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Multilingual Education for Sale: The Neoliberalization of Language Education Policy

By

Noah Katznelson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Laura Sterponi, Chair
Professor Claire Kramsch
Professor Lisa García Bedolla
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Abstract

Multilingual Education for Sale: The Neoliberalization of Language Education Policy

By

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Professor Laura Sterponi, Chair

Neoliberalism has become the hegemonic rationality of our time, framing nearly every aspect of our social world in terms of competition. This dissertation sheds light on neoliberal infiltration and naturalization within the field of language education through three distinct but interrelated papers. In *Discourses of Dual Language Bilingual Education*, I map out the discursive landscape of the field and, building on Ruiz (1984), I theorize a cross-epistemic model to demonstrate why the English-as-resource paradigm of the nationalist era has transformed into a multilingualism-as-resource paradigm within the current neoliberal era. In *Rebranding Bilingualism: The Shifting Discourses of Language Education Policy in California's 2016 Election*, I use critical discourse analysis to compare Proposition 227 (1998), which effectively banned bilingual education in California, with its legislative repeal, Proposition 58 (2016), specifically demonstrating the discursive shift to neoliberalism that occurred between 20th and 21st century language education policies. In *The Mechanisms of Neoliberalization within California's Language Education Policy*, I draw on the tools of critical discourse analysis as well as corpus linguistics to examine California language education policy texts spanning from 1967 to the present, laying bare three discursive mechanisms of neoliberalization within the field: 1) infiltration of market-based vocabulary; 2) terminological sloganization; and 3) commodification of multilingualism.

While the neoliberalization of language education has contributed to more widespread support of bilingual education—now rebranded as multilingualism—it has also altered the reasons behind this support—from promoting equity and social justice to a market-based rationale of expanding individual opportunity in an increasingly globalized world. My findings point to the ways in which those who have traditionally been served by bilingual education—that is, racially and linguistically minoritized students—are being crowded out by more privileged (i.e., white) students seeking a competitive edge in the global market era. Neoliberal policies–through color-blind, a-historic, and universalistic rhetoric–are deceptively designed to appear objective and democratic ("for all"). I argue, however, that neoliberalism undermines democracy by reproducing colonial relations of power that privilege Whiteness. This collected work contributes to a deeper understanding of the political work of language.

Dedication

To my Abba, in whose footsteps I wanted to follow since before I can remember.

To my glorious kids, Julian and Leni, for giving me countless opportunities to smile in delight and to grow right alongside them. There is no love that compares to that of a Mubby for her children.

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Big feats are rarely an individual accomplishment (despite neoliberal assertions to the contrary), and this is certainly no exception.

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INTRODUCTION

As the 2016 election was approaching, one of California's ballot initiatives in particular caught my attention. Proposition 58, or the *California Education for a Global Economy* (EdGE) *Initiative,* sought to remove restrictions to bilingual education that had been in place since Proposition 227, *English for the Children*, had passed in 1998. I was excited to see an issue near and dear to my heart on the ballot. As someone born in another country and raised in two languages, I was happy to see this renewed support for bilingual education. As I read the text of the proposed law, I noticed that everywhere I expected the word "bilingual" (as in, bilingual students, skills, education, and so forth), I found the word "multilingual." I also couldn't help but notice how the economy/business figured so centrally in the text (e.g., "multinational businesses," "multilingual employees," "customers," "clients," "business partners," and "global economy"). Having recently been a guest editor for a special issue of the *L2 Journal* titled "Critical Perspectives on Neoliberalism in Second/Foreign Language Education" (Volume 7, Issue 3, 2015), I recognized the neoliberal framing of the policy. I felt torn. On the one hand, I sensed that this framing was strategic and would likely appeal to a broader audience. On the other hand, I worried about the ramifications of using a neoliberal frame–particularly, for the language minoritized students bilingual education was originally designed to serve.

This ambivalence set the stage for the work I would undertake in this dissertation. The three papers herein collectively attempt to answer the following questions: How does this neoliberalism manifest discursively? What other discourses does it join, compete with, or overshadow in the field of language education? If language is indeed a resource, what kind of resource is it and for whom? What are the precise discursive mechanisms of neoliberalization within language education policy? And what are the implications of neoliberalization within the field of language education, and, more significantly, on the populations it serves?

The answers to these questions are crucial to understanding how discourses used within language education policies, and education policies more broadly, work either to promote or to hamper educational equity. Indeed, it is by answering these questions that we may be able to shine light on the covert workings of power and better understand how our educational system–rather than being "the great equalizer" Horace Mann had hoped it would be–is perhaps the preeminent institution of social reproduction that continues to propagate the uneven distribution of resources (Bourdieu, 2003). In addition, since policy designs–including the discourses used and the social construction of target populations–affect civic participation rates and can thus strengthen or erode democracy (Schneider & Ingram, year), a critical approach that considers the role of power must be taken in any attempt to answer the questions laid out above.

I focus on language education policies in California, both because it is the state in which I live, study, and work, but also because California is a particularly interesting case when it comes to language education policies. Of the 5.85 million students attending K-12 public schools in California, 1.1 million are classified as English learners (California Department of Education, 2022-3). This ratio of 1 in 5 students represents twice the national average (National Center for Education Statistics, 2023). Additionally, California has often served as a testing ground for new policies. For example, after Proposition 227 passed in California in 1998–effectively banning bilingual education in the state–Arizona and Massachusetts followed suit with nearly identical legislation in 2000 and 2002, respectively. California was also the first to establish the State Seal

of Biliteracy through Assembly Bill 815 in 2011. In the dozen years since, all 50 states (and the District of Columbia) have adopted the Seal of Biliteracy (sealofbiliteracy.org).

While chapters 2 and 3 consist of (largely) qualitative analyses of California language education policies using the methods of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics (Hunston, 2002), chapter 1 sets the stage for these analyses by providing a lay of the discursive land within the field of language education. In addition to reviewing existing literature on the discourses of language education, my co-authors and I offer an original theoretical framework that grounds named discourses within a larger socio-historical and political context. Before launching into a more detailed description of each chapter, I'd first like to provide a broader historical treatment of the multifaceted and rather elusive concept of neoliberalism.

What is Neoliberalism?

When I am asked what neoliberalism is, I often hesitate, and end up saying something along the lines of, "neoliberalism is the current iteration of free-market capitalism, but it has also become a hegemonic worldview that frames everything in terms of competition, individualism, and profit." But the truth is a bit more complex. As Jamie Peck notes in his 2010 book, *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*:

> "It would be a wrongheaded endeavor…to attempt to reduce neoliberalism to some singular essence–say, as a condensate of Hayek's personal philosophy, or Chicago School theory, or hard-boiled Thatcherism–and not only because these, too, have been movable objects. By its nature, as an oxymoronic form of "market rule," neoliberalism is contradictory and polymorphic." (p. 8)

By this Peck means that neoliberalism does not have a single point of origin and is not a clear and unified theory. In fact, it would be more accurate to talk about *neoliberalisms*–in the plural–since each of its manifestations across time and space has been unique, interacting with the particular socio-historical, political, and economic contexts of each new host.

One way to understand neoliberalism is to look at what it emerged both from and in reaction to. In order to do this, I will map the evolution of liberalism from classical liberalism to social liberalism, and, finally, to neoliberalism.

Classical liberalism traces its roots to enlightenment thinkers such as British philosopher John Locke, Scottish economist Adam Smith, and German philosopher Emmanuel Kant. Key characteristics of early liberalism included a focus on individual rights–including the right to own property, liberties–including liberty from tyranny that could be achieved through consent of the governed, and equality (Fukuyama, 2022). These rights and freedoms would be protected and upheld through the rule of law. The Founding Fathers of the United States were heavily influenced by liberal ideals as is evident from the founding documents like the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and, in particular, the Bill of Rights–which limited the power of government and safeguarded individual liberties. This notion of limited government reach was especially prominent in the classical liberal doctrine of *laissez-faire* economics. As Adam Smith noted, the best way to promote economic growth is to let individuals pursue their own self-interests with little government intervention (Siegel, 2011, p. 5). This idea undergirds the concept of free-market capitalism. The United States indeed prospered for over a century under the political and economic system of classical liberalism. Yet toward the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century a series of economic crises and changing social conditions–including the first World War and later the Great Depression–challenged the liberal ideal of non-

intervention. A widespread belief emerged, as Gerstle (2022) notes, “that unfettered capitalism had become a destructive force, generating economic instability and inequalities too great for American society to tolerate” (p. 21). As economist John Maynard Keynes noted in his 1926 essay, this was “The End of Laissez-Faire.” Keynes argued that during periods of economic downturns, or recessions, certain policy levers–such as increased spending or tax cuts–could be deployed by the government to speed up recovery (Sheehan, 2009).

The crisis of liberalism made it clear that government intervention was necessary and a ‘new’ liberalism–later known as social liberalism–emerged with Keynesian economics leading the charge. It was soon institutionalized through the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) and his New Deal policies. Seen as a way to safeguard against another economic disaster like the Great Depression, FDR launched dozens of programs and initiatives focused on American relief, recovery, and reform. Spending on public works, instituting progressive taxation, strengthening unions, creating numerous regulatory systems (e.g., the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the National Labor Relations Board), and building a veritable welfare state through the introduction of the Social Security Administration and other programs, led to the lowest rates of economic inequality in the twentieth century (Gerstle, 2022). And yet, for all its interventionism, FDR’s New Deal was not seen as the abandonment of classical liberal ideals such as individual liberties. In fact, as Dardot and Laval (2017) argue, “[b]y way of its legislation, social liberalism thus ensures the maximum extension of freedom to the greatest number. A fully individualist philosophy, such liberalism assigns the state the essential role of ensuring that everyone has the means to realize their own project” (p. 41). The aim was to transform liberalism in order to save capitalism, and social liberalism sought a third way that was neither pure liberalism nor socialism.

Meanwhile, another ‘new’ liberalism was brewing, both at home and abroad–from Herbert Hoover, Walter Lippman, and members of the Chicago School of Economics such as Gary Becker and, later, Milton Friedman in the United States, to members of the Austrian School of Economics like Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises, as well as German ordoliberals such as Wilhelm Röpke and Alexander Rüstow–who coined the term *neoliberalism* in 1938. What united these diverse thinkers was not so much a shared notion of how best to proceed, but rather their shared acknowledgement that *laissez faire* had failed and their shared disdain for Keynesian economics (Gerstle, 2022). As Dardot and Laval (2017) note:

> If an increasingly pronounced social reformism from the late nineteenth century onwards was a symptom of the crisis of liberalism, neo-liberalism was a reaction to that symptom. It was an attempt to block the trend towards policies of redistribution, social security, planning, regulation and protection that had developed since the end of the nineteenth century–a trend perceived as a breakdown leading straight to collectivism. (p. 49)

According to Dardot and Laval, neoliberalism’s ‘founding moment’ occurred at the Walter Lippmann Colloquium held in Paris in 1938 and was further strengthened by the meetings of the Mont Pelerin Society which began in 1947. Like the other ‘new liberalism’ (social liberalism), neoliberalism accepted the need for government intervention, but sought to prescribe its applications and define its limits. And yet, as Gerstle (2022) writes, “if [these self-proclaimed neoliberals] set as their task defining a program for managing markets, they reached no agreement on how to do it…[as they] harbored very different views about the degree and nature of state intervention” (p. 87). But they continued to meet and develop their ideas, as it would take another 30 years or so before neoliberalism went mainstream.

As Milton Friedman noted, the intellectual's job was:

> To keep options open until circumstances make change necessary. There is enormous inertia–a tyranny of the status quo–in private and especially governmental arrangements. Only a crisis–actual or perceived–produces real change. When the crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes politically inevitable. (as quoted in Peck, 2010, p.4)

This opportunity of crisis came within the United States as the New Deal political order that had reigned for more than three decades began to unravel. Internal divisions within the Democratic Party over the issues of race and Vietnam grew throughout the 1960s (Gerstle, 2022). But, as Peck (2010) notes, "it was the extended macroeconomic travails of the 1970s…which represented the historical opening for which the neoliberal script had been painstakingly constructed. Stagflation broke the back of the Keynesian orthodoxy" (p. 5).

After his landslide victory over Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan swiftly set to work, instituting a broad range of neoliberal policies–such as deregulating the market, privatizing industry, cutting taxes as well as social programs, increasing military spending, and expanding the U.S. prison system–that would continue in some form or another through Republican and Democratic administrations alike to this day (Gerstle, 2022).

In his 2022 book, historian Gary Gerstle traces the rise and fall of the two political orders of the 20th century corresponding to social liberalism and neoliberalism. He writes that, more than a political movement,

> [a] political order must have the ability to shape the core ideas of political life. It must be able to do so not just for one political party's most ardent supporters but for people located across the political spectrum. The New Deal order sold a large majority of Americans on the proposition that a strong central state could manage a dynamic but dangerous capitalist economy in the public interest. The neoliberal order persuaded a large majority of Americans that free markets would unleash capitalism from unnecessary state controls and spread prosperity and personal freedom throughout the ranks of Americans and then throughout the world. (p. 293)

And yet for all their anti-statist rhetoric, neoliberals have always understood that in order to protect the market from government regulation, paradoxically, they would need to cultivate strong institutional and governmental supports. As Peck (2010) writes, "[n]eoliberalism, in its various guises, has always been about the capture and reuse of the state, in the interests of shaping a pro-corporate, freer-trading 'market order'" (p. 9). In his 2018 book, *Globalists: The end of empire and the birth of neoliberalism,* historian Quinn Slobodian points out that, in the era of globalization, the neoliberal project has been marked by "efforts to insulate market actors from democratic pressures in a series of institutions from the IMF and the World Bank to…governance structures like the European Union, trade treaties like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the WTO" (p. 4). In fact, Slobodian argues that rather than seeking to liberate the market, neoliberals hope to "encase" it by "redesigning states, laws, and other institutions to protect the market" (p. 6).

