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**Native speakerism and the construction of CLIL competence in teaching partnerships: reshaping participation frameworks in the bilingual classroom.**

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## **Abstract**

English language education in the region of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain) has undergone significant changes in the last decade with the rapid implementation of different types of CLIL-based Spanish-English bilingual programs. This situation places English linguistic competence at the center of controversy given the need for certified bilingual teachers participating in CLIL-type bilingual programs, who must comply with the minimum B2 level of English and are expected to engage in the successful teaching of content subjects. Within this context, this paper draws from a larger multi-sited linguistic ethnography and analyzes the organization of bilingual classroom interactions in a semi-private school that claims to implement a distinct language program built around teaching partnerships (Creese, 2002) between “native” language assistants (NLAs) and content teachers (CTs). We draw from critical research on communicative competence (Kataoka, Ikeda and Besnier, 2013; Jaffe, 2013; Makihara, 2013) and changing definitions of workers in late capitalism (Heller and McElhinny, 2017; Urciuoli, 2008) to examine how linguistic and professional hierarchies are reconstructed within this bilingual classroom interactional order.

**Keywords:** Native speakerism- CLIL competence- Linguistic Ethnography - Teaching Partnerships - Classroom Interactions-

## 1. Introduction

This article analyzes the organization of Spanish/English bilingual classroom interactions in a semi-private school in Castilla-La Mancha (Spain), which implements a distinct bilingual program built around teaching partnerships (Creese, 2000, 2002) between 'native' language assistants (NLAs) and content teachers (CTs). Since CLIL was first promoted in the 1990s as a type of bilingual education policy (Baetens Beardsmore, 2009), celebratory discourses about the benefits and positive outcomes of CLIL practices continue to shape the CLIL agenda (Doiz and Lasagabaster, 2017). This is the case of research aimed at providing guidelines on teacher collaboration among content and language teachers (Pavón Vásquez, 2014; Pavón Vásquez et al.; 2014) and between content teachers and language assistants (Méndez García and Pavón Vásquez, 2012) in CLIL contexts. This work has emphasized the need for integrating objectives, contents, activities and roles among content and foreign language teachers/language assistants in a language teaching model that can guarantee the successful development of English communicative competence.

Bearing this research in mind, this article takes a sociolinguistic ethnographic perspective to CLIL-based teaching partnerships to examine CLIL-type classroom interactions as situated linguistic practices that need to be understood in relation to wider social and educational processes, such as the commodification of English as a global language in a neoliberal education market (Pérez-Milans and Patiño-Santos (2014), Codó and Patiño (2017), Relaño Pastor (2015, 2018a, 2018b), Hidalgo McCabe and Fernández-González, 2020). We draw from critical research on communicative competence (Kataoka, Ikeda and Besnier, 2013; Jaffe, 2013; Makihara, 2013), native speakerism (Holliday, 2006) and changing definitions of workers in late capitalism (Heller and McElhinny, 2017; Urciuoli, 2008) to examine how linguistic and professional hierarchies among teachers participating in the bilingual program under discussion are reshaping participation frameworks in the bilingual classroom interactional order.

We also build from ethnographically-oriented research on language-based teaching partnerships, understood in this article as any arrangement which involves the co-presence or coordination between two adult instructional figures in the classroom. In

the UK and the USA, this research has focused on the work and role of “support teachers” in schools with a high proportion of migrant students. In these contexts, the goal of the partnership is to assist migrant students’ learning and transition into the dominant language of the host country and school (e.g. Creese, 2002, 2006; Ernst-Slavit and Wenger, 2006; Wenger et al; 2004). These works also shown how there are clear professional, social and linguistic hierarchies between the content teachers, the home language and support staff and migrant heritage languages. However, in CLIL-based partnerships the goal is to promote and support two languages throughout schooling. Also, in many cases -such as the case presented in this study- the additional language is a globally commodified language (i.e. English). Arguably, the professional and linguistic order of a school built around an English CLIL-type program may be very different and the dynamics and ideologies surrounding teaching partnerships may also differ from what has been reported for classrooms with migrant/minority second-language learners.

### **1.1. Native speakerism, communicative competence, and skills shaping participation frameworks in teaching partnerships**

Turning to the context of our research, Spanish-English CLIL-type bilingual programs in Castilla-La Mancha -an interior region in South-Central Spain- have grown rapidly over the past few years and have been included in the educational policy agendas of successive regional governments. In the 2019-2020 academic year there were a total of 617 “bilingual and plurilingual projects” (580 of which used in English as the medium of instruction) in 529 schools across the five provinces of the region. The organization of CLIL-type bilingual programs places CLIL teachers’ communicative competence at the center of controversy as the implementation demands a growing pool of linguistically certified bilingual teachers who, in addition to complying with a B2/C1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), must engage in the successful teaching of content subjects. Communicative competence, defined as the ability to use language appropriately in a variety of social contexts (Hymes, 1971), has been incorporated into different models of language teaching over the last four decades (Canale and Swain, 1980, 1983; Celce-Murcia, 1995, 2007; Celce-Murcia, 2007) to provide a comprehensive, effective approach to second and foreign language teaching. In

