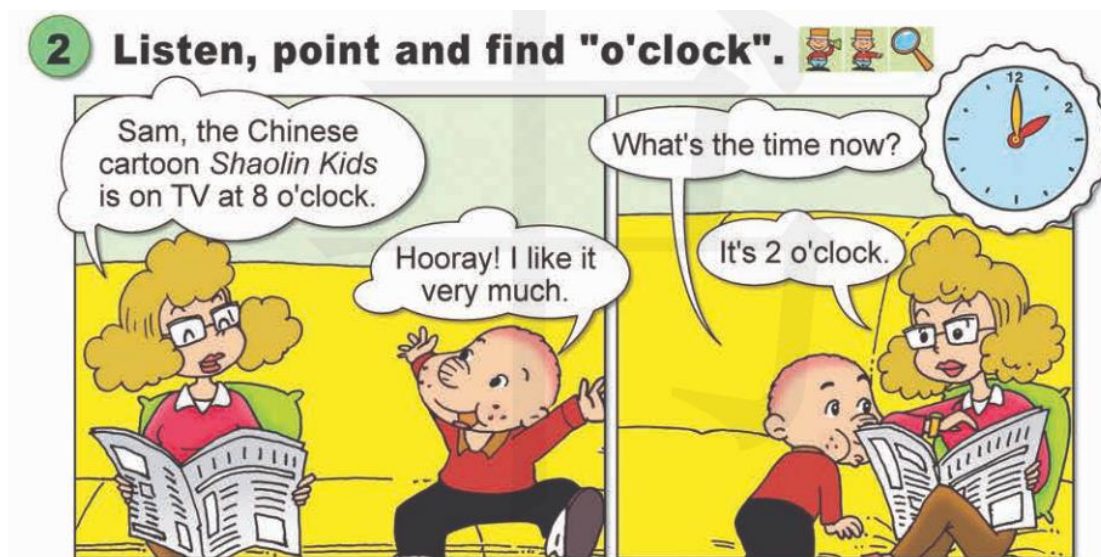
Figure 5-13 Passion for Chinese cartoon

Taking a conversion in B4-2-M7U1 for example, Sam, the boy from UK, is very fascinated about a Chinese cartoon Shaolin Kids (《中华小子》). In this conversation, Sam's mom (who is the English teacher in the Chinese school) tells Sam that Shaolin Kids is on TV at 8 o'clock. Sam shows his excitements and keeps asking her mom the time even it is still during the day at 2 o'clock, six hours before the starting time.

Besides Chinese culture, Anglophone culture is also represented in textbooks. For example, Simon introduced what they do and what they say in the Thanksgiving Day to Daming who is Chinese. The image below further gives information to readers on how people pray and some of the typical food they have on that day.

Figure 5-14 American festivals

Besides, another representation of culture exchange is made through clear comparing. For example, in B2-1-M10U2, the two sets of images show are designed to show the differences between Chinese New Year and Christmas.

Figure 5-15 Comparing Chinese festival and Anglophone festival

5.3.2.2   Linguistic boundaries

Boundary drawing practices are prominent in the activities and conversations in textbooks. The most obvious boundary drawing practices happen when characters are talking about languages and countries. For example, in a conversation between Daming and Sam in B4-2-M8U1, the statement of "People in the US speak English" present a monolingual image of people in the US, which totally ignores the super-diverse sociolinguistic situation in US. This statement typically reflects the ideology of 'one nation, one language'.
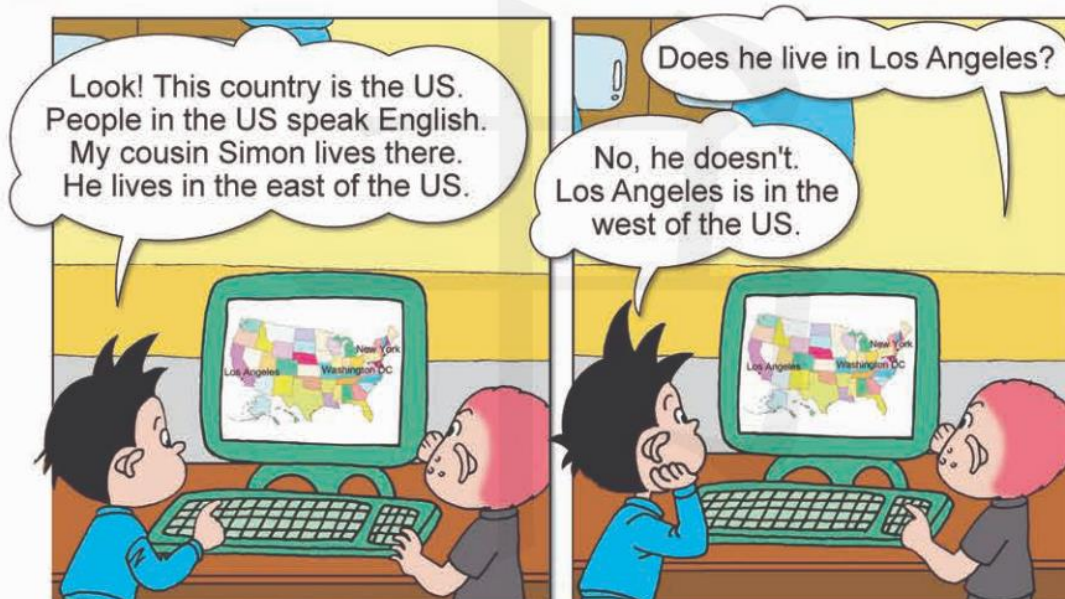
Figure 5-16 People in the US speak English
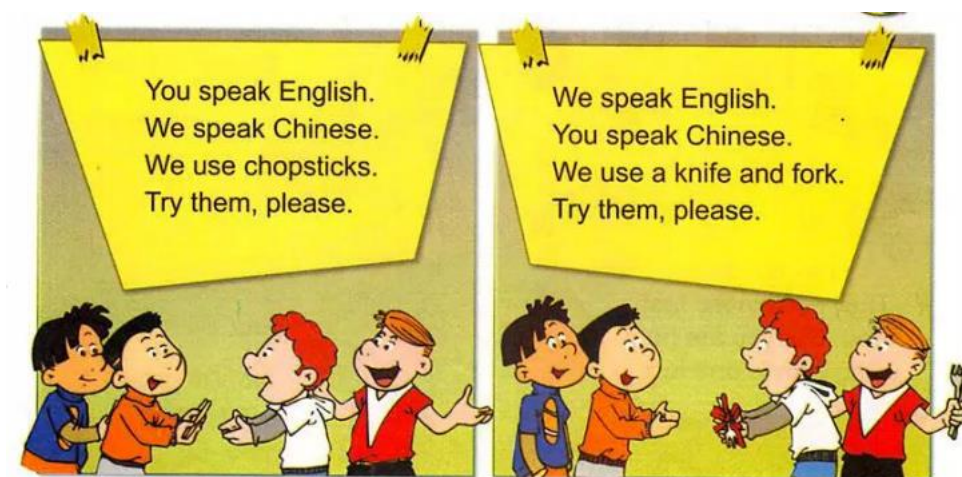
Figure 5-17 You speak English

The texts in B3-1-M1U1 further connect the 'one nation, one language' to 'one culture'. From the images, we can see this 'conversation' happens between two groups: a group of two Chinese students and a group of British students. The texts simply make to ties: Chinese students-Chinese-chopsticks and British students-English-knife and fork. In doing so, a monolingual and monocultural Chinese identity is assumed. It is of conflict since the Chinese students who are reading and learning from this conversation in textbooks are learning English. They are actually multilingual Chinese whose linguistic repertoire consists at least Chinese and English.

Such monolingual ideology can constrain students' imagination and expectation about language use in future interactions. The example below is about three students' plan for the summer. The Chinese girl Lingling's plan is to travel to the UK. On the one hand, it suggests an urban Chinese lifestyle with the opportunities of travelling abroad on vacation (see section 5.3.1.4). On the other hand, Lingling happily suppose that she is going to speak English every day there, which reinforce the idea of "one nation one language".

Figure 5-18 Speaking English every day in UK

5.4   Summary

This chapter has presented findings from analysis of policy documents and textbooks. The policy documents and textbooks show the consistency in constructing an imagined harmonious and united Chinese community, while the different references to English and English interlocutors indicate a gap between policy and textbooks. The discourse in policy documents seems to convey the idea that English is used as a global language, thus interactions through a certain kind of standard English happen between a diversity of interlocutors who may not be specifically

identified as native English speakers. However, textbooks narrow the conception of standard English further to standard *British* English and represent English interlocutors as Chinese English language learners and native English speakers from the UK and the US.

Chapter 6   Multilingual practices and identity construction

6.1   Introduction

This chapter examines multilingual practices and identity construction in and beyond English language classroom. The analysis of the data focused on teachers' multilingual practices for teaching and students' multilingual practices for learning respectively. The aim of this chapter's analysis is to address the second research question and its sub-questions:

How is multilingualism practiced in primary English language education in China?

    a. What are the effects of primary English language teachers and students' multilingual practices?

    b. How are identities constructed and performed in and through the multilingual practices?

At first, the analysis gave attention to the material discursive formation initiated in classrooms, teaching materials, activities, etc. (Clarke, 2008). Then, the analysis delved into turn-taking (who talks, when, and how much), contextualization (nonverbal, paralinguistic, and systematic clusters), narratives (stories shared), and frames of activities in each class (how these frames reflect wider societal discourses) (Rymes, 2015). The codes of this chapter are mainly emergent from data, while the initial categories and themes decided based on previous literature on translanguaging in language education (please see section 3.5.2). The initial themes include: translanguaging for identity construction, translanguaging for vocabulary development and grammar explanation, translanguaging for classroom management, translanguaging for checking students' comprehension and engaging students. Following a through and repeated examination of the data, those themes refined, and codes were categorized into the themes. Finally, these themes were checked with the code excerpts.

The final coding frame is made as below:

- Teachers' multilingual practices

  - Integrating Chineseness

    - Attitudes and emotion

    - Chinese classics

- Moral guidance

- Teaching during COVID-19 pandemic

- Introducing international (Anglophone) culture

- Rote-teaching

- Vocabulary and grammar

- Math in English classroom

- Students' multilingual practices to engage

- Practicing Chineseness

- Building rapport with teachers

- Dreams and models

- Learning during COVID-19 pandemic

- Engaging with world popular culture

6.2   Teachers' multilingual practices

This part firstly presents the aspects of Chineseness, and the ways teachers integrate them in their daily English teaching practices. The data shows explicit practices of using Chinese cultural products as teaching materials, at the same time, implicit practices of integrating Chineseness, which include self-discipline, moral guidance, and solidarity in a time of crisis. Second, besides Chinese culture, only traditional Anglophone culture was found in teachers' teaching practices in the classroom observation data in this study. Also, analysis of their multilingual practices gives attention to the way that English teachers teaching vocabulary and grammar and the way that they manage math in English classroom.

6.2.1   Integrating Chineseness

Aspects of Chineseness identified in teachers' multilingual practices include positive attitudes and emotions towards life, multiliteracy development with Chinese classics, morality, and helping students make sense of COVID-19.

6.2.1.1   Attitudes and emotions

In classroom practices, teachers tend to encourage and develop students' appreciation for Chinese traditional festivals, cuisines, cities in China. In text 6-1, the topic in this class is about travelling and T4 introduces some cities in China, including Shanghai, Kunming, and Guiling. She wants to engage students by inviting them to express their wish to visit these cities. S1 is chosen to answer the question "Who want to go to Kunming?" (line 1). It seems that his answer (line 4) does not directly address the question "Who", though his answer contains the positive word "beautiful" twice. It's not totally clear that he wants to go or not. From T4's feedback (line 5-6), T4 does not intend to negotiate and make sense of the answer with the student. She directly corrects the student's answer by saying that "You should say I WANT to go to Kunming." (line 5). And she reiterates what she assumes by saying that "You want to go to Kunming" (line 5). This short turn shows that T4 is much in control with the interaction in which she decides whether if to negotiate or not. Also, it can be seen that a sense of willingness to visit cities in China is subtly assumed by T4.

Text 6-1: from C03: 20:23 -20: 56

1   T4: Who want to go to Kunming?

2   ((Some students put their hands up))

3   T4: XX ((Student 1's name)), please.

4   S1: Kunming is a beautiful city. It's in the south of China (…) and it is got a beautiful lake.

5   T4: You should say I WANT to go to Kunming. ok? You want to go to Kunming, ok, sit
6   down, please.

Moreover, a sense of willingness and appreciation is related to a positive life attitude and aesthetics. In text 6-2 (also from C03), a video is included as teaching materials. The video that T4 uses includes both images of Chinese landscape and Chinese traditional cultural practices, and the background music of the video is from a Chinese classic poem from *The Book of Songs* ("诗经" *shijin*). The video communicates the idea that China is a beautiful country, and as said by T4 (line 2-3), she wants her students to "appreciate the beautiful China" before playing the video. After watching the video, T4 uses an unfinished sentence "this is our beautiful?" to let students engage (line 6). Instead of using 'the' at the beginning (line 2), she uses 'our' this time. The collaboration between T4 and her students to finish the sentence "this is our beautiful Chi:na:" can be interpreted as a discourse strategy to construct the connections between the teacher and her students. Further, T4 ends the class by saying that "And we should love life and go to see the

beauty" (line 9, see her PPT as well), which suggests positive attitudes towards life ('love life') and aesthetic appreciation of landscapes in China ('beauty'). In this teaching practices, we can see that T4's multimodal teaching practice (including images, music, English, Chinese, etc.) contributes to raising students' positive attitudes towards life and confirms the connection between her and her students with a shared appreciation for beauty. These two texts demonstrate how belonging-as-emotion constructs national identity, sharedness, and places,

Text 6-2, from C03: 36: 01 - 38: 52

1   T4: OK, there are many places. And this is Shanghai. This is Kunming. And this is Guilin.

2   And there are more places in China. Let's watch a video to appreciate the beautiful

3   China, OK?

4   Ss: Wow.

5   ((The video lasts two minutes and half))

6   T4: OK, this is our beautiful?

7   Ss: Chi:na:

8   ((T4 closes the video window and then shows the PPT)

9   T4: And we should love life and go to see the beauty.

Excerpt 6-1 Love life and go to see the beauty

6.2.1.2   Chinese classics

The use of Chinese classics in English language teaching has gained my attention. Chinese classics are presented in written ancient Chinese ("古汉语" *guhanyu*) which is very different from written modern Chinese ("现代汉语" *xiandaihanyu*) in terms of its vocabulary, syntax, and grammar. Students usually need years to develop their literacy in Chinese classics from primary education to high school education. As seen from the moment capture of the classroom (excerpt 6-2), some students use their index finger to point the Chinese characters one by one while reading the Chinese poem. This accompanying gesture with reading classic Chinese poem probably suggests that they are still at the beginning state of learning how to pronounce each character.

In text 6-3, the class of teaching colour, T6 chooses a poem written by a poet of Sung dynasty. The lass two lines of this poem have the Chinese characters '红' [red], '绿' [green]. The translation of the poem is provided below (I adapted an anonymous online translation):

Translation of the poem used in C01

Like A Dream

Last night the wind blew hard, and rain was fine,

Sound sleep did not dispel the aftertaste of wine,

I ask the maid rolling up the screen.

The same crab-apple trees,

She says, was seen.

But don't you know

O don't you know

The **red** should languish,

And the **green** must grow.

In her teaching (text 6-3), T6 does not explain the poem in modern Chinese. Instead, she reads the poem together with her students (line 4-6). She makes the connections between the poem and her teaching content by highlighting the Chinese characters '红' (red), '绿' (green) in red and green respectively in her PPT.

Text 6-3 from C01: 38: 53 - 39: 28

1   T6: So look at this picture. What is her name? Her name is?

2   ((T6 looks at the students expecting them to give her name of the character))

3   Ss: *Li Qingzhao*

4   T6: Let's read together, *rumengling,* one two go.

5   Ss and T6: *rumengling, zuoye yushu fengzhou, nongshui buxiao canjiu. shiwen*

6   *juanlianren, quedao haitang yijiu. zhifou zhifou, yingshi lufei hongshou.*

7   ((In the PPT, the characters '红' [red], '绿' [green] are coloured in red and green

8   respectively))

9   T6: Well done. Now everybody look at the blackboard. So today we learn.

10   ((T6 points to the red card on the blackboard, which shows the sentence "It's red".))

11   Ss: It's red.

12   T6: This is?

13   ((T6 points to the panda image))

14   Ss: Panda

15   T6: This is?

16   ((T6 points to the Chameleon image))

17   Ss: Chameleon

18   T6: So, oh, it's, it's?

19   ((Helen points to the word 'blue'))

20   Ss: Blue.

21   T6: Now:, now.

22   ((T6 points to the 'it's' and 'blue' trying to make students speaking the whole sentence))

23   Ss: Now it's blue.

24   ((T6 points to the word 'green'))

25   Students: Now it's green

26   ((T6 pints to the word 'yellow'))

27   Students: Now it's yellow.

28   ((T6 points to the word 'black'))

29   Students: Now it's black.

30   T6: OK, let's see who is the best one.

Excerpt 6-2 Teaching colours with Chinese classics in English classroom

In text 6-3 above, T6's teaching practice with Chinese classics seems to focus on the vocabulary learning level. T3's teaching practice with Chinese classics in text 6-4 reflects more complex process of conveying meaning and idea. In this interaction, T3 invites students to introduce Hangzhou first, a city in southern China. S1 cooperates to give the answer with the vocabulary "beautiful" learned in this class (line 3). T3 reiterates S1's answer and awards the S1's group with one candy point on their part, showing that she is satisfied with his answer (line 4-6). And then she presents the PPT page with a Chinese classic poem about the beauty of West Lake in Hangzhou. The translation of the poem is provided as below. The PPT is designed with the three elements: the written Chinese poem, the scene of the West Lake, and an (imagined) portray of the poet. She leads students to read the poem together (line 7-10). In this teaching practice, we can see that the idea "Hangzhou is beautiful" is co-constructed in both English expression ("beautiful") and Chinese classic poetic expression and aesthetics.

Translation of the poem used in C08

Praising West Lake in the Rain

Shimmering water on sunny days,

Blurred mountains through rainy haze.

West Lake is the beauty, Xizi,

With light or heavy makeup, always beautiful!

Text 6-4: from C08: 24: 12 - 25:18

1   T3: And who want to introduce Hangzhou? Who want to introduce Hangzhou? (…) XX
2   ((Student 1's name)), please.

3   S1: I want to go to Hangzhou. Hangzhou is very beautiful.

4   T3: Hangzhou is very beautiful. There are many beautiful/

5   Ss: /Place.

6   ((T3 puts one candy-award to group 2's part))

7   T3: There is a beautiful poem about Hangzhou. Let's read together, OK? *Shuiguang*
8   *lianyan*, one, two, go.

9   Ss: *shuiguang lianyan qingfanghao, shanse kongmeng yuyiqi. yuba xihu bixizi,*
10   *danzhuang nongmo zongxiangyi. song, su shi.*

11   ((T3 turns her PPT to next page))

12   T3: OK, look, who is she?

13   Ss: Lingling.

14   ((T3 starts another activity))

Excerpt 6-3 Introducing Chinese city with Chinese classics in English classroom

From above two texts, we can see how English teachers creatively integrate Chineseness with Chinese classics in English classroom, in which their translanguaging practice is quite evident and involves quite complex cognitive processes. However, it seems such pedagogical design is quite short and similar. As we can see from both T3 and T6 teaching practice, the main activity related to the Chinese classic poems is to let students read aloud together without any explanation of the poems.

6.2.1.3 Moral guidance

The English teachers' role as moral guidance mainly is manifested in two interrelated aspects: developing students' self-discipline in and outside classroom; and developing students' sense of responsibility. First, below presents teachers' multilingual practices of classroom management (including managing patterns of interaction and ensuring classroom routines) and developing students' self-discipline in and outside classroom. Text 6-5 below is an example shows how the teacher T9 tries to keep the discipline and classroom routine. In C09, at the beginning, T9 spends around 5 minutes and half for the preparation, arranging stickers on different parts of the blackboard. Perhaps she wants to make all teaching materials as better as possible as she knows her class is being recorded. Students chats while waiting T9 to start the class. However, such noise is not allowed. It is expected that students should keep quiet waiting for the teacher. Noticing the noise, T9 asks students to rest upon their desks quietly in Mandarin which is the school language (line 3). However, the students do not stop chatting. T9 then uses Sichuan dialect which is the students' home language to ask "Where is the noise from? Tell me." in a serious tone (line 5). The voice volume of the noise becomes much lower, and nearly all students stop chatting when T9

says "You will do more homework if you continue to make noise" in a kind of threatening tone. It is fair to say that Chinese (including Mandarin and Sichuan dialect) works efficiently to keep the discipline as expected by the teacher - being quiet and patient. The sentence "OK, class begin" serves as sign of ending of preparation and beginning of the class (line 13). The interaction between T9 and students followed, as a breakdown of their routine, is worth of noticing and analysis. When T9 greets the students with "good afternoon", most students response loudly with "good morning" (line 15-17). Noticing the wrong response, T9 greets the students again, points to the window (intending to show the time) and emphasizes the word 'afternoon' (line 18-19). The voice volume of the students at this second-round greeting is much lower, which indicates students' confusion. Some students follow with "good afternoon" but sound less confidently; some still say "good morning"; and some are silenced (line 20-22). The background information which I gained from teachers in interviews helps to me to understand and interpret this interaction. I was informed that English classes are usually scheduled in the morning (This schedule is complained by English teachers because they are asked to go to school very early and teach 'sleepy' pupils.) Thus, the classroom routine of warming up always begins with "good morning". However, sometimes English teachers swap the classes with Chinese or math teachers if needed. C09 is an English class that is scheduled in the afternoon. It is fair to say that students' repertoire of "good morning" is tied to their English classes in the morning. By pointing at the window and highlighting the word 'afternoon' with a high voice volume, T9 intends to make students aware of the time and then keeps the classroom routine.