While some believed that the global financial crisis of 2008 would surely deal a death blow to the neoliberal order, others have likened neoliberalism to a cat with nine lives (see, for example, Plehwe, Slobodian, & Mirowski, 2020). Regardless of what the future holds for

neoliberalism as a political and economic project, it is clear that neoliberalism has become much more than that. French philosopher Michel Foucault has argued that neoliberalism has insinuated itself into our very subjectivities, implanting particular values and orientations that emerge as though from ourselves, surreptitiously conducting our conduct through what he calls neoliberal governmentality (Foucault, 2007). As a hegemonic rationality that "is constructed and circulated through discourse," neoliberalism both "produces and transforms subjectivities" (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2020). According to Dardot and Laval (2017), neoliberalism has produced the 'entrepreneurial subject' or the view of self as enterprise. They note that the "new subject is regarded as the possessor of a 'human capital'–a capital to be accumulated through enlightened choices that are the fruit of responsible calculation of costs and benefits" (p. 275). Thus, one's successes or failures, social position, and ultimate lot in life are entirely dependent on individual responsibility. With this historical and foundational summary complete, I turn now to an outline of individual chapters.

Summary of Chapters

In chapter one, my co-authors Katie A. Bernstein, Kathryn I. Henderson, and I make sense of discourses about dual language bilingual education (DLBE) circulating in the United States. We suggest that the many discourses scholars describe cluster into discursive families built on shared underlying logic. In part I of the chapter, we situate DLBE discourses both historically and theoretically, and–building on Ruiz (1984)–present a cross-epistemic model for understanding discourses in DLBE. In Part II, we use this model to map the current landscape of DLBE discourses, illustrating how they relate and respond to one another, and how they emerge from and shape the larger social, political, and historical context. We address the consequences of each discourse family for DLBE program design and implementation: in centering or marginalizing bilingual and multilingual students and in promoting or dismantling spaces that value diverse languaging practices. We conclude by suggesting how educators might use this critical understanding of the discursive landscape to facilitate ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1981) and, ultimately, to develop more liberatory and healing DLBE discourses.

In chapter two, my co-author, Katie A. Bernstein, and I use the methods of critical discourse analysis to examine California Proposition 227, English Language in Public Schools (1998), and its repeal measure, Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative (2016). Through comparative analyses of framing, keywords, spatial and temporal markers, actors, and legislative titles, we illustrate a discursive shift. While Proposition 227 presented bilingual education as a threat to children's—and, by proxy, the nation's—well-being (a language as problem orientation), Proposition 58 represents multilingual education as key to students' future economic success and to the state and nation's continued global economic advantage (a language as resource orientation). We argue that Proposition 58's approach to "marketing" multilingual education may have contributed to its passing in November 2016, a result that we celebrate. At the same time, we raise questions about whether policies framed within one discursive regime (e.g., neoliberalism and global human capital) can eventually serve the aims of another (e.g., equity, plurality, and social justice), or whether discourse is destiny in policy making.

In chapter three, I examine key mechanisms of action in the process of neoliberalization within language education policy in California. These mechanisms consist of: (1) the infiltration of business-domain vocabulary into the field of language education policy; (2) the sloganization

of terms native to the field of language education policy; and, finally, (3) the commodification of multilingualism. I theorize and lay bare each of these mechanisms, drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data analyses to support my claims. For the first mechanism, I use the tools of corpus linguistics to conduct a diachronic analysis of California language education policy texts spanning from 1967 to the present, demonstrating a significant increase in market-based vocabulary within the policy texts from the 2000s on. For the second mechanism, I use both quantitative historical data and critical discourse analysis to investigate the way multilingualism has been sloganized within more recent California language education policies like GlobalCA2030. For the third mechanism, I use critical discourse analysis to investigate the ways in which language–and multilingualism in particular–has been commodified within language policy texts since the turn of the 21st century. Following the three sets of analyses, I discuss the implications of neoliberalization within the field of language education policy. I end by making some recommendations for how those of us wanting to re-center equity and social justice within the field might proceed.

Following these three chapters, I conclude with a summary of findings as well as a discussion of implications for education and society more broadly. Finally, I propose directions for future research.

CHAPTER 1

Discourses in Dual Language Bilingual Education[1]

Introduction

Gentrification, commodification, instrumentalization. Enrichment, appropriateness, languagelessness. Equity, identity, justice. These are just some of the discourses used by language scholars to talk, write, and think about dual language bilingual education (DLBE)[2] in the United States. In this chapter, we aim to help readers navigate this discursive terrain by showing how seemingly vast and disconnected discourses cluster into discourse families: groups of discourses that draw on similar underlying logic regarding the value of bilingualism, multilingualism, and diverse languaging practices. In Part I of the chapter, we develop a historically-situated model of DLBE discourses. We use this model (Figure 1) to explain how discourses relate to each other in patterned ways and how they emerge from the larger social, political, and historical context in which they are situated. In Part II, We use our model to map the current U.S. landscape of DLBE discourses (Figure 2). We conclude by suggesting what we see as a way forward—toward a humanizing DLBE that centers multilingual students and values diverse languaging practices.

Part 1: Situating Discourses of DLBE Historically

Why Do Discourses Matter?

We define discourses as culturally-held, socially-constructed ways of understanding the world. Discourses shape what is thinkable, knowable, and sayable, providing what Foucault (1970) called a "grid of intelligibility," or a way to organize and analyze what we see as reality. Foucault used the term *episteme*, from the Greek word for "knowledge," to name a time period in which a particular order of discourse functions to organize meaning. Epistemes and the discourses that characterize them can be difficult for those living within them to think outside of. In this sense, Foucault's notions of episteme and discourse share similarities with Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony: a set of ideas or a social organization that are so dominant and pervasive that they are simply seen as the natural state of affairs, and as such, are sustained even by those that may not benefit from them. Bakhtin's (1981) work, however, helps us see the possibility of individuals coming to recognize dominant discourses for what they are: just one

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[1] Please note that this paper originated from a chapter I co-authored with Katie A. Bernstein and Kathryn I. Henderson. A version of it will be published as Chapter 30 in J. A. Freire, C. Alfaro, & E. de Jong (Eds.) (2024), *The handbook of dual language bilingual education*. Taylor & Francis. Many thanks to my co-authors for their permission to include this work in my dissertation.

[2] We use the term dual language bilingual education (DLBE) as an umbrella term for all programs that have the goal of bilingualism and biliteracy, including two-way programs, one-way programs, and indigenous language revitalization programs. We include the word "bilingual" in this term as a political stance, to acknowledge the history of bilingual education and to counter the erasure of "bilingual" in "dual language education" (see Sánchez et al., 2017).

possible discourse, even if a seemingly permanent one. Bakhtin referred to a dominant discourse as an *authoritative discourse*, describing it as a worldview that "demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own… we encounter it with its authority already fused to it" (p. 342). As such, authoritative discourses function in service of existing (i.e., unequal) power relations. For example, colonial discourses construct notions like *Whiteness* (Harris, 1995) which then function as a form of property, serving those in power by denying access to others (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011). Authoritative discourses are so pervasive (and seductive) that even those they marginalize often perpetuate them (e.g., skin lightening).

Yet, through a process Bakhtin called *ideological becoming*, individuals can come to recognize other discursive possibilities, to resist the demands of authoritative discourse, and to develop discourses that are, as he put it, "internally persuasive" (1981, p. 354). In many ways, this process parallels what Paolo Freire called *conscientization* (2000) and relates to recent notions in DLBE scholarship of *critical consciousness, ideological clarity,* and *sociopolitical consciousness* (Alfaro, 2019; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; J. Freire, 2020; Palmer et al., 2019), ideas that we return to at the end of this chapter.

Cross-Epistemic Model for Understanding DLBE Discourses

To show the patterned ways in which DLBE discourses relate to one another and how they have shifted over time, we propose a cross-historical model that draws on the work of Ruiz (1984). In an effort to make sense of U.S. language policy, Ruiz outlined three orientations to language: language-as-problem, language-as-resource, and language-as-right. We situate these three orientations, first, within what we call the *nationalist episteme* and, second, within the *neoliberal episteme*. While drawing on Ruiz's orientations and distinguishing between these two epistemes allows for the creation of the model provided in this chapter, we see it primarily as a useful heuristic. Some have argued–and we agree–that the nationalist and neoliberal eras are, in fact, two manifestations of the larger colonial project of accumulation through dispossession predicated upon a constructed racial hierarchy (e.g., Mignolo, 2011, 2012). As we demonstrate throughout this chapter, the colonial logics of dispossession and racialization underlie both epistemes. Furthermore, applying Ruiz's orientations without critical theory can lead to a focus on languages rather than situated speakers, resulting in static, one-dimensional (mis)understandings of complex and intersectional languaging practices (Kaveh, 2023).

The Nationalist Episteme

Ruiz (1984) wrote his foundational article on language orientations in the early 1980's, at the end of two centuries of U.S. nation-building that relied on the creation of several national myths: the melting pot (Heike, 2014); the American Dream (and meritocracy); race as "real" and based on blood quantum (to justify slavery) and citizenship based on evolving constructs of whiteness (King, 2000; Skiba, 2012); and manifest destiny (to justify Westward expansion and colonization of Native inhabitants; e.g., Horsman, 1981). Schools played a central role in the national project (Mondale & Patton, 2001) through assimilationist approaches ranging from the Americanization movement (Galindo, 2011; King, 2000) to English language education in its various forms, all serving the maintenance of White Anglo dominance. A defining feature of what we call the *nationalist episteme* is the hegemonic ideology known as "one state, one nation, one language" (May, 2012) which, in the United States, manifested in the construction of

English as *the* national language (albeit unofficially). It was within this nationalist episteme that Ruiz identified and named his three orientations. He saw the first orientation, language-as-problem, as the dominant one. In this orientation, languages other than English were framed as problematic barriers to success, both for individuals (e.g., leading to poverty and low educational achievement) and for the nation (e.g., interfering with national security and social cohesion). The dominant societal solution to these problems—the way to build a strong, unified (i.e., monolingual) nation—was linguistic and cultural assimilation.

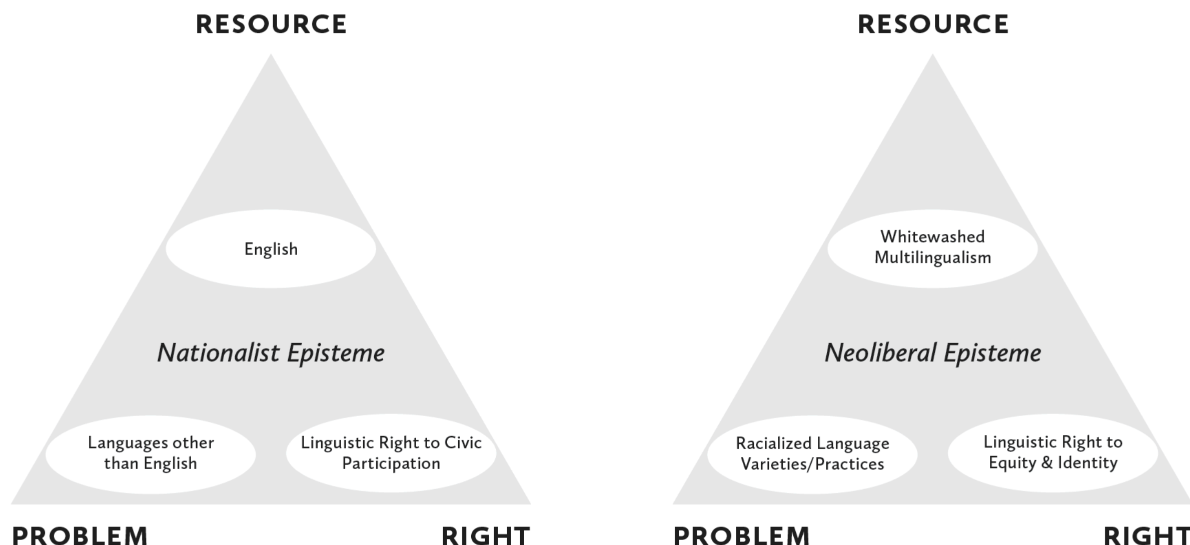
Ruiz called his second orientation *language-as-right*, describing it as emerging in direct response to the language-as-problem orientation. In a language-as-right orientation, language was framed as a civil right, guaranteeing: 1) language access (e.g., to voting materials, legal proceedings, education) and 2) protection from language discrimination, through the U.S. legal system's notion of "protected classes." It was this orientation that helped to secure rights to bilingual education (e.g., the Bilingual Education Act, 1968; Lau v. Nichols, 1974).

Ruiz, a strong advocate of bilingual education, rejected language-as-problem discourses as inherently problematic, but also saw languages-as-right discourses as too contentious/litigious. Instead, he proposed a third orientation, *language-as-resource*, that shifted from viewing English as the resource to viewing multilingualism (English plus other languages) as a resource, benefiting the economy and national security, and leading to greater understanding across ethnic groups. Seeing language as a resource to not only be developed but also *conserved,* he argued, could "have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages... [helping] to ease tensions between majority and minority communities" (Ruiz, 1981, p. 25).