addition, proposed models of teacher collaboration in CLIL classrooms to enhance students' communicative competence (Pavón, 2014; Pavón et al.; 2014) focus on the distribution of roles and activities among language teachers, content teachers and language assistants. However, these language teaching models of communicative competence and successful CLIL partnerships do not fully account for the professional hierarchies and power relations at work in the type of teaching partnerships discussed in this article. For example, previous research in Spain has highlighted the centrality of English native language teachers as emblems of elitism and distinction in bilingual programs (Relaño Pastor and Fernández-Barrera 2019, Relaño Pastor, 2018; Hidalgo McCabe and Fernández-González, 2020) as well as the contradictions and dilemmas found among native language assistants in schools (Codó and McDaid, 2019).

In other words, certain bilingual programs in Spain and Castilla-La Mancha espouse *native speakerism*, defined by Holliday (2006) as “a pervasive ideology within ELT (English Language Teaching), characterized by the belief that ‘native speaker’ teachers represent ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (p. 386). It is an ideology that idealizes the English native speaker and reinforces the native/nonnative dichotomy in the English language teaching industry, despite research critical with this distinction (see Creese *et al.*; 2014 for a review of the native speaker debate). From another perspective, what is at stake in this debate is a socio-political construction of communicative competence in which “the ability to speak a language (or to perform certain actions, whether linguistic or not) may not so much be a matter of the competent mastery of a particular code, but a matter of whether one is viewed by others as being in a social position to have and display this competence in the particular social setting in which one operates” (Kataoka, Ikeda and Besnier, 2013, p. 348; Codó, 2020).

This discussion of the competencies required of teachers within Castilla-La Mancha bilingual programs fits well with current discussions of workers as 'bundles of skills' (Urciuoli, 2008; Heller and McElhinny, 2017). Teachers are expected to have and display linguistic-communicative skills, content matter knowledge and instructional strategies aligned with the tenets of a communicative - oriented / CLIL approach to classroom teaching. From another perspective, this 'skills' approach to teachers' knowledge is in

line with the notion of 'saberés docentes' (*teacher knowledges*) developed by Mexican educational anthropologists (Mercado, 1991, 2002; Rockwell, 1995; also see Ernst-Slavit and Poveda, 2011). Mercado establishes a distinction between *pedagogical knowledge* ('saberés pedagógicos'), the knowledge teachers acquire through formal educational and disciplinary training, and *teaching knowledge* ('saberés docentes'), the knowledge teachers develop through daily practice and experience (cf. Heller, 1994). The combination of these two frameworks also helps illuminate some of the ambiguities surrounding 'language skills' as part of teachers' professional repertoires - and at the same time points towards some of the areas where both Urciuoli's (2008) understanding of skills and Mercado's (2002) division of knowledge do not seem to provide a full account. At least three issues complicate matters:

- (1) Within the bilingual education contexts under discussion, 'language as a skill' occupies a liminal space. As said, for some adults and teachers, the valued language of instruction is their 'first/native language', acquired through life-long socialization and/or participation in an educational system in this language - that is, it would fit well Urciuoli's (2008) definition of a 'soft skill' and would be part of educators' teaching knowledge (Mercado, 2002). Yet, for other teachers, competence in the L2 language of instruction (in this case, English) is the result of specialized training and education, professional accreditation processes and a substantial personal investment aimed at reaching the institutionally recognized levels of language proficiency (B2/C1 levels within CERF). In other words, arguably, for these adults, language is a 'hard skill', the outcome of their labor (cf. Block, 2014) and part of their formally acquired pedagogical knowledge.
- (2) Within the educational settings under study, considering teachers as 'bundles of skills' has analytical advantages and helps understand how different teaching competencies are put into motion. However, it is wrong to assume that these bundles are necessarily 'packaged' into single individuals. The introduction of various professional figures, such as 'language assistants' or 'teaching partnerships', aims at creating classroom environments in which students are exposed to the full set (i.e. bundle) of skills that facilitate subject matter learning



and second language learning but this set is distributed through different actors in the classroom (Méndez and Pavón, 2012).

(3) Finally, a communicative scenario involving various teaching roles in the classroom invites returning to Goffman's notion of footing and participation frameworks (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004) in which the authority and legitimacy of speakers can be decomposed and re-constructed within or across individuals. Within this framework, classroom teaching involves different voices (cf. Rampton, 2006): (a) a 'principal', reflecting the disciplinary knowledge and formal curriculum transmitted through the educational system; (b) an 'author', who has turned the formal curriculum into different instructional units and a particular course curriculum; (c) an 'animator', who delivers this curriculum -in our case, in a specific second language- to students in the classroom. Individual teachers in a classroom may enact/reflect several of these voices and the presence of more than one teaching figure in the classroom opens up a range of possible ways in which different voices are distributed among co-teachers.