Text 6-5, from C09: 00:00 - 06:33

1   ((T9 is preparing blackboard materials with her back showing to students; noise of

2   students rises chatting in Mandarin and/or Sichuan dialect))

3   T9: *Stay quiet and rest upon your desks.* ((In Mandarin)).

4   ((Students are still chatting))

5   T9: *Where is the noise from? Tell me.* ((In Sichuan dialect)) *If you keep aloud, you will*

6   *have more homework to do today. Stay quiet.* ((In Mandarin))

7   ((Students rests upon their desks, and Helen puts the red envelops on the left side of the

8   blackboard))

9   T9: *Ok, sit upright. Start sitting still. Keep your back upright. I know even if you move*

10   *your feet. XX ((S1's name)), why did you move your feet? Tell me. I just said that I know*

11   *even if you move [your feet].* ((In Mandarin))

12   ((T9 finishes the preparation))

13   T9: OK, class begin.

14   S3 (who are on duty): Stand up.

15   T9: Good afternoon, boys and girls.

16   Ss: Good morning/afternoon, XX ((T9's English name)).

17   ((Most students say 'good morning'))

18   T9: Good AFTERNOON, boys and girls.

19   ((T9 points to the window intending to show students' the time))

20   Ss: Good afternoon/morning, XX ((T9's English name)).

21   ((Some students say "good afternoon" but with lower voice, several students still say
22   "good morning", a few are silent))

23   T9: Nice to meet you.

24   Ss: Nice to meet you, too.

25   T9: How are you?

26   Ss: I'm fine, thank you, and how are you?

27   T9: I'm fine too, thank you.

Text 6-6 is an example to show how teachers try to teach students to behave well and to be a 'polite child' outside classroom. At the beginning of this interaction, T4 encourages students to go to travel to different places (line 1-2). The use of the pronoun 'we', on the one hand, makes a connection between the students and the teacher. On the other hand, it makes the sentences "we should (…)" and "we shouldn't" sounds less imposing as the teacher includes herself as the followers of these two disciplines (line 3-7). The Chinese phrase "文明出游" (*wenming chuyou*), "Behave properly while traveling" in English, help to get the teacher's idea conveyed to the students. In the end, T4 concludes and explains why they should and shouldn't do this and that is because they are expected to be "a polite child" (line 9).

Text 6-6, from C03: 14:09 - 14:26

1   Ss and T4: We should go to all these places.

2   T4: And when we go to all these places, we should, we should.

3   ((The phrase 'stand in line' pops up on the PPT))

4   Ss: Stand in line.

5   T4: And we shouldn't.

6   ((The phrase "Don't draw on the wall" pops up on the PPT))

7   Ss: Draw on the wall.

8   ((The Chinese phrase '文明出游', pops up on the PPT))

9   T4: We should (…) be a polite child.

文明出游

stand in line — should — Don't draw on the wall.

Excerpt 6-4 Self-discipline outside classroom

Besides these two explicit examples of developing self-discipline in and outside classroom, the self-discipline is also managed by teachers through routine practices in English classroom. Text 6-7 shows a typical routine of English classes. From line 1 to line 13, we can see that the routine begins with greeting between the teacher and the students. This pattern of interaction is identified in all other recordings of classroom observation (except the online one C12). The students all dance and sing in the same way with the teacher leading at the front (line 14-21). For example, when they sing 'point to the door', all students point to the front door with no exception to the back door. In the end of this warm-up activity, all students make thumps up for themselves and praise their performance as 'perfect'.

Text 6-7, from C01: 00: 00 - 01: 18

1   ((Background music: Five Hundred Miles))

2   T6: Class begin.

3   S1 ((who is on duty)): Stand up.

4   ((All students stand up))

5   T6: Good morning, boys and girls.

6   Ss: Good morning, XX ((T6's English name)).

7   T6: Nice to meet you.

8   Ss: Nice to meet you.

9   T6: How are you?

10   Ss: I'm fine. Thank you, and how are you?

11   T6: I'm fine, too. First, let's sing a song, OK?

12   Ss: OK.

13   ((Students respond to above routine questions all together))

14   ((T6 leads the dance at the front, while students all sing and dance together))

15   Ss ((singing)): Please stand up, please sit down, point to the window, point to the door;
16   please stand up, please sit down, point to the blackboard, point to the door; please
17   stand up, please sit down, point to the desk, point to the door.

18   ((Students all mark time until the song finishes))

19   T6: OK, well done, let's clap for ourselves.

20   ((Students clap their hands together, make thumbs up for themselves))

21   Students: Perfect.

22   T6: OK, sit down please.

Excerpt 6-5 Students' body movement

Among all other aspects of integrating Chineseness identified in teachers' practices, the moral

guidance on being responsible for the nation indicates a clearer intention of constructing national

identity among students. In C10, the main teaching object of the class is to help students understand and use the English syntax "Can you ...?" and the related answers "Yes, I can." "No, I can't". While most of the classroom activities follow the textbook's instruction of which the topic is mainly about playing sport games, T1 also adds additional materials in her own designed PPT (see excerpt 6-6). As presented on the power point, T1 cites a paragraph from *On Chinese Youth* (《少年中国说》 *shaonian zhongguo shuo*) by Liang Qichao ("梁启超" *Liang Qichao*) who is one of the important Chinese intellectual leaders in 1920s. The main idea of *On Chinese Youth* is Chinese youth is important for China's future, which is also identified in the discourse of the school's website posts. The PPT page consists three parts: 1) the sports images with a Chinese sentence on the top ("生命在于运动" *shengming zaiyu yundong*, "Life lies on sports"); 2) the paragraph from On Chinese Youth in Chinese; 3) and the English translation of the paragraph ("Resources youth leads to resourceful nation; strong youth leads to strong country"). Text 6-8 suggests how imagined Chinese community is reproduced through translanguaging practices in English classroom. The sports images echo the main content of this class. And the Chinese sentence "Life lies on sports" suggests a positive attitudes towards sports and sports can make life thriving. After keeping the discipline (line 6-10), T1 asks students to read aloud the paragraph together in Chinese (line 12-14). The same practice is identified in using Chinese classics in English teaching, that teachers ask students to read the Chinese texts together (see section 6.2.1.2). Then, T1 asks S1 a question, "Can you make our nation strong?" (line 18). S1 seems to be hesitant to give the answer that he tries to find the answer from the textbook (line 19-20). It seems that he only has two choices: "Yes, I can." and "No, I can't". And we can see that he chooses the former one and is awarded by T1 with an apple sticker for his group because of his 'right' answer. Following him, S2 seems to be less hesitant to answer the same question by repeating S1's answer. Importantly, in this case, T1 does not explain the Chinese paragraph or translate it verbally to English. Her direct question "Can you make our nation strong?" seems to suggest that she assumes that all students get the meaning of the Chinese paragraph, and they can communicate the meaning in English simultaneously. Although it seems that it's just a simple Yes/No question, it is reflects the fluid translanguaging practice in English and Chinese and the simultaneous identity construction (intentionally or unintentionally).

Text 6-8, from C10: 36: 21 - 38: 17

1   T1: OK, let's go on.

2   ((T1 moves and clicks the mouse trying to turn to the next page of the power point.

3   Some students look at the screen waiting for T1 to continue. The others murmur with

4   their desk mates in Chinese. Noticing the noise made by students, T1 tries to keep the

5   discipline.)

6   T1: Class, class.

7   Ss: Yes, yes.

8   ((Students fold their hands on their desks and look at T1 while saying "Yes, yes".))

9   T1: Class, class.

10   Ss: Yes, yes.

11   ((T1 points to the first line of the paragraph on the power point))

12   T1: Look here, let's, let's read together. *shaonianzhi*, one, two, go.

13   Students: *shaonianzhi ze guozhi, shaonianfu ze guofu, shaonianqiang ze guoqiang.*

14   T1: Well done.

15   ((T1 smiles and makes her thumb up to students and then she steps down the podium,
16   walks to a student sitting on the third row, taps at his desk, looks at the S1 and asks him
17   a question))

18   T1: Can you make our nation strong?

19   S1: Ur (...) Ur.

20   ((S1 looks down to his textbook and seems to try to find the answer))

21   S1: Yes, I can.

22   T1: Good. Go and put an apple for your group.

23   ((S1 walks quickly to the front and puts an apple sticker on the apple tree on the
24   blackboard of his group's part. While S1 on his way going back to his seat, T1 steps back,
25   turns to S2 sitting on the second row, taps at his desk, looks at him and asks the same
26   question))

27   T1: Can you make our nation strong?

28   S2: Ur (...) Yes, I can.

29   ((T1 keeps smiling and points to the apple tree on the blackboard))

30   T1: Go, quick, quick.

31   ((S2 puts down his pen and walks quickly to the blackboard and puts the sticker on his

32   group part.))
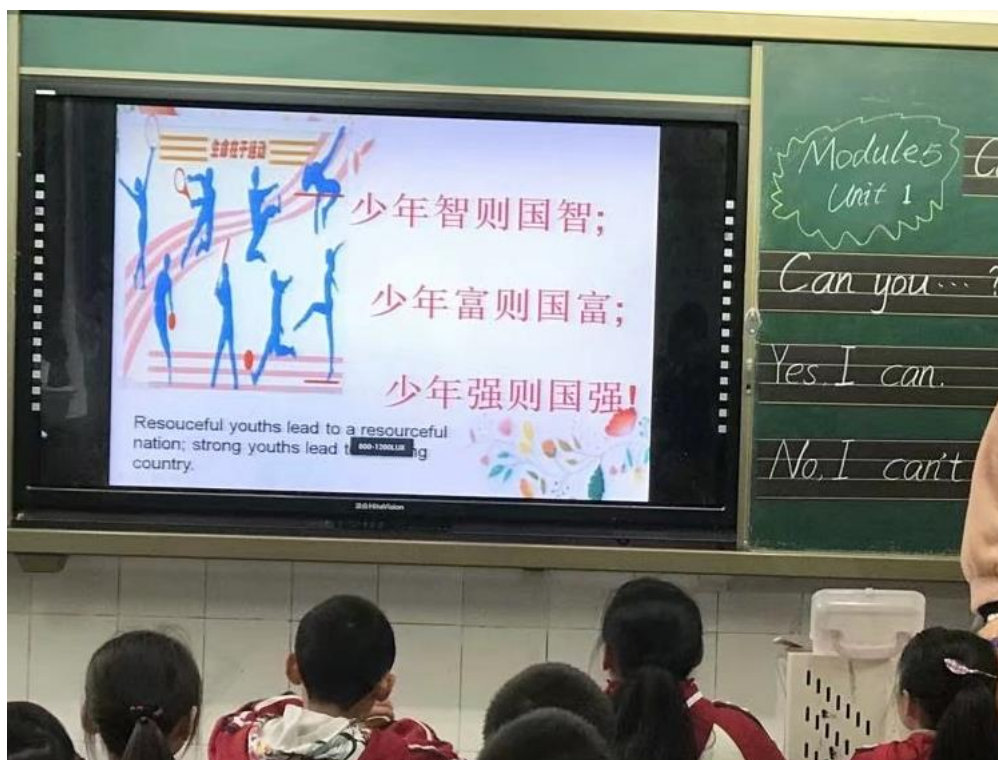
Excerpt 6-6 On Chinese Youth

6.2.1.4   Teaching during COVID-19 pandemic

The data was collected from 2020 September to 2021 July, during which the city (including other cities in China) experienced many lockdowns. Sometimes the lockdown lasted for just a few days, but sometimes it lasted around two weeks. Social medias, such as WeChat and QQ, also became platforms that help teachers keep communication with parents and students during lockdowns. While each class has one chatting room in WeChat or QQ, parents or students can also contact teachers privately. For most of the time, teachers assigned homework in the online groups, students uploaded their work to the group, and then teachers would add some comments. Besides, the school's official WeChat account posted articles regularly with the aim of encouraging parents and students and showing to the public that education continues during the lockdown. Below is one example of the homework instruction (the original instruction is in Chinese, and I translated it to English as shown in text 6-9). Besides the daily task of listening and reading aloud the texts while imitating the pronunciation and intonation (of the standard) (task 1), students were asked to learn new words or phrases related to the COVID-19 pandemic and make flashcards. Clearly, such learning task goes beyond merely English language learning (comparing with task 1). Centring upon the theme "Know the pandemic, and protect yourself", students probably would translate the already known pandemic-related Chinese words into

English. At the same time, new English words from other resources (e.g., internet) could enhance and expand students' understanding of the pandemic. What should be given attention here is that the main objective of this learning task is to help students to know how to protect themselves during the pandemic. In this way, English is integrated into students' daily life, helping them make sense of what are happening around and what reactions they should take to protect themselves.

Text 6-9

Learning tasks

1. About module 7 and 8 from page 38-49: read aloud the text, pay attention to pronunciation and intonation; read aloud at least two times, imitate the pronunciation and intonation.

2. Know the pandemic and protect yourself. While keeping staying safe at home, please learn words and phrases related to COVID-19 pandemic. Make flashcards.

6.2.2   Introducing international (Anglophone) culture

As for international culture represented in teachers' teaching materials, only Anglophone culture is found in the classroom observation data. One reason can be that textbooks are the main resources that teachers use in classroom. As have been discussed in section 5.3.2.1, culture exchange between Chinese traditional culture and Anglophone culture is the main activity that happens in the imagined international community prescribed in the textbooks, which largely influences teachers' teaching practices. However, the multilingual practices are still observable when teaching and learning with the Anglophone culture. In text 6-10 below, when T5 asks S1 the question "do you like?", it seems that she does not just intend to evaluate S1's answer in terms of yes or no (line 5-6). Instead, she goes on to ask 'why' to further engage S1 in the interaction to elaborate himself (line 7). However, it seems S1 misunderstands what T5 expects him to say by repeating his answer with a full sentence "I like Christmas" (line 8). It seems that S1 thinks that T5 keeps asking him because he does not make a full sentence. While T5 notices that the S1 does not get the question "can you say why", she uses Mandarin Chinese to explain to him (line 9). Following the Chinese instruction, S1 quickly gets his teacher's question but still takes a few seconds to think about the reason and gives the answer in Mandarin Chinese (line 10-11). In turn, T5 responses to S1 in English. Here, she does not literally translate the S1's answer into English, which would be 'because there are many presents in Christmas'. Rather, T5 interprets S1's answer as "You like presents" (line 12). By doing so, T5 incorporates S1's response into the discourse of the classroom. However, the interaction between S1 and T5 ends here as T5 may want to get

more students involved. From the interaction between S2 and T5 (line 19-27), it's fair to say that S2 quickly absorbs the interactional pattern from his observation of the interaction between S1 and the teacher. The thing that S1 gets one sticker as the award can be a clue for rest of the students to confirm the legitimacy of translanguaging practice in answering this question. Thus, students following him seem to be more confident to do translanguaging. The interaction between S3 and T5 (line 35-42) showcases how T5 wants to engage and encourage shy students to express themself. I noticed S3 hesitates to put up her hand. She does not speak "teacher teacher, let me try" like most of her classmates. As we can see from line 36, it seems that she has difficulty in speaking the word 'Christmas'. T5 notices that and speaks the word to help her (line 39). Line 40 shows us how the learning progress of S3, that she speaks the world 'Christmas' and follows to explain why she likes Christmas.

Text 6-10, from C06: 3: 54 - 5: 08

1   T5: Christmas is very important. So do you like Christmas?

2   ((Silence for a few seconds))

3   T5: Do you like?

4   Ss: Yes.

5   T5: OK, em. OK, XX ((S1's name)), do you like?

6   S1: Yes.

7   T5: Why?

8   S1: I like Christmas.

9   T5: Em, can you say why? (…) *Why*? ((In Mandarin Chinese))

10   S1: *Because (…) because (…) because there are many presents in Christmas*. ((In
11   Mandarin Chinese))

12   T5: Wow, you like presents. OK, thank you, sit down. Other one?

13   ((T5 awards S1 with a sticker))

14   Ss: Teacher teacher let me try.

15   ((Many students raise their hands))

16   T5: Other one?

17   ((T5 looks around to choose a student.))

18   Ss: Teacher teacher let me try.

19   ((Students' keep trying to get T5's attention))

20   T5: XX ((S2's name)), please.

21   S2: Yes, I like Christmas.

22   T5: uh-huh?

23   ((T5 waits S2 to speak more))

24   S2: *Because (…) I like Christmas (…) the day, because many people give us presents.* ((In

25   Mandarin Chinese))

26   T5: Oh, presents.

27   S2: *The day's class is also very interesting.* ((In Mandarin Chinese))

28   T5: You like presents, so you can get a presents, thank you.

29   Ss: Teacher teacher let me try.

30   ((T5 turns back to put an award on group 3's Christmas three. When students see her

31   finished, they intend to get the chance to answer the question again))

32   Ss: Teacher teacher let me try.

33   ((T5 takes several seconds looking around to pick up a student. She chooses a shy girl

34   who hesitates to put up her hand this time))

35   T5: XX ((S3's name)).

36   S3: I like (…) ur (…) I like.

37   ((S3 seems to have difficulty in pronouncing the word 'Christmas'. She stops and looks at

38   the teacher expecting help from her))

39   T5: Christmas.

40   S3: Christmas. *Beacause, because, there are lots of delicious food.* ((In Mandarin

41   Chinese))

42   T5: Oh, eat lots of food. OK, thank you, you like yummy food.

43   ((S3 sits down, then other students raise their hands))

44   Ss: Teacher/

45   T5: /So I tell you something about Christmas. Let's have a look.

46   ((T5 stops students' intention to try and turns to next activity))

Excerpt 6-7 Do you like Christmas?

6.2.3   Rote-teaching

6.2.3.1   Vocabulary and grammar

For vocabulary learning, in classroom practices while images are used by teachers to help students to make sense of the meaning and thus to learn new words, the main teaching activity involved is repetition. As shown in text 6-11, the word 'dinner' is repeated for 26 times in one minute and half. In focused vocabulary learning, it seems that fixity gets more prominent. As we can see from line 14-19, the word 'bird' as the product of students' translanguaging practice (with the clues of the image which looks like chicken meat and the shape of T6's lips indicating the beginning letter 'B') is ignored and not accepted as the right answer by the T6. In this case, it is ignored as T6 wants to keep the planned classroom activities (i.e. focused learning of the word 'dinner'). Moreover, the interactions between T6 and students in text 6-11 is typical in other English classes while the focus is on vocabulary. Rather than open up the possibilities for further interaction for negotiation between the word 'bird' and 'big', T6 gives the word 'big' and then

move to the next turn. In this mainly teacher-led vocabulary learning activity, it is the teacher who responds to and shapes and the students translanguaging practice.

Text 6-11, from C07: 9: 13 - 10: 48

1   T6: OK, what are they doing? They are (...) Who want to try?

2   Ss: Let me try.

3   T6: eh (…) XX ((S1's name))

4   S1: They have a big family dinner.

5   T6: Oh, very GREAT. Ok, you can get, group two you can get a (...), a.

6   ((T6 tries to figure out where to put the red envelope))

7   S1: Group three

8   T6: Ah, group three, so red. OK, see, they are having a big dinner. So this is.

9   Ss: Fish.

10   T6: This is.

11   Ss: Dumplings

12   T6: This is.

13   Ss: Chickens

14   T6: Oh it's a (….) a.

15   ((From the shape of Helen's lips, it seems that she wants to lead the students to say a
16   word pronounced with beginning of the letter 'B'))

17   Ss: Bird.

18   T6: big delicious food, right? OK, so, this is dinner, a (...) BIG dinner.

19   Ss: Big dinner.

20   T6: Dinner.

21   Ss: Dinner.

22   T6: Dinner

23   Ss: Dinner

24   T6: Dinner. ((Rising tone)) Dinner. ((Falling tone))

25   Ss: Dinner. ((Rising tone)) Dinner. ((Falling tone))

26   T6: OK, let's spell it, 'D' go.

27   Ss: D, I, N, N, E, R.

28   ((T6 points the letter one by one))

29   T6: OK, this group read one by one.

30   S2: Dinner. ((Rising tone)) Dinner. ((Falling tone))

31   S3: Dinner. ((Rising tone)) Dinner. ((Falling tone))

32   ((Seven students of group one repeat the word 'dinner' with both rising tone and falling

33   tone one by one))

34   T6: Great, OK, today we will learn module 10 unit 1, we have a big family dinner.

Excerpt 6-8 Rote-teaching of vocabulary

As for the grammar learning, it is more explicitly explained in English classes for the sixth-grade students who are under the pressure for secondary-school entrance examination. Text 6-12 is a typical grammar teaching in a sixth-grade English classroom. Here, T3 mainly uses Mandarin to emphasize that the preposition 'on' should be used before a specific day (line 5-8). She asks

students to write down the note and repeats. From students' mechanical response and silence, it seems the rote learning of grammar is very boring to students. Students do not seem to like to engage and cooperate the teacher.

Text 6-12: from C11: 3: 30 - 4: 31

1   T3: OK, open your book, turn to page twenty. *Open your book, turn to page twenty, look*

2   *at* activity one, *activity one*, *look at* thanksgiving, *on Thanksgiving Day, which preposition*

3   *should we use?* ((In Mandarin Chinese and English))

4   Ss: O:n.

5   T3: *On Thanksgiving Day, we use* on, *ok, highlight* ON. *This is a test point of this unit*, on

6   *go with festival day. Write down if you refer to a specific day, you should use* ON *in*

7   *English. In English, for a specific day, we use* ON. *The festival day here* (…) *Is*

8   *Thanksgiving Day a date?* ((In Mandarin Chinese and English))

9   ((Students does not response))

10   T2: *Is Thanksgiving Day a date?* ((In Mandarin Chinese))

11   Ss: *Yes.* ((In Mandarin Chinese))

12   T2: *That's right, so what we use here is on. So on Thanksgiving Day is* ON Thanksgiving.

13   ((In Mandarin Chinese and English))

6.2.3.2   Math in English classroom

Math is one of the three main subjects (Chinese, Math, and English) of primary education in China. When the teaching contents have relations with numbers (C02, C04, and C12), teachers include math in their teaching practice to different degree. However, the math in English classes is very basic for students. Their ability in math looks like much above that their English teachers assessed. Text 6-13 below shows that how the rote-learning with math is challenged by students. At the beginning, T8 wants her students to use English to tell her the number of students in the classroom. After seven students try to tell her the number (line 4-26), T8 does not confirm any answer. It should be noticed that S1 shouts out his answer in English immediately after T8's question. Then until S5, she seems not happy with T8 keeping asking them. She shouts out her answer in Mandarin Chinese (line 21). It is not sure here whether T8 has an answer in her mind, or she in fact does not know the answer, or she designs this activity to make students be more familiar with numbers in English (I didn't check with T8 in the later interview with her, because I don't want to embarrass her). T8 then asks students to count together with her from the first

student of the first group to the last student of the last group, after which they get the right answer together 'fifty-two'. However, from the S7 and S8's loud complaints: "*Why do we count in this way? Do we usually count the same way in Chinese?*" and "*What is this about?*" (line 8-10), it is fair to say that T8 does not really understand how her students "represent math ideas on their own terms (Rymes, 2015, p. 143), or she underestimates the math ability of her students (it's highly possible that the fifth-grade students in C02 can use multiplication and division methods to get the number instead of counting from one to fifty two). S7's challenge to the way of counting in the English class by referencing to the way of counting in Chinese suggests his cognitive translanguaging practices during learning numbers in English and his criticality of the practice.