The Neoliberal Episteme

In the early 1980's, however, Ruiz could not have foreseen the epistemic shift that was beginning: a shift toward understanding everything, including language, through the lens of the market. Reagan was beginning the first years of his presidency, ushering in policies of privatization and free market economics that were already underway in other parts of the world (e.g., the UK; Chile). In subsequent decades, these economic shifts became social and even epistemic shifts, as domains formerly understood to be separate from business (e.g., medicine, education, religion) came to be understood in market terms, and increasingly, not in any others (Harvey, 2005; Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019). Although the nationalist era in the United States always had economic (i.e., capitalist) foundations, what has changed in the current episteme is that neoliberal logic has become not just the form of capitalism that governs our economic system, but the lens through which we understand the whole of our social world. In education, for example, school choice policies—policies that permit parents to choose between their child's assigned public school, charter schools, other public schools, and, in some states, private schools through vouchers or education accounts—are purported to improve education overall by introducing competition into the school landscape (Ball, 2017) and to give parents the right to find the best educational product for their child. Yet simultaneously, this logic places the responsibility for a child's success on individual parents' choices, rather than on systems (Apple, 2006). In neoliberal logic, a person's success or failure cannot be attributed to structures, but to individuals, who must make good choices and acquire skills to be competitive (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019).

Figure 1
Language Orientations Across Epistemes



We argue that, with this epistemic shift, what gets categorized as "problem," "right," and "resource" in language policy and language education has shifted as well (compare triangles in Figure 1). First, as noted by Ricento (2005) and Petrovic (2005), multilingualism—made up of discrete, school taught, standardized languages—has become a resource to help individuals, corporations, or even nations compete. This new language-as-resource discourse relies on seeing language as a decontextualized instrument: "as commodity, displaced from its historical situatedness, a tool to be developed for particular national interests" (Ricento, 2005, p. 357). These discourses thus necessitate a de-coupling of languages from ethnic or cultural groups, thereby ignoring language as an identity marker. In DLBE, this de-coupling and unmarking is a double-edged sword. On one hand, it has promoted the expansion of DLBE programs by making learning languages like Spanish attractive to White, middle class families looking for distinction in a globalized economy. Yet, it also serves to erase the cultural, historical, and political connections that are most salient and meaningful for language minoritized students. For these reasons, we refer to the neoliberal version of multilingualism as *whitewashed* multilingualism. Whitewashing—or the erasure of racialized identities from—multilingualism creates an a-historical, sociolinguistically inaccurate representation of language and the people who use it. Like other forms of whitewashing, it serves dominant interests.

With this shift in the language-as-resource orientation, what constitutes language-as-problem has shifted as well. Because whitewashed multilingualism has replaced English as the dominant "resource" discourse—and dominant discourses always serve dominant interests—other languages (at least "whole" languages) can no longer be framed as problems. Instead, certain varieties–that is, "non-standard" or racialized varieties (e.g., Chicano English, African American English)–have become problems to be remediated or fixed. Here we see the way whitewashed multilingualism functions as a form of property (Chávez-Moreno, 2021). In order to reserve the benefits of multilingualism for dominant groups, another discourse is invoked to

make certain (i.e., racialized) language varieties or practices problematic. Thus, only standardized, school-taught languages *count* as resources. Once again, the problem discourse acts as a powerful gatekeeper. The moving target of what gets categorized as a resource, analogous to the shifting definitions of "whiteness" within early U.S. history, serves as a reminder that those in power, in fact, are precisely those *with the power* to delimit, (re)define, and (re)categorize reality in ways that allow them to maintain said power.

Finally, in response to the whitewashing of multilingualism and the problematizing of racialized language practices, the third orientation—language-as-right—has also shifted. Instead of arguing for the legal right to use/learn their home languages, speakers with familial and cultural ties to language argue for the right to equity and identity through the legitimization of their language practices. In essence, this position makes the case that language cannot, and should not, be decontextualized or decoupled. The fight for linguistic rights to citizenship of the nationalist episteme has morphed into the fight for linguistic rights to a *non*-neoliberal subjectivity.

Part 2: Mapping the Landscape of DLBE Discourses

We now use this model of language orientations within the neoliberal episteme (right triangle in Figure 1) to map the discursive landscape of current DLBE scholarship in the United States. We do this through a literature review of major ideas in DLBE research, situating them within—and at the intersections of—the three orientations, or as we see them, discourse families. In doing so, we illustrate how, within each discursive family, the authors draw on (or critique) similar underlying logic.

To give an example of how the three discourse families—and the intersections between them—can be used to make sense of DLBE discourses, take the "discourse of transition" (as in transitional bilingual education [TBE]; Palmer, 2011). The discourse of transition is rooted in the nationalist episteme and continues today, drawing on the idea that other languages are problems and that bilingual children should transition to English-only education as soon as they can. But the discourse of transition also draws on language-as-right discourses, as TBE exists because legal decisions such as Lau v. Nichols (1974) have said that U.S. children have the right to access education, even before they speak English. This is not to say that all schools and teachers that implement TBE draw on Problem and Right discourses (see Palmer, 2011). Yet, if schools and teachers adopt TBE uncritically, they might understand TBE and their students' languages through the lenses of TBE policy: at the intersection of nationalist-era language-as-right but also language-as-problem discourses.

In Figure 2 and in the sections that follow, we use the analytic approach illustrated above to review current DLBE discourses. We note that just because these discourses co-exist within the neoliberal episteme, not all of them are neoliberal. Some, like the example we just provided (discourse of transition), are vestiges of the nationalist era still in circulation today (e.g., English hegemony, linguistic purism, standardization); others are a reaction to and a move away from neoliberal discourse (e.g., equity/heritage, identity/pride). But as Bakhtin (1981) explained, the power of an authoritative (i.e., dominant) discourse is that all other discourses—even those that reject the authoritative discourse—are still forced to respond to it. We therefore begin our review with the current discourse that all other discourses must answer to: language-as-economic-resource.

Figure 2 (Color)

Landscape of Current DLBE Discourses

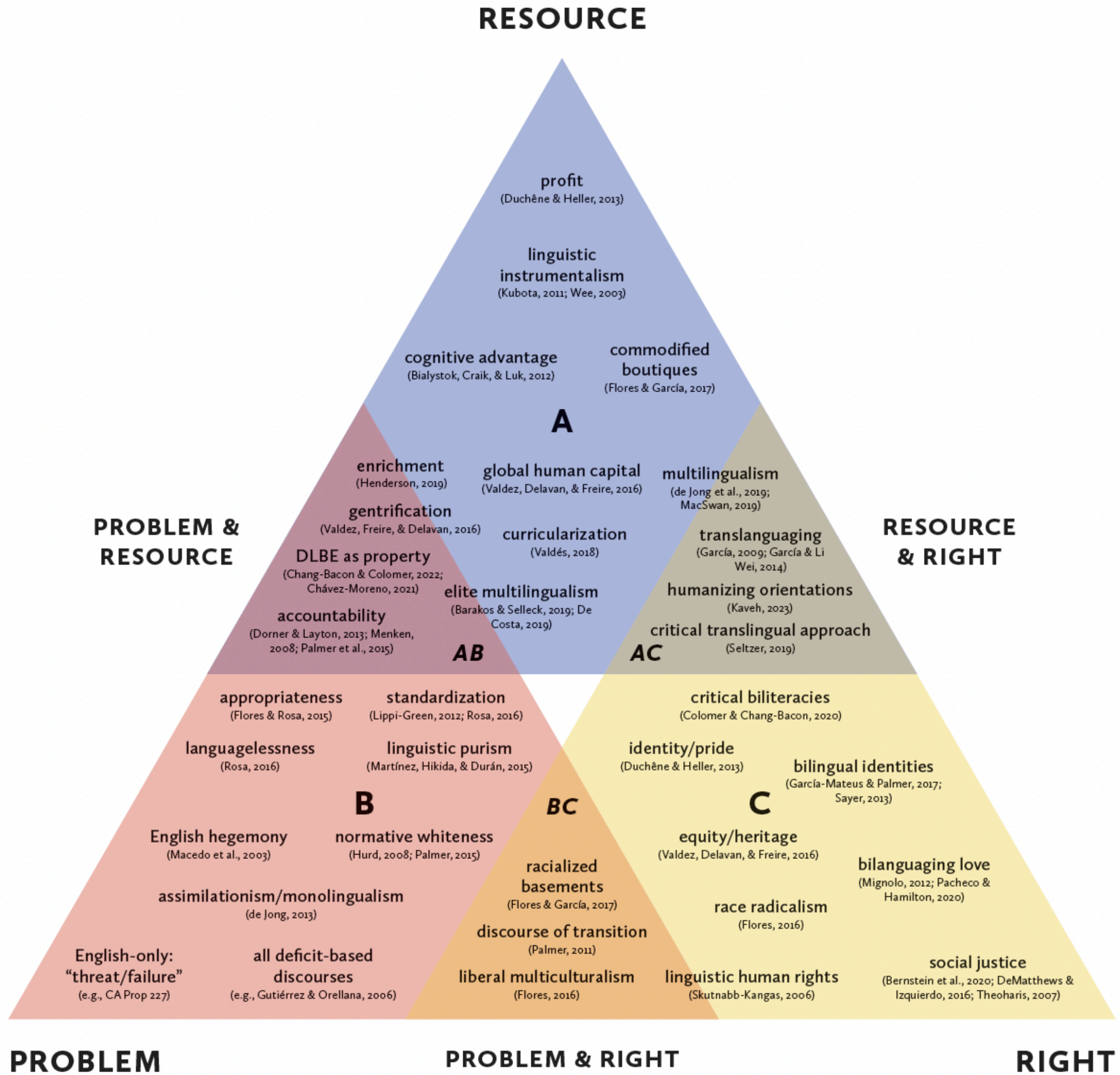
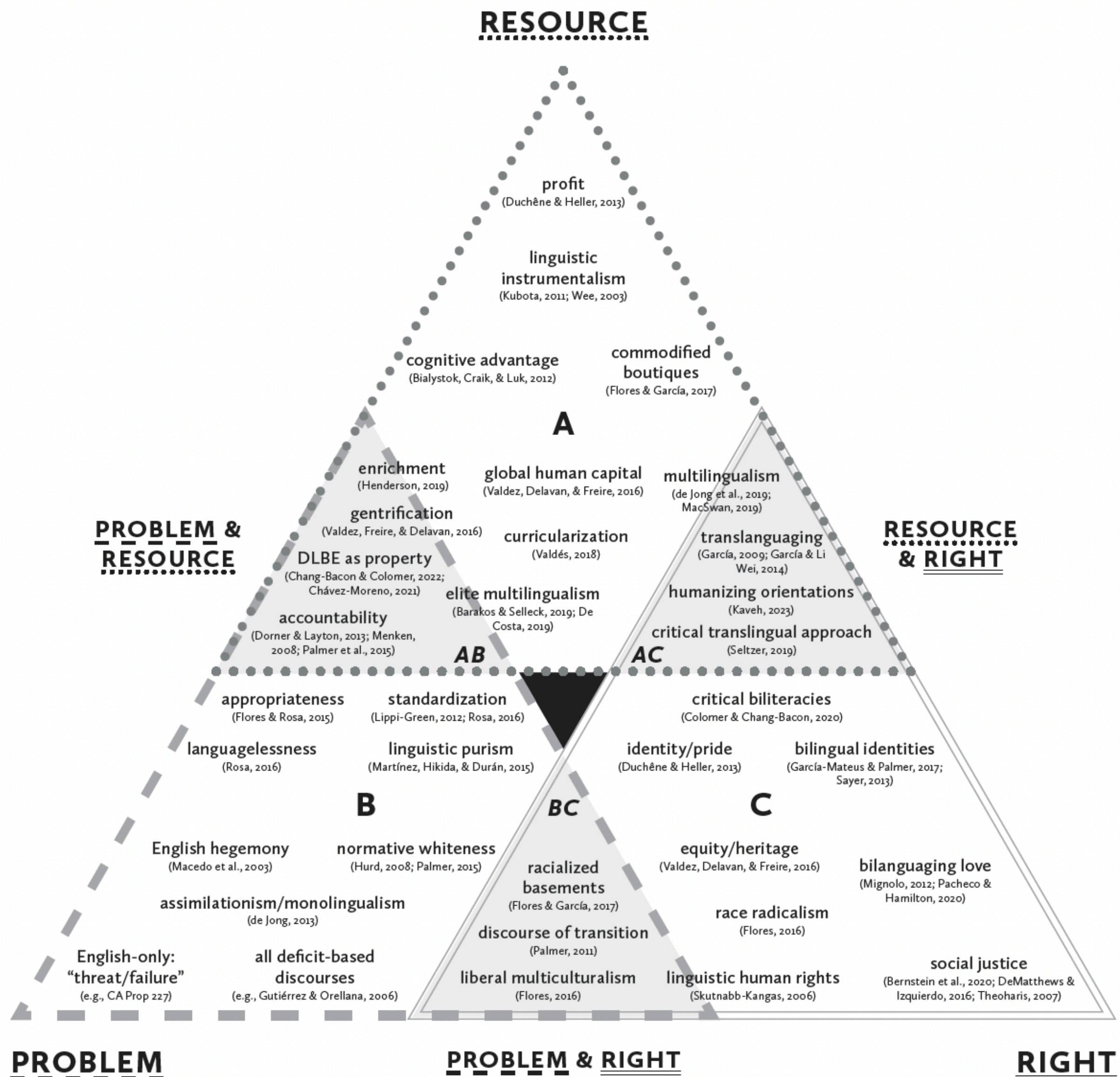


Figure 2 (Black & White)

Landscape of Current DLBE Discourses



Language as (Economic) Resource Discourses

In the neoliberal episteme, the underlying logic of the Language-as-Resource discourse family is that languages (other than English, but always in addition to English) are economic resources that can give a person, business, or nation a competitive edge. In this logic, languages are not associated with any particular group of speakers and are detached from any cultural, historical, familial or political connections–what we have termed *whitewashed* multilingualism. Languages can therefore be acquired by anyone as a value-added skill. These ideas are central to

what Wee (2003) and Kubota (2011) name the discourse of *linguistic instrumentalism*, in which language is viewed as a tool whose value comes primarily (or even exclusively) from the "specific utilitarian goals" it permits a speaker to achieve[3]. The logic of language as an economic tool also undergirds what Valdez, Delavan, and Freire (2016) name *global human capital* discourse, in which language serves to help produce better and more competitive workers in the global economy. Importantly, Valdez et al. point to how global human capital discourse serves to make programs like DLBE not just palatable, but marketable to the White speaking subject. Similarly, Duchêne and Heller's (2013) *language-as-profit* discourse (which they contrast with a *language-as-pride* discourse) draws on this logic, describing a shift toward seeing language as one of many sources of economic opportunity that a person might pursue (rather than a unique and important marker of identity).