In this article, we examine precisely how these roles are distributed, the interactional ecologies (Erickson, 2004) they create in classrooms and the educational identities and tensions they generate in teachers within a particular type of bilingual educational arrangement that emerged during our fieldwork. This analysis draws from work that examined in detail the language and social ideologies behind the implementation of bilingual education in the region (Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera, 2019, Relaño-Pastor, 2018a, 2018b; Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera, 2018). Here it turns to the interactional order of the bilingual classroom to examine how English competence is displayed and enacted in classrooms and the teaching and interactional identities that emerge in these classroom arrangements. This allows us to discuss critically, drawing from actual teaching practices, how bilingualism and bilingual education is construed in schools and how teachers are skilled, deskilled and professionally repositioned within these bilingual programs and language-in-education policies.

## **2. Methodology**

Data were collected by a team of researchers between 2015-2018. The study is based on long-term participant observation in Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) classrooms<sup>1</sup> in four focal bilingual schools in La Mancha City<sup>2</sup>: (1) St. Marcos, a state-funded, religious private school; (2) St. Teo, a state-funded lay private school; (3) Sancho, a state-run primary school, and (4) High Towers, state-run secondary school. The full project collected 126 hours of classroom audio (and some video) recordings in CLIL subjects (i.e. biology, physics, technology, geography and history, religion and ethics) and English classes, 93 questionnaires with secondary students about their everyday use of English, 54 semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders, 12 class group discussions with around 300 secondary students, including three classes who also completed media and language landscape diaries, 9 language biography body drawings with primary students, photographs, website data and institutional documents of language-in-education policies in this region.

This article focuses on a set of classroom interactions in St. Teo -described in more detail below- as this school developed its own distinct approach to teaching partnerships in the bilingual education program. We focus on classroom interactions conducted in secondary education biology, religion and ethics classes (the rationale for this selection is discussed below). The recordings are examined micro-ethnographically (Bloome and Carter, 2013; Erickson, 1992) alongside the extensive ethnographic data of the school and the interviews we have conducted with the teachers in the excerpts analyzed below.

### **3. Context: An 'innovative' bilingual program in a semi-private school in St. Teo**

Our research in LMC indicates that St. Teo school presents itself as being one of the most prestigious, elite educational institutions in the area (see Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera, 2019 for further description of St. Teo's). St. Teo's 'elite spirit' is socially visible in the background of the students attending the school, who are mainly from upper-middle class families, holding in some cases influential public service

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<sup>1</sup> Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) in Spain lasts four years and is for students between 12-16 years of age.

<sup>2</sup> La Mancha City (LMC) is the pseudonym we will use for the locality where ethnographic fieldwork was conducted. It is a mid-sized city, centered primarily on public administration and a service economy, located in a largely rural/semi-rural area of the Castilla-La Mancha region. We also use pseudonyms for the four schools involved in fieldwork.

positions, as well as the school facilities and educational opportunities and programs it offers. One of the salient features of St. Teo is their English-medium bilingual program (Excerpt 1):

**Excerpt 1: Presentation of the school at the school website (2014)**

(...) In our school we are aware of the interest generated by learning languages, thus for us it no longer a complementary area of our education and has become a requirement to achieve complete development in many fields of life, academic, personal and professional. Thanks to our bilingual project, we increased the number of hours dedicated to teaching English in all our formative stages above those marked by law and also use English as the vehicular language for teaching other areas of the curriculum (...)

The distinct feature of this program is the inclusion of 'native English' teachers who can teach different subjects in addition to English. This is an extraordinary situation compared to most of the local schools (and perhaps the region), where 'native language speakers' function mostly as language assistants in the English-medium classes. It is also a pedagogical arrangement that departs from how bilingual programs are framed for state-run schools in current educational policies. According to the regional Plurilingualism Decree (2014/2017) bilingual programs are organized based on the percentage of time of English exposure and number of teachers who can accredit a B2 or C1 level of English competence and are prepared to teach their content area in English. English language hours are added to this calculation, allowing for programs to deliver between a maximum of 50% and a minimum of 25% of the total curriculum in English. In other words, state-run bilingual programs rest on having subject matter qualified teachers (usually Spanish-born, native Spanish speakers), who additionally are able to show English competence to teach content subjects.

St. Teo's bilingual program began in 2007 with different bilingual projects in primary and secondary education. The incorporation of 'native teachers' has become the distinctive element of their bilingual program, the catalyst of numerous transformations in the school and is the reason why St. Teo has to work with particular types of co-teaching arrangements (see Relaño Pastor and Fernández Barrera 2019 for further details). The addition of native English speakers to the teaching staff involved introducing a new teaching/professional category in the school coined as *bilingüistas* by

the school administration. *Bilingüista* is an emic concept of the school -drawing on a lexical creation in which a possible adjective is turned into a noun- that refers to the teaching staff of the school who meet one of two requirements: (1) being a native-speaker born in an English speaking country; (2) having a high level of accredited English proficiency (C1) accompanied by life experiences in English speaking countries, which would allow the teacher to assume a 'native-like' persona (see Excerpt 7). In Excerpt 2, the school program coordinator puts forward the category of bilingüista:

**Excerpt 2: Interview with a school program coordinator (see also Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera, 2019)**

(...) We are bilingualism of excellence because (...) our bilingualism is really implemented by the native teachers (...) the native teachers are very good. We're very lucky with the bilingüistas (...)  
(original in Spanish)

However, introducing these professional figures in the school also means re-arranging work with the teaching staff so St. Teo can comply with legal regulations regarding the qualifications that lead teachers in the classroom should have. All native English speakers have university qualifications but not necessarily in teaching or the subject areas they later have to co-teach. C1 accredited teachers are qualified language subject (English) specialists and are limited in relation to additional subject areas in which they can also assume teaching responsibilities (see Olga's case in our analysis). The solution is, when necessary, to create teaching partnerships between a bilingüista and a Spanish-speaking qualified subject teacher. This partnership will have to co-teach and coordinate how they develop the curriculum of each of the subjects that are incorporated into the bilingual program. This arrangement is presented as an optional bilingual program for families (available for an extra fee of 39 euros per month) which, in practice, enrolls all students in the school. It is also an arrangement that has changed over the years as bilingüista teachers become flexible workers who move through different co-teaching arrangements and are not seen as attached to particular subjects, curricular areas or even educational levels.

For the purposes of this article, the malleability of these teaching partnerships allows for an interesting natural experiment in the school in which different classroom interactional orders in the bilingual program are conceptually possible, drawing on the

presence (or not) of a teaching partnership and how this arrangement materializes in practice in the classroom. Figure 1 summarizes the different possibilities that emerged in the school and our data:

<b>Bilingüista</b>	<b>+ (Present)</b>	<b>- (Absent)</b>
<b>Subject Teacher</b>		
+ (Actively involved in instruction)	(1) Teachers in the partnership are co-present and distribute educational tasks (e.g. Year 3 ESO religion)	NOT BILINGUAL PROGRAM
- (Withdraws from instructional responsibilities)	(2) The bilingüista takes over most teaching responsibilities, the content specialist teacher only performs specific tasks (e.g. Year 3 ESO biology)	
- (No teaching partnership)	(3) A bilingüista with the required teaching certification takes over an additional subject area (e.g. Year 4 ESO ethics)	

**Figure 1: Teaching partnership arrangements in St. Teo**

The following sections delve into the interactional organization of these three possible classroom arrangements, examining how the different voices involved in educational discourse are distributed between potential co-teachers in the partnership. We situate these interactional arrangements within the tensions and redistribution of skills that they involve for the members of the partnership.

#### **4. The interactional order of the bilingual program in St. Teo: Skilling/Deskilling professionals in co-teaching participation frameworks**

The instructional possibilities summarized in Figure 1 are the result of the legal and administrative requirements placed on the school, the availability of particular teachers for specific subject slots and the dispositions of each individual teacher towards the subject matter at hand and towards working in a partnership. As said, the movable piece

in this arrangement is the bilingüista. This allows to examine how the same teacher moves through different teaching partnerships. The most salient case of this situation in the school is Sandra, a British teacher who has worked in the St. Teo for over a decade and has moved through different subjects (Excerpt 3).

**Excerpt 3: Interview with Sandra, a British bilingüista (see Relaño-Pastor & Fernández-Barrera, 2018, 2019)**

(...) yeah, I've taught everything (...) pretty much except Maths and Spanish. They've changed my subjects a lot, which obviously there's no other teacher that would have to do that, like they would never take the history teacher and say "you're gonna teach science now". I think often they don't realize like they just they don't realize it is, you know, that I am not a teacher of that subject I mean (...)

Given the diverse educational arrangements Sandra has participated in and her very different stances towards the subject matter she has been asked to teach (see below), we examine her involvement in religion, where she co-taught with the Spanish speaking religion teacher (1) and biology, where she progressively took over most teaching responsibilities (2). We then turn to the third possibility in which a C1 English teacher leads on her own a school subject (ethics).

#### **4.1. Sandra as animator of the Catholic religion curriculum**

Spanish schools are required to offer faith-based religion as an elective subject, which in most schools means Catholic religion classes. Students who do not want to take this elective have a non-denominational alternative designed by the school - in this case, the ethics classes we analyze below. Sandra was asked to co-teach religion, despite the fact that she admitted not being Catholic or "believing in God" and not enjoying the subject matter. Under these circumstances, Sandra and Aitana (the official religion teacher) developed an instructional arrangement in which daily instruction basically consisted of three components: (a) Aitana begins the class reviewing the previously assigned homework in Spanish; (b) Sandra then presents new content in English, using slides that Aitana had prepared and Sandra has translated; (c) the class is closed with Aitana reviewing the lesson and assigning new homework. This recurrent pattern and distribution of roles leaves Sandra in a position in which she simply animates a

curriculum authored by another teacher around content matter with which she does not align (Excerpt 4).

**Excerpt 4: Sandra (SR) doing vocabulary work during Religion class<sup>3</sup>**

(...)