Text 6-13, from C02: 27:00 - 29: 15

1   T8: OK, in Lingling's class, there are forty pupils. Now I want to know in our class, in our

2   class, how many pupils are there?

3   Ss: Let me try.

4   T8: Can you tell me?

5   S1: Fifty-three. ((S1 shouts out his answer without waiting T8 to call his name)

6   T8: XX ((S2's name))

7   S2: There are fifty-three.

8   T8: There are fifty-three?

9   Ss: No, no, no (xxx)

10   T8: No? OK, you.

11   ((T8 points to S3))

12   S3: There are fifty-four.

13   T8: There are fifty-four?

14   Ss: No, no, no (xxx)

15   T8: In OUR class. *How many pupils in our class?* ((In Mandarin Chinese)) How many

16   pupils?

17   ((Students give different answers with both Chinese and English together))

18   T8: XX ((S4's name))

19   S4: Fifty-six.

20   T8: Fifty-six?

21   S5: *It is definitely fifty-three.* ((S5 shouts out her view in Mandarin Chinese))

22   T8: Fifty (...) fifty-three? OK, XX ((S6's name))

23   S6: Fifty-two.

24   T8: Fifty-two? XX ((S7's name)), how many pupils?

25   S7: Fifty-two?

26   T8: Fifty-two? How many in our class? How many?

27   ((Some students say 'fifty-two'; some say 'fifty-three'; some say 'fifty-four'; and some

28   unidentifiable answers))

29   T8: OK, let's check it.

30   ((T8 goes to the first student of the first group))

31   T8: One, one two, go.

32   ((The whole class counts together until fifty-tow))

33   T8: Twenty?

34   Ss: Fifty, fifty-one, fifty-two

35   T8: There are (...), so there are/

36   Ss: /Fifty-two

37   T8: OK, there are fifty-two pupils.

38   S8: *Why do we count in this way? Do we usually count the same way in Chinese?* ((In

39   Mandarin Chinese))

40   S9: *What is this about?*

41   T8: OK, now, boys and girls, please look at number two, read it.

42   ((T8 goes back to the front and continues next activity))

6.3   Students' multilingual practices

6.3.1   Practicing Chineseness

6.3.1.1   Building rapport with teachers

In Confucian culture, students are expected to respect their teachers and honour truth ('尊师重道' *zunshizhongdao*). Excerpts below are thank-you cards and letters made by students, which evidence students' intention to build rapport with their English teachers. Their translanguaging practice is noticeable and worth analysing. Among the fourteen thank-you cards and letters, seven of them are written in Chinese, three of them in English, and four of them in English and Chinese. In the cards written in English, students seem to be more formal, and contents are much similar and plain. On the contrary, students are more expressive with the help of Chinese as they tend to recall some memories with their English teachers and express them in Chinese. Excerpt 6-9 is a thank-you card written simply in English. While the student demonstrates his/her good handwriting, the content seems to be plain with four sentences repetitive of expressing thanks and good wishes to the teacher: "Thank you for your contribution this year."; "You earned my good grades with sweat."; "Thank you, Miss XX (the teacher's family name)"; "Finally, I wish you a happy Teacher's day, good health and smooth work". Nevertheless, we can still see the student's intention to build rapport with the teacher in terms of: (1) preparing the card with good handwriting and decoration; (2) showing gratitude towards the teacher; (3) and promise of being a hard-working student (In his/her view, teacher will like hard-working student).
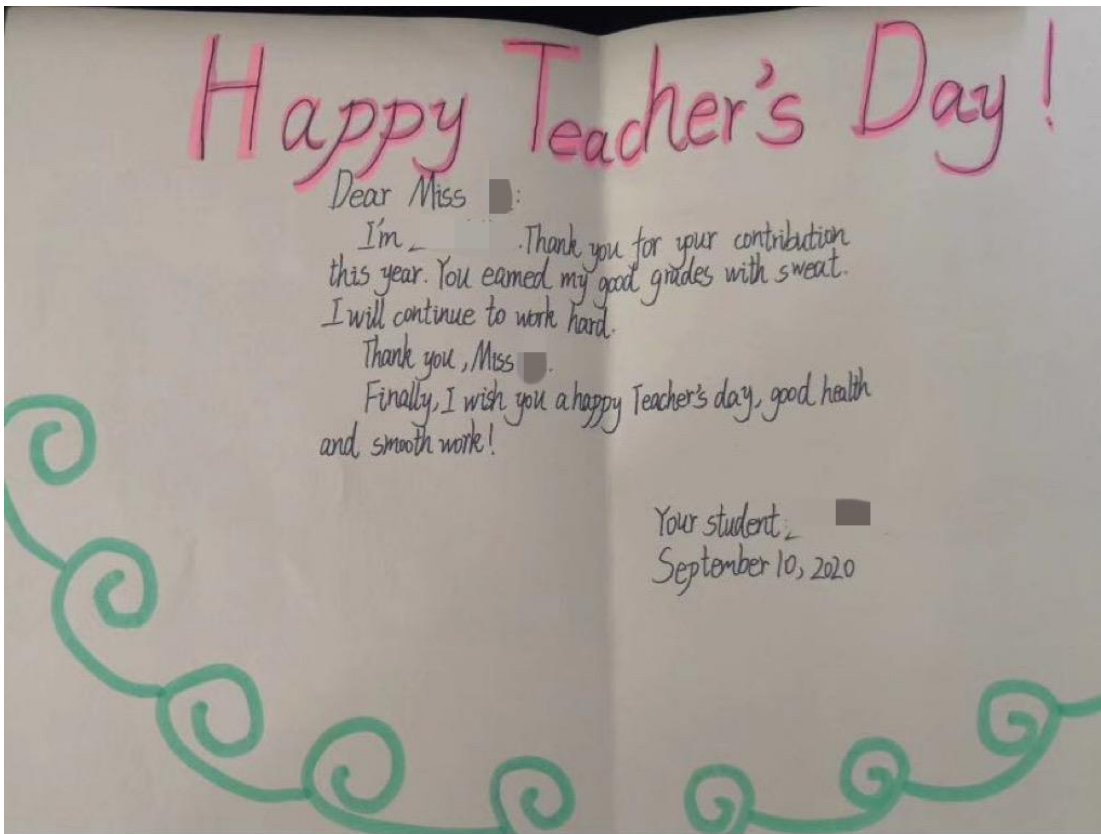
Excerpt 6-9 Student's thank-you card in English

As for the ones with Chinese used, more stories with details between students and teachers and their emotional connections with teachers are displayed. I take the one written in both Chinese and English (see excerpt 6-10) to showcase the student's translanguaging practice for his/her own purposes.
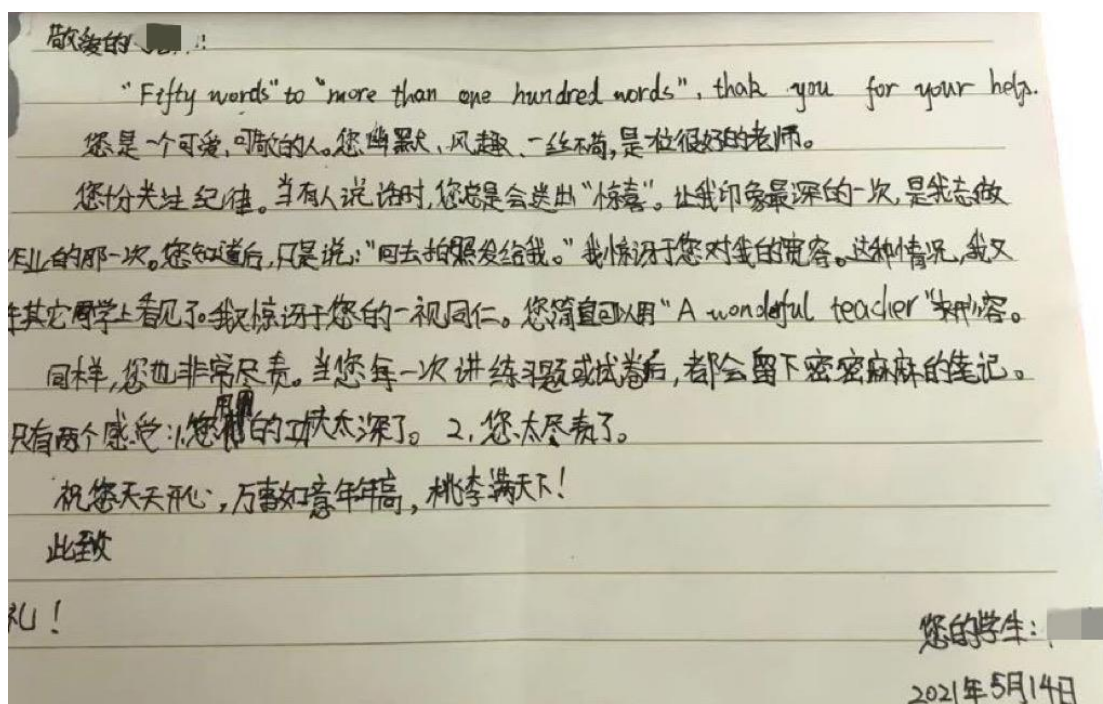
Excerpt 6-10 Student's thank-you letter in Chinese and English

Text 6-14: the translation of the student's letter

1   To my beloved teacher X,

2   *"Fifty words" to "more than one hundred words", thak you for your help.*

3   You are a person being loved and respected. You have a fine sense of humour. You are

4   thorough and conscientious. You are a very good teacher.

5   You care about discipline very much. When there is someone talking, you always send a

6   "surprise". What impressed me most is about someday that I forgot to do my

7   homework. When you found out that, you just said: "send photocopies to me when you

8   go back home". I was surprised about your tolerance. In such a situation, other

9   classmates have already seen. I was also surprised that you make no differences

10   between us. I would like to use "*A wonderful teacher*" to describe you.

11   Also, you are very responsible. Every time you explain to us daily exercises or exercises

12   in test papers, you always have dense notes. I only have two kinds of feelings for you: 1.

13   You are very hard working. 2. You are very responsible.

14   I wish you happy every day. Wish you everything goes well every year. Wish you have

15   students everywhere.

16   Respectfully yours,

17   Your student: XXX

18   2021.5.14

This letter seems to be well-structured and tends to strike a chord with the reader. The student starts with saying many thanks to the teacher for his/her help, which seems easy for him to express in English (line 2). The second paragraph summarizes what kinds of good characters that he/she sees from the teacher: "a fine sense of humour", "thorough and conscientious" using his/her Chinese repertoire. In the third paragraph, the student first points out how much the teacher cares about discipline in English classroom by always giving a 'surprise' (probably assigning extra works) for students who talk in classroom. It shows a serious aspect of the teacher. Then, line 6-9, he/she recalls a story happened between him and the teacher. In that story, he/she forgot to do his/her homework, but the teacher didn't give him/her a 'surprise'. Instead, the teacher asked him/her to send photocopies of his homework when he/she got back home. Probably, the teacher knew that he/she didn't do the homework, but the teacher cared to save the student's face in front of other students, thus protect his/her self-esteem. From the following line 8-9, it indicates that the student cares about how he/she is judged by his/her classmates. Saying that "other classmates have already seen" probably suggests that he/she felt embarrassed that his/her classmates may already knew that he/she didn't finish his/her homework. He/she shows gratitude to the teacher by describing the teacher as 'wonderful' because of the teacher's care for him. In the next paragraph, it seems that the student wants to say how the teacher models him/her to be responsible and hardworking. It seems that he/she has learned from the teacher these good characters more than just learning English in his primary English education. This also shows English teachers as moral guidance from students' perspective. In the end, he/she shows gratitude again to the teacher.

Besides writing thank-you cards on special days, in their daily homework, it is identified that students also intend to build rapport with their English teachers by drawing some hearts, smile faces, trees and flowers and write some words to communicate with their teachers through their homework pieces. Excerpt 6-11 is an example which explicitly shows the student's intention. The student writes at the end of the dictation that "爱学习 XX (the teacher's English name) 教的知识 的我, 完成了听写作业" ("It is me who love to learn what XX teaches, and I finished word dictation homework"). It is important to see that the teacher responds to his/her 'message', drawing an image of a man sending heart/love. Thus, the same as showcased in excerpt 6-10, it is fair to say that the rapport is successfully built from the students' intention and the teachers' positive responses)
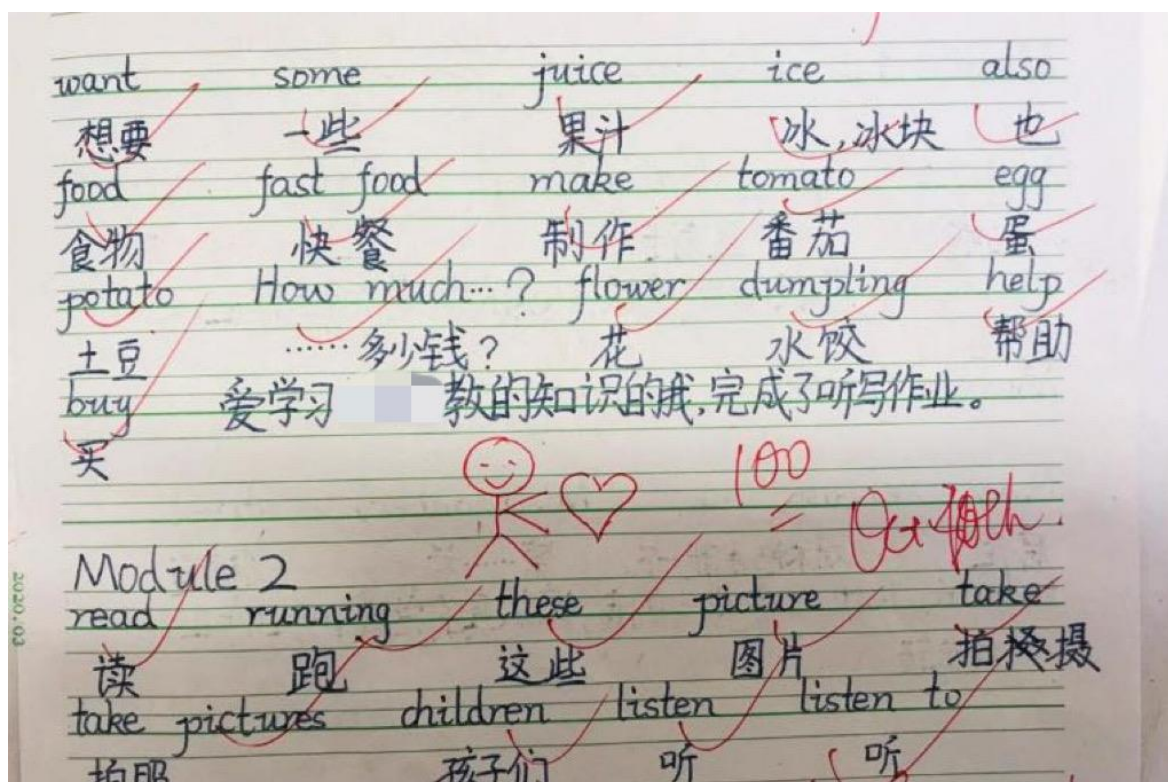
Excerpt 6-11 Interaction between teacher and student

6.3.1.2 Dreams and models

Excerpt 6-12 is a poster made by a student to showcase his/her engagement of the international FISU Game. It is not difficult to read the messages that the student intends to present with his/her drawing and writing. Besides illustrating several sport games with sketches, the student also intends to introduce visitors the city with local culture elements of the Sichuan Opera, the bowl tea, the hot pot, bamboos, and pandas. The Chinese and English versions of the game's slogan, "成都成就每一个梦想" (Chengdu Makes Dreams Come True), are highlighted with shades and circles. The student also tried to boost meanings through the change of the writing form, that he/she changed the stroke "丶" of the character "想" to "♥". It could be the student's understanding of the word Dream ("梦想" *mengxiang*) which is from heart. Also, the plural form of 'dreams' seems to indicate individual dreams, instead of one dream that are shared by everyone.

Excerpt 6-12 A poster made by a student for FISU Summer World University Games
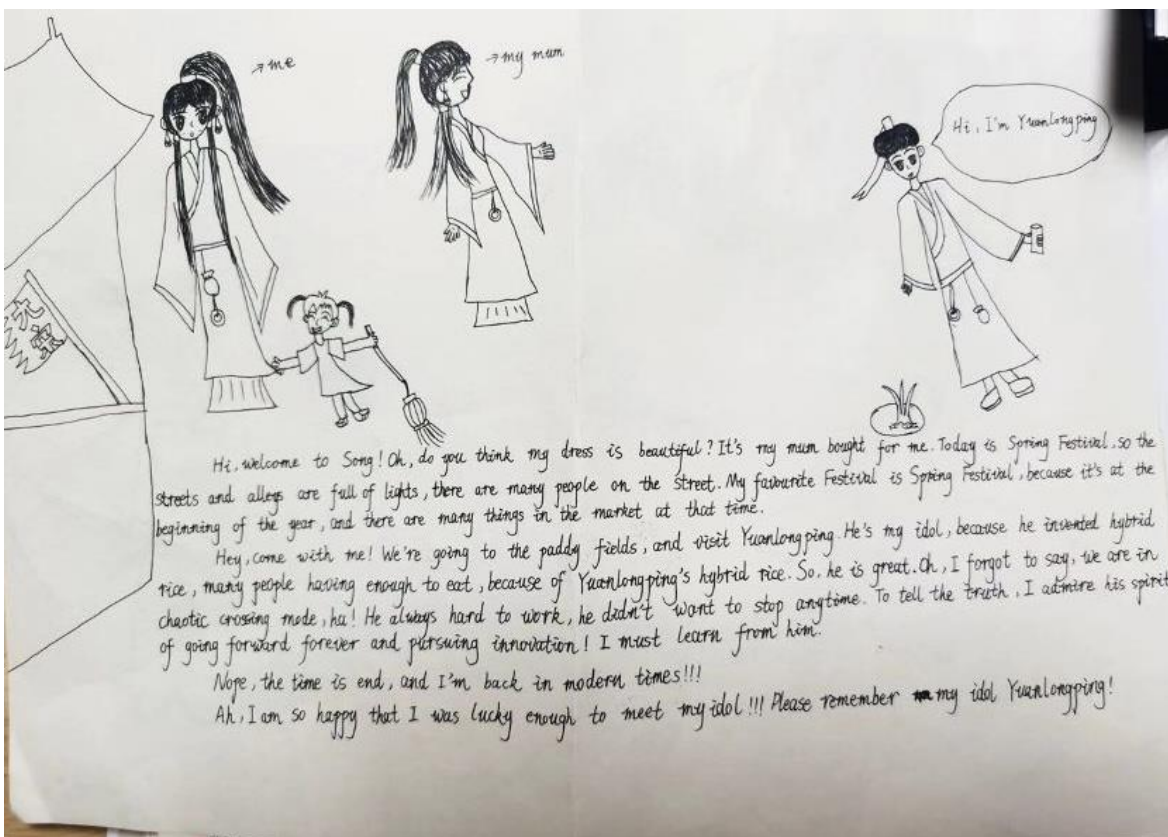
Excerpt 6-13 Trans-time imagination

Text 6-15: Trans-time imagination

1   Hi, welcome to Song! Oh, do you think my dress is beautiful? It's my mum bought for

2   me. Today is Spring Festival, so the streets and alleys are full of lights, there are many

3   people on the street. My favorite Festival is Spring Festival, because it's at the beginning

4   of the year of the year, and there are many things in the market at that time.

5   Hey, come with me! We're going to the paddy fields, and visit Yuanlongping. He's my

6   idol, because he invented hybrid rice, many people having enough to eat, because of

7   Yuanlongping's hybrid rice. So, he is great. Oh, I forgot to say, we are in **chaotic crossing**

8   **mode**, ha! Ha always hard to work, he didn't want to stop anytime. To tell the truth, I

9   admire his spirit of going forward forever and pursuing innovation! I must learn from

10   him.

11   Nope, the time is end, and I'm back in modern times!!!

12   Ah, I am so happy that I was lucky enough to meet my idol!!! Please remember my idol

13   Yuanlongping.

Excerpt 6-13 is a piece of work of introducing a model/idol (in the student's word). It reflects the student's complex identity construction across time, space, and body. The student imagines that he/she travels to Sung dynasty (AC 960-1279) with changing outlook. She introduces the day there as Spring Festival, which seems to suggest that she connects herself with people here since they are celebrating the same national festival. Also, she imagines that her mom travels with her and celebrates the Spring Festival together with her and gives her new dress (Paragraph 1). Then in the second paragraph she introduces her model Yuan Longping, who is a scientist in modern China. In her imagination, Yuan Longping also travels here but is still hardworking, so she invites her readers to go to "paddy fields" to find him. In this "chaotic crossing mode", she still admires Yuan Longping's "spirit of going forward forever" (line 9). It seems give the idea that when time, space, and bodies are in the status of "chaotic crossing mode", what is stable is people's 'spirit'. Then she ends her time travelling and back in modern time in paragraph 3. In the end, she reiterates her admiration for Yuan Longping and hopes her readers can remember him as well.