Mena and García's (2021) concept of *converse racialization* helps to explain that shift, drawing on the language-as-resource logic of de-coupling language from a community of speakers. Converse racialization theorizes a process by which associations of particular languages with particular races, established over the last two centuries in the United States, are broken, and languages become un-marked, or unassociated with any one set of societal indexes. Through converse racialization, a language like Spanish—formerly discursively linked in language-as-problem discourses to immigration, poverty, and deficiency—can become a form of capital to be accumulated (particularly by White speaking subjects). This process can also lead to discourses of *curricularization* (Valdés, 2018), a term coined to explain how instrumentalization and de-coupling play out in educational settings. Through curricularization, languages are understood and taught as academic skills and school subjects, rather than as meaning-making systems acquired in communities.

Writing about DLBE specifically, Valdez, Freire, and Delavan (2016) bring together the logic of instrumentalization, curricularization, and the de-coupling of languages from speakers through their idea of the *gentrification of dual language education*. This discourse aptly evokes the tensions that accompany gentrification of a neighborhood and helps to explain changes seen across the United States to the purpose of DLBE—reflecting instrumental aims—along with the population served—from Latinx, Spanish speakers to White, English speakers. Gentrification discourses often have echoes of discourses of *elitism* or *elite multilingualism* (Barakos & Selleck, 2019; De Costa, 2019; Freire & Alemán, 2021)—rooted in the nationalist episteme, but still relevant today—which place value on the multilingualism of an English speaker acquiring (optional) "world" languages through school, while not placing the same value on the multilingualism of a Spanish speaker acquiring (required) English.

Relatedly, in what Henderson (2019) has called *the enrichment narrative,* DLBE stakeholders uncritically position DLBE as gifted and talented programs. In this framing, DLBE can be seen as "too challenging" for certain students (i.e., students with disabilities or English learners who do not speak one of the program languages), who may therefore be discouraged from participating. Palmer and Henderson (2016) show this explicitly in their study of program placement decisions for emergent bilingual learners in Texas: students seen as academically advanced were selected for two-way DLBE programs, while students seen as "low" were placed in one-way programs. Research demonstrating the cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Bialystok

[3] It is important to note that the ideas reviewed in this section are meant to name and critique the trends they theorize. Thus, it is the discourses these scholars describe (and not the scholars themselves) that draw on and perpetuate the language-as-economic-resource logic of the neoliberal episteme.

et al., 2012) and the connected discourse of *cognitive advantage* in DLBE can similarly be adopted in problematic and exclusionary ways. These last discourses point to the ways in which language-as-resource discourses intersect with—and in some cases depend on—the next family of discourses: language-as-problem.

Language (Varieties/Practices) as Problem Discourses

The underlying logic of the Language-as-Problem discourse family—many members of which originated in the nationalist episteme—is that "non-standard" or racialized language varieties and practices are problems to be eradicated. As languages such as Spanish and Mandarin have undergone whitewashing and converse racialization (Mena & García, 2021) to become resources in an idealized "balanced" bilingualism in two standardized varieties, language-as-problem discourses mark other multilingual practices as problematic.

This logic is evident in discourses of *standardization* (Rosa, 2016) and *standard language ideologies* (Lippi-Green, 2012), in which practices such as translanguaging and varieties like Texmex, Chicano English, Spanglish, and African American English are seen as illegitimate and their speakers are marked as deficient. Similar to earlier forms of racialized languages, like Spanish, Mandarin, or Japanese, and their indexical linking to poverty, laziness, or lack of intelligence, discourses of standardization draw on raciolinguistic ideologies to "conflate certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 150). Thus, if a White Spanish learner in a DLBE program blends languages in a similar way to a Latinx English learner, those practices will not be evaluated in the same way: the former student may be lauded for "making a real effort with Spanish;" the latter may be labeled as "struggling" with English. In DLBE, language-as-problem logic also manifests as what Martínez et al. (2015) call the discourse of *linguistic purism,* in which language separation is privileged over translanguaging practices, and teachers work to "protect" languages such as Spanish, by keeping English out of Spanish time (e.g., Hamman-Ortiz, 2019).

The language-as-problem logic of delegitimizing certain racialized varieties and practices also undergirds discourses of *languagelessness* (Rosa, 2016), *semilingualism* (Cummins, 1994), *alingualism* (Zentella, 2007), and *"non/non"*-ness (MacSwan, 2005), in which racialized bilingual or emergent bilingual students are viewed as being non-proficient in English and in (the standard variety of) their home language. In these discourses, the bilingualism (or double monolingualism [Flores, 2013; Heller, 1999] of English plus a school-variety of Spanish) of the White speaking subject is upheld as the most valuable bilingualism, while the practices indigenous to bilingual communities in the United States are marginalized, along with their speakers. As Cervantes-Soon (2014) notes:

> Speaking Spanish is only a valuable asset when using the standard variation and when English is one's dominant language. If [Latinx children] cannot demonstrate their full proficiency in the language legitimized by school—whether it is English or standard Spanish—they might as well not speak at all. In this way, students' home languages, and consequently their voices and identities, remain relegated to the margins. (p. 74)

One way in which teachers relegate home language practices to the margins is through what Flores and Rosa (2015) call the discourse of *appropriateness* (see also Leeman, 2005). To avoid explicitly labeling certain varieties as problems, appropriateness discourse frames all language

varieties as legitimate "for some contexts" (i.e., home; out of school), but frames the standardized variety (sometimes euphemized as "academic language") as the most "appropriate" for professional or academic contexts. This discourse depends on the myth that by acquiring legitimate language practices, speakers will gain legitimacy. Yet as Flores and Rosa (2015) argue, "the linguistic practices of language-minoritized populations [are viewed] as deviant based on their racial positioning in society as opposed to any objective characteristics of their language use" (p. 151).

This final point captures the slipperiness and deviousness of language-as-problem discourses: as language-as-resource discourses shift, turning formerly marginalized and racialized languages into whitewashed assets for those in power, language-as-problem discourses shift too, continuing to frame racialized speakers' language practices as deficient, no matter what those practices are. In this way, language-as-problem discourses are the other side of the language-as-resource coin: in order to frame certain practices as resources, it is necessary to frame other practices as *non*-resources. Thus, language-as-resource discourses, such as elite multilingualism and DLBE as enrichment, depend on language-as-problem discourses, such as standardization, for their logic to make sense. Indeed, it is the intersection of language-as-problem and language-as-resource discourses (see triangle *AB* in Figure 2) that have led scholars to posit *dual language as White property* (Chávez-Moreno, 2021) and *biliteracy as property* (Chang-Bacon & Colomer, 2022), with the voices, interests, and bilingualism of White students and families being valued over those of racialized students, including the Latinx students bilingual education was created to serve.

The intersection of language-as-problem and language-as-resource discourses has also served to systematically exclude speakers of Black English language varieties (Wall et al., 2022) and emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled from DLBE programs. Cioè-Peña (2017, 2020) outlined how separate policies and classes for language acquisition and special education frequently leave students with intersectional identities out of DLBE conversations and how parents of emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled are counseled out of DLBE programs. This tendency is amplified by the decades-long trend of overrepresentation of racialized students—particularly, African American, Native American, and Latinx students—in special education (Kramarczuk Voulgarides et al., 2017) and underrepresentation in gifted and talented programs. This pattern introduces another possible intersection of language-as-resource and language-as-problem discourses: when DLBE programs are seen as a kind of gifted and talented program, existing biases for inclusion of racialized students in those programs are applied to DLBE. This process, which Morita-Mullaney and Chesnut (2022) aptly name *deselection,* is illustrated in a quote from a DLBE principal in Bernstein et al.'s (2020) study:

> We do consider [DLBE] an advanced learning opportunity. So it's kind of marketed that way. It's not for everybody. Not everybody can handle it. And we do have some kids unfortunately that start off in dual language, and we find out maybe they have language deficits or special learning disabilities that really make it challenging for them to do both. And so we do have to move them back to monolingual. (p. 672)

When school principals see DLBE as giving students an edge precisely because of its added challenge, it is easy to argue that not all students are up for that challenge and to exclude those whose language varieties or practices or abilities are seen as a problem.

Accountability discourses (abling/disabling discourses) (Cioè-Peña, 2017, 2020; Dorner & Layton, 2013) can also serve to exclude, by positioning students as "high" or "low" based on

standardized assessment of monolingual competence in prestige varieties of English or Spanish (Palmer & Henderson, 2016). Accountability discourses—rooted in processes of standardization—can serve to oppress English learners (Menken, 2008) and derail DLBE program implementation (Palmer et al., 2016) based on incompatibility with pluralist discourses that promote bilingualism and biculturalism. In sum, while discourses at the intersection of language-as-resource and language-as-problem can have consequences for all students, they are particularly dangerous for students who are already marginalized within U.S. schools, like students of color, students with disabilities, and emergent bilingual students.

When language-as-problem discourses instead intersect with language-as-right discourses (see triangle *BC* in Figure 2), the results are more ambiguous. For instance, as discussed, the discourse of transition affords access and a right to bilingual education, while still framing language as a problem to be fixed (i.e., transitioned out of). In Flores and García (2017), García names her early days of bilingual teaching the era of *bilingual basements*, recalling how she and her Latinx students were remanded to dingy basement-level bilingual classrooms because of their "deficient" English (language-as-problem), but found warm affinity spaces where their identities, cultures, and languages were celebrated. The authors contrast these bilingual basements with today's DLBE programs, which are marketed as *commodified boutiques*, with their attractiveness and high visibility, but which no longer "belong" to Latinx teachers and students.

Language-as-problem and language-as-right meet in a slightly different way in Flores' (2016) discourse of *liberal multiculturalism.* Flores argues that liberal multiculturalism frames "bilingual education as a tool to provide Latinos access to the idealized language practices of a reconfigured bilingual vision of hegemonic Whiteness" (p. 23). In other words, liberal multiculturalism provides a vision for DLBE that does nothing to disrupt current societal power structures, instead seeking to repair bilingual students' language practices to better fit a White norm. Similarly, in Dorner et al.'s (2020) work, a school founded on ideas of equity for Black students in DLBE failed to live up to its aims when it understood students' language and literacy through discourses of languagelessness and standardization, seeing "ending word poverty" and "increasing social capital" for Black students as paths to equity (p. 100). These discourses eventually undermined goals of equal access to DLBE for all students, when the school decided that students should not learn literacy in Spanish, Mandarin, or French until they had demonstrated proficiency in English literacy.

Language as Right (to Equity and Identity) Discourses

In contrast to discourses that problematize marginalized students' language practices, the logic of the Language-as-Right discourse family (see triangle C in Figure 2) is that speakers have a right to all of their language practices, because language maintenance is tied to both identity and equity. In the nationalist episteme, language-as-right discourses focused on legal rights for emergent bilingual students; in the neoliberal episteme, this family of discourses instead focuses on re-coupling languages to identity, history, and culture. This discourse family is thus a rebuke to the dominant, language-as-resource discourse and its whitewashing of languages.

Two prominent discourses in this family are discourses of *linguistic rights* (Fránquiz et al., 2019) and *linguistic human rights* (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). Both frame the right to maintain and use one's language as equal to other human rights and essential to one's personhood (Zúñiga, 2016). Through this lens, access to home language education, through programs like

DLBE, is never just about language learning, but about creating conditions in which students "are not forced to assimilate, can feel their linguistic identities as respected, and learn that their linguistic human rights matter" (Fránquiz et al., 2019, p. 141). Yet, linguistic human rights discourse can become problematic when it focuses more on language preservation than on speakers and listeners in communities (Kaveh, 2023). Scholars have therefore encouraged alternative approaches and discourses that center speakers. Valdez, Delavan, and Freire (2016) apply the idea of linguistic rights in their equity/heritage discourse—framing DLBE as a way to support students' right to their linguistic heritage and cultural identification—but they add the element of "equity," framing DLBE as a way to counter the inherent inequality in schools and larger society. Discourses of *race radicalism* in bilingual education (Flores, 2016), which arose during the civil rights movement, also framed bilingual education as much more than language learning. Instead, for the Puerto Rican activists that Flores writes about, bilingual education was part of the larger revolutionary project of transforming society by educating students to stand in solidarity with other marginalized peoples, resist the oppression of white supremacy, and fight for decolonization. These aims read as revolutionary, but are echoed in the more recently-described *equity and social justice* discourses (Bernstein et al., 2020; DeMatthews et al., 2017; Izquierdo et al., 2019). In these discourses, language learning within DLBE is framed not as the end goal, but as just one means—embedded in larger critical education—to address past wrongs, support emergent bilinguals in developing strong identities and connections to their past, and teach all children to recognize inequalities and work toward social transformation (Bernstein et al., 2020; DeMatthews et al., 2017). *Critical biliteracies* (Chang-Bacon & Colomer, 2022) also explicitly addresses language and literacy alongside power, race, and culture. This approach combines criticality with biliteracy, acknowledging the history and richness of both traditions within the fields of literacy and bilingual education respectively, but pushing for an integration of the two.

Several discourses in the Language-as-Right family emphasize the formation of positive *bilingual identities*, in addition to language practices, as key to DLBE (García-Mateus, Núñez, & Urrieta, in press; García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). Pacheco and Hamilton (2020) advocate for the enactable discourse of *bilanguaging love* (Mignolo, 2012) in which Latina/o/x students adopt and contest identity positions including Spanish speaker, bilingual, Latina and Mexicana/o in ways that reflect agency and display borderland knowledges and sensibilities, resisting clear boundaries between languages and identities.