98 SR: Pentecost=in Spanish? Pentecost?

99 Ss: *Pentecostés*

100 SR: *Pentecostés* (1.5) one of the three big pilgrimage celebrations

=do you remember the meaning of the word pilgrimage?

101 Ss: {Peregrinaje

102 Ss: Peregrinación

103 SR: Pere (.) peregrinaje

104 S2: Peregrinaje

105 S3: Peregrinaje}

106 SR: eh:: one of the three pilgrimages-what is a pilgrimage?-what is it?

107 S5: {Peregrinaciones}

108 SR: Eh: (.)

109 S: ((inaudible))

110 SR: {sf} (.) tell me (.) what is a pilgrimage?

111 S5: (When you go (.) to a place) ((inaudible))

112 SR: Uhm uh (.) yeah (.) when a person goes to a sacred place=a pilgrimage is when people go:  
(.) to some kind of holy or sacred place (.) {¿no? (.) eh:: bueno} (.) one-the three  
pilgrimage celebrations of the Israelites to the Temple of Jerusalem for this reason the  
city was full of Jews from all over ((continues to read slide))

(...)

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<sup>3</sup> Transcriptions follow a simplified version of Conversation Analysis (CA) conventions. Turns in Spanish and brief instances of code-switching are indicated in { }. Longer sequences in Spanish are transcribed in the original language with a line-by-line translation below.

Sandra organizes classroom interaction as a succession of Initiation - Response - Evaluation (IRE) (Mehan, 1979) sequences in which the educational targets are vocabulary items extracted from the biblical text and which happen to have similar realizations in English and Spanish (and students can see written in the projected slide). This orientation towards vocabulary as the learning goal, rather than substantial biblical or theological content, is made visible in transitions in which alternative instructional paths could be opened but are then redirected by Sandra towards vocabulary. In turn 100 the notion of "three big pilgrimage celebrations" is presented, which would invite the possibility of opening up the classroom discussion to relevant theological-historical content. However, Sandra focuses on the meaning of the word pilgrimage and accepts the translation into Spanish of the term as a response from several students (turns 101-105).

Later, Sandra attempts to obtain from students a more elaborate explanation of what a pilgrimage is (turn 106) and does not accept a translation of the term as response to her initiation (turn 110). This request for an explanation is potentially revealing of the different stances held by the students, Aitana and Sandra in relation to the subject matter. As said, Catholic religion has a denominational component, so presumably the students who have chosen this elective identify as Catholic. The religion teacher is also expected to identify as Catholic (in fact, in state-run schools, Catholic religion teachers are directly appointed by the Spanish Church). For these participants, a pilgrimage can be explained from a personal perspective as an experience shared by members of the same faith. The explanation provided by the student (turn 111) is arguably constructed in this direction through the expression 'when you go'. However, when the response is acknowledged and rephrased by Sandra to continue the explanation (turn 112), it is done through a third person construction ('when people go') in which she distances herself from this experience and the spiritual implications it potentially has for interlocutors who do identify with the religious denomination under discussion. Examined in other terms, while Sandra is the lead teacher in this sequence and heads a teacher-fronted episode of classroom interaction, she does not produce an explanation that places her as a central agent of the interaction (cf. Creese, 2002.) Her role remains as an animator instead of taking this opportunity to fully engage with students as the



author of her own teaching materials, showing her peripheral agency in the teaching of religion. This contrasts with the teaching partnerships described by Creese (2002) between subject and EAL (English as an additional language) teachers in the UK context, where EAL teachers are positioned as having a less important role in terms of knowledge and skills they can transmit to students. The partnership arrangement in St. Teo allows Sandra to assume more responsibilities in the classroom order but without the authorial voice that is usually associated with this role. In fact, Sandra and Aitana have created an instructional arrangement in which Sandra can deliver content in English maximizing students' exposure to English-medium instructional time without having to assume any responsibility for the design of the educational materials. In other subjects her stance towards the materials and involvement is very different; the challenges emerge as Sandra has to navigate the technical complexities of disciplinary knowledge outside her training and background.

#### **4.2. Sandra attempting to author content in biology classes**

The co-teaching arrangement in biology gave Sandra more responsibility in preparing and delivering the classroom curriculum content. The course was organized in two components: theory (led by Sandra in English) and laboratory exercises (led by Ricardo, the main biology teacher, in Spanish). In this arrangement, Ricardo, would simply come to the class at the end of each theoretical unit to quickly review the content (in Spanish) with the class and prepare the laboratory activities.

What transpires in this distribution of languages and teaching work are the differences in the expert disciplinary knowledge possessed and displayed by Sandra, who does not have formal training in biology, and Ricardo, who holds a degree in biology. Contrary to the previous example, this arrangement gives much more primacy to the textbook as an instructional element, allowing for other types of interactional sequences to emerge and for Sandra to attempt to develop a different voice in relation to the content matter (Excerpt 5):

##### **Excerpt 5: Sandra working with the biology textbook**

1 SR: (...) page 104 (3) 'The Health of the Locomotor System' who wants to read?

2 S: ((reads aloud the section from the book, approximately 60 seconds))

4 SR: okay (.) any vocabulary? (.) that you didn't understand (.)

is this clear? (2) eeemh (4) {mh-mh-mh-bueno 'ok'} -no=no vocabulary {¿no? 'right'} (.) trauma is injuries that cause fractures or broken bones

and-and normally when you have a broken bone you have a plaster cast

=what's a plaster cast?