6.3.1.3   Learning during COVID-19 pandemic

Below excerpt 6-14, the school selected several students' homework to post on its website article named "'疫'路花开，携手共进" ("Flowers blooming during pandemic, we help each other forward"). In these posters made by students, besides presenting some information about what COVID-19 is and how to protect themselves, students also express their supports for Wuhan city

with their writing and drawing. In the 'go, wuhan!' paper, the student explicitly expresses his/her national identity in English besides his drawings (text 6-14). The student introduces the situation that "China is ill" and shows his/her supports to Wuhan (line 1-2). Then he/she provides ways to "beat virus" (line 3-6). In the end of the text, he/she uses exclamatory sentences "I love China! Come on! China!", which indicating his/her national identity.

Text 6-16: showing support for Wuhan

1   China is ill! Wuhan has got a new virus. Its name is 2019-nCoV. China is dangerous but

2   doctor beat the virus. Go, Wuhan! Come on, Wuhan!

3   Good ways to beat virus:

4   You should wash your hands always

5   You should wear a mask always

6   You should at home always

7   I love China! Come on! China!

Excerpt 6-14 Showing support for Wuhan

Besides making posters about COVID-19, students also get engaged in dubbing practice in the app *Fun Dubbing* as part of their homework. The lyrics are pre-authored instead of making up by students. Below are two examples of the transcriptions of their dubbing practice.

Text 6-17

Come on, Wuhan! We're waiting for you!

1   No noise,

2   no traffic jam,

3   it is 7 p.m., but looks like 3 a.m.

4   Wuhan seems to have been pressed the pause button.

5   The hustle and bustle are hidden by the virus.

6   Every person and another

7   keep far apart.

8   How long will it take to remove the mask?

9   And ask you face to face, have you eaten?

10   Epidemic situation spreads from Wuhan to the whole country,

11   and supports from the whole country come to Wuhan.

12   You see, love and hope spread faster than a virus.

13   And all kinds of love are carved into the heart of Wuhan.

14   They risk their lives to protect ours.

15   There is only one purpose.

16   Return Wuhan to us,

17   and release us back to Wuhan.

18   Don't be afraid. Wait for a few days.

19   Wait for a day when the city presses, play,

20   When not all the passengers can get on a subway,

21   when cars block up the Second Bridge.

22   Then we can laugh and shout,

23   Wuhan, we are waiting for you.

24   Please wait for Wuhan!

A strong sense of unity of the country in front of the COVID-19 crisis is generated with rhetoric strategies in text 6-17. Line 1-7 firstly get readers into a feeling of depressing with the depiction of stillness of the city and physical distance between people. The question asked by line 8 suggests that the stillness and distance are not wanted, following which is a very culturally loaded Chinese daily greeting "Have you eaten?". Line 10-13 shows the connection between the city of Wuhan and the other part of China, and 'love' is viewed as the bond of connection. Line 14-15 pay tribute to those who risk their lives to saving others. Line 16-24 go further to build the connection between readers and the city Wuhan by positing readers as part of the imagined Chinese community with the repetition of inclusive first-person plural 'us' and 'we'. From above rhetoric, the text projects Chinese national identity with three main themes: unity, love, and sacrifice.

Further, the dubbing practices also include pieces of indicating China's connections to the world (see text 6-18 below).

Text 6-18

Thank You, World!

1   Thank you, Japan,

2   for your support as well as the beautiful poem[6],

3   which reminded us of our shared cultural bonds

4   Thank you, Russia,

5   for being there for us when we are in need,

6   and expressing your care through practical actions.

7   Thank you, Pakistan,

8   for supporting us with resources throughout the whole the whole country,

9   even if it means to give out everything you have.

10   Thank you, Cambodia,

11   for visiting us in this exceptional time.

12   Your presence alone is the best gift we could ever have.

13   Thank you, Mongolia,

14   for gifting us with so many sheep,

15   which shows a precious friendship of our two nations.

16   Thank you, Spain, Italy, and Argentina,

17   you make us realize there's more have in common

18   beyond our passion for soccer,

19   And that is love and care for mankind.

---

[6] On the packages of relief supplies sent from Japan to Wuhan city, there are poems written in Chinese, e.g., "山川异域，风月同天" "岂曰无衣，与子同裳", which mainly express the theme of 'togetherness'.

Text 6-18 lists countries that have offered help and shown sympathy for China when the epidemic broke out. While the gratitude is expressed in English, none of the targeted audience mentioned above is a traditionally defined English-speaking country. It may give the students the idea of the diversity of English interlocutors. At the same time, again, the use of the inclusive first-person plural 'us' and 'we' posits the students who are reading aloud this text as members of the imagined Chinese community.

The two examples above have demonstrated that the complexity of national identity lies in its blend of ideology, sentiments, cultural beliefs, political legitimacy and morality. As educational practices in primary school, pupil's engagement with this practice is of vital importance. Except 6-13 is a short conversation between a student and his/her English teacher (translation of their linguistic modes used is shown in text 6-19). The background of this conversation is that the student just submitted his/her dubbing recording to the teacher. As we can see from the teachers' feedback, there is no judgement on students' English language itself (e.g., pronunciation). T6 calls S1 'guai guai' which is a word of Sichuan dialect indicating diminution and endearment. T6 gives a high praise of S1's work by saying that "I have become your fans". S1 seems to be encouraged by T6's comments and continues with a claim that he/she wants to learn to heal the world.

Text 6-19

1 T6: You are great, guai guai! Teacher I have become your fans.

2 S1: Thanks teacher!

3 S1: I want to learn to heal the world.

4 T6: You are competent!

Excerpt 6-15 我要学 heal the word

6.3.2　　Engaging with world popular culture

In contrast with traditional Anglophone festivals by English teachers in English classes, the students' homework show that they engage with diversity of world popular culture (including Chinese popular culture. This section presents and discusses students' engagement with world popular culture through their drawings and written work. Their works is viewed as their multimodal translanguaging, thus their representation of multilingualism (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Excerpts 6-16 and 6-17 are two examples from students' self-portraits. The instruction of this work is "Draw a self-portrait. Introduce yourself and your body parts in English". The owner of excerpt 6-16 imagines him/her as a Japanese ninja; and the owner of excerpt 6-17 imagines him/her as a vampire. It is fair to say that their multiple identity constructions are manifested in their imagined selves.
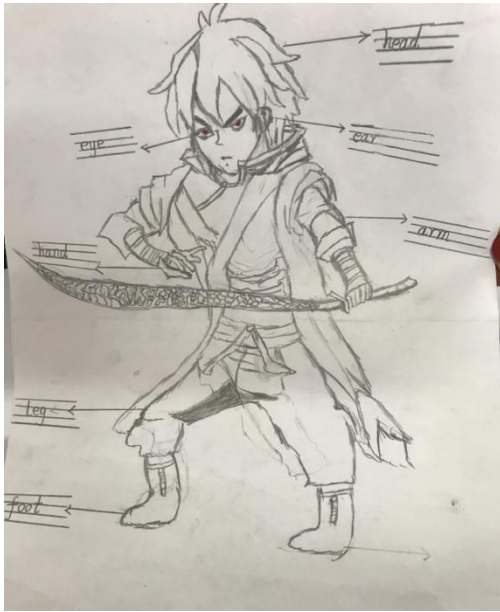
Excerpt 6-16 Japanese ninja

Excerpt 6-17 Vampire
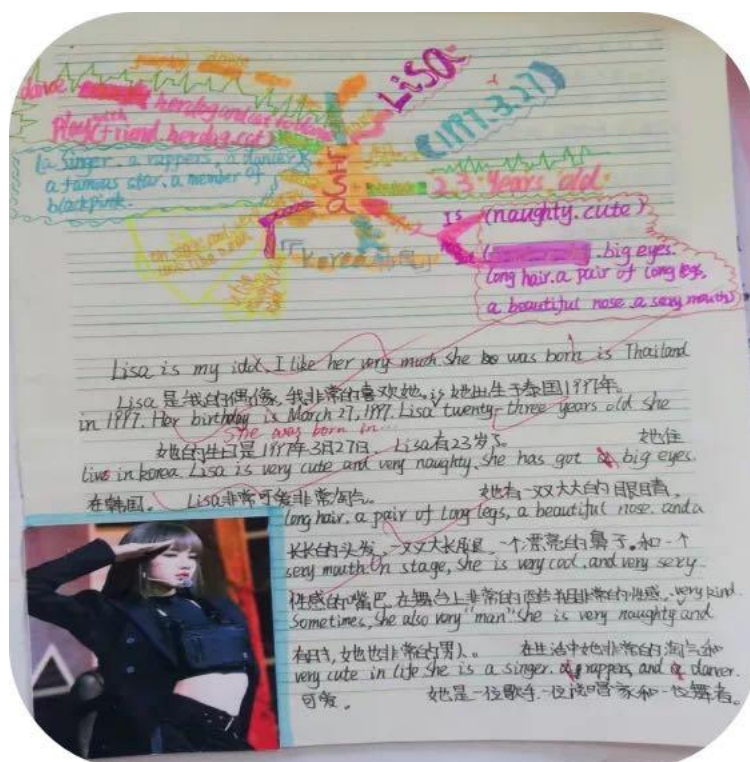
Excerpt 6-18 Thai-Korea star Lisa

While the multiple identities are appreciated in students' homework, the teacher seem to regulate students' diverse identity construction in standard English forms. As shown in excerpt 6-18, the teacher corrects some grammar 'errors'. Student's writing of "a big eyes" is corrected as 'big eyes' because of 'wrong' singular and plural form, and "a singer, a rapper and a dancer" is corrected as 'a singer, rapper and dancer' because of repetition. However, from the parallel Chinese that the student writes, these 'errors' corrected by the teacher can be the student's translanguaging practices. The English article 'a' is probably used by the student as equal to "一双" (a pair of) in Chinese. As for the repetition of 'a' later also suggests student's translanguaging practice, which is used to construct a parallel structure as a way of expressing the student's admiration for Lisa's multiple talents. Comparing with oral practices, teachers seem to require standard English in writing.

6.4   Summary

English language teachers and students' multilingual practices in this study showcase the complex co-existence of fluidity and fixity in their teaching and learning practices. The data presents the co-construction of Chineseness between English language teachers and students, while shows a gap between teachers' introduction of traditional Anglophone culture (besides Chinese culture) in English classroom and students' engagement in hybrid world popular culture in their daily life.

Chapter 7   Teachers' beliefs about multilingualism

7.1   Introduction

Interviews and focus group interview were conducted to explore Chinese primary English teachers' beliefs about multilingualism. The aim of this chapter is to answer the third research question and it sub-questions:

How is multilingualism perceived by Chinese primary English language teachers?

   a. To what extent, are Chinese primary English language teachers aware of English being used as a multilingual franca?

    b. How do Chinese primary English language teachers perceive the relationships between repertoire, culture, and identity?

A total of nine English teachers from the school participated in individual interviews. Additionally, the school's principal who is responsible for building the school's reputation and supervising all subjects teaching was also interviewed (see section 4.4.3 for summary). After individual interviews, a group interview was conducted with all nine English teachers. The analytic framework of interview data was informed by 'Focus on Multilingualism' (FoM) in educational setting (Cenoz & Gorter, 2014), which is discussed in section 3.5.1.2. This framework encompasses three key domains: the multilingual speakers, the multilingual repertoire, and the social context. The analysis of data thus centred on the following three themes:

1) how interview participants conceive of multilingual Chinese speakers (including their pupils as emergent multilingual Chinese speakers and teachers themselves as multilingual Chinese speakers).

2) how they conceptualize repertoire and consider translanguaging practices and pedagogical translanguaging in primary English language education.

3) and how they explain and/or justify their ideas regarding multilingualism while locating their pupils and themselves within a broader social context.

While the FoM informed me to create the initial analytic framework with a focus on the three domains and the conceptualization of identity, repertoire, and culture within the three domains, the examination of the data led to the development of sub-codes that illustrate some of the unique features of multilingualism perceived by Chinese English language teachers. Also, the

analysis focused on vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion. Specifically, attention was paid to the textual characters, for examples, the use of modal vocabulary such as 'should', 'definitely' 'probably' to express the degree of 'affinity' or 'solidarity'; the use of tenses, such as present tense, to make timeless statements; and the use of cohesive phrases such as 'so that' to imply casual relations.

In short, by integrating a concept-informed and data-driven approach, I thus came up with a coding frame in NVivo 12 as follows:

- Perceptions of multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English

  - Permanent learner *of* standard English

  - Engagement in international community *with* English

  - Consolidated 'Chineseness' *through* English

- Perceptions of repertoire and translanguaging practices

  - English versus Chinese

  - English and other semiotics

  - Developing translanguaging practices

- Perceptions of English and power in social context

  - English and Chinese stories to the world

  - English and social stratifications in China

7.2 Perceptions of multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English

There are three major themes revealed in teachers' perceptions of multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English, they are, 1) perceiving pupils and themselves both as permanent learners of native speakers' English, 2) expecting to engage in international community with English, 3) intending to consolidate Chinese national and cultural identity though English.

7.2.1 Permanent learners *of* native English

As for multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English, the identification of both teachers themselves and their pupils as learners of native speakers' English is readily available in the interview data.

First, perceiving students as permanent learners of English, the extract 7-1 below is an extreme example where T8 directly and clearly presents and justifies her view. While the interviewer opens the discussion of students' identity construction in English language education (line 1), T8 narrows down the discussion to one type of identity saying that students participate in English education "with the identity of learner" (line 2-3). In T8's narrative, she seems to simplify English education as process of mastering listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills (line 5-7). To generate different response and trigger T8's reflection on the issue, the interviewer invites T8 to think about the possibility to change the learner identity (line 9). Instead of opening the discussion, T8's response further consolidates her belief in learner identity by including herself as 'lifelong' persistent English learners (line 11). Noticing her clear and rigid stance towards this point from her speech, the interviewer turns to ask T8 about her suggestions for English education in China (line 16). While T8 criticizes the exam-oriented English education and suggests improving students' communicative competences and intercultural awareness (line 24-25), she is very proud of the student who gets the highest score in the exam (line 32-33). She complements those students with the positive words 'good' ('乖' *guai*) and 'diligent' ('努力' *nuli*) (line 35). Also, she seems to attribute the student's achievement in exam to her/his extra after-school tuition (line 35). The after-school tuition has been found rather problematic as it makes education inequality and deepens the gap between rich and poor (e.g. Mok, Wong, & Zhang, 2009).

Extract 7-1

1   **R:** How do you perceive students' identity construction in English language education?

2   **T8:** Teachers are the guides and facilitators for students' English learning, and learning

3   should be student-centred. He/she participates in [English education] with the identity

4   of learner. Teaching activities should be student-centred. Teachers should serve

5   students, and respect students. Learning is a step-by-step process. At different stages,

6   [teachers] should use different methods to enable students to master the skills of

7   listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Teachers can also switch roles [with students]

8   at any time to let students play the main role in the classroom.

9   **R:** I see your point, um, do you think this will change, the identity of learner?

10   **T8:** Well, we have always been persistent in learning English, from primary school to

11   university, and even lifelong. The interactions between countries are based on the

12   language. So English teaching has occupied a very important place in the education of

13   our country. I'm very grateful to be a primary English teacher. As the first teacher for

14   students' English learning, [I am] aware of the responsibility that [I] should help students

15   to lay a solid foundation for English learning from the very start.

16   **R:** And do you have any expectations or suggestions for English education in China?

17   **T8:** Currently, the education administrative department and schools has not paid

18   enough attention to [English subject]. In the primary education, I think the English

19   subject in XXX ((the name of the district)) district is a bit embarrassing. It is not taken as

20   important as Chinese and math, but there is still the same assessment, @@@.

21   **R:** So how to improve? In your view-

22   **T8: -**Sister, this cannot be managed by me, @@@. Let's say students are the future of

23   motherland and the hope of our nation. English is the first gateway for students to

24   understand the world. Therefore, we should [improve] students' intercultural thinking

25   and communication skills. I hope more attention should be paid to improve their

26   communicative competence.

27   **R:** I see.

28   **T8:** Now it is completely exam-oriented education. For example, the final exam for the

29   fifth grade this year, um-

30   **R: -**Too difficult?

31   **T8:** The grammar part is covered in the teaching content of the fifth grade. The reading

32   and writing are a bit difficult that students fail to complete. The highest score is 98.5 in

33   our grade.

34   **R:** 98.5, that's a high score.

35   **T8:** Yes, he is a good and diligent student, he is taking after-school English classes.

The learner identity is revealed clearly through T8's arguments. Such explicitness could suggest the learner identity is socially accepted. At the end of this interaction, she also links the learner identity to academic capital though the link is made in a less explicit way. Academic capital is defined as 'the skills and knowledge that support their educational persistence' (Orta, Murguia, & Cruz, 2019, p. 42). In academic settings, the evaluations of academic capital are often judgments of a person's ability to read and write. When test scores and passing rates are converted into data for ranking schools, a form of *collective academic capital* is created, which can be used to reward and/or punish schools, teachers,

and learners (Smith & Murillo, 2015). In extract 7-2, T5 briefly reports that the importance of English for individual student's educational persistence (line 2-4). The rest of her account is about the pressure of being an English language teacher and the criteria of ranking a school (line 6-8). Her exclamation "you don't even know!" ("你都不晓得!") manifests her overwhelmed workload. She goes further to describe how a school is rated based on certain passing rate (line 9-11).

Extract 7-2

1   **R:** And what do you think of English subject?

2   **T5:** In China, English is very important as a basic subject, because there are exams in

3   primary school for this subject. It is required in high school and college entrance

4   examinations. The score for this subject is also high. My understanding is quite

5   superficial, @@. I don't know whether it will be useful for you or not. Teachers in our

6   school, each of us will be involved in teaching four classes. We need to manage different

7   classes and interdisciplinary teaching, that you don't even know! It may be really

8   challenging for teachers. The test results are used for ranking schools every year. [As for]

9   a class with 50 students, the required A-level rate for general school is 40%. Now we are

10   a high-quality school. The rate should be 50% over 80 points. This criterion [of English] is

11   the same as Chinese and mathematics.

Besides the entrenched learner identity in the educational system, for the teachers, data reveals that (standard) British or North American accent is linked to teachers' confidence and professional identity construction. The extract 7-3 below shows how the link is constructed, confirmed, challenged (by the interviewer), and reconfirmed in T3's narrative. The interaction begins with the interviewer's invite to ask T3 to share her ideas about current English language teaching (line 1). Her response does not focus on the English language teaching itself but on herself as an English language teacher feeling 'anxious'(line 3). Then the storyline in her narrative starts from her anxiety which comes from her comparison with students' parents (line8-12). T3's narrative goes beyond her school education to her career as an English teacher. Her previous achievements of getting high sores in English tests cannot let her be charming in front of students and parents (line 6-8). Also, she thinks that parents of pupils have the basic content knowledge of primary English. Thus, to differentiate from parents, she decides that she needs to improve her accent to be sound more 'professional' like (line 22), which can also bring her relief in her work. She then explains how she establishes her confidence by giving attention to every detail of pronunciation, e.g., how to put the tongue in correct place (line 34). While T3 is a bit aware of different accents by saying that "I'm not kind of native" (line 41), she also thinks this is a universal criterion to be 'correct'

(line 43). T3's language beliefs about standard native English link her experiences with language practices and what she thinks about her own and other's language practices. These links form a set of resources for creating narratives about her professional identity and ability, and resources for judging and valuing other people based on their language use.

Extract 7-3

1   **R:** What are your reflections on English language teaching?

2   **T3:** My reflections? OK. I think, I think, as for my perception on teaching English as a
3   subject, in China especially the mainland China, like Sichuan, I think I start to be anxious.
4   I think I have to keep improving myself.

5   **R:** In which aspects?

6   **T3:** For example, when we were studying in schools, we may have paid more attention
7   to written tests. Right? That is to say that if you get a high score, pass the tests with
8   scores, you will feel nice about yourself. However, now I found that when you start to
9   work after graduation. You will find that you need to use your **charm** to let others trust
10   you, let your students trust you. I think you should not only improve your, er, in fact, as
11   for us teaching in primary schools, speaking of basic knowledge, everyone knows
12   including even parents. Parents can teach. If you want to convince others, you have to
13   keep improve yourself, for example, your speaking skill, your accent, er, such as these.
14   And how to let students, er, willing to listen to you, or, er, how to get along with
15   students in class and after class. I think it is also important. In short, I feel I have to keep
16   improve myself, @@@. That is, previously, I thought you may only need to be able to
17   teach the basic knowledge, answer the test questions, explain to students. But you will
18   find out that the parental qualities have also been improving, especially in China, right?
19   Moreover, I think our speaking skill had not been improved much in university, including
20   our accent, pronunciation, and intonation. So, I think you have to keep, keep improving
21   yourself. Well at least, you need to be better than average parents in this aspect. For
22   professional aspect, you need to be better than them. I feel I would not feel so
23   strenuous with your work after then. That is, the better, the easier.

24   **R:** En, I understand.

25   **T3:** We used to, I think when I was studying in school, as for the pronunciation, now as
26   well, I'm self-studying, @@, taking some courses on pronunciation. That is, previously, I
27   think my pronunciation only need to be probably correct, as long as I can understand,

28   answer the questions in listening tests, and pass the listening tests. Or now I'm teaching,

29   I want to say, if everyone around me is at this level, so I think I'm also at this level. I

30   think, er, it looks like everyone is at this level. Er, but later I found that if you want to be

31   better, I mean, to make your students more rewarding and to have more confidence in

32   yourself, you have to keep polishing every syllable. As for the situation in our China,

33   especially I think in places like ours, er, it is not emphasized in teaching, for example, the

34   position of the tongue, the shape of the mouth, etc. In fact, we pay less attention. I'm

35   not sure about situations in other places, at least in XX ((the name of the district))

36   district, right? I think we have done very little in this aspect.

37   **R:** I see, would you like to share how you improve your pronunciation?

38   **T3:** Following the standard, that is, let's say you have a look at the **North American**

39   **accent or British accent**, this kind, this kind of standard, this kind of pronunciation. Like,

40   like some foreign teachers' classes I want to attend, they should be like this kind. That is

41   to say, it should be a bit more **native**. I don't mean that, as I'm not that kind of native.

42   No no, er, but the native kind things, you can go, er, to take them as a reference, to

43   imitate their kind. Let's say you do have your accent, but your pronunciation is correct. I

44   think that's the standard. It's my own thoughts.