Finally, the intersection of language-as-right with language-as-resource discourses (depicted in triangle *AC* in Figure 2) represents another space of possibility, in which diverse linguistic practices and identities are validated and in which they are viewed and utilized as resources for emerging bilinguals. An important contribution of scholarship in this area provides ways to name and identify the dynamic and fluid languaging practices of bi/multilinguals from a pluralist perspective, including bilanguaging (Mignolo, 2012), codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011), hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez et al., 1999), and others. Within the field of DLBE in the United States, *multilingualism* and *translanguaging* are two such frameworks.

Multilingualism from a pluralist perspective—rather than an assimilationist one (de Jong, 2013; see also Piller, 2016)—offers one lens for understanding diverse language practices and promoting discourses at the intersection of language as a right and resource (Durán & Palmer, 2014; MacSwan, 2019). Adopting this view allows educators to see DLBE as a space to serve an increasingly diverse community of speakers (de Jong et al., 2019), such as students who speak

Spanish and an indigenous language or students who speak neither target language. Pluralist multilingual discourses afford opportunities to promote inclusive DLBE. At the same time, multilingualism discourse brings potential challenges and its usefulness for promoting social justice has been contested (Blackledge & Creese, 2014), which is why we place it along the border of language-as-resource. The vulnerability of multilingualism to contestation in the neoliberal era is also a result of its terminological sloganization (Schmenk et al., 2019)–that is, the way it has been emptied of its meaning and decontextualized into near-mythic form, resulting in detachment from speakers and communities. An important argument that aims to prevent this problematic de-coupling is to move away from Ruiz's (1984) orientations to languages entirely and to instead center speakers and their complex, intersectional languaging practices, through *humanizing orientations* (Kaveh, 2023). Consistent with the perspective that the national and neoliberal epistemes are manifestations of the broader colonial project, shifting to humanizing orientations necessitates a paradigm shift toward decolonial and indigenous perspectives. Adopting a translanguaging stance represents a pathway towards paradigmatic re-orientation. According to *translanguaging* theory, all of the language practices and meaning-making processes of bilinguals make up each speaker's unique and complete repertoire. Within the speaker's repertoire, "languages" are not separable or distinct and therefore not able to be hierarchized—placing power back with the speaker. Translanguaging is a concept that explicitly disrupts deficit perspectives of emerging bilinguals by understanding their dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014). Translanguaging pedagogy involves educators adopting a stance and classroom design that embraces translanguaging as a resource with transformative potential and that responds to translanguaging shifts in classroom interaction (García et al., 2017; Sánchez & García, 2023). A *critical translingual approach* (Seltzer, 2019) builds on the tenets of translanguaging and pushes boundaries for inclusive transformative education with an explicitly critical lens. Similarly, translanguaging in combination with Universal Design for Learning (TrUDL) has been proposed as a framework to further ensure and guide DLBE into an inclusive and transformational space for bilingual students with disabilities (Cioè-Peña, 2022). Substantial research depicts the way translanguaging pedagogy creates classroom spaces that counter dominant language-as-problem discourses to serve emerging bilingual learners (Sánchez & García, 2021), including within DLBE contexts (García-Mateus et al., 2021; Henderson & Ingram, 2018; Palmer et al., 2014; Tian, 2022). In sum, DLBE programs and policies should strive to adopt and promote discourses that begin at the intersection of right and resource which, as argued in the following section, can only be achieved through a critical interrogation of historical and current dominant discourses.

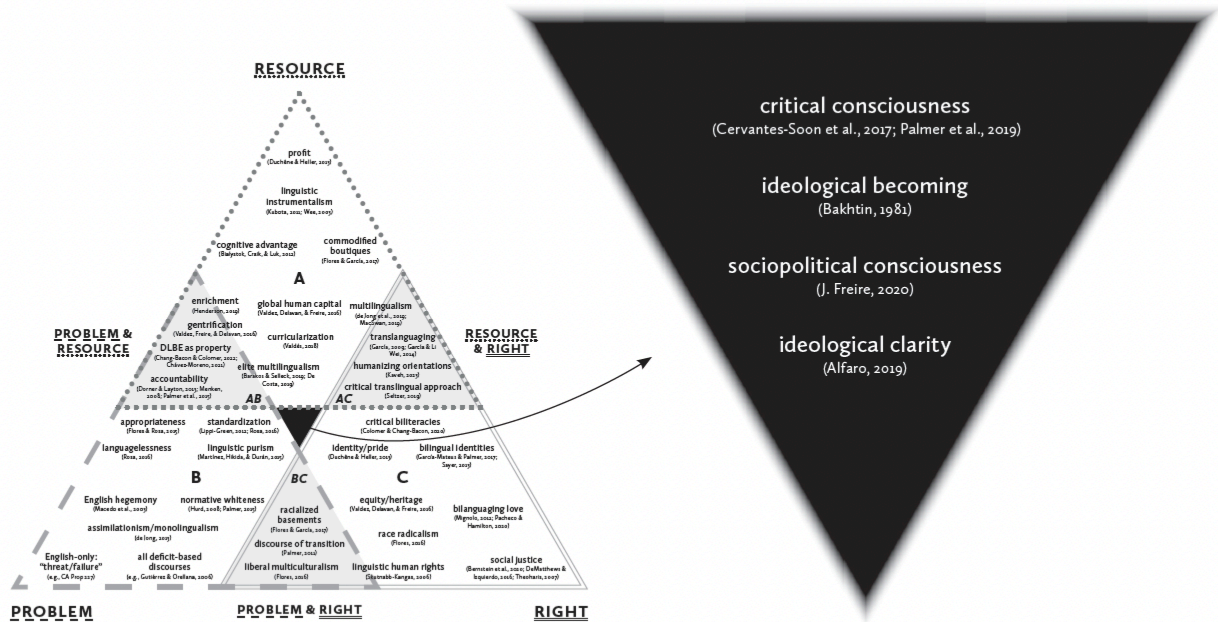
From Right+Resource to Humanizing Spaces: Ideological Becoming as a Pathway Forward

In this chapter, we have used Ruiz's (1984) orientations to language as a heuristic to make sense of a vast and complex set of ideas within DLBE. We believe that metadiscursive awareness–or the ability to identify and name discourses–can equip DLBE educators with tools to disrupt language-as-problem discourses and promote discourses, practices, and pedagogies at the intersection of language-as-right and resource. We see this as a critical part of *ideological becoming* (Bakhtin, 1981) and the development of related concepts of *critical consciousness* (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Heiman, Cervantes-Soon, Palmer, & Dorner, 2023; Palmer et al., 2019), *sociopolitical consciousness* (J. Freire, 2020; Freire & Feinauer, in press) and *ideological*

clarity (Alfaro, 2019). We situate these ideas, not in any of the sections of the triangle discussed so far, but in the space at the center of the triangle, as shown in Figure 3. From this position, scholars and educators can observe all of the discourses circulating around them and come to decide which discourses are "internally persuasive" (Bakhtin, 1981). We see it as a space of potential, a not-as-yet defined space for developing humanizing and liberatory discourses.

Figure 3

A Pathway Forward



Conclusion

Multiple discourses shape DLBE policy, programs, and classrooms. Language-as-problem and language-as-resource discourses—often the authoritative discourses in DLBE—can serve to marginalize racialized speakers by framing their language varieties and practices as problems and by stripping them of special claims to languages through the whitewashing of multilingualism. As DLBE educators, we are forced to recognize and reckon with these dominant discourses and the institutional and political authority fused to them (Bakhtin, 1981). Yet, these discourses need not be internally persuasive to us. Identification and critical awareness of authoritative discourses and their history are necessary to disrupt them. Instead, we can engage with non-dominant discourses at the intersection of language-as-right and language-as-resource. These discourses offer a vision of linguistic rights that re-contextualizes languages, re-animating language as a living expression of identity, culture, and history. Promoting a process of ideological becoming for students, educators, administrators, and researchers alike would provide the opportunity for critical engagement with and reflection on our discursive landscape. While we cannot–and should not–control which discourses become internally persuasive to

others, we hope that providing an unencumbered view of the complex histories and power relations (in)forming this landscape will allow more non-dominant and counter-hegemonic discourses to emerge. There is a history and legacy of bilingual education advocates driven by internally persuasive non-dominant discourses (see Moore, in press). These advocates recognize the ways in which dominant discourses have been oppressive through the erasure and/or vilification of linguistically and racially minoritized speakers. We count ourselves among these advocates in calling for more liberatory and healing DLBE discourses in which historically marginalized students are centered–with fully contextualized lives that are valued and voices that are heard.

CHAPTER 2[4]

Rebranding Bilingualism: The Shifting Discourses of Language Education Policy in California's 2016 Election

1. Introduction

In 1998, voters in the state of California passed a ballot measure placing severe restrictions on the way English Language Learners (ELLs) could be taught in public schools. Targeted specifically at the elimination of bilingual education programs, Proposition 227 proposed legislation that would mandate that children who were learning English must, with few exceptions, only be taught in English. Proposition 227 emerged in a period of heightened nationalistic and anti-immigrant sentiment (Ovando, 2003), and it capitalized on the association of bilingual education with Spanish, and of Spanish with unchecked immigration, to convince voters that teaching in English was best for children, families, and the nation (Johnson & Martinez, 1999; Wiley, 2004). When Proposition 227 passed in 1998, it had the effect of strangling many bilingual programs, and it earned California the reputation of being an "English-only state."

In 2016, however, California voters were given the chance to reevaluate this restrictive language education policy. On November 8, 2016, Californians voted 73.52% to 26.48% to pass Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy (EdGE) Initiative, which lifted the limits on language of instruction in California's public schools. Were one to ignore the rest of the 2016 US election, Proposition 58's passing might be explained by the idea that Americans in general and Californians in particular had simply become less anti-immigrant and less nationalistic. Yet, anyone who witnessed the 2016 presidential campaign cycle saw that the day was won by now President Trump's rhetoric about mass deportations, building "the wall," and bans on whole groups of immigrants and refugees. And while California's voters have leaned increasingly democratic since Reagan's election in 1967, in the 2016 election, 1,000,000 voters who cast a ballot for Trump also voted to pass Proposition 58 (California Secretary of State, 2016a, 2016b). What would make a voter who was otherwise persuaded to "make America great again" vote on the very same ballot for a bill that could mean the rebirth of bilingual education, which is historically linked to the fight for social justice and linguistic minority rights?

We argue that the answer to this question lies in the texts of the two propositions themselves. As we will show below, Proposition 58 did not simply argue for the removal of the restrictions placed on schools by Proposition 227. Rather, it constructed a sophisticated argument, built on economic grounds, for the active promotion of multilingualism and multilingual education[5] in the state. It is the construction of this argument—and the contrasts to the argument constructed in Proposition 227—that is the focus of this paper.

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[4] Please note that this chapter was co-authored by Katie A. Bernstein and a version of it was published in *Linguistics and Education, 40* (2017), 11-26. My thanks to Katie for giving me permission to include this in my dissertation.

[5] All references to education in more than one language in Proposition 58 use the word "multilingual" rather than "bilingual." It is important to note that the programs to which these labels refer are likely to all be two-language approaches, educating children in English and another language. There are unlikely to be trilingual programs, or full monolingual immersion in languages other than English (except maybe in the early grades in developmental bilingual programs, which will taper off to 50–50 in later grades). Thus,

Our analysis is predicated on the notion that, within each of the legislative texts mentioned above, language is both the topic at hand and the tool by which various and competing realities are constructed. Using the methods of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001, 2003), we examine the construction of these realities. More specifically, we look at the competing visions of language and language education presented within California Proposition 227, English Language in Public Schools (1998), and the statute that repealed it, California Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative (2016). Through a variety of lexico-grammatical analyses, we contrast these two texts and the ideological spaces they construct.

Linking the two policy texts with the socio-political contexts from which they emerge, we illustrate how the language used within each of these documents draws on and perpetuates discourses serving different language orientations (Ruiz, 1984)—bilingualism as problem (and English as solution) in Proposition 227 (1998) and multilingualism as resource for human capital development in Proposition 58 (2016). We argue that, in the time between the writing of the two texts, discourses of globalization and neoliberalism (Fairclough, 2006; Holborow, 2015) have infiltrated, or perhaps further infiltrated, the educational arena and have served to reframe debates around language education. We show how Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative, appropriates current neoliberal discourses to justify a revitalization of bilingual (now "multilingual") education in California. At the same time, these subtle linguistic shifts mark changes in the goals of multilingual education itself—from equal educational opportunity to competition in the global marketplace. We use the case of California to raise questions about whether policies framed within one discursive regime (e.g., neoliberalism and global human capital) can eventually serve the aims of another (e.g., equity, plurality, social justice), or whether discourse is destiny in policy making.

2. Background

2.1. Language education policy: a retrospective

In this section, we provide a brief history of language education policy in the U.S. to highlight the ways in which attitudes toward non-dominant languages and their role in education have shifted in conjunction with various social and political developments. This provides the historical, social, and political context within which our present work is situated.