5 S: {escayola}=

6 SR: ={escayola} plaster is mm-we saw this in technology {¿no? 'right?'} we saw plaster=do you remember when we said (jigs) and the plaster

={la escayola de la pared lo mismo 'it's the same with wall plaster'}

7 Ss: ((4 seconds approximately, students seem to be going through the text))

8 SR: eem so the bone doesn't move and then (you have to wait until) it heals

and then-and then the plaster cast comes off (...)

This extract illustrates the affordances of this instructional arrangement. First, students read-aloud extensive sections of the main textbook. The book is published in English and is a translation of the equivalent biology textbook in Spanish. This allows Ricardo to rely on the English textbook to provide the required curriculum in the classroom, while at the same time he is later available to answer questions related to the subject in Spanish. After a section of the book is read aloud, Sandra turns to review vocabulary difficulties, again through questions organized within IRE sequences. In turn 4, she recycles several initiations for students to propose their own problematic terms ('any vocabulary?', 'that you didn't understand', 'is this clear?', 'no vocabulary, no?'). As these are not offered by student, Sandra then goes on to identify herself candidate terms. One she points out and explains directly to the students ('trauma', turn 4). A second turn is presented through another initiation that leads to a canonical IRE sequence in which the response to the initiation is again the translation into Spanish of the term (turns 4-5-6).

It is at this point when the interaction departs from vocabulary review sequences and the conversational organization that was present in religion classes. Sandra attempts to delve into a more elaborate explanation of 'plaster' and 'plaster casts' through two moves that are revealing about her distinct position in the discursive order of the school. First, she is able to establish connections between different subjects and curricular areas she is in charge of delivering to the same group - something most secondary school teachers cannot do as they are limited to their own subjects and curricular areas (turn 6: 'we saw this in technology'). This allows to establish an intercontextual link (Wiig, Silseth and Erstrad, 2018; Floriani, 1993) between the properties of plaster in two situations that might help students understand its role in healing injuries. However, secondly, her explanation of the 'plaster casts' falls short from delving into the actual biological mechanisms involved in bone healing (turn 8) as she disaligns from the textbook knowledge (ie. blood clot, callus, osteoblasts, etc.) and draws from everyday knowledge (cf. Heller, 1994) to describe the process.

In short, when approaching biology, Sandra moves closer to authoring the classroom curriculum by connecting the materials presented in the textbook with other classroom experiences she has had with the same group of students (in this case across subjects) and her own 'everyday' knowledge of biological processes related to the unit the class is working on. Yet, as a point of contrast, this authoring work is constrained in comparison to how the biology teacher approaches the instructional component that is under his responsibility (Excerpt 6).

**Excerpt 6: Ricardo planning a laboratory activity**

- 431 (...) para las disecciones hay que tomarlo con tiempo por una sencilla razón
- 432 hh yo siempre consigo algo para diseccionar hh algunos corazones algún pulmón
- 433 pero vosotros también tenéis que traer algo
- 434 (.) es decir (.) lo principal es que lo consigáis vosotros
- 435 porque más que nada eso cualquier carnicero se lo puede dar a vuestros padres
- 436 incluso gratis (.) eso no lo suelen vender (.) vale? (.)
- 437 una vez que el corazón está mal rajado: y esas cosas hh

- 438 >pero bueno< la clave es que lo vayáis consiguiendo con tiempo
- 439 después de Semana Santa (.) lo congeláis y cuando tengáis unos cuantos (.)
- 440 >a ver que no hay que traer uno cada uno
- 441 <podemos hacer perfectamente hh con cinco o seis grupos que hagamos aquí  
(.) de dos o tres personas (...)
- 431 (...) for the dissections we need time for the simple reason
- 432 hh I always get something to dissect hh some hearts a lung
- 433 but you also have to bring something
- 434 (.) I mean (.) the important thing is that you get it
- 435 basically any butcher can give that to your parents
- 436 even for free (.) they usually do not sell that (.) ok?
- 437 once the heart is not well cut and those things hh
- 438 >but anyway< the key issue is that you start getting them with time
- 439 after Easter (.) you freeze it and when you have a few (.)
- 440 >let's see each of you does not need to bring one<
- 441 we can make perfectly here five or six groups (.) of two or three people (...)