7.2.2   Engagement in international communities *with* English

The interview data reveals that teachers expect that the students will engage in international communities with English, which exists as a common response among teachers when the interviewer asked about the justification of primary English language education in China. There are two kinds of international communities mentioned by teachers: *the imagined international community outside China*; and *the internationalizing local community*. Besides many differences of these two kinds of international communities (e.g., participates and events), both of them are imagined as English monolingual as English is taken as indispensable. The imagined international community outside China goes with the expectations of pupils' future development by referring to situations such as "走出国门" ("going abroad"), "登上世界舞台" ("step into the world stage"), etc. As fort the internationalizing local community, the discourse revolves around local city's planning and local international events (e.g., World University Games Summer, 2022). It is imagined with discourse such as "地球村" ("global village"), "国际都市" ("international urban city"), etc.

Extract 7-4

1   **R:** [...] Do you think the use of English is limited to communicating with people from

2   English-speaking countries?

3   **T1:** It should be internationalized, and it cannot be limited to English-speaking countries.

4   What you said is too, too short-sighted. Let's say a narrow view. It is impossible to say

5   that we learn English only to communicate [people from English-speaking countries].

6   The whole world is just closely connected. It is an international unity. Now all [countries]

7   are practising this. It is impossible. I think it is impossible to separate or treat [non-

8   English speaking countries] in another certain way. I think this view is too wrong.

In extract 7-4, the interview asks T1's opinion about using English to only communicate with people from English-speaking countries. T1 criticizes the interviewer's question by saying that the view is "short-sighted" and "narrow" (line 4). The words she used, "impossible" (line 4), "too wrong" (line 8) clearly indicates her awareness that English is global language and the diversity of participants in English as a lingua franca communication. However, it can be drawn from her account that the process of internationalization is equal to the process of Englishization. Since all countries she thinks are engaged in the process of internationalization and become "an international unity" (line 6), English is taken for granted as the medium of communication. There is no space for other languages not even Chinese which is T1's mother tongue. In one word, her imagination about the international community outside China is very English monolingual, wherein the participants are quite diverse. Such English-dominated imagination of international community coincides with language planning of internationalizing local community.

Extract 7-5

1   **T7:** [...] Learning [English] from primary school is because of our current, what to say,

2   the district planning. I joined a meeting before with leaders of the district educational

3   bureau. They talked about diversification, internationalization, and modernization of the

4   XX ((the name of the district)) district. Internationalization is here, right? The country

5   has already seen this aspect, that is, the so-called global village, right? English, en,

6   English is known as the most widely used language. Everyone knows this concept for a

7   long time. It has a wide range of use. [...]

8   **R:** There is a need for English.

9   **T7:** Yes, right, that's it. You should know. En, in this situation, [English] language learning

10   starts from primary schools. The earlier the better, right? It should be this reason, yeah,

11   we should let students to be know some [English]. They don't need to, I think, achieve

12   high in examinations. [...] He can understand some basic dialogues, know some basic

13   foreign countries' culture, then some basic rules of etiquette, right? Our country has

14   already realized this aspect. Now in our education for international understanding, we

15   say global citizenship with international vision. For this, you should learn more than me.

16   So let students learn [English] from the very start is very necessary, and compulsory.

17   That's it, yeah, from a holistic perspective, it is truly important to conduct English

18   teaching from primary education. It is meaningful. It has some benefits.

T7 explains the reason that English language education is started from primary school by referring to what the educational policy makers said in a meeting (line 1-3). He reports the local district planning of diversification, internationalization, and modernization (line 3). It deserves analysis that T7 only picks out 'internationalization' to link with the need for English by saying that "Internationalization is here, right?" (line 4), which indicates that the processes of 'diversification' and 'modernization' are not linked to the use of English in his view. It is important to mention here that T7 is the director of the school's new course *Education for International Understanding* (国际理解课程教育). As we can see from T7's justification for English language education in primary schools, he thinks that children can benefit from learning English from an early start (line 10). T7 does not expect pupils to achieve high in examinations (line 11-12). Instead, he emphasizes learning cultural and international understanding. He holds the view that the intellectual capabilities of understanding international diversities can contribute to pupils' participation into the globalized and internationalized future (line 12-15). While T7 is the only teacher in the study mentioning the "global citizenship", as the director of *Education for International Understanding*, his view might be shared by other English teachers now or later.

In sum, teachers share an English-monolingual imagination about engagement in the international community outside China and the internationalizing local community.

7.2.3   Consolidated 'Chineseness' *through* English

There is a strong sense of Chinese national and cultural identity associated with multilingual Chinese speakers. This is reflected in teachers' supports for integrating Chinese culture in English teaching. Extract 7-6 for example, T6 express the necessity and her pride of Chinese culture by pointing out the long history of 'Chinese five-thousand-year tradition' (line 2-3). In the textual context, T6's use of 'our' (three times in the extract) suggests her solid group identity. Further, she differentiates Chinese group by addressing the need to let students know the "differences between Chinese and Western culture" (line 4-5). By doing so, she thinks "a spirit of patriotism" (line 5) can be cultivated. She then well-justifies her view by wrapping up the "a spirit of

patriotism" with "healthy outlook on life" and "a good foundation for their life-long learning and development" (line 6-7). T6 goes on to give more information on how to integrate Chinese culture in daily English language teaching even without the interviewer's invitation, which obviously manifests her willingness and happiness to share on this point. She reports the multimodal ways to introduce landscapes in China and Chinese cultures (which has been also observed and analysed in Chapter 5 of the multilingual practices). This indicates 'semiotic ideology' (Keane, 2018) or discursive affordances of different modes (Lin, 2012) behind the multimodal practice in Chinese primary English classroom, that those multilingual semiotic resources are used for the purpose of constructing national identity. Some of teaching materials may be intentionally selected and used to construct a sense of national and cultural identity.

Extract 7-6

1   **R:** What do you think of the role of Chinese culture in primary English education?

2   **T6:** I think we should let students know that the depth and breadth of our Chinese five-
3   thousand-year tradition, that we should be proud of. As teachers, we should help
4   students understand the world and the differences between Chinese and Western
5   culture, expand their horizon, cultivate a spirit of patriotism, develop a healthy outlook
6   on life. This can guarantee a good foundation for their life-long learning and
7   development. So I think it is important to integrate Chinese culture into English
8   education. It is not only necessary but also timely. In daily teaching, it is expected to use
9   vivid teaching materials, for examples, real objects, pictures, photos. We can also use
10   television, movies, and internet to introduce our national landscapes and cultures. The
11   social-cultural knowledge can be audio. It can be tangible. They can all make students
12   immersed in and appreciate the charm of our nation's landscapes and cultures.

While Chinese national and cultural identity is emphasized, it is not viewed as contradictory to engagement in international arenas. Instead, the relationship between 'nationalism' and 'internationalism' (from the headmaster's speech) is viewed as dialectical. In the interviews with teachers, they tend to refer to what is said by the 'leader' and/or what is planned for the school in order to find an authority centre to justify their views. While such discourse suggests teachers' consent to the top-down policy, it also suggests a necessity to analyse the views of school's leader. The following extract 7-7 is from the interview with the headmaster. The headmaster explains the intention, planning, and expectation of the future development for 'nationalism' and 'internationalism'. She uses three Taoist words, "相聚相成", "相融共生" "相辅相成" ("They should supplement and complement each other. They should merge into one and develop together" (line 22-23)) to theorize her thought about the dialectical relationship between

'nationalism' and 'internationalism'. The conversation starts with the interviewer's invitation to the headmaster to explain the reason of integrating patriotism in English language education (line 1-2). The headmaster firstly links the patriotism to Chinese traditional culture (line 3), which seems to help her to feel safe when talking about this very political topic. It is expected that traditional Chinese culture can be integrated into every subject to build the school's reputation (line 3-4). She then refers to national policy on education in a broader context, suggesting the non-negotiable educational purpose of cultivating "successors to socialism" and making "contributions to our country" (line 6-8). Unlike the above two reasons from a policy-making perspective, she further justifies with an emotional aspect by referring to Chinese sense of belonging, by saying that "he/she should still keep in mind where he/she belongs to. His/her heart should still be with our China. right?" (line 8-10).

Extract 7-7

1   **R:** As for integrating patriotism in English education, yes, I would like to know how is it
2   considered by the school?

3   **HM:** Because, we think, our school is known for courses of Chinese traditional culture,
4   so it is expected that it can be integrated into every subject. For our education in China,
5   primarily it should follow the national policy on education. Following the national policy
6   on education, the education should cultivate successors to socialism, cultivate
7   successors to socialism. Considering this, the talents we cultivate should make
8   contributions to our country. Even if you work aboard, in another place, he/she should
9   still keep in mind where he/she belongs to. His/her heart should still be with our China,
10   rights?

11   **R:** Yes.

12   **HM:** Even if you step onto the international stage in the future, eventually, your heart
13   should still be with China. Moreover, you should contribute to the construction of our
14   country to make the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation
15   completed and fulfilled, right? That is the thing. Then speaking of the English subject
16   teaching, um, the patriotism education should be integrated into. Let's say patriotism
17   and internationalism come together and supplement each other, right? That is to say,
18   we can't be tunnel-visioned and one-sided, right? We can't say if there is patriotism,
19   there should not be internationalism. No. When we say now there is a need to
20   penetrate Chinese culture into English language teaching, does that mean that it is
21   because that your English was not related to Chinese culture. How is it possible? Isn't it!

22 **They should supplement and complement each other. They should merge into one and**

23 **develop together. What you see as contradictory is actually compatible**. In fact, they

24 are in a relationship of supplementing and complementing each other. That's how I

25 understand.

Following the interviewer's short response (the interviewer feels hard to respond more about the headmaster's view), she continues with another long turn. She firstly re-emphasizes the importance of patriotism by linking the individual's development to "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" (line 14), which is integrated in the discourse of Chineseness about China Dream (see section 1.2.3). She then turns to English subject teaching. She equals English with 'internationalism' (line 15-17), which mirrors other English teachers' imagination about English-monolingual international communities. She further refers to the Taoist philosophy to explain her idea about the relationship between these two ideas, that these two are actually the same thing rather than opposites that multilingual Chinese speakers have to choose between. Besides, the headmaster's account on English and Chinese culture is important for analysis. She poses a question by herself, "does that mean that it is because that your English was not related to Chinese culture" (line 20-21). Then she answers it with exclamation "How is it possible? Isn't it!" (line 21). And she presents her view that English and Chinese culture can "merge into one and develop together" (line 22-23). She thinks Chinese culture can also bring new life to English, which indicates her awareness of the openness of English as a global lingua franca and certain degree of multilingual Chinese speakers' agency in using English. The awareness of agency in English does not equal to the ownership of English in her speech since she seems to indicate English is other people's language (probably native English speakers) by saying "your English" (line 21).

7.3   Perceptions of repertoire and translanguaging practices

7.3.1   English versus Chinese

The data reveals that teachers draw a clear line between Chinese and English in two ways: (1) the ideal English-only classroom (2) the separate epistemology of English way of thinking and Chinese way of thinking. First, teaching English through English is viewed as the ideal pedagogical method. T3 in the extract 7-8 supports the 'purity' of English classroom. She takes the view that the use of both Chinese and English will result in a 'chaotic' classroom.

Extract 7-8

1 **T3:** [...] What I think about the use of language is not so rigid, that is to say, we don't

2 have to do what is said. **But** I don't advocate that when we are teaching English in

3   primary schools, there is always switches between Chinese and English. If always doing

4   like this, that speaking some Chinese and then speak some English, I think this kind of

5   classroom is very **chaotic.** Um, I think I should, I think for an English class for pupils, as

6   there are no very complicated sentences, I think there should be an all-English language

7   environment.

First, T3 explains that the use of language (in social context) is more flexible, and multilingual Chinese speakers don't need to follow "what is said" (line 2). It indicates her acceptance of non-conformity to standard English and her certain awareness of the diversity of English in communicative context. However, she shows a different consideration of language use in educational context by using 'But' (line 2). T3 takes the view that translanguaing practices ("switching between Chinese and English" (line 3)) in primary English classroom is "very chaotic" (line 5), which suggests her view on language use in educational context, paradoxically, is rigid. The line between English and Chinese is drawn very clearly in T3's belief.

The background of extract 7-9 is that in the focus group discussion, after watching a short video clip of T5's teaching practices, T6 and T8 present their comments. T8 is the head of the school's English language teaching group. Such practice between teachers happens regularly as part of their teacher development. That, the teachers regular participate into each other's classes (sometimes video each other) and critique each other's teaching afterwards in their group learning.

Extract 7-9

1   **T6:** [...] T5 can improve by letting students think in English.

2   **T8:** It is impossible. To let students think in English, it is really impossible?

3   **T6:** But have you ever thought that, 'notebook', your reaction is 'notebook' '*bijiben*',

4   then '*bijiben*' back to 'notebook' (('notebook' is originally in English; 'bijiben' is the

5   Chinese translation of 'notebook')). What's the problem here? It is about a triangle's two

6   sides. We all know that straight-line distance is the shortest, right? When I watch the

7   video record, I am **moved** by children. Why? These children strive to use English, to

8   express themselves in English. Although not fluent, they have tried their best. **They rack**

9   **their brains to use English to express instead of Chinese.** I don't know whether if you

10   are moved or not. So in such a classroom practice, teachers should not assume the

11   practice. You should let children practice. Don't constrain 99% of children's ability,

12   leaving them with just 1%. What I want to say is this point.

13   ((A few turns, in which T6 repeats what she said while other teachers stay silent))

14   **T6:** I always say to you all. 'What's this? It's a notebook.' [in English] You explain to them

15   again, 'Ah, yes, it's a notebook.' [in Chinese] Is it necessary? It is not, right? Last time

16   when we went to the University of XX ((One of the top universities in the province), it is

17   said we should have an immersed English language teaching environment. What I want

18   to do is to teach English through English. It is thinking in the way of English.

T6 gives her suggestions on T5's teaching practice that T5 should try to let students have the English way of thinking (line 1). While other teachers keep silent, T8 shows her disagreement by saying twice 'impossible' (line 2). T6 then uses a metaphor of 'triangle' (line 5) to explain and try to convince T8. She takes the view that translation between Chinese and English is a longer 'distance' (line 6) in learning as there will be an extra line. If thinking in English, the learning will be the 'shortest' 'straight-line distance' (line 6). Such an analogy between multilingual practices and monolingual practices exactly shows her monolingual belief and her simplification of practices. In order to make her argument more solid to persuade other teachers, she then turns to use a strategy of empathy (line 7-10). She feels 'moved' (line 7) when students "strive to use English" (line 7) "instead of Chinese" (line 9) to express themselves. This (problematic) emotion entangles of monolingual belief mirrors what has been discussed in the notion of permanent learners of English (see section 7.2.1). Third, she concludes by criticizing that the teachers constrain children's ability of speaking English (line 10). Until now, she uses three effective strategies (*analogy, empathy, and moral judgement*) to persuade other teachers, in which monolingualism is reproduced in her discourse. After a few turns, T6 reconfirms her idea by referring to an authority centre, i.e., one of the top universities in the province (line 16). She further justifies her idea by mentioning what is expected in their teacher training in the university.

7.3.2   English and other semiotics

While the interview data on the one hand shows a clear boundary drawn between English and Chinese by teachers, on other hand, the boundary between English and other semiotics (non-linguistic) is blurred and even intentionally erased. Extract 7-10 about "图文解码" ("image and text decoding") is from the focus group discussion. T6 and T9 report how teachers 'decode' English into other semiotics as a new way of teaching vocabulary.

Extract 7-10

1   **T6:** For vocabulary teaching, generally, we teach new words of the unit. After teaching

2   [new words], we teach key sentence patterns. After teaching [sentence patterns], we

3   listen to an article and then start to practice. It has been teaching in this way for more

4   than ten to twenty years. Now, everyone is talking about image and text decoding,

5   according to our curriculum standards. It is said we should let children to understand the

6   meaning of the word by prompts, right? T5 here did very well. For teaching words such

7   as 'great' ((in English)), [we teach with] our tones and our facial expressions.

8   **R:** Yeah, does any teacher want to explain more about the image and text decoding for

9   me?

10   **T9:** The image and text decoding in this place means that the teacher guides students to

11   observe the pictures, the details of the pictures. So in this place, [I] should emphasize

12   this point, the details of the pictures, including some small details in our pictures today. I

13   want to say, the details of the pictures are very helpful for our children to think,

14   observe, and stimulate their learning motivation. Then, through ways such as the

15   teacher's language and body language, with pictures and videos, we can help students

16   learn texts, and **open up the space for imagination**. Ha, the key point is here, open the

17   space of imagination, divergent thinking, so as to acquire new knowledge naturally [...]

18   Then its significance, this is, to follow the laws of natural [learning], to promote the

19   physical and mental health of students' development, to conform to the laws of natural

20   [learning]. Then in addition to what we call the laws of natural [learning], I think we

21   should consider children's, how should I express, the characteristics of his/her learning,

22   his/her physical and mental health, right? So it means teaching should be based on

23   learning. In many classes, teaching replaces learning instead of learning promotes

24   teaching [...] More often, process is like, the knowledge points are placed there,

25   teachers place them there, to let you learn.

T6 firstly reports the traditional rote teaching and teacher-leading English teaching practices
which has been lasted for "more than ten to twenty years" (line 1-4). From her description, the
traditional way of teaching seems to only focus on 'text', i.e., 'words', 'sentences', and 'article'.
Then she mentions the new way of learning vocabulary, that is, the "image and text decoding"
(line 5). She gives complements to T5's teaching of the vocabulary 'great' as T5 uses a rising tone
and facial expressions to 'decode' the word (line 7). The interviewer is very interested to this
emergent theme thus she invites teachers to explain more (line 8-9). T9 shows her willingness and
takes a long turn to explain in detail. The decoding pedagogy is used beyond mere vocabulary
learning. Besides the multimodal ways she mentioned (line 10-15), she also talks about the
significance of decoding, that is, "opening up the space for imagination" (line 16-17). T9's idea
indicates the intention to merge English into other non-linguistic semiotics and thus blur the

boundaries between them. Further, more possibilities can be generated once the boundaries are blurred. Importantly as a pedagogy, T9 thinks such multimodal practices can help to "teaching should be based on learning" and "learning promotes teaching" (line 22-23). She criticizes for teachers' well-planned classroom practices, which teachers manage the learning practices as they assume instead of looking at what students really need and how they learn, saying that "teachers place them there" (line 24-25).

7.3.3 Developing translanguaging practices

While section 7.3.1 shows teachers' negative perception of mixing English with Chinese, section 7.3.2 reports teachers' willingness of merging English with other non-linguistic semiotics. These two sections have manifested teachers' seemingly conflicting beliefs in relation to English, Chinese, and non-linguistic semiotics. Instead of repeating what has been discussed, this section will present an emergent theme from the data, that is, the beliefs about *development* of translanguaging practices. As translanguaging practices are not limited to semiotics, it also involves identity constructions (identity construction through semiosis). I use the word 'development' because such kind of translanguaging practices is encouraged and planned by teachers intentionally, which is differentiated from the naturally occurred translanguaging practices. In the extract 7-11, T3 reports how she wants to help students to express themselves, express their love in English.

Extract 7-11

1 **R:** [...] How about culture in relation to English?

2 **T3:** I think, um, I have a feeling that when using English, um, considering cultural
3   aspects. Let's say their way, their courtesies, that's it, en. I find English is, or let's say
4   that foreigners' way of expressing themselves, right? I think their choice of words will
5   make feel more polite when you read it.

6 **R:** Er?

7 **T3:** This is how I feel, [English] is more polite. Moreover, as for interpersonal
8   relationships, he/she is more willing to express themselves [in English], that is,
9   expressing love, or, expressing directly things like, I like you or what I like to do, [he/she
10   is] more willing to express. I think some of our Chinese children, um, they are better
11   now [in expressing themselves], right? But some children they are still **not willing to**
12   **express** [themselves]. For example, in our textbooks, [there are texts like] I like my dad

13   and mom, [I] like my family. I find our children, including myself, @@, we are not, not

14   willing to, feeling embarrassed, shy, **not willing to express**.

15   **R:** That is related to Chinese culture?

16   **T3:** It is that we Chinese are more restrained. Sometimes while I am teaching, I will still

17   **encourage children to express themselves using English a little bit**. I think this is also a

18   kind of cultural infiltration. I think if it is a good aspect like these, I think we should let

19   children [to learn] these good aspects I think, I think [we] should exert a subtle influence

20   on them, exert a subtle influence on them. [Let them] learn to express, be more polite,

21   or, express preferences, express gratitude to others, that kind of thing, the politeness.

22   And family affection, that kind of relationship, the intimate relationships between

23   friends, parents, etc. I think this is what I feel. I feel that some of the British and

24   American cultures are different from that of our Chinese. Um, different, en, this is the

25   point.

In T3's account, culture related to English is about ways of behaving and ways of expressing (line 10). In contrast, T3 holds the view that Chinese are more 'restrained' (line 16) and feel 'embarrassed' and 'shy' to express themselves (line 14). She perceives that her pupils and herself may "not willing to express" (line 14) in Chinese. Thus, she wants to "encourage children to express themselves using English a little bit" (line 17) and "exert a subtle influence on them" (line 19-20), which suggests her intention to help students construct an identity in English. T3 shows her intention to help students develop their English repertoire (not Chinese) in expressing 'love', 'preference', 'gratitude to other' (line 20-21).

7.4   Perceptions of English and power in the social contexts

The understanding of teachers' perceptions of power relations in the social contexts is a way to exam the shaping effects of the power relations on teachers' belief about multilingualism. The social context outside the classroom can have an influence on language teaching and learning and teachers usually justify their perceptions in larger social context. This section reports two themes identified in the interview data regarding English and power in social contexts. First, in international community, English is taken as way to tell Chinese stories to the world, which is believed to empower Chinese multilingual speakers by establishing their national identity and cultural confidence. On the contrary, inside China, (native) standard English distinguishes people and makes social stratifications.