During the first century after the founding of the U.S., attitudes of tolerance abounded and bilingual education, as well as instruction in languages other than English, was quite common in a number of states including Pennsylvania (German), Minnesota (Swedish), Michigan (Dutch), Wisconsin (Polish), and Louisiana (French) (Kloss, 1977). Toward the end of the 19th century, an influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe—seen as racially inferior by the northern Europeans already present in the 1 All references to education in more than one language in Proposition 58 use the word "multilingual" rather than "bilingual." Itis important to note that the programs to which these labels refer are likely to all be two-language

what's interesting about the shift from "bilingual" to "multilingual" is not a change in the programs that these words refer to in the real world, but, as we will show, the associations of each word with different discourses.

approaches, educating children in English and another language. There are unlikely to be trilingual programs, or full monolingual immersion in languages other than English (except maybe in the early grades in developmental bilingual programs, which will taper off to 50–50 in later grades). Thus, what's interesting about the shift from "bilingual" to "multilingual" is not a change in the programs that these words refer to in the real world, but, as we will show, the associations of each word with different discourses. US—prompted negative attitudes toward the languages these new immigrants spoke. Concerns about assimilation and fears about the loss of Anglo dominance led to the Americanization movement and the first wave of English-only laws. Between 1872 and 1923, thirty-four states made English the language of instruction in schools (Lleras-Muney & Shertzer, 2015). World War I only strengthened the nationalist sentiment and further engendered hostile feelings toward languages other than English (Ovando, 2003).

In 1957, the launch of Sputnik by the former Soviet Union shifted the tides once more, leading the U.S. government to channel massive federal funds not only into math and science education but also into foreign language and heritage language programs (Alderson & Beretta, 1992; Fishman, 2001). Knowledge of languages other than English was seen, for the first time, as a resource for national security. Language policy during this period was also influenced by the Civil Rights movement. In 1968, Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), was added to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to meet the educational needs of limited English proficient (LEP) students. In 1974, the Supreme Court ruled in Lau v. Nichols that students with limited English proficiency who were taught in English-only classrooms were being denied equal access to course content. Over the next few years, hundreds of school districts adopted bilingual education programs (Crawford, 1996).

As the 1970s drew to a close, the pendulum once again began to swing in the other direction. Many federally funded programs came under attack by the (re)emerging English-only movement (Wiley, 2001). Over the next two decades, this movement spawned a number of organizations such as U.S. English (1983) and ProEnglish (1994), whose mission was to fight for official English policies at all levels of government. Opponents of the English-only movement, concerned about the nativist ideologies it promotes, have argued that the debate over language is largely symbolic, masking a deeper "conflict over the impact of immigration and demographic diversity" (Crawford, 2000, p. 40). Indeed, John Tanton, who served on the board of U.S. English and went onto found ProEnglish, also helped start three national immigration restriction organizations and has been called an "anti-immigration crusader" (DeParle, 2011). These connections highlight the way that language frequently serves as a proxy for race, class, and religion (May, 2012; Ovando,2003), as well as national identity (Schmidt, 2000), and how it has been used as a more covert method of discrimination (Johnson & Martinez, 1999). Thus, rather than framing Mexican immigrants as the problem, proponents of the English-only movement frame Spanish as the problem, as a threat to national unity whose maintenance leads to the "ghettoization" of its speakers (Wiley, 2004). Under that logic, in 1998, Proposition 227 passed in California, effectively eliminating bilingual education in the state. Similar laws were then passed in Arizona in 2000 and Massachusetts in 2002. These initiatives mandated the implementation of a Structured English Immersion (SEI) approach to language education, in which children were "taught English by being taught in English" (Proposition 227, Article 2 §305).

This historical review of language education policy in the U.S. demonstrates the shifting tides of public opinion with regard to bilingual education as well as the way that policy making

at the state and national level reflects larger social and political processes. These processes, in turn, shape/are shaped by the discourses used to talk about them (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In the following section, we review some of the discourses brought to bear within our two focal policies.

2.2. Discourses of language, discourses of education

2.2.1. Threat and reform

Since its re-emergence in the early 1980s, the English-only movement has promulgated its cause primarily through the discourse of threat, and the other side of the same discursive coin, the discourse of reform. English-only proponents argue that bilingual education is a threat to the nation-state and that multilingualism "is by definition destructive of national unity" (May, 2012, p. 226) in that it threatens the English language, which serves as the very "symbol of national unity" (Crawford, 1989, p. 14). The threat extends to people, as well. Crawford (1992) explains the rhetoric used by the English-only movement: "the crutch of bilingual education must be yanked away or newcomers will be permanently handicapped" (p. 176). A 1998 ad put out by US English went so far as to liken bilingual education to child abuse (Dicker, 2000).

The discourse of threat is evident in much anti-bilingual education legislation. For example, in the "Argument in Favor of Proposition 227" (Callaghan, Unz, & Vega, 1998) which appeared in the 1998 official voter guide, children are presented as "victims" who may be "injured for life economically and socially" by bilingual education. Bilingual education is described as "an educational dead-end" and a "ghetto" that prevents English language learners "from becoming successful members of society."

This same short text features the word "failure" and its variants "fails" and "failed" four times, highlighting another prominent discourse noted by a number of educational researchers:the discourse of reform, which is presented as the logical response to that threat. By utilizing a "language of success and failure, [the discourse of reform is] couched in the rhetoric of progress, accountability, and higher standards" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Asato, 2000, p. 89). More than simply betraying U.S. school's increasing preoccupation with failure (Varenne & McDermott, 1999), the discourse of reform has served to promote what Gutiérrez, Asato, Santos, and Gotanda (2002) call a "backlash pedagogy" that has emerged in response to the perceived threat of increased diversity. Gutiérrez et al. (2002) argue that "despite the legal rhetoric, the discourse of reform in California today is necessarily about the achievement or underachievement of poor and working-class students, particularly Latino, and all the reforms lead ostensibly to "fixing" Latino and other students of color" (p. 342). These discourses of threat and reform undergirded Proposition 227 and have continued to inform debates over bilingual education, but they also extend beyond the realm of bilingual education and into the field of education more broadly (e.g., A Nation at Risk [Gardner, 1983]). They are not, however, the only discourses at work in either of those fields.

2.2.2. Language and education in neoliberal times

In the time since California passed its anti-bilingual education measure, scholars in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and second language acquisition have noted a different trend: language and language learning have increasingly come to be seen in economic terms, as tools for self-improvement, means toward economic ends, and commodities that can be acquired

and sold (Heller, 2010; Heller & Duchêne, 2016; Holborow, 2015). Increasing one's personal value through language-learning has become a key part of making oneself more marketable—on the job market, the graduate school market, or even the marriage market (Shin, 2016). Duchêne and Heller (2012) propose that this view of language is part of the creeping spread of neoliberal values into all facets of social life.

Neoliberal ideology began as a purely political-economic theory. It holds that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). However, as Harvey (2005) points out, neoliberal ideals—free markets, competition, choice—have come to constitute what Gramsci (1971) called "common sense," or the "sense held in common" about how to organize the social world. The free market has become a common explanatory framework for domains once considered unrelated to the world of business.

The field of language education is no exception. Responding to an uptick in dual language programs in Utah, Valdez, Delavan, and Freire (2016) analyzed 164 newspaper articles from 2005 to 2011 and found a marked shift over time from an Equity/Heritage (E/H) discourse—in which dual language education is seen as a way to support minority language student achievement—to a discourse of Global Human Capital (GHC)—in which dual language education is seen as a means to increase students' marketability in the global economy. They note a parallel shift in the target "consumer" of dual language programs, "from language minoritized student groups toward more privileged student groups" (p. 2). While this latter group may not have been beneficiaries of the E/H framework, as future workers in the global marketplace, they certainly have a place in the GHC framework. This finding is echoed in the work of Lu and Catalano (2015), who note the dominance of GHC discourse in user comments on national news sites, both in support of and opposition to multilingual education.

Neoliberal logic also increasingly drives decisions about which languages "deserve" to be taught in schools and which languages will provide the "best return on investment" if studied (Escobar, Ennser-Kananen, & Bigelow, 2016). Under this logic, the global English teaching industry has flourished, and was estimated to be worth US $11.7 billion in 2014 (Norris, 2014), with students around the world studying English in hopes of getting accepted to top universities and achieving better job prospects (Gao & Park, 2015; Jang, 2015; Kubota, 2016; Shin, 2014). Wee (2003) and Kubota (2011) call this perspective linguistic instrumentalism or "a view of language that justifies its existence in a community in terms of its usefulness in achieving specific utilitarian goals, such as access to economic development or social mobility" (Wee, 2003, p. 211).

Wee contrasts this language-as-instrument view with a view of language as a symbolic marker of national or cultural identity. He proposes that while the two views are not contradictory, the instrumental view has increasingly become the persuasive and pervasive one. Duchêne and Heller (2012) name these two intertwined forces "pride" and "profit." They argue that "pride"—national, cultural, or ethnic; involving identity, history, and rights—was the dominant discourse for many years, used to justify, for instance, the bilingual movement in Ontario or heritage language schools in Switzerland. Duchêne and Heller propose that while the "pride" discourse has not vanished with the arrival of instrumental views of language, in the new, global era, neoliberal "pride" is now often put in the service of "profit": Bilingualism has

been recast as a source of opportunity in Ontario, and heritage schools have reframed their mission in terms of multilingualism's "added value" for individuals and society.

The role of language in these processes is therefore twofold. First, language becomes an instrument for profit or another way of "adding value" to human capital. Second, and perhaps more importantly, language is also the medium in which "profit" discourse is constructed and spread and through which neoliberal ideology is naturalized as "common sense" (Holborow, 2015; Shin & Park, 2016). Through subtle changes in the ways we speak about the world, the language of the marketplace has become the de facto way of understanding reality. For instance, if doctors no longer "care" for patients, but "deliver care" or are "care providers," care becomes a product that can be marketed and sold. And if universities and schools "serve students" rather than educate or teach them, students (and parents) become customers, making education a customer service industry. This spread—what Fairclough (2002) calls the "colonization of other fields by the economic field" (p. 163)—is not just linguistic or ideological, but has material consequences. Because increased efficiency is a goal in business, it follows that doctors should deliver more product each day, with the consequence of increasingly shorter patient visits. And because competition drives improvement in business, it should also follow that when schools compete, education improves. Consequences include the school choice movement, funding that is tied to test scores, and the misguided search for metrics to measure the value "added" by teachers in their own classrooms.

In this paper, therefore, we recognize language's dual role in the neoliberalization of language teaching and learning. The first role—as an economic resource and instrument for self-development—drives the argument of our paper: that Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative, sold multilingual education to California voters by appealing to current, commonsense discourses of social mobility, economic growth and security, and U.S. global dominance. The second role of language—as the medium through which a particular "common sense" is constructed—drives our theoretical and methodological approach: Critical discourse analysis. Applying this analytic frame allows us to access the ways in which ideologies are promoted and reproduced through language, and it leads us to question the implications and realworld effects of using particular discourses.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Critical discourse analysis

While discourse is most broadly defined as any semiotic aspect of social process (Fairclough, 2009), its most common manifestation is linguistic. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) allows us to understand how linguistic representations and their socio-cultural and political contexts are mutually constitutive. Our approach to CDA is modeled on the work of Norman Fairclough (2001, 2003) who, in turn, draws heavily from M.A.K. Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL). This approach is premised on the notion that text can only be understood in relation to the processes of its production and reception, as well as to the larger social and political contexts in which these are embedded (see Fig. 1).

Following Halliday (1978, 1985), we define texts as spoken or written language used within social interaction. Within this framework, texts and their meanings do not exist in a vacuum. They emerge in relation to other texts, both past and present—in a relationship of

intertextuality (Bakhtin, 1981; Kristeva, 1980). Texts can be connected to other texts explicitly, by reference, as well as implicitly, through the use of particular words, phrases, or structures. Texts also emerge in relation to particular cultural, political, historical and ideological contexts. In this case, they are connected to those contexts by the discourses drawn on in their production and consumption—in a relationship of interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992). In adopting a CDA perspective, we seek to understand how the two texts we analyze relate to each other (the intertextual connections), as well as how they reflect and (re)construct the hegemonic discourses of the particular time and place in which each was written (the interdiscursive connections).

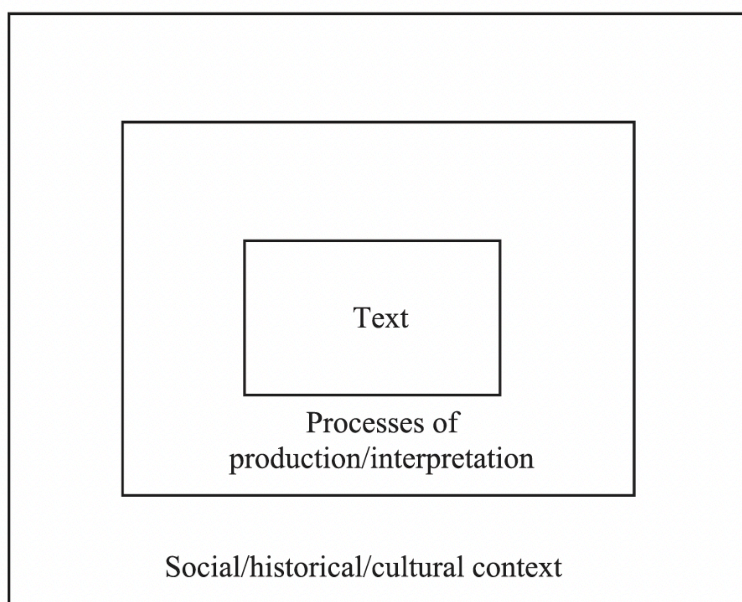

Fig. 1. Text as embedded within processes of production/interpretation and socio-historical context (adapted from Fairclough, 2001).

By exposing these discourses, we also seek to counteract their most harmful effects. As critical discourse analysts, we are interested in the ways in which unequal power relations are reproduced in and through discourse. By taking a critical perspective, we question taken-for-granted assumptions embedded in language use and show how these assumptions help maintain the status quo to serve dominant interests. Because of its critical nature, CDA, at its core, is a form of social and political activism. It is also a form of interventionism in that its application not only exposes social inequalities but advocates change on behalf of the oppressed.