In this extensive explanation -transcribed in lines to facilitate the analysis-, Ricardo reviews the logistics involved in planning a dissection laboratory activity later in the year. The explanation showcases expert knowledge at several levels. First, he has the practical experience and knowledge regarding how and where students can obtain internal organs for the dissection (lines 433-435). Second, Ricardo presents a rationale as to why the organs should be obtained specifically from a butcher, as the key issue is that the organs are cut in a way that does not invalidate the dissection in the Biology class (line 437). Third, he can foresee how student groupings can be arranged in the laboratory to make the dissection activity pedagogically productive (lines 440-441). In other words, Ricardo is able to connect his pedagogical / disciplinary knowledge to a

series of procedural activities students will have to complete inside and outside the classroom and the rationale for each of these steps, displaying extensive teaching knowledge (*saberes docentes*) (Mercado, 2002). As a point of contrast to Excerpt 4, Ricardo places himself as a central discursive agent in an episode of teacher-fronted interaction led by him (Creese, 2002): he provides clear instructions regarding what he wants the students to do, he provides a rationale for these indications and assumes an authorial voice in this episode.

The analysis of these two curricular showcases situations in which the bilingüista teacher and the main teacher have to create some type of co-teaching arrangement. The third alternative is when a teacher considered by the school as bilingüista is also qualified to be the head teacher of a subject area and, thus, can lead the class on his/her own.

#### **4.3. Olga, a bilingüista as principal of the classroom curriculum**

Olga is a Spanish born teacher, with teaching credentials in English and a C1 certified language level. She is part of the bilingüista category in the school given her language skills and her life-experiences abroad. For this reason, she was designated to teach ethics in English and complete the hours of exposure to English that St. Teo's program claims to provide (Excerpt 7):

##### **Excerpt 7: Interview with Olga (originally in Spanish)**

R: (...) the term *bilingüistas* here, it is not very clear to me, you are the teachers in the bilingual program, the natives, non-natives or what?

O: supposedly natives, but let's see I have spent quite some time in the United States and England (...) and then they were looking for, well they interviewed me in English, precisely Marge a native and so, so well, given my trajectory and the background I have then (...) they hired me (...) it's worked out well, they are happy, in fact (...) I 'operate' as a native (...)

Ethics in this school is the curricular alternative provided in the Spanish curriculum to (denominational) Catholic religion and occupies a complex place in the Spanish educational system. In secondary education the 'alternative to religion' is not associated to any particular disciplinary area and, thus, it can be taught by any secondary education teacher. In addition, the 'alternative' cannot cover any content that would provide an

'educational advantage' to students who choose not to enroll in religion (or vice versa). In St. Teo, the 'balance' between religion and ethics is established through the language of instruction as both are delivered in English. However, as ethics is led by a single secondary education teacher the organization of classroom interaction unfolds differently, particularly as the subject is specifically geared towards developing students' oral proficiency through discussion of various contemporary social issues.

Class activity is organized through discursive formats very different to those discussed so far. The particular lesson under examination is based on group debates. The class is divided into small groups, each group organizes as a 'political party' and has to present to the rest of the class three issues: the name of the party, the values of the party they have created and a particular policy regarding a change they would introduce in their school. This presentation is then discussed with the rest of the class. For Olga, a key requirement of these debates is that all students have to provide a justification to their proposal and critiques of the proposals, moving the activity from a teacher-fronted presentation to a student-led argumentation (Excerpt 8):

**Excerpt 8: Reaction to a proposed policy**

(...)

67 O: okay Juan you said no=

68 J: =yes [yes-

69 O: [why-no tell me why-tell me why

70 J: ((inaudible))

71 O: ((inaudible)) Juan tell me why?

72 S8: {vas a pagar veinte euros al mes}

*you are going to pay twenty euros a month*

73 Ss: (((several students talking at the same time, audibly in Spanish)))

74 O: [If you don't like it

75 S3: {Más (.) más}

*More (.) more*

76 S4: {Que no:} *so no:*

77 O: [If you don't like it]

78 Ss: [[[more debate among all students, audibly in Spanish]]]

79 Ss: {\*vamos a ver (.) que sí::}

*Come'n, let's see (.) so ye::s*

80 S4: {\*A ver (.) sabéis las reglas de nuestro partido?}

*Let see (.) do you know the rules of our political party?*

81 S3: \*No no

82 Ss: \*((meanwhile the class continues to argue, audibly in Spanish))

83 O: You're speaking in Spanish

84 Ss: ((more discussion among students))-

85 O: -ehh-that's it (.5) Vanesa

86 S4: If we pay now eh:: fifty euros per month (1.5)

but they don't give us (.) eh:: the free snack (.5)

but if they give us the free snack hh we should pay more

87 Ss: No! ((the group of students representing the proposal))

88 S4: {A ver si dice 'let's see if he says'} (.) if he says that it costs one euro (.5) per

sandwich (.5) it's twenty euros (.) (month)

89 S5: fifty cents!

90 Ss: ((more discussion among students))

(...)