7.4.1   English and (local) Chinese stories to the world

The discourse of Chinese stories is linked to Chinese national and cultural identity. T2, the leader of the school's *Education for International Understanding*, reports how English is needed for Chinese people to construct and perform their national identity and cultural confidence in international settings. He introduces the design of the course English for International Understanding, of which the goal is to "establish a sense of community with a shared future for mankind" (line 5). The interviewer is interested in how T2 see the role of "traditional [Chinese] culture" (line 2) in establish the stated "community with a shared future" (line 6-7) and invites T2 to explain more. However, T2 immediately refers to the president Xi's "important speech", indicating his attempt to refer to am authority to justify his idea (line 8). Then T2 repeats Xi's speech that we (Chinese) "should explain and introduce to the world more excellent culture with Chinese characteristics, embodying Chinese spirit and containing Chinese wisdom" (line 8-10), which sounds very general and broad to the interviewer. Thus, the interviewer invites T2 to explain in detail. From line 12-13, T2 gives to two details of implementing the national policy into school's education, they are, "reconstruct the English subject", and focus on local stories from Sichuan-Chongqing (Ba Shu). Line 17-20 gives more details on how he wishes students can introduce and express "cultural confidence in a way that world can hear". The "way" here is telling stories in English.

Extract 7-12

1   **T2:** Our school's curriculum of Education for International Understanding combines

2   traditional [Chinese] culture, and [aims to] broaden the international vision of all

3   teachers and students, fully let them show their multiple qualities. [It] aims to cultivate

4   future citizens with comprehensive development and global competence. In the end, [it]

5   can establish a sense of community with a shared future for mankind.

6   **R:** Yeah, that seems meaningful. Why do you, I mean, combine traditional culture in the

7   design of the curriculum of English for International Understanding.

8   **T2:** This, we, this follows the Xi's important speech, that we should **explain and**

9   **introduce to the world more excellent culture with Chinese characteristics**, embodying

10   Chinese spirit and containing Chinese wisdom, yes, that's it.

11   **R:** How are you implementing this, in detail?

12   **T2:** Our school uses English subject plus Education for International Understanding, as a

13   new form of subject development, yeah, to **reconstruct the English subject**. The

14   specialty is, we name it, Chinese style, stories from Sichuan-Chongqing. That's the

15   project of telling Chinese stories in English.

16   **R:** Ah, how interesting –

17   **T2:** - Chengdu snacks for example, Ba Shu customs, these things. [Let students] know

18   their hometown culture, introduce their hometown in English, the beautiful Ba Shu

19   stories, yes. Let Ba Shu go to the world, let the world knows Ba Shu. This is a beautiful

20   encounter, yes. **Express your cultural confidence in a way that the world can hear**.

In the extract 7-13, T1 shows how Chinese culture is perceived as capital for Chinese multilinguals speakers when they join the international community. T1 first confirms the interviewer's question about the importance of integrating Chinese into English language teaching (line1). Following which, she explains her reason. First, she acknowledges the economic developments in China, which help China to be perceived as "wealthy" (line 4) in international community. Then, she suggests that to go to the next step of "being strong" (line 4), what are needed are not only "quality education" (line 5**)** and "more money" (line 6), but "culture (line 6). It seems to suggest the idea to view Chinese culture "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1990) that can make China "stronger and more powerful".

Extract 7-13

1   **R:** [...] Do you think it is important to integrate Chinese culture into English language

2   teaching?

3   **T1:** I think it is very important. Because as for economics, China has been developed

4   from standing up to being wealthy. And now **being strong** says our president Xi, then in

5   which aspects we are going to be strong, should not only about quality education,

6   should not only about more money, but there should be culture for sure. In other words,

7   the progress is manifested in this aspect. I think there should be. So, I think China is

8   getting stronger and more powerful, more and more initiative in the international arena

7.4.2   English and social stratifications in China

While teachers more or less mention their observations of social stratification in China (T2 for example, see extract 7-14), T8's account in the extract 7-15 exemplifies how English education in general and native English accent distinguish people and result in social stratifications.

Extract 7-14

1   **T2:** […] With the rapid development of China's economy, the gap between the rich and

2   the poor is becoming more and more obvious. The pressure on a family is increasing.

3   Parents are busy with making money, thus do not have enough time to accompany their

4   children.

Extract 7-15

1   **T8: Please don't laugh** after seeing my classroom teaching, @@, my accent and

2   intonation are not good. I have been grown up in rural areas. My initial English

3   education is not good, @@, so my accent and intonation are my inherent weakness.

4   Alas, I am envious of your education background.

5   **R:** I actually think that accent and intonation are not that important. Don't we have

6   accents when we speak Mandarin? I think accents may be part of our life trajectories.

7   **T8:** @@@, you're a merit student, I really admire you. @@, [You] will have an infinitely

8   bright future when you come back China.

9   **R:** @@, it's hard to say, thanks.

10   **T8:** After finishing your study abroad, your future is promising when you return.

T8 links her previous English learning experience in rural areas to her non-native accent (line 1-2).
She thinks that people will judge her level and quality of education based on her accent, asking
the interviewer "Please don't laugh after seeing my classroom teaching" (line 1). The link between
non-native accent and non-elite is established in her accounts. Here, it seems T8 tends to take the
interviewer, who is studying in a university in the UK, as the authority. As the interviewer notices
T8's upset about her accent, she then presents her view on accent by paralleling English accent
and Chinese accent and the sociolinguistic view that treating accent as part of our life trajectories
to carry (line 5-6). T8 gives no comment on the interviewer's view but emphasizes the
interviewer's educational background again (line 7). Her silence on the interviewer's idea about
the non-importance of accent is interpreted as a way to show her disagreement. (The interviewer
does not continue to express her views on accents as she thinks it may make T8 feel
unconformable.) T8 highlights her view that studying abroad, and then back China is linked to a
"brighter future" (line 8). T8's account implicitly implies her perceptions on social stratification in
relation to education in two aspects: native-like English accent implies higher level and quality of
education background; studying abroad (in English speaking countries) guarantees more social
mobility ("brighter future") in China.

Extract 7-16

1   **R:** Sister, I want to know your opinion of one issue. Er, how do you perceive the different

2   varieties of English, the diversities of English.

3   **T5:** The diversities of English?

4   **R:** En, for example, the Chinese expression like day day up.

5   **T5:** I think, **the varieties of English are from different classes, different regions, or from**

6   **the internet**. I think as long as they don't affect communication, that's fine. But we

7   should still be cautious when using them.

8   **R:** Can it be fine or encouraged to incorporate the varieties into primary English

9   classroom?

10   **T5:** I think it can be introduced in the middle. I think [we] can introduce some, Chinese

11   English for example. But [I] will explain clearly to children that **English-speaking**

12   **countries may not understand the meaning of the varieties.** Also, we need to show the

13   quality of English (education), let students have good education, **give them more**

14   **opportunities.**

While T5 in extract 7-16 shows her awareness of the diversities of English in sociolinguistic context ("different classes, different regions, or from the internet" (line 5-6), she is also hesitant to use them and incorporate them into English teaching. Her hesitance is reflected in her account of "in the middle" (line 10). Also, by saying that "English-speaking countries may not understand the meaning of the varieties", T5 seems to take English-speaking countries as the authority of meaning in English. At the same time, T5 links standard English to "quality of English (education)" (line 13) which can "give them more opportunities". It suggests that standard (British) English is viewed as linguistic capital in China and is linked to socioeconomic advantages. For this aspect, teacher' also drew attention to differences in different geographic parts of China based on different level of economic development. They think economic advanced cities, like Beijing and Shanghai, have good environment to learn English, better than Chengdu.

Extract 7-17

1   **T2:** @@@, let me tell you, it must be completely different from your experience in

2   Shanghai. Because I went there before in 2016 to learn from its internationalization. We

3   went to visit the schools there. [We] visit their primary schools. The educational

4   conditions are better, indeed, because it is Shanghai. It is the economic centre of China,

5   right? Besides, there are many foreigners there, is it? Right, there are much more

6   chances of using English. That is different. It is the most developed region. It represents

7   the frontier of education. For them, in addition to English, they have other small

8   languages [as subjects], French for example. Yeah, they are teaching small languages. In

9   such a rural area like us, we don't have the conditions to carry out [small languages

10   teaching]. Now, our country is promoting the Belt and Road Initiative, for economic

11   development. In the future, the country will definitely support the teaching of small

12   languages. English teachers like us will lose our jobs. @@@.

T2 mentions his visit to the economic-advanced city Shanghai. He takes the view that economic development contributes to more opportunities of using English and schools have more resources to organize multilingual education. And schools with more different language education are seen as more advanced. Moreover, by referring to the One Belt One Road policy, he thinks that in order to gain more economic capital, multilingual education will be encouraged by the government. At the same time, he shows his concern about future career. This concern is shared by other teachers as well regarding the radical changing policies these years. Teachers' uncertainties about English education displays in their concerns of the limited educational resources of English education which includes limited teacher resources and limited teaching time.

7.5   Summary

This chapter presents the English language teachers' complex and conflicting beliefs about multilingualism. In terms of multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English, the data reveals the contradictory beliefs about promoting Chineseness through English and being permanent learners of standard (British) English. As for multilingual repertoire and practices, teachers draw a clear line between Chinese and English while intend to erase the lines between English and other non-linguistic semiotics. Speaking of English and power, teachers take the view that English can empower Chinese in international settings while at the same time they also recognize English is related to social stratification in China.

Chapter 8   Discussion: the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education

8.1   Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussions of key research findings presented in previous chapters with reference to each of the main research questions and sub-questions: management of multilingualism in policy documents and textbooks (Chapter 5), multilingual practices in everyday English language teaching and learning (Chapter 6), and primary English language teachers' beliefs about multilingualism (Chapter 7).

8.2   Management of multilingualism through Chinese primary English language education

How is multilingualism managed through primary English language education in China?

   a. How is primary English language education framed by authorities in terms of repertoire, culture, and identity?

   b. What are prioritized in the frame of primary English language education by authorities?

8.2.1   Language ideological and identitary framing

This first research question and its sub-questions are addressed through the analysis of policy documents, the school's website posts, and textbooks. These texts, characterized by their authoritative nature, are read as a sample of official version of approved ideas about teaching English in primary schools in China. The analysis suggests that language ideological and identitary framing of primary English language education in China by authorities has a monoglot orientation. Further, national interests with a desire for group recognition in international community are prioritized in the frame of primary English language education by authorities.

The consistent presence of a Chinese-centred narrative in both policy documents and textbooks is identified. The discourse of "Telling Chinese stories in English", as identified in policy documents, indicates a focus on 'Chineseness' in primary English language education. This emphasis reveals the political dimension of multilingualism being framed in the discourse. It resonates with

McPherron and McIntosh's (2020) argument that English serves as a means of connecting China to international community and promoting China on the world stage to showcase 'Chineseness'. The underlying rationale of this educational goal, as framed in policy discourse, seems to be addressing the world's limited understanding of China, which is seen as a central issue affecting China's global engagement. Consequently, this attempt indicates an attempt to shape future discourses and practices (Muetzelfeldt, 1992). That is, "Telling Chinese stories in English" in international settings not only communicates an image of future encounters but also "navigate students' learning toward such visions" (Kanno, 2003, p. 287).

The contents of 'Chinese stories' in primary English language education, as identified from this study's data, include themes: a harmonious and united nation state, traditional Chinese culture, Confucius morality about family and nation state, and achievements of modern China. In order to be able to tell Chinese stories in English through primary English language education, students are expected to have multimodal communicative capacity, national cultural confidence, moral virtues encompassing responsibilities towards family and nation-state, and international understanding. The representations of Chinese culture and culture exchange activities designed in textbooks is consistent with the discourse of "Telling Chinese stories in English" in policy documents. Besides, the appreciation of Chinese culture by both Chinese and Anglophone characters in the series of *New Standard English* in this study matches Ping's (2015) study that Chinese culture is favourably depicted in the series of *PEP Primary English*. The intention to "evoke Chinese students' pride and love for their culture" (Ping, 2015, p. 175) is also clearly identified in this study's finding, reflecting the emotion and attitude education in China's educational reform (Y. Chen, 2010). The sense of pride and love as affective capital is implicitly tied to its potential to be converted to other capitals (Holt, Bowlby, & Lea, 2013), particularly cultural capital in this study. Moreover, given that traditional Chinese culture constitutes a pivotal component of "Chinese stories", the discourse represents an ideological construct of tradition, characterized by "the creation of a past into which the present is inserted" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 8). The past, present, and future, as co-constructed in the discourse of "Telling Chinese stories in English", imply an inherent continuity of national identity.

Besides representation and appreciation of Chinese culture, the data analysis shows that a profound understanding and identification with Chinese culture is stated as the prerequisite of developing international understanding (see section 5.2.4). This emphasis on international understanding in conjunction with an adherence to national identity seems to suggest a detachment of possibilities of multiple identities in international settings and a line between 'we' and 'they'. Similar to Liddicoat's (2007) findings in relation to Japanese language-in-education policy documents, a discourse of interculturality places emphasis on a *nationalist adherence* to a

unique, homogeneous, and monolithic Japanese identity. Likewise, Schneer (2007) found that Japanese national identity is tied to internationalism in English language education endorsed by the Ministry of Education in Japan. He argues that given Japan's nationalistic past, promoting nationalism through English language education is contentious, particularly since Abe's 2006 education reform. Japanese students are expected to "recognize themselves as Japanese in order to be internationally understood" (Schneer, 2007, p. 601). In a more recent study by Hashimoto (2012), English language education in Japan is found to be geared towards 'Japanisation', with a pronounced emphasis on Japanese language. The data of this study does not give clear evidence to show an intention of 'Sinicization' in primary English language education in China. Nevertheless, an emphasis on monolingual and monocultural national identities in English language education seems to be similar in Chinese and Japanese educational contexts.

However, the juxtaposition of the intention to tell Chinese stories in English alongside the emphasis on a monolingual national identity in primary English language education appears contradictory. How could a monolingual Chinese speaker tell Chinese stories in English? Such management seems to expect that future Chinese multilingual speakers to be ambassadors of China and observers of diversity. In their role as ambassadors, these Chinese multilingual speakers are expected to promote Chinese culture and tell Chinese stories in international settings with standard (British) English. As observers of diversity, Chinese multilingual speakers are expected to distinguish 'self' and 'others', all the while deepening their understanding of 'self' through interaction with 'others'. In other words, they are expected to be able to acknowledge the difference of others but adhere to their Chineseness. For such an observer, it seems that he/she is not really encouraged to have an active role in engaging with the diversity. In short, this finding supports Hu and McKay (2012, p. 358) that despite the multilingual reality and multilingual education "China still fosters a dominant monolingual habitus".

Last but not the least, the discourse of "Telling Chinese stories in English" is important for us to rethink the *ti-yong* relation in the shaping of multilingualism. Previously, the *ti-yong* relation in English language education has highlighted the Confucian idea of "Chinese learning for essence (*ti*), Western learning for utility (*yong*)", which emphasis China's aspiration of engaging with the world without losing its cultural and national integrity (Y. Gao, 2009). Consequently, English language was deemed as separated from Chinese national and cultural identity. However, as shown in the data of this study, "Telling Chinese stories in English" seems to indicate an overt intention to construct and perform Chinese national and cultural identity in and though English. As mentioned by Y. Gao (2009, p. 58), the *ti-yong* relation has "acquired increased intensity and complexity" against globalization. The complexity of the *ti-yong* relation identified in this study in current primary English language education suggests that English language is not only for *yong* but

also for *ti*. This 'new' *ti-yong* relation may be explained with the notion of 'new' language of national identity (Yim, 2007), which expands the sites of national identity construction across different languages.

8.2.2   (Lack of) Representations of diversity

In policy documents, there is no reference to any native English varieties and native English speakers, but the requirement of standard English is stated. The discourse in policy documents seems to convey the idea that English is used as a global language, thus interactions through a certain kind of standard English happen between a diversity of interlocutors who may not be specifically identified as native English speakers. However, textbooks further narrow down the conception of standard English to standard *British* English. This finding echoes numerous studies that have explored the representation of English varieties in textbooks (e.g. Gil & Adamson, 2011; He & Zhang, 2010; Hu & McKay, 2014; Y. Wang, Weng, & Li, 2019; Xiong & Qian, 2012). It reaffirms the persistent preference for standard British English and reproduction of native-speakerism in Chinese primary English language education (Y. Wang, Weng, & Li, 2019). While the data suggests a more rigid emphasis on 'correct' and 'standard' linguistic modes, an unexpected finding is that multimodal communicative capacity, however, is encouraged by authorities (see section 5.2.1). This recognition underscores that the resources for meaning making (both material and non-material) in multilingual communication extend beyond just linguistic modes. Students are guided to make meaning using resources at disposal and perform their multiple (fictional) identities creatively and imaginatively.

Moreover, in the imagined international community prescribed in textbooks, English interlocutors are only Chinese English speakers and native English speakers from Anglophone countries (specifically the UK and the US). This corresponds with Ping's (2015) research on the cultural representations in PEP primary English textbooks. Despite different series of textbooks for analysis, the cultural representation of 'inner circle' countries is given more prominence, whereas those of non-English-speaking countries in the outer and expanding circles are marginalized. This exclusive focus on 'inner circle' English users (Kachru, 1992), particularly from the UK and the US, exemplifies the perpetuation of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) in primary English language education. Aside from representing Chinese culture and Anglophone cultures, the richness of world culture is overlooked, which is also evident in Magogwe's (2009) study of primary English textbooks used in Botswana. Such a monolingual and monocultural representation of English interlocutors in imagined international communities runs the risk of limiting students' development of 'social knowledge' (Tollefson, 2011). Textbooks, however, are expected to equip

students with the ability to make "informed decisions" (Norton & Gao, 2008, p. 116) for future interactions where diversity of English and English interlocutors are the norm.

Additionally, in textbooks, boundary drawing practices are prominent in the activities and conversations designed, projecting the essentialist idea of "one nation, one language, and one culture". Accordingly, the imagined Chinese community is prescribed in textbooks as linguistic and cultural harmonious. It supports findings of previous studies that linguistic and images in textbooks may tend to "invoke appreciation of abstract concepts, such as the harmony value traditionally cherished in Chinese culture" (Y. Chen, 2010, p. 72). However, this leads to the problem of neglecting the inner diversity of China. In this study, the representation of Chinese ethnic minorities is found only in a brief dialogue in the textbooks (see section 5.3.1.1). The lack of representation of Chinese ethnic minority groups in primary English textbooks is also identified in Ping's (2015) research. Beyond primary context, the same issue was identified in Chinese junior secondary English language textbooks by G. Hu and McKay (2014). They found that no attention was given to the ethnic groups in China. They argue that the lack of representation of diversity could lead to the majority Han students ignore the existence of ethnic groups in China. Similar issues have been identified in Japanese educational context. Yamada (2010) found that the Japanese community which is represented in junior high school English textbooks is rather monolingual and monocultural, paying insufficient attention to Japan's inner diversity. Overall, this prevailing trend in educational contexts resonates with sociolinguistic studies that indicate monolingual and monocultural ideologies are pervasive in Chinese society (e.g. Dong, 2010; H. Wang & Yao, 2018).

Overall, management of multilingualism in Chinese primary English education suggests an intention of projecting Chinese national and cultural identity in and through English, while contradictorily adheres to an essentialist idea of "one nation, one language, and one culture". Moreover, while policy documents and textbooks show consistency in the prescription of imagined Chinese community, the references to English varieties and English interlocutors indicate a gap between policy documents and textbooks in constructing imagined international community. At the same time, a lack of representations of linguistic and cultural diversity in textbooks is identified.

8.3   Practices of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education

How is multilingualism practiced in primary English language teaching and learning in China?

a. What are the effects of primary English language teachers and students' multilingual practices?

b. How are identities constructed and performed in and through multilingual practices?

8.3.1   The co-construction of national identity

The second question and its sub-questions are addressed through the examination of English language teachers and students' daily teaching and learning practices. The key findings are: (1) the co-construction of Chineseness between English language teachers and students; (2) a gap between teachers' introduction of traditional Anglophone culture (in addition to Chinese culture) in the English classroom and students' engagement with a hybrid world popular culture in their daily life; (3) a gap between teachers' simplified approach to managing math in the English classroom and students' advanced math ability.

First, the data clearly suggests the co-construction of Chineseness in and through teachers and students' multilingual practices. English language teachers in this study integrate Chineseness by using materialized cultural products as teaching materials, integrating Chinese classics in English language teaching, developing students' morality, and helping students to understand the COVID-19 pandemic. Students, on the other hand, practice Chineseness by attempting to establish rapport with teachers, showing respect to dedicated Chinese celebrities, and building solidarity during COVID-19 pandemic. These identified practices of Chineseness highlight the interrelations between translanguaging practices and identity construction (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). This finding is in alignment with what have been discussed by translanguaging scholars. For example, García and Li Wei (2014) note in their book that translanguaging in classroom contributes to identity investment and positionality. In this study, teachers and students position their Chinese cultural and national identity through their translanguaging practices in English language teaching and learning, confirming Noguerón-Liu and Warriner's (2014, p. 183) argument that "translanguaging practices have been an integral part of identity and belonging".

Moreover, the finding regarding English language teachers as moral guidance for their students, both within and outside English classroom, resonates with Le Ha's (2008) discussion on the role of Vietnamese English language teachers as moral mentors. This supports the idea that "languages teachers cannot hopefully to satisfy their pedagogic obligations without at the same time satisfying their social obligation" (Kumaravadivelu, 2001, p. 544). In this study, the social responsibilities of Chinese primary English language teachers appear centred on developing students' sense of responsibility for their class, a family, and an imagined Chinese community. The significance of nation and family in their multilingual practices suggest the influence of Confucius

ethics (X. Yao, 1996). Additionally, the solidarity showed in students' English learning practices during COVID-19 pandemic offers insights into understanding "a new language" of national identity (Yim, 2007, p. 52). Previously, Anderson (1991, p. 133; emphasis in original) has pointed out "the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities*". The language Anderson refers here is the national language rather than a global language – English in this study. The solidarity built, expressed, and confirmed through English in Chinese primary students' multilingual practice provides evidence of the porosity of the boundaries between different sites of constructing and projecting national identity. In other words, the data shows that Chinese national identity, which is previous exclusively linked to the Chinese language (see section 1.2.3), is now also constructed and consolidated through English in primary English language teaching and learning practices.

Last but not the least, the co-construction of Chinese national identity also reveals that the broader discourse of China Dream (Callahan, 2017) is permanent in primary English language education context. It shed light on how power manifests itself (Darvin & Norton, 2015) in the practices of English language learning and teaching and the structuring of habitus in the practice.