3.2. Ruiz's (1984) language planning orientations

While CDA functions as our theoretical framework with regard to language-as-medium, we rely on Ruiz's (1984) seminal work on language planning orientations to understand the framing of language-as-topic within our focal policy texts.

Ruiz discussed three main orientations to language within the field of language planning:

1. The language as problem orientation posits that (non-English) languages are barriers to social integration and are linked to other problematic social conditions, such as poverty and low academic achievement.

2. The language as right orientation views language as a human and civil right, and is associated with fighting for those rights.
3. The language as resource orientation sees language as benefitting both speakers and society, and thus, as something to be cultivated and preserved.

Ruiz (1984) rejected the language as problem stance on moral grounds, and he problematized the language as right orientation on the grounds that, by leading to confrontation, it draws undue ire toward language minority groups. Instead, he promoted a language as resource orientation as the best avenue "to reshape attitudes about language and language groups" (p. 27). The resource orientation, he argued, is a way to elevate the status of minority languages, prevent language loss, and "ease tensions between majority and minority communities" (p. 25).

Writing in 1984, Ruiz was prescient in his assessment that the language as resource orientation would come to dominate, noting that "any meaningful language planning may not be possible without it" (p. 29). Yet, while many have adopted this orientation, we argue that the meaning of "resource" has taken on an increasingly economic focus and we add our voices to the growing list of scholars concerned about the neoliberalization of language education.

4. Methods

4.1 Data

The data for this paper come from two legislative texts seeking to establish language education policies in California public schools. The first is the 1998 ballot initiative authored by Silicon Valley entrepreneur Ron Unz to end bilingual education and replace it with Structured English Immersion. Proposition 227, English Language in Public Schools, passed with 61% of the vote (Crawford, 2007), turning the initiative into law. The second text is the 2016 proposition for the repeal of Proposition 227. Authored by California Senator Ricardo Lara (D), Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative appeared as a legislatively referred state statute on the November 2016 California ballot and was passed with 74% of the vote, thereby removing the state's restrictions on bilingual education[6]. As a genre, legislatively referred statutes function under what Mann and Thompson (1988) refer to as the rhetorical schema of "solutionhood." In that schema, a text is structured to lead readers to a logical outcome, or solution to a problem, such as voting for a proposition. In both Proposition 227 and Proposition 58, this logic is constructed through a series of statements that each begins with the word "whereas."[7] These whereas clauses are a common feature of legal texts, and they work to lay out the presuppositions of a proposition or contract. Because the purpose of whereas clauses is to construct the problem space for the solution presented in the rest of the text, we focus our

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[6] Complete versions of these texts can be accessed through the following links:
Proposition 227
(http://repository.uchastings.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2150&context=ca_ballot_props).
Proposition 58
(http://repository.uchastings.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2350&context=ca_ballot_props).
[7] The *whereas* is considered an illative, or grammatical case expressing "motion or direction toward an object" (Gatschet, 1890, p. 483 as quoted in the OED online).

analysis on these clauses, as a means to expose the naturalized ideologies that undergird each document (Polyzou, 2015). We therefore analyzed the section of each proposition that contains the whereas clauses, Section 300. A side-by-side display of the two focal texts can be found in Appendix A.

4.2 Analysis

"Language policies," writes Johnson (2015), "are linked to past policy documents, such as earlier policies and earlier versions of the same policy (vertical intertextuality) and current policies (horizontal intertextuality), and they may be connected to a variety of past and present discourses (interdiscursivity)" (p. 168). Our analysis is intertextual, comparing the whereas clauses of Propositions 227 and 58 to one another, but it is also interdiscursive, linking each text to the discourses that came to bear on its production and allowing us to understand how the choices made by each text's author(s) reflect and (re)produce the contexts in which the texts were created. Fairclough (2001) proposes that these multidimensional relationships—texts, discourses, contexts—are best understood through a multi-dimensional analysis. Fig. 2 illustrates the three dimensions of Fairclough's approach:

(1) Description of formal properties of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures;
(2) Interpretation of the relationship between text and larger discourses, looking at the text as both a product of those discourses and a resource in their (re)production; and
(3) Explanation of that interpretation, drawing on social theories, as well as on knowledge of the larger social contexts of text production.

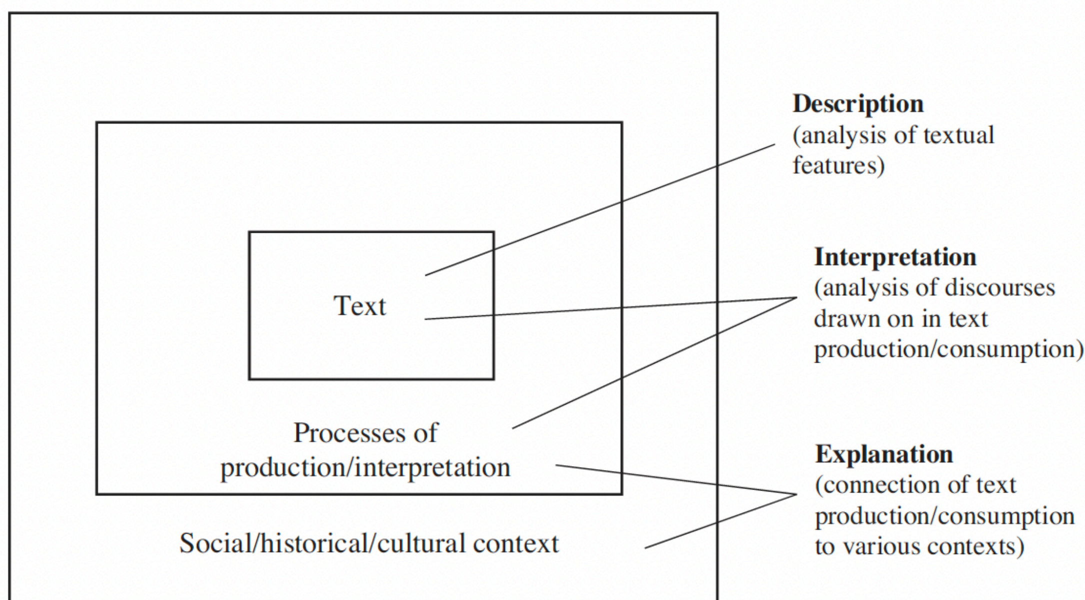

Fig. 2. Multidimensional analysis of texts (adapted from Fairclough, 2001).

While text, discourse, and context are analytically separable, they are always interrelated and mutually constitutive. The same is true for the three dimensions of analysis. Janks (1997) writes, therefore, that each of these dimensions of analysis represents a possible entry point and that the choice of where to begin is relatively arbitrary. Like many CDA analysts, however, our analysis began with the text.

In the course of our analysis at the textual level, we undertook several kinds of description. As Janks (1997) points out, "it is difficult to know what aspect of the grammar is going to be most fruitful in the analysis of a particular text" (p. 335). Like Janks, we engaged in multiple dimensions of analysis before settling on the five that we present here: framing, lexical choices (keywords), temporal and spatial markers, actors, and a syntactico-semantic analysis of titles.

The precise methods for each of these analyses are as follows:

- To analyze framing[8] (Section 5.1), we compared the texts, looking specifically for evidence of which language orientation(s) (Ruiz, 1984) figured most prominently. We then analyzed the way those orientations served to frame the argument within each of the texts.
- In our analysis of lexical choices (Section 5.2), we used AntConc 3.4 to generate word lists from Section 300 of Proposition 227 (with 247 total tokens) and Proposition 58 (with 539 total tokens). We completed the lists (Appendix B) by manually eliminating all but content words. We then scanned our lists for sets of keywords (Holborow, 2006, 2012), or words that, when taken together, point to a larger discourse being drawn on in a given stretch of text. These results are presented in section 5.2.1. Additionally, after noticing that the word bilingual was absent from each of the word lists, we widened our scope and searched for the word bilingual within the larger bodies of text for the two propositions. We report on these findings in section 5.2.2.
- To analyze spatial and temporal markers (Section 5.3), we tabulated words that pointed to space and time within each text and noted their association with English or bi-/multilingualism. Spatial markers included lexical items that referred to local, state, national, or global contexts. Temporal markers included lexical items that referenced past, present, or future contexts (see Appendix C for complete data tables). The graphs in this section present a visual illustration of the relationships between time and space to language within each of the texts.
- In our analysis of actors (Section 5.4), we combine the do-ers and the done-to's of a traditional SFL transitivity analysis. Thus, all humans and groups of humans were considered actors whether they were the subject or object of a whereas clause. Institutions (e.g., California, school districts, multinational businesses) and other non-humans (e.g., a large body of research, amendments) were considered actors if: (a) they acted, in the clause, upon events or people and (b) it was possible to substitute a human actor in their place and have the sentence make sense. After listing these actors, we examined the

[8] We draw on Kuypers' (2006) notion of framing as the way authors "act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner" (p. 8). Entman (1993) suggests that frames are used rhetorically to define problems and their causes, assign moral judgments, and offer remedies.

relative proportion of different types of actors within each text. The charts in this section illustrate a shift in type and relative proportion of actors (by category) between the two texts.

- In our syntactico-semantic analysis of titles (Section 5.5), we examined the structure of our focal policies' titles and proposed several plausible readings of the relationship between structure and meaning therein.

In our findings section (below), these textual descriptions are interwoven with interpretation to highlight an increase in the use of neoliberal discourse within Proposition 58. We also engage in explanation that connects the texts and discourses to the contexts—socio-cultural, political, and historical—that we have presented in the background and literature review sections of this article. Following our findings, we will continue weaving these threads in our discussion section, where we present what we see as the possible risks of employing neoliberal ideologies to market multilingual education.

5. Findings

5.1. Framing: language as problem, language as resource

In comparing the framing of Proposition 227 to that of Proposition58, we found that each text embodies a fundamentally different orientation (Ruiz, 1984) to bi-/multilingualism. Proposition 227 presents bilingualism through a language as problem frame while Proposition 58 presents multilingualism through a language as resource frame. For example, Section 300 (d) of Proposition 227 reads:

> Whereas, The public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high dropout rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children. (Proposition 227 §300 d)

This passage presents bilingual education as "costly experimental language programs," which not only "wast[e] financial resources" but are responsible for "high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children." Bilingual education—and the immigrant languages that it supports—are thus constructed as a problem for everyone: from taxpayers, whose hard-earned contributions are being wasted on failing programs, to children themselves, who, because of bilingual education, are dropping out of school and failing to gain the skills necessary to become productive members of society. Proposition 227, however, offers a solution to this problem: English. It presents English as not only "the national language," "the leading world language," and "the language of economic opportunity," (Proposition 227 §300 a, [emphasis added]), but also the only language "allowing [children] to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement" (Proposition 227 §300 b). This passage therefore frames bilingual education and immigrant languages as problems linked, primarily, to economic loss.

In contrast, Proposition 58 embodies a language as resource orientation that flips this argument on its head and links bi- /multilingualism to economic gain. In this text, English and other languages are constructed as resources for the individual, the state, and the nation, as well

as for businesses. The difference is that in Proposition 58, English is not the only resource. This is evidenced by the fact that Proposition 58, while echoing the claim that English is "the leading world language for science and technology," calls it "an important language of economic opportunity" rather than "the important language of economic opportunity" (Proposition 227 §300 a [emphasis added]). Unlike the zero-sum logic presented in Proposition 227, Proposition 58 presents a reality in which both English AND other languages can be mastered through multilingual education. The following table illustrates the way in which multilingualism figures as a resource within Proposition 58. The second column lists the type of resource each example represents.

Table 1. Multilingualism as Resource in Proposition 58

Example from Text	**Type of Resource**
Multilingual skills as resource for "multilingual employees" who are being "actively recruited" by California employers	Economic
Multilingual education as resource that "increases pupils' access to higher education and careers of their choice"	Academic and economic
Multilingual education as resource to "improve...children's preparation for college and careers, and allow them to be more competitive in a global economy"	Academic and economic
Multilingualism as resource contributing to California's "natural reserve of the world's largest languages...critical to the state's economic trade and diplomatic efforts"	Economic and diplomatic
Multilingual skills as resource "necessary for our country's national security and essential to conducting diplomacy and international programs"	National security and diplomatic
Multilingualism as resource for "multinational businesses that must communicate daily with associates around the world"	Economic
Multilingualism as resource for "California employers" who "are actively recruiting multilingual employees because of their ability to forge stronger bonds with customers, clients, and business partners"	Economic

Throughout the text, multilingualism and multilingual education are presented as an economic resource six times, as an academic and diplomatic resource twice, and as a national security resource once. This framing of linguistic resources in primarily economic terms points to the presence of neoliberal ideologies within the text, an idea more thoroughly investigated in the following section.

5.2. Shifting lexical choices, shifting discourses

5.2.1. A keyword analysis

Holborow (2006) argues that examining keywords in a text, or clusters of words from the same discursive domain, can be a useful tool in uncovering the way ideology is encoded in language. Similarly, Stubbs (2010) describes keywords as "the tips of icebergs," in that they index "shared beliefs and values of a culture" (p. 23). In examining the word lists generated from Section 300 of each text (Appendix B), we noted contrasting sets of keywords. In Proposition 227, we found two predominant discourses at play in these word clusters. The first set of keywords included failure, drop-out, poor, costly, low, experimental, and wasting. These words—all in reference to bilingual education programs and their effects—point to the discourse of reform discussed in the section above. Together, these words help to convey the idea that bilingual education is an ineffective and expensive approach that is failing our children, California tax-payers, and even society at large. The second set of keywords—duty, constitutional, moral, necessary, and obligation—points to reform as well, but, importantly, conveys that Proposition 227's proposal for reform is both a moral and a legal imperative.