In this sequence the class is reacting to a policy proposal for the school in which students could get a daily snack if they added an additional monthly fee. The rest of the class reacts passionately to this proposal in different ways, so Olga insists on the need for students to provide an explanation alongside the direction of their reaction ('in

favor/'against' the proposed policy) (turns 69, 71). The students follow this indication and react to the policy with their own statements or clarification questions, leading to a series of exchanges between the students defending this proposal and the rest of the class (turns 72-83). Interestingly, all these exchanges occur in Spanish and it takes several interventions for Olga to 'remind' the class they should have this discussion in English (turn 83), at which point the students talking to the rest of the class switches to mainly using English (lines 86-90). However, drawing from what can be extracted from the audio, Spanish and English are also distributed differently in the frontstage and backstage of classroom interaction: as these explanations in English happen in the frontstage of a student addressing the class, his/her peers continue to discuss among themselves in Spanish - and they are quite engaged in the discussion, especially when a proposal is seen as controversial (turns 73, 78 and 90). In fact, the analysis of each of the discussions around the policies presented by the students suggests that the more controversial these were -and generated more reaction and involvement from the group- the more students returned to Spanish to discuss the issues (cf. Besnier, 1994; Bailey, 2000). In these instances, Olga re-oriented students towards using English but in a way that maintains a balance between sustaining student participation and dialogue and meeting the underlying language objectives of the class. Compared to the previous examples, this classroom production format allows Olga to be fully accountable for the organization and delivery of knowledge, appropriating and claiming expertise through her English communicative competence.

## **5. Conclusions**

This article has discussed how communicative competence and teaching arrangements at St. Teo are complexified by the practices of bilingüistas, whose role is central and part of the eliteness strategies that sustain the prestige of St. Teo's bilingual program in the local educational market. The teaching partnerships in this school are not free from controversy among staff and families (Relaño-Pastor, 2018, Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera 2019). Yet, the participation frameworks and power relations negotiated in the CLIL classroom has been designed to satisfy the aspirational linguistic needs of local, affluent families who demand the incorporation of native or 'native-like' teachers in St. Teo's bilingual program. However, the interactional floor displayed in the



examples we have analyzed shows how St. Teo's professionals are constructed as incomplete bundles of skills (Urcioui, 2008) stratified by the institutionalized ideologies around bilingualism of the school (Relaño-Pastor and Fernández-Barrera, 2018, 2019). On the one hand, St. Teo claims and markets that it provides to students a 'full bundle' of skills in the bilingual program. By combining bilingüistas and content teachers in the classroom, these partnerships can provide students with a native-like communicative competence model while allowing them to gain content subject knowledge. On the other hand, the presence of bilingüistas in these classrooms creates a particular professional and teaching stratification in which the possession and display of English language skills creates a new professional order. Linguistic competence, as the case of Sandra illustrates, gains more value than the biology content knowledge that Ricardo displays in Excerpt 6. In fact, in the interviews we conducted with Sandra she displayed her satisfaction with the evolution of her role in the bilingual program and how she eventually could embrace the teaching role of a biology teacher despite her lack of qualification. In religion classes, there is a more explicit tension between Sandra and Aitana regarding their professional roles and classroom leadership but again the acquisition of content knowledge is subordinated to English linguistic competence (i.e. vocabulary and grammar development, mostly) and Sandra in her bilingüista role emerges as a communicative competence model. Finally, Olga is in the unique position of being able to assume a dual role as a bilingüista and a qualified secondary education teacher and lead a subject on her own - in Urcioui's (2008) terms, has the complete bundle of professional skills. Yet, as she acknowledges (Excerpt 7) she has moved into this position given her life and socialization experiences in English-speaking countries, rather than any additional professional qualifications.

As a result of these participation frameworks, bilingüistas in St. Teo are upskilled and given teaching and classroom responsibilities that arguably push to the limit their teaching credentials and content-knowledge expertise. In contrast, Spanish content-teachers seem to be deskilled as, despite their subject-matter expertise, they are relegated to a secondary role in the classroom teaching order. As a point of contrast, this professional stratification is practically inverse to the place native heritage language teaching assistants / paraprofessionals play in classrooms with co-teaching

arrangements in which English is an Additional Language (EAL) for migrant students (cf. Creese, 2002; Ernst-Slavit and Wenger, 2006). In addition, from a pedagogical perspective, drawing from our data corpus this arrangement results in teaching-learning environments in which more traditional teaching methods and a teacher-fronted classroom order seem to prevail (with the exception of ethics which draws more on group debate). Yet, this is the pedagogical arrangement the school has managed to market as a distinct feature, which is desired by many middle / upper-middle class families who seek to enroll their children in this school and pay the extra fees of the bilingual program.

Overall, the display of participation frameworks we have discussed in this CLIL-type bilingual program showcases how communicative competence is ideologically constructed in interaction, embedded in regional language-in-education policies that aim to democratize English language education for all, and contested by teachers and families in some cases. More research on the configuration of participation frameworks and the production formats of CLIL classroom practices is very much needed not only to make visible the interactional arrangements currently organizing CLIL practices across bilingual schools in Castilla-La Mancha, but also, more importantly, to shed light on the educational consequences of the social processes (skillization/deskillization of teaching partnerships) involved in these practices. In particular, our starting point has been a case study of a semi-private school with a distinct bilingual program, presented as a telling case (Bloome and Carter, 2013) of how linguistic competence and native speakerism restructure interactional and professional hierarchies. Future research should examine the implementation and actual classroom practices of co-teaching arrangements in CLIL-type programs in state-run schools.

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