8.3.2 Disparities between teachers and students' multilingual practices

Overall, the analysis of teachers' and students' multilingual practices showcases the complex co-presence and flows of space and time in teaching and learning practices, though at times fixity gets more prominent than fluidity (e.g., rote-teaching). The strategies employed by English language teachers when handling Chinese classics in their teaching, as well as the ways students imagine the world and themselves, provide insights into poststructural trans-time, trans-space, and trans-body semiotic practices. The students' multilingual practices support previous studies indicating that translanguaging can empower multilingual individuals to bring together different dimensions of their life in creative ways (e.g. García & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei, 2011; Li Wei & Wu, 2009). Their *chronotopic translanguaging* (Taibi & Badwan, 2022) practices underscore the power of imagination in educational settings to expand their identity possibilities by "transcending our time and space and creating new image of the world and ourselves" (Wenger, 1998, p. 176). In this way, new forms of multilingualism are emerging in their practices.

In addition to the co-construction of Chineseness with students as discussed above, the use of Chinese by English language teachers serves several functions, including instructional aspect such as explaining grammar and ensuring understanding, and managerial aspect such as maintaining the disciplined teaching environment. This may not be surprising that teachers resort to Chinese (both Mandarin and Sichuan dialect) for effective pedagogical communication. This finding

resonates with Qian's (2009) study on primary English language teachers' translanguaging practices. In her study, two primary school teachers of English in Beijing switched to Chinese for reasons which she classified as either 'methodological' (e.g., translating, clarifying, highlighting, efficiency) or 'social' (e.g., praising, encouraging, disapproving). It seems that keeping a discipline takes teachers' a lot of efforts in primary context. In a case study of primary school in Hong Kong, Carless (2004) found that teachers have concerns over noise and discipline. Further, although pedagogical translanguaging seems to be more sophisticated in the way that English language teachers deal with Chinese classics in their teaching, few instances were identified in their use of other materials. In their study of a third-grade English language teacher's strategic translingual practice in a primary school in the US, Pacheco et al. (2019) found that strategic translingual practice can help to teach emerging multilingual students. Thus, they argue it is important to recognize and develop teachers' translingual practice. Teachers' multilingual practices identified in this study suggest there is a potential to further develop pedagogical translanguaging in English classroom.

Nevertheless, the data reveals two gaps between teachers and students' multilingual practices. The first gap arises from the distinction between English language teachers' highlights on traditional Anglophone culture in English classroom and students' engagement with diverse world popular culture in their daily life. In other words, while both teachers and students envision the use of English in "imagined international communities", these communities diverge significantly. Teachers' preference for traditional Anglophone culture in English classroom implies a link between English language and cultural norms of native speakers. In this way, it suggests a reproduction of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005, 2006, 2009). However, in students' practices, we can see that English is seen as "a multicultural language" (Honna, 2000, p. 9), through which an engagement with the hybrid world popular culture becomes possible. Another gap becomes evident in the teachers' simplified approach to managing math in English classroom and students' advanced math ability. The data shows the simplified activities of teaching math in English classes leads to rote teaching and students' resistance of participation, despite that teachers seem to have an intention to integrate multiliteracy development in English classes.

To conclude, teachers and students' multilingual practices are situated within a social, cultural, political, historical, ideological TimeSpace. The data shows a co-construction of Chineseness between teachers and students in Chinese primary English language education context. At the same time, divergent links are revealed: link of English language and traditional Anglophone culture shown in teachers' teaching practices, and link of English language and hybrid world popular culture in exhibited students' practices.

8.4   Chinese primary English language teachers' beliefs about multilingualism

How is multilingualism perceived by Chinese primary English teachers?

a. To what extent, are Chinese primary English language teachers aware of English being used as a multilingual franca?

b. How do Chinese primary English language teachers perceive the relationships between repertoire, culture, and identity?

8.4.1   Adherence to native-speakerism

The third research question and its sub-questions are answered through the analysis of individual interviews and focus group interview data. The data suggests complex contradictoriness in teachers' beliefs regarding how they perceive Chinese multilingual speakers, their multilingual repertoire, and the role of English and power in social context. As for perceptions of multilingual Chinese speakers in relation to English, teachers perceive both themselves and their students' as permanent learners of native English; show a shared desire to participate in international community with English; and intend to consolidate Chineseness though English. Considering multilingual repertoire, teachers' beliefs about the Chinese language, English language, and non-linguistic modes are in line with the top-down management of multilingualism, that clear line is drawn between the Chinese language and the English language while the boundaries between English and non-linguistic modes are blurred. In terms of the role of English and power in social context, while teachers report the belief that English is needed for Chinese to construct and perform their national identity and cultural confidence in international settings, they also show their concerns on social stratification in relation to English in China.

From the interview data, it becomes evident that teachers tend to exhibit a (problematic) positive attitude towards being "permanent learner" (Medgyes, 1994, p. 91) of native English. Teachers perceive students' struggle to learn native English as evidence of being 'good' and 'diligent' students. For teachers themselves, acquiring native English proficiency is related to establish their professional identity and build confidence. However, this perspective of viewing themselves and their students as permanent learner of native English not only results in an identity of inferiority among teachers' themselves but also makes their students struggle to learn. Such observation of students' struggle to learn native English is also reported in an early study. One of the Chinese primary English language teachers in Li's study (2003, p. 69) commented: "I often see the kids struggling to express themselves in English". This problematic positive attitude towards American

and British English learning is also identified among Chinese university students who include American and British English as part of their life fulfilment (X. Gao, Cheng, & Kelly, 2008). The finding confirms the existing literature that the learner identity reproduces the native speaker supremacy and undermines the non-native English teachers' professional legitimacy (e.g. Huang, 2019). Teachers in this study express anxiety about their non-native like accent, which resonates with previous study that native-speakerism usually leads to non-native speakers' anxiety and low self-esteem (e.g. Llurda, 2014). However, the frustration of struggling to achieve a British-like accent does not trigger English language teachers' critical reflections on the issue; rather, they intensify their pursuit. Just as how they justify their students' identity as permanent learners of English, they emotionally justify the endless pursuit of having British-like accent as necessary to gain confidence and charm in front of students and parents. In short, the data shows that teachers in this study feel positively about both themselves and their pupils as persistent learners of native English throughout their 'lifelong' pursuit.

The data also reveals that standard (British) English is positively perceived as opportunities for geographical and social upward mobility. This is in line with Gao et al.'s (2008) research that English is associated with an imagined community of Chinese elites. Similarly, Xu's (2013) study indicates that English is associated with "an educated elite group" and can provide better jobs prospects and more opportunities for Chinese. According to Bourdieu, eliteness is linked to ideologies, aspirations, and power, thereby involving classifications and hierarchization. It is concerning that English language education seems to serve as a tool for perpetuating the positive attitudes associated with middle class, standard varieties of English (Badwan, 2020). This is warning as it can perpetuate social inequality associated with primary English language education in China (Y. Zhang & Wang, 2011).

Additionally, the interview data also highlights a desire of engagement in international communities which are imagined as English monolingual. A similar result is identified in Kubota's (2011) research, in which English language learning is related to desire of being included in a seductive imagined English-speaking community. The data suggests that teachers possess certain awareness of the diversity of English and English interlocutors, yet they still have a strong belief in standard British English in English language education. This confirms the finding of Wen's (2012b) study. Wen found that there was a remarkable progress in Chinese teachers and scholars' understanding of the role of English as an international language, but the daily teaching in general has not been changed by this development. Wen explains that the conflicts between the progress in the overall understanding of English as an international language and the insistence on English as a native language principle in practice attribute to no feasible new models of teaching available to teachers.

In short, teachers' adherence to native-speakerism and the emotionally-driven justification behind it demonstrate the resilience and persistence to native-speakerism in primary English language education (e.g. Hino, 2018; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). This self-colonized mentality (Kumaravadivelu, 2016) not only challenges English language teachers' legitimacy of using and teaching English but also brings them struggles to establish their professional identity.

8.4.2 Conflicting beliefs about repertoire, culture, and identity

Teachers in this study exhibit conflicting beliefs about repertoire, culture, and identity. First, they draw a distinct boundary between the Chinese language and the English language. The English-only classroom is viewed as ideal for facilitating students' learning (see section 7.3.1). The perception of the use of L1 impeding English language learning is also noted in other primary school contexts. For example, an observational study conducted in South Korean primary school classrooms by S. M. Lee (2005) revealed that an excessive reliance on the mother tongue to solve communication issues, which however teachers believed deprived learners of the opportunity to listen and speak in English. A similar view was expressed by primary English language teachers in Carless's study (2004). In Hong Kong, primary English language teachers share concerns that pupils' use of Cantonese hinders the teachers' intention of letting pupils use English.

While Chinese language is not welcome by English language teachers in classroom practices, Chinese culture is prominent as identified in their practice. It is conflictual that teachers intend to separate the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, while bond the English language and the Anglophone culture and at the same time try to integrate Chinese culture into the English language. Teachers perceive Chinese culture as cultural capital with symbolic power. As cultural capital, teachers take the view that the accumulation of this capital can contribute to students' individual functioning and well-being. The emphasis on integrating Chinese culture in English language education is situated in the broader discourse of China Dream as reviewed in 1.2.3 about the discursive context of Chineseness. China Dream is motivated by the nationalistic sentiments deeply rooted in the beliefs of China's traditional cultural glory (Singh, 2022). Suleiman (2003) claims that nationalism is directly or indirectly associated with the past. Characters such as "authenticity, rootedness, continuity, dignity and destiny" (p.7) in a nationalist discourse always connect with the past. The authenticating role of the past provides nationalism with definitional frames of reference, the motivational impulses or determination with respect to current and future challenges. Thus, it can be seen that an intense longing for past glory, a lamentation about missed opportunities and lost greatness is part of the composite of national belonging (Muro, 2005; A. D. Smith, 2015). In short, in addition to standard British English discussed in last section, traditional Chinese culture are perceived as legitimate and become

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symbolic capitals in primary English language education context. These capitals are essential in shaping individuals' multilingual development (P. H. Smith & Murillo, 2015).

Language teachers' conflicting beliefs and ideologies are identified in other contexts. For example, Martínez (2013) found that primary teachers' beliefs towards translanguaging reflect both ideologies of monoglot purism and ideologies valuing bilingualism in the US. Similarly, Henderson (2017) identified two third grade teachers in the US hold both hegemonic and counterhegemonic beliefs, which illuminates the ideological struggle of each teacher. Teachers are important mediators of classroom-level language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & Garcia, 2010). The lack of exploration teacher agency in this study limits the consideration of how teachers and teacher education can help to create an ideological space which can empower English language teachers and benefit students. Also as argued by Jenkins (2012, p. 492), "it is for ELT practitioners to decide whether/to what extent ELF is relevant to their learners in their context". In other words, it is English language teachers who should decide what is relevant for their context as far as ELF research is concerned and implement it in their English language classroom. In this process, evidently, teacher agency is a key factor.

Despite the observable conflicting beliefs concerning repertoire, culture, and identity, the data analysis also identified attempts (albeit limited and not fully developed) to address the conflicts. An idea rooted Chinese philosophy emerged from the data, which suggests the intention, planning, and expectation of the future development for 'language' and culture', 'nationalism' and 'internationalism'. The Taoist idea ("相聚相成 相融共生 相辅相成", "They should supplement and complement each other. They should merge into one and develop together") is used to theorize dialectical relationship between 'nationalism' and 'internationalism'. While the Taoist idea of theorizing the relationship between Chinese national and cultural identity and English is indeed important and reflects the possible future development, its realization cannot be achieved through standard British English. Previously, T. Fang (2011, p. 25) proposes a Yin Yang perspective to understand culture. Based on the indigenous Chinese philosophy of Yin Yang, he conceptualizes culture as possessing inherently paradoxical value orientations, thereby enabling it to embrace opposite traits of any given cultural dimension. It posits that potential paradoxical values coexist in any culture; they give rise to, exist within, reinforce, and complement each other to shape the holistic, dynamic, and dialectical nature of culture. Seen from the Yin Yang perspective, all cultures share the same potential in culture orientations, but at the same time they are also different from each other because each culture is a unique dynamic portfolio of self-selected globally available value orientations as a consequence of that culture's all dimensional learning over time. The Taoist idea identified in this study also resonates with Yue's (2023) discussion on Chinese thoughts in a multi-cultural world. She argues that Chinese culture, as a

frame of reference endowed with ideas of "harmony without homogeneity", chaos-generated cosmological view, can help to alleviate global diverse multiple cultural confrontations. She also calls for that China should have a "redefined cultural consciousness and rediscover itself in its interaction with "others". Only with adequate self-consciousness and better tolerance and appreciation of others can we improve intercultural communication. Dialogue is a necessity, at the same time, mutual recognition, respect, learning, and appreciation are also important. While teachers in this study show certain awareness of diversity, it seems that a sense of security and confidence for being Chinese render them open to diversity.

In conclusion, teachers' beliefs about multilingualism interrelates with individual desire of social mobility and shared desire of recognition in international setting, showing a conflict of the intention to consolidate Chineseness through English while being self-marginalized as permanent English learners.

Chapter 9   Conclusion

This chapter concludes what this study brings in terms of its significance of the findings, implications, contributions, suggestions for future research, and limitations of this study.

9.1   The study and its contributions

This study has explored the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education. Overall, this study makes three major contributions to the growing body of research on multilingualism in language education context. First, this study expands the research concern on multilingualism by giving attention to the L1-shared majority group students in China. It complements the current understanding of multilingualism by bringing a discussion centred on the role of national identity in shaping multilingualism. Two, the study foregrounds how broader social political ideologies are played out and transformed in the small-scale dynamic of day-to-day language classroom practice. Third, it addresses the research gap of focusing the shape of multilingualism at primary education level.

The findings of this study reveal a shared desire for recognition in international settings, along with which there exists a paradox of the intention to consolidate and perform Chineseness through English and being self-marginalized as permeant English learners. Language ideological boundaries between the Chinese language and the English language are drawn while boundaries between the English language and non-linguistic modes, and boundaries between Chinese culture and the English language are blurred. In constructing imagined communities, we see the interplay of structure (top-down management of discourse) and agency (bottom-up engagement in possibilities). "Identity relates to desire" (Norton, 1997, p. 440). This study has shown how national identity relates to the desire for recognition in international setting, the desire for affiliation of imagined Chinese community, and the desire for security and safety in the time of crisis. This study also sheds lights on how the sense of belonging to the imagined Chinese community becomes manifested in emotions which are discursively constructed. We also see how belonging-as-emotion is practiced in daily English teaching and learning practices to construct national identity, sharedness, and place.

This study highlights how broader social political ideologies are played out and transformed in the small-scale dynamic of day-to-day classroom practice. Educational language policies stem from political decisions and ideologies (Tollefson, 1991, 2013). The data analysis of this study suggests that the internationalist and nationalist discourse are closely intertwined and complement each

other to consolidate the Chineseness on the one hand and achieve a group recognition in international settings on the other hand. This result in a polarizing discursive construction of 'us' and 'them'. Drawing on Islam, Lamb, and Chambers (2013) on the issue of Pakistani English language education, national interests influence foreign language education with political nationalism and cultural nationalism: the desire to project "a positive group/national" (p. 244) image in international arena, in particular a positive cultural image. The ideological tensions in primary English language education are also identified in other context, such as Singapore (Curdt-Christiansen, 2015a). This ideological tension can present the challenges for textbook writers. As pointed out by Stranger-Johannessen (2015) regarding writing a Uganda English textbooks, writers faces the challenge of balancing on the one hand fostering national unity, on the other hand promoting intercultural communication. Future research is expected to explore the ideological tensions in the process of writing textbooks.

Establishing a 'new language' of national identity (Yim, 2007, p. 52) with a promotion of Chineseness in English largely shapes the form and representation of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education context. Viewing Chinese culture and standard British English as symbolic capitals largely shapes pupils' multilingual development. In terms of new-materialism and multimodality (e.g. Jewitt, 2013; Toohey, 2019), the form of multilingualism in the first place explicitly to a large extent recognizes the existence of a multiplicity of modes in representation and communication. Second, implicitly, the modes (in English language teachers and students' practices of co-constructing Chineseness, and in textbooks) are selected and configured for particular needs of identity construction. It suggests a paradox of an intention to mesh those modes (except Chinese language) which are socioculturally shaped with connotation of Chineseness with Standard (British) English mode which contains "self-colonized mentality" (Kumaravadivelu, 2016). The prevalence of standard English language ideologies in Chinese primary English language education give rise to what Flores and Rosa (2015) call "prescriptive ideologies" which imposes a particular way of using language, privileging certain voices and practices and stigmatising others. Consequently, language learners become influenced by certain "ideological imaginings of language, culture, identity and political structure" (Blommaert, 2016, p. 244). These ideological imaginings are influential as they typically coincide with what kinds of and how imagined communities are constructed and reconstructed. Building on literature reviewed, this study de-construct the term "prescriptive ideologies" to "prescribed imagined communities", making it more accessible for researchers who are interested in researching ideologies in educational context.

Kubota (1998, p. 304) has criticized the simply modelling of the Inner Circle English varieties which can impede the construction and creation of "new meaning and identities". Nevertheless, this

paradox is not a non-solution phenomenon, though challenging. Epistemic decolonization is need (e.g. Kubota, 2020; Kumaravadivelu, 2016) in English language education. EMF-aware teaching can be the first step and "a catalyst for change" (Widdowson, 2012) in the way of preparing emergent Chinese multilingual speakers to engage with diverse English interlocutors in multilingual setting and empowering them with possibilities of identity construction and performance in and through English. Teacher education is critical in the process of change. This study argues for the importance of recognizing and concentrating on the local L1-shared English classroom as EMF scenarios, which can contribute to continuous process of reflection and localized pedagogical design. EMF-aware pedagogical intervention also has the potential to "balance the country's nationalist and internationalist desires" (McPherron & McIntosh, 2020, p. 218).

9.2   Implications, limitations, and future research

The gap between policy documents and textbooks in terms of English varieties and English interlocutors, as identified in this study, underscores an urgent need for dialogues between policy decision makers and textbook writers and publishers. English textbooks, according to Canagarajah (2007), need to raise students' awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity, and thus prepare students to participate in multilingual and multicultural interactions. Furthermore, this study shows that English is now taken as a way to articulate Chinese distinctiveness internationally. An assumption behind the educational goal of telling Chinese stories to the world in English is that English is a global lingua franca that allows communication with a diversity of interlocutors. It is problematic that the audience for listening to Chinese stories are represented in textbooks are only native English speakers from the UK and the US. Since textbooks are the main teaching materials used in classroom, there is a need to provide teachers with new textbooks with improved understanding and representation of the sociolinguistic diversity.

The gap between teachers' introduction of traditional Anglophone culture (besides Chinese culture) in English classroom and students' engagement in hybrid world popular culture that they bring to their English learning practices suggests a need to raise teachers' awareness of diversity in teacher education. EMF-aware pedagogic intervention (Ishikawa, 2020) can be considered to enrich EMF scenarios in English language classroom. In this study, students' representation of multilingualism demonstrates how they engage with the world's diverse culture. Teachers are expected to consider giving more space to students work in English classroom instead of just leaving them at home. Also, ELT materials writers and publishers are expected to move away from NES norms (Galloway, 2018). Besides, this study suggests that students themselves can be considered ELT materials 'writers. However, as one of the limitations, this study did not interview

Chinese primary pupils about their perceptions. Future work with more interactions with pupils is expected to explore their representation of multilingualism. Also, comparative studies on multimodality concerning different education levels are expected.

This thesis has explored the discursive construction of multilingualism in Chinese primary English language education, in which Chineseness is highlighted. It has shown that such discourse constructs the imagined communities in English language education in particular ways and has special expectations for Chinese multilingual speakers' performance in imagined communities. It should be acknowledged there should be many aspects of multilingualism in other social fields in China besides what has been explored in this thesis. This means that while the primary English language education influences the form of multilingualism and Chinese multilingual speakers' practices, it does not determine the dynamics of multilingualism as we can see from students' very 'chaotic' engagement with time and space. More future work is needed to unpack and understand the complexity of multilingualism and its intersections with other social ideologies in Chinese context. In other words, interdiscursive exploration (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, & Shuart-Faris, 2005) is expected, which can provide more insights into the issue. Moreover, as the systematicity of habitus entails a tendency of presenting a system of affinity in certain values (Blommaert, 2018), this study calls for longitudinal studies that can reveal to what the extent the habituated characteristics in Chinese multilingual speakers' educational experience attribute to their later prioritizing of national identity in intercultural communication (ChELF).

9.3   Final remark

In my first and second year of PhD study, my idea about multilingualism was much influenced by a poetic and romantic version of multilingual world, a utopia free of structure, a vacuum out of history. This naiveness (though unavoidable as part of learning process) led to my prejudice on fixity in multilingual practices. It also made me confused and struggled with the data in the first a few rounds of analysis until I realized the real complexity of multilingualism lies in the co-existence and interplay between fixity and fluidity. We are living in a multilingual world, while our multilingual practices and beliefs are being socioculturally shaped and keep changing with our on-going personal trajectories.

China has stressed the importance of English language education and English language competence for effective global engagement over years. However, China has now stepped into a new stage of multilingual education since the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013 (X. Gao & Zheng, 2019). Aiming to enhance economic and cultural communication with non-Anglophone countries in light of the initiative, the Chinese government has become active in

embarking on non-English foreign language education (for examples, Russian, Japanese, Germany, French, and Spanish) in primary schools[7]. While there are concerns that the strategic initiative may potentially undermine the importance of English language education (Shen & Gao, 2019), this study sees opportunities emerging at this historical crossroad for the development of EMF-informed English language education and focus on multilingualism in other non-English foreign language classrooms as well in China. It is hoped that this study can also have implications for language policy decision makers and researchers in Asian contexts where they have to respond to similar challenges resulting from ongoing sociocultural changes and political re-orientations.