The first set of key words from 227 is absent in Proposition 58. In contrast to 227, Proposition 58 does not draw on the discourse of threat or reform to make its case, instead framing its argument around resources. The second set of key words, however, is present in Proposition 58, and again serves the function of pointing to an imperative of educating California's children, only this time within a possibly multilingual setting. Yet, the presence of those keywords is both diluted by the larger number of tokens in Proposition 58 (539 vs. 247) as well as overwhelmed by a new, much larger, more widespread set of keywords: those indexing the world of business. This set includes the words multinational, associates, employers, sectors, private, recruiting, employees, customers, clients, careers, business, partners, trade, competitive, innovative, and global. Additionally, between Proposition 227 and Proposition 58, there is a marked increase in use of the words economy/economic (6 tokens as compared to 2), opportunity/opportunities (5 tokens as compared to 1), and choice (3 tokens as compared to 0). As Holborow (2006) points out, a cluster of keywords from business language outside of a business context is a strong indicator of neoliberal ideologies at work.

Analyzing the word lists also reveals how the associated discourse of linguistic instrumentalism—a discourse that frames language as a skill contributing to the attainment of economic success—figures within both texts. This discourse is already present in Proposition 227 with the word skills, which collocates with English both times it is used, constructing English as the language of instrumentality. The presence of linguistic instrumentalism is expanded in Proposition 58, where the word skills appears five times. Notably however, it appears just twice in association with English, but three times in association with multilingualism. Thus, it is multilingualism, more than English, that takes on instrumental value within Proposition 58.

5.2.2. Different words, different worlds

5.2.2.1. From bilingual education to multilingual education.

One particularly notable shift in lexical choice within our focal texts is the disappearance of bilingual, which appears twice in Proposition 227, but is entirely absent from Proposition 58. Instead, Proposition 58 contains three instances of multilingual, two instances of

multilingualism, and one instance of multiliteracy. Why would a language education policy that promotes the use and acquisition of more than one language avoid using the term bilingual? One interpretation is that the word multilingual allows for the teaching of more than two languages. Indeed, when referring to individuals, the term multilingual can be more inclusive in that it acknowledges speakers who are trilingual, quadrilingual, etc. Yet, when referring to educational programming, this distinction is less relevant. Even in states without restrictive language policies, it is rare to find an educational approach in which students are taught more than two languages at a time. In all likelihood, "bilingual education," "multilingual education," and the currently popular term, "dual language education" will each refer to a similar range of programs that teach two languages.

Another possible interpretation, however, for the shift from bilingual to multilingual could be that the word multilingual may simply serve to acknowledge that many languages are spoken in the world and in the state of California. In the United States, where "bilingual education" has traditionally meant education in Spanish and English[9], "multilingual education" might indicate that even though a given program will still teach just two languages—English and one other—the other language will not necessarily be Spanish. Thus, a school district that offers Spanish-English, Mandarin-English, and Arabic-English programs might convey that they offer multilingual rather than bilingual education. This interpretation, like the first one, relates to the literal, denotational meanings of bilingual and multilingual. A third interpretation, however, relates to the connotations of the two words.

The words bilingual and bilingual education may have had positive connotations during the 1960–1980s, when language as resource and language as (civil) right prevailed as dominant orientations to language policy. However, in the past decades, the language as problem orientation that figures in much of the anti-bilingual education rhetoric created a social context in which bilingual education became associated with the perceived social problems of the communities it was designed to serve. Attitudes about bilingual education in the United States became tied to attitudes toward Spanish, which may be seen outside the U.S. as an important global language[10], but has been constructed within the U.S. as a language of immigrants, poverty, and low educational attainment (García & Mason, 2009). These were the associations that helped to promote Proposition 227 and that were made explicit within 227's text, as illustrated in Section 5.1.

Over the last 20 years, the word bilingual has disappeared from policies, governmental offices, and research entities (Evans & Hornberger, 2005; García & Mason, 2009; García & Torres-Guevara, 2010). In 2001, for example, the federal Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs became the Office of English Language Acquisition and the Bilingual Education Act became the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act. The "silencing," as García, Kleifgen, and Falchi (2008) call it, of the word bilingual evidences the negative valence it has taken on within dominant discourses in

[9] In Arizona, where the second author lives and works, saying, "I'm bilingual" is taken to mean that one speaks Spanish and English, while saying, "I'm multilingual" leads to a follow-up question, "What languages do you speak?"

[10] According to the website *Ethnologue* (2016), Spanish is the second largest language in the world, after Chinese, spoken in 31 countries by a total of over 426 million native speakers worldwide (https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size).

the U.S., becoming, in effect, stigmatized. Not surprisingly, the disappearance of what Crawford (2004) has called the unspeakable "B-word" generally coincided with a decrease in support for bilingual education programs. By eliminating the word from policy recommendations, bills, and the names of organizations, opponents of bilingual education strategically used language to construct a reality in which bilingual education is absent. Proposition 227 takes this approach as well: while two references to bilingual education appear in Proposition 227, it is important to note that no explicit mention of it is made within the whereas clauses (even though it is alluded to as "costly experimental language programs").

In a third interpretation, then, of the shift from bilingual to multilingual, Proposition 58 uses the same tactic—omitting the word bilingual—only this time, to support bilingual education, now reframed as multilingual education. By strategically constructing a reality absent of bilingual education, the author also constructs a reality absent of the stigma associated with it. The author instead uses the word multilingual, which overlaps significantly with bilingual in denotational value, yet carries a markedly different connotational value. We argue that, given the history of the word bilingual and its subsequent elision from public spaces, any explanation for the shift from bilingualism to multilingualism in Proposition 58 that only accounts for the denotative differences between the two words is insufficient. While using the term multilingual does indeed allow for an interpretation of education in more than just two languages, more importantly, it also allows Proposition 58 to bypass the negative connotations associated with bilingual education.

5.2.3. Multilingual education's new connotations

In the last section, we outlined some of the negative connotations associated with bilingual and bilingual education. Here, we briefly outline some of the connotations of the word multilingual, which are decidedly more positive. As demonstrated by both the title and content of Cenoz and Genesee's (1998) book, "Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education," multilingualism is associated with moving beyond the previous limitations of bilingualism. In particular, this expansion means looking beyond the "domestic" languages associated with bilingual education (Spanish and English) to other "world" languages. The shift to multilingualism can thus index a shift toward thinking on a global scale. This association can be seen in the surge of publications from the last decade explicitly linking globalization and multilingualism, as the following sample of titles demonstrates:

- You are what you speak? Globalization, multilingualism, consumer dispositions and consumption (2015).
- The legitimacy gap: Multilingual language teachers in an era of globalization (2015).
- Globalization and multilingualism: case studies of indigenous culture-based education from the Indian sub-continent and their implications (2013).
- Multilingualism, multiculturalism, and globalization (2011).
- Globalization and multilingualism: The Case of the UK (2011).
- Globalization, gender, and multilingualism (2007).

While bilingual education connotes programs that support speakers of Spanish, multilingual education connotes programs that teach students to speak languages that are important in an increasingly globalized world. Significantly, globalization is associated with the diminishing role

of the nation-state (Jessop, 2002; Tollefson, 2013) and the need for individuals and businesses to compete on an international scale. This process is largely fueled by neoliberal ideologies. The same connection between multilingualism and globalization—and, thus, neoliberalism—can be found in our analysis of the text itself, where the language in Proposition 58 points not only to an expanding spatial context for voters to consider, but to an expanding temporal context as well.

5.3. Expanding contexts: time and space in Proposition 58

The positive associations of multilingualism with a global context are capitalized on and made explicit within the text of Proposition 58. While both propositions refer to spaces such as classrooms (local), public schools in California (state), and the United States (national), Proposition 58 contains many more references to international contexts (global). Additionally, while in Proposition 227 most of the references at all scales are associated with English, in Proposition 58 many more, particularly at the global scale, are associated with multilingualism. Fig. 3 illustrates these changes.

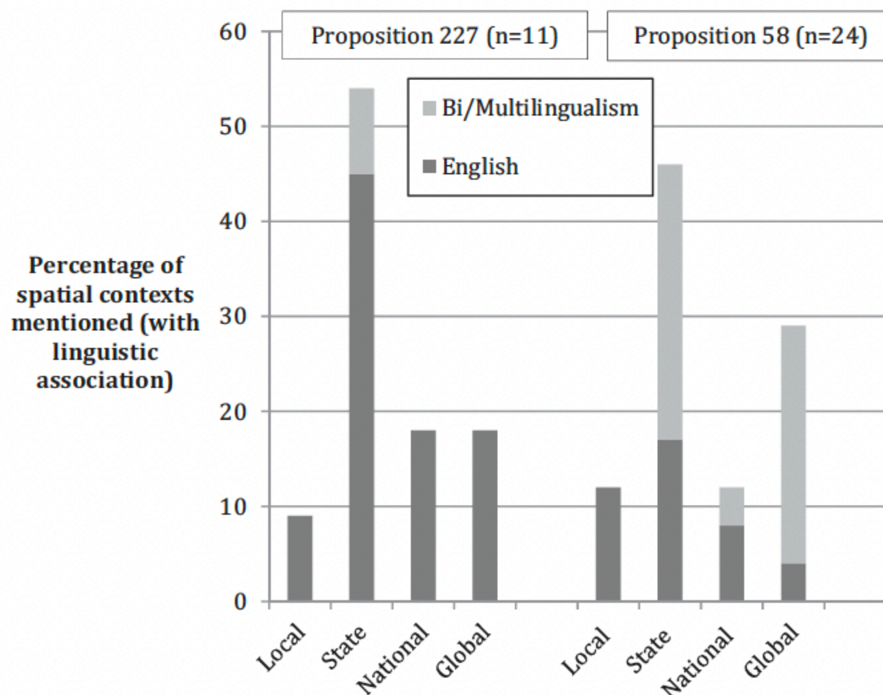

Fig. 3. Comparison of spatial contexts (and their linguistic associations) in Section 300 of Proposition 227 and Proposition 58.

As shown in Fig. 3, local contexts, such as schools, maintain their proportion (about one tenth of each text) and their unique association with English. The state context of California makes up roughly half of the spatial references in each text. In Proposition 58, the majority of these associations are with multilingualism, while in Proposition 227 most are with English. Finally, references to the national context shrink from 18% in Proposition 227 to 12% in Proposition 58, a third of these are now associated with multilingualism. Importantly, the proportion of international contexts mentioned jumps from 18% to 29%, with multilingualism taking all but one association in Proposition 58. In total, 91% of all contexts mentioned in Proposition 227 are associated with English. In Proposition 58, only 42% are. Instead, the

majority of contexts are associated with multilingualism, particularly at the global level, emphasizing to readers that participation in a globalized world demands multilingual speakers.

This expansion of spatial contexts associated with multilingualism in Proposition 58 is mirrored by an expansion in temporal contexts, as Fig. 4 below illustrates. The majority of temporal references in Proposition 227 are to the past (e.g., "past two decades") and present (e.g., "currently"), while the majority in Proposition 58 are to the future (e.g., "preparation for college and careers"). Additionally, in Proposition 227, the past and present are all associated with bilingual education, while the future is associated with English. By contrast, in Proposition 58, the context of the past is associated only with English, while the present and future are weighted toward multilingualism.

As Fig. 4 illustrates, in Proposition 227, in line with its primary argument, English is the way forward and is offered as the solution to present and past problems associated with bilingual education. In Proposition 58, the past is instead associated with English. And while English is also represented in present and future contexts, multilingualism is the star of these two contexts, with at least double the associations as compared to English. Thus, not only is multilingualism linked spatially to an expanded, global context, it is also linked temporally to the future.

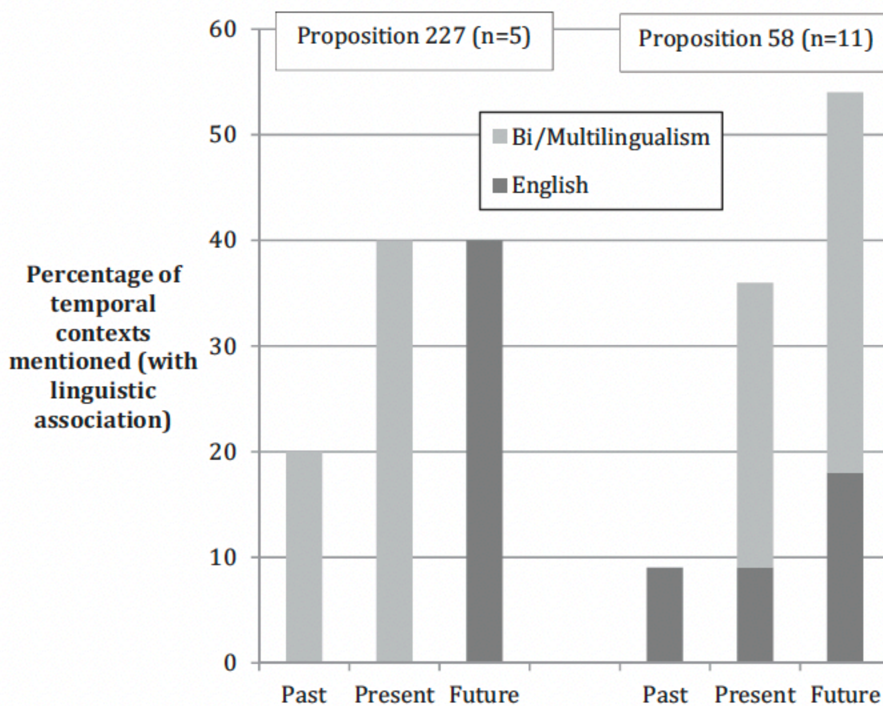

Fig. 4. Comparison of temporal contexts (and their linguistic associations) in Section 300 of each text.

This linking is no accident. It explicitly aligns with the rebranding of multilingualism as consisting of "innovative new programs" (Proposition 58 §300 j), programs that respond to a globalized future. However, as May (2014) points out, despite the portrayal of multilingualism and