Although the shared desire for distinction identified in this study cannot be generalised in every Asian country, it nevertheless provides evidence of tendencies of national identification which are more observable in the crisis context. The social, political, and racial polarisation has characterized the past a few years and has been further exasperated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Carothers & O'Donohue, 2019; Chelsea & Hansen, 2021). Boundaries and the emotional appeal for security and social binding force for solidarity in the context of COVID-19 pandemic are observable in different types of discursive practices in different contexts. This has been noticed by sociolinguists and educational linguists (e.g. Hopkyns & van den Hoven, 2023; Jenks & Bhatia, 2020). Consequently, this study argue that the methodological and theoretical framework of multilingualism needs to take into account of the role of national identification, its different forms, and its interactions with other multiple identifications. It can thus in turn help create moments for critical reflections of national identification and help it to find its right place with sustainability.

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[7] https://www.unischool.cn/c/2022-04-19/223636.shtml

Appendix A   Participant Information Sheet (Teachers)

Study Title: Researching Multilingualism in Chinese Context: A Qualitative Case Study of English Language Education in a Chinese Primary School

Researcher: Yi Zou

ERGO number: 54733

You are being invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide whether you would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or you would like more information before you decide to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others but it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Yi Zou. I am a doctoral student at the University of Southampton, UK. This research project is about language and culture in primary Chinese English language education, focusing on how English is taught, teachers' views of their teaching practice, and their views of language use and culture presentation in English language education. It aims to address the gap between pedagogical practice in language education and social reality of language use. The research can inform the way English language education related policy makers and teachers think about language and culture in the paradigm of multilingualism which situates language practice in real social contexts. By presenting the social realities of language use, English language education can further help primary school pupils to make sense of an increasingly complex and interlinked world and develop critical thinking.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You have been invited to participate because you meet the criteria of the recruitment of participants:

 You are currently teaching English in a Chinese public primary school

 You are willing to express views about English education and daily teaching practice

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you consent to taking part, you will be invited to participate in some or all the following research activities:

Classroom observation: Your teaching practice will be observed during English language teaching in video recordings. With your permission, I will ask you to help video-record two to three classes which you teach and send to me via email. It will take place over the period of a semester in the school as normal.

Interview: You will be invited to participate in an interview once with me. The interview will take place online via Microsoft Teams. It is planned to take approximately 45 minutes. The interview will be conducted in Chinese. I will ask questions regarding language and culture in English language education. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded via Microsoft Teams so that it can be transcribed for analysis.

Focus group discussion: You will be invited to participate in a focus group discussion with other English teachers in the school and me. It will take place online via Microsoft Teams. It is planned to take approximately one hour. The group discussion will be conducted in Chinese. With your permission, the discussion will be audio recorded via Microsoft Teams so that it can be transcribed for analysis.

You can withdraw your participation anytime you would like to without giving me any reason. All the data will be anonymised and only I can access the data.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Participating gives you the opportunity to reflect, to share your experience, your doubts and beliefs as regards English language education. From an academic point of view, your knowledge and feedback will help to contribute to the knowledge of language and culture in English language education.

Are there any risks involved?

No usual psychological or physical discomfort or distress will be caused. However, teachers might feel nervous or embarrassed when their teaching performance is video-recorded and then observed; they might feel shy when expressing their views of English and culture during interviews and focus group discussions.

What data will be collected?

Personal data that I will collect include: name and contact details are needed to arrange your participation and to allow feeding back of the results of the study. All personal data will be deleted immediately after the end of the study.

As part of the study, with your permission, you will need to help video-record you classes. Interviews and focus group discussions will be audio-recorded via Microsoft Teams. This will be stored on a password protected, University of Southampton computer. All the video and audio recordings will be immediately deleted after the transcription.

Any emails addresses or emails to/from you regarding the study will be stored in a password protected University of Southampton email account. All the emails will be deleted after the end of the study.

No sensitive data will be collected in this study.

All data will be handled securely during collection, analysis, storage and transfer, using encryption and password protected access, or lockable cabinets for hard data. Data will be anonymised and then encrypted and protected with a password. This will be stored on the University of Southampton's network. Personal data and consent forms will be kept separate form anonymised data so that participants cannot be identified.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your participation and the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Interview and focus group data will be anonymised. Only members of the research team and responsible members of the University of Southampton may be given access to data about you for monitoring purposes and/or to carry out an audit of the study to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations. Individuals from regulatory authorities (people who check that we are carrying out the study correctly) may require access to your data. All of these people have a duty to keep your information, as a research participant, strictly confidential.

Do I have to take part?

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide you want to take part, you will need to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your participant rights being affected. Please contact yz10u17@soton.ac.uk to withdraw your data.

Please note that if data you have provided has been included in a publication, it may be impossible to remove this data from the publication. Similarly, the anonymisation key will be destroyed three years after the publication of the thesis. Once this anonymisation key is destroyed, data may be irreversibly anonymised and as such, it may be impossible to remove this data.

What will happen to the results of the research?

When the data is processed and analysed, it will contribute to a doctoral thesis and other related publications. This thesis will be accessible, and you will be able to read it. You can contact me to ask for a copy of the thesis and any publications related to it.

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential. Research findings made available in any reports or publications will not include information that can directly identify you without your specific consent.

Where can I get more information?

If you want to know more, please get in touch with me via yz10u17@soton.ac.uk or the University of Southampton's research governance team via rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk

What happens if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researcher, Yi Zou (yz10u17@soton.ac.uk), who will do her best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly-funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest when we use personally-identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection

policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear what data is being collected about you.

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

For the purposes of data protection law, the University of Southampton is the 'Data Controller' for this study, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The University of Southampton will keep identifiable information about you for three years after the study has finished after which time any link between you and your information will be removed.

To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personal data necessary to achieve our research study objectives. Your data protection rights – such as to access, change, or transfer such information - may be limited, however, in order for the research output to be reliable and accurate. The University will not do anything with your personal data that you would not reasonably expect.

If you have any questions about how your personal data is used, or wish to exercise any of your rights, please consult the University's data protection webpage (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page) where

you can make a request using our online form. If you need further assistance, please contact the University's Data Protection Officer (data.protection@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

Appendix B   Participant Information Sheet (Parents/Legal Guardians)

参与者须知 （家长）

Study Title: Researching Multilingualism in Chinese Context: A Qualitative Case Study of Primary English Language Education in a Chinese Primary School

研究题目：探究中国语境下的多语制：关于中国小学英语教育的定性研究

Researcher: Yi Zou

研究员：邹艺

ERGO number: 54733

ERGO 编号：54733

Your child is being invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide on behalf of your child whether he/she would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or you would like more information before you decide on behalf of your child whether he/she would like to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others but it is up to you to decide whether or not your child to take part. If you are happy your child to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form on behalf of your child.

邀请您的孩子参加上述研究。为了帮助您代表孩子决定是否愿意参加，您需要了解为什么要进行这项研究及其涉及的内容。 请仔细阅读以下信息再代表孩子决定是否参与此研究，如果有不清楚的地方或者想获取更多信息，请联系研究员。您可以与其他人讨论，但是要由您自己决定孩子是否参加。如果您愿意您的孩子参加，您将需要代表您的孩子签署同意书。

What is the research about?

研究内容是什么？

My name is Yi Zou. I am a doctoral student at the University of Southampton, UK. This research project is about language and culture in primary Chinese English language education, focusing on

how English is taught, teachers' views of their teaching practice, and their views of language use and culture presentation in English language education. It aims to address the gap between pedagogical practice in language education and social reality of language use. The research can inform the way English language education related policy makers and teachers think about language and culture in the paradigm of multilingualism which situates language practice in real social contexts. By presenting the social realities of language use, English language education can further help primary school pupils to make sense of an increasingly complex and interlinked world and develop critical thinking.

我是邹艺，是英国南安普敦大学的博士研究生。 该研究项目是关于小学英语语言教育中的语言和文化，关注英语教学方法、英语教师的教学观点、以及英语教师对于英语教育中语言的使用和文化的呈现的看法。研究提出语言教学实践和现实社会中语言使用情况的差。该研究可以为与英语教育有关的政策制定者和英语教师在以现实语言使用为基础的多语范畴中思考语言和文化提供信息。英语教育在呈现社会中语言使用真实情况的基础上，可以进一步帮助小学生理解日益复杂和相互联系的世界并且培养他们的批判性思维。

Why has my child been asked to participate?

为什么想要我的孩子参加？

Your child has been invited to participate because she/he meets the criteria of the recruitment of participants:

She/he is currently studying in a Chinese public primary school and his/her experience of English language learning is of high interest for this research.

您的孩子之所以被邀请参加，是因为她/他符合招募研究者标准：

她/他目前正在一所中国的公立小学学习，并且他/她的英语学习经历对该研究非常重要。

What will happen to my child if I consent him/her to taking part?

如果我同意我的孩子参加，将会怎样？

If you consent your child to taking part, your child will be video-recorded in the class during English language teaching. Your child will be observed in the video recordings. Your child's work will be collected. It will take place over the period of a semester in the school as normal. With your permission, your child's English language teacher will help video-record the classes.

You can withdraw your child's participation anytime you would like to without giving me any reason. All the data will be anonymised and only I can access the data.

如果您同意您的孩子参加，您的孩子将在英语课堂中被录影，以及在保存的录影影像中被观察。您孩子的作业会被收集。这会在学校的一个正常学期内进行。经您允许，您的孩子的英语老师会帮忙录影。无需任何理由，您可以随时代表孩子退出研究。所有数据将被匿名，只有我可以访问这些数据。

Are there any benefits in my child's taking part?

我的孩子参加研究有什么好处吗？

The observation and analysis of your child's experience in English language education can contribute to the understanding of language and culture presented in English language education, which can further contribute to the discussion of how to help primary school pupils to make sense of an increasingly complex and interlinked world and develop critical thinking.

对您的孩子在英语教育的中经历进行观察和分析，有助于理解英语教学中所呈现的语言和文化，并且有助于讨论如何帮助小学生理解日益复杂和相互联系的世界和如何培养他们的批判性思维。

Are there any risks involved?

该研究是否涉及任何风险？

Your child might feel shy or embarrassed when noticing the camera at the back of the classroom during the video-recording.

当您的孩子注意到教室的后面的录影相机时，她/他可能会感到害羞或尴尬。

What data will be collected?

该研究将收集什么数据？

Personal data that I will collect include: name and contact details are needed to arrange your participation and to allow feeding back of the results of the study. All personal data will be deleted immediately after the end of the study.

As part of the study, with your permission, teachers will need to help video-record the English language teaching classes and collect students' work. This will be stored on a password protected, University of Southampton computer. All the video recordings will be immediately deleted after the transcription.

Any emails addresses or emails to/from you regarding the study will be stored in a password protected University of Southampton email account. All the emails will be deleted after the end of the study.

No sensitive data will be collected in this study.

All data will be handled securely during collection, analysis, storage and transfer, using encryption and password protected access, or lockable cabinets for hard data. Data will be anonymised and then encrypted and protected with a password. This will be stored on the University of Southampton's network. Personal data and consent forms will be kept separate form anonymised data so that participants cannot be identified.

个人数据的收集包括：姓名和联系方式，以便安排您孩子的参与和向您反馈研究结果。研究结束后，所有个人数据将被立即删除。

作为研究的一部分，经您允许，老师需要对英语教学课堂进行录影并且收集整理学生的作业。这将存储在受密码保护的南安普敦大学计算机上。转录后，所有录影将立即被删除。所有有关该研究的电子邮件地址或往来电子邮件都将存储在受密码保护的南安普敦大学电子邮件帐户中。研究结束后，所有电子邮件将被删除。这项研究不会收集任何敏感数据。在收集，分析，存储和传输过程中，将使用加密和密码保护的访问管理所有数据，纸质数据将放于锁柜。数据将被匿名，然后使用密码进行加密和保护。这将存储在南安普敦大学的网络中。个人数据和同意书将以匿名数据的形式分开单独保存，以确保参与者信息不被透露。

Will my child's participation be confidential?

我的孩子的参与是否保密？

Your child's participation and the information collected about him/her during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Only members of the research team and responsible members of the University of Southampton may be given access to data about your child for monitoring purposes and/or to carry out an audit of the study to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations. Individuals from regulatory authorities (people who check that we are carrying out the study correctly) may require access to your child's data. All of these people have a duty to keep your child's information, as a research participant, strictly confidential.

您的孩子的参与以及在研究过程中收集的有关他/她的信息将严格保密。只有南安普敦大学的研究小组人员和负责人员才能访问有关您的孩子的数据，进行研究监督和/或进行研究审

核，以确保研究遵守相关规定。监管机构的人员（审核研究是否遵守相关规定的人员）可能需要访问您的孩子的数据。作为研究参与者，所有这些人都有责任对您的孩子的信息严格保密。

Does my child have to take part?

我的孩子必须参加吗？

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not your child to take part. If you decide you want your child to take part, you will need to sign a consent form on behalf of your child to show you have agreed him/her to take part.

不，完全由您决定您的孩子是否参加。如果您决定要您的孩子参加，则需要代表您的孩子签署同意书，以表明您已同意他/她参加。

What happens if I change my mind?

如果我改变主意怎么办？

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your child's participant rights being affected. Please contact yz10u17@soton.ac.uk to withdraw your child's data.

Please note that if data your child has provided has been included in a publication, it may be impossible to remove this data from the publication. Similarly, the anonymisation key will be destroyed three years after the publication of the thesis. Once this anonymisation key is destroyed, data may be irreversibly anonymised and as such, it may be impossible to remove this data.

您有权随时改变主意并退出研究，而无需给出任何理由，这不会影响孩子作为研究参与者的权利。请联系 yz10u17@soton.ac.uk 撤回孩子的数据。请注意，如果您的孩子提供的数据已包含在出版物中，则可能无法从出版物中删除该数据。 同样，论文发表三年后，匿名密钥将被销毁。 一旦该匿名密钥被销毁，数据可能会被不可逆地匿名，因此，可能无法删除该数据。

What will happen to the results of the research?

研究结果将被如何处理？

When the data is processed and analysed, it will contribute to a doctoral thesis and other related publications. This thesis will be accessible and you will be able to read it. You can contact me to ask for a copy of the thesis and any publications related to it.

Your and your child's personal details will remain strictly confidential. Research findings made available in any reports or publications will not include information that can directly identify you and your child without your specific consent.

数据经过分析处理，将用于博士学位论文和其他相关出版物撰写。您将能够阅读该论文。您可以与我联系，要求阅读论文副本和与研究相关的任何出版物。您和您孩子的个人资料将严格保密。未经您同意，任何报告或出版物中呈现的研究结果都不会包含可直接识别您和您的孩子身份的信息。

Where can I get more information?

我可以在哪里可以获得更多信息？

If you want to know more, please get in touch with me via yz10u17@soton.ac.uk or the University of Southampton's research governance team via rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk.

如果您想了解更多信息，请通过 yz10u17@soton.ac.uk 与我联系，或者通过 rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk 与南安普敦大学的研究管理团队取得联系。

What happens if there is a problem?

如果出现问题怎么办？

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researcher, Yi Zou (yz10u17@soton.ac.uk), who will do her best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

如果您对该研究的任何方面有疑问，您可以与研究员邹艺（yz10u17@soton.ac.uk）交流，她将尽力回答您的问题。 如果您对该研究的任何方面仍然不满意或有任何投诉，请联系南安普敦大学研究监管员（023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk）。

Data Protection Privacy Notice

数据保护隐私声明

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly-funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest

when we use personally-identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

南安普敦大学以最高的科研诚信标准进行研究。作为一个公立组织，当我们使用研究参与者个人身份信息时，大学必须确保其符合公众利益。这意味着，当您同意参与一项研究时，我们对有关您身份信息的使用会基于所需和特定目的，以进行并完成研究项目。根据数据保护法，"个人数据"是指任何与生命个体有关且能识别其身份的信息。有关大学使用个人数据的大学数据保护政策，请访问网站

(https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear what data is being collected about you.

本告知书包含此项目将收集哪些数据，以及其中是否包含任何个人数据。 如果您对数据收集有任何疑问或不清楚的地方，请询问研究团队。

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

当您参加我们的其中一项研究项目时，我们为您提供的隐私声明包含了有关南安普顿大学如何收集和使用您的个人数据的更多信息，请访问网站

http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

我们在该研究中收集的任何个人数据将仅用于进行研究的目的，并且将根据数据保护法依循大学政策进行处理。如果使用任何可直接识别您身份的个人数据，除非根据法律要求南安普敦大学予以披露，否则未经您的同意，我们不会将其透露给其他任何人。

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

数据保护法要求我们具备有效的法律理由（"合法依据"）来处理和使用您的个人数据。 在该研究中处理个人信息的合法依据是数据仅用于出于公共利益而进行的研究。 收集用于研究的个人数据将不会用于任何其他目的。

For the purposes of data protection law, the University of Southampton is the 'Data Controller' for this study, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The University of Southampton will keep identifiable information about you for three years after the study has finished after which time any link between you and your information will be removed.

就数据保护法而言，南安普敦大学是该研究的"数据管理者"，这意味着我们有责任管理您的信息并合理使用。 研究完成后，南安普敦大学将保留有关您的可识别信息三年，此后，您与您的信息之间的任何联系都将被删除。

To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personal data necessary to achieve our research study objectives. Your data protection rights – such as to access, change, or transfer such information - may be limited, however, in order for the research output to be reliable and accurate. The University will not do anything with your personal data that you would not reasonably expect.

为了维护您的权利，我们将使用最少的个人数据来实现研究目的。 但是，为了确保研究结果可靠和准确，您的数据保护权利（例如访问，更改或传输此类信息）可能会受到限制。对于您的个人数据，大学将不会用于任何您认为不合理事情。

If you have any questions about how your personal data is used, or wish to exercise any of your rights, please consult the University's data protection webpage (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page) where you can make a request using our online form. If you need further assistance, please contact the University's Data Protection Officer (data.protection@soton.ac.uk).

如果您对如何使用您的个人数据有任何疑问，或希望行使您的任何权利，请查阅大学的数据保护网页(https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page)

您可以使用我们的在线表格提出请求。 如果您需要进一步的帮助，请联系大学的数据保护负责人(data.protection@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

谢谢。

Appendix C   Consent form (Teachers)

Study title: Researching Multilingualism in Chinese Context: a Qualitative Case Study of Primary English Language Education in a Chinese Primary School

Researcher name: Yi Zou

ERGO number: 54733

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (04/03/2020, Version 1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I agree to help video-record two to three English language teaching classes which I teach and send to the researcher via email. I agree to be observed in the video recordings for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet.	
I agree to take part in the online interview via Microsoft Teams for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet and understand that these will be audio-recorded via Microsoft Teams.	
I agree to take part in the online focus group discussion via Microsoft Teams for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet and understand that these will be audio-recorded via Microsoft Teams.	
I understand that I may be quoted directly in reports of the research but that I will not be directly identified (e.g. that my name will not be used).	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time for any reason without my participation rights being affected.	

Name of participant (print name) …………………………………………………………………

Signature of participant……………………………………………………………………………

Date……………………………………………………………………………….……………

Name of researcher (print name) Yi Zou Signature of researcher ………………

Date……………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix D Consent form (Parents/Legal Guardians)

同意书（家长）

Study Title: Researching Multilingualism in Chinese Context: a Qualitative Case Study of Primary English Language Education in a Chinese Primary School

研究题目：探究中国语境下的多语制：关于中国小学的英语教育的定性研究

Researcher name: Yi Zou

研究员：邹艺

ERGO number: 54733

ERGO 编号：54733

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

如果您同意以下声明，请在方框中打勾：

I have read and understood the information sheet (04/03/2020) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study. 我已阅读并了解参与者须知（04/03/2020），并有机会询问有关该研究的问题。	
I agree my child to take part in this research project and agree for his/her data to be used for the purpose of this study. 我同意我的孩子参与该研究项目，并同意他/她的数据用于该研究的目的。	
I agree my child to be video-recorded in English language teaching class, and be observed in video recordings for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet. 我同意在英语教学课堂上录影以及在录影影像中观察我的孩子，了解这是出于参与者须知所陈述的研究目的。	
I understand that my child may be quoted directly in reports of the research but that he/she will not be directly identified (e.g., that his/her name will not be used).	

我了解在研究报告中可能会引述我的孩子，但是他/她的身份信息不会被直接识别（例如，不会使用他/她的名字）。	
I understand my child's participation is voluntary and I may withdraw on the behalf of my child at any time for any reason without my child's participation rights being affected. 我了解孩子的参与是自愿的，我可以随时以任何理由代表孩子退出该研究，并了解这不会影响孩子的参与权。	

Name of participant's parent (print name) ……………………………………………………….

参与者家长姓名（正楷）

Signature of participant's parent………………………………………………………………

参与者家长签字

Date…………………………………………………………………………………….

日期

Name of researcher (print name)　邹艺（Yi Zou）

研究员姓名（正楷）

Signature of researcher …………………………………………………………………

研究员签字

Date…………………………………………………………………………………..

日期

Appendix E   Semi-structured Interview design

Interview prompts

1. Opening topics:

   a) Introducing the researcher and the research project

   b) Audio recording and consent form

   c) Any question about the research project

2. Issues to be explored:

   a) English language education policy

   b) Language and culture in English language education

   c) Social context of English for Chinese multilingual speakers

   d) Awareness of diversities of English and English interlocutors

   e) Reflections on English language teaching practices

3. Closing remarks:

   a) Any free comments stimulated by the project

   b) Thanks for the contribution

Appendix F   Focus Group Design

A. Warm-up: introducing the researcher and the research project

B. Audio-recording information and consent form

C. Present the stimuli: watching a short cut of video recording of English language teaching practice

C. Let the discussion start: thoughts about the teaching practice in the video recording

D. Issues to be explored through discussion include:

   1) About English and culture

   2) About language and culture

   3) About English language teaching and learning

   4) About Chinese primary English language education policy

G. Ending: suggestions and comments

Appendix G   Transcription conventions

T _{no.}	marks	a teacher
HM	marks	the headmaster
S_{no.}	marks	a student
Ss	marks	students
R	marks	the researcher
(…)	marks	a pause
Full stop.	marks	to indicate termination
CAPITAL	marks	emphasis
:	marks	sound stretching
[	marks	overlap
-	marks	abrupt cut-off, unfinished sentence
(xxx)	marks	inaudible
[ ]	marks	omitted words
(( ))	marks	descriptive details
[…]	marks	author's gaps
?	marks	rising tone or asking a question
regular	marks	speaking in English
italic	marks	speaking in Chinese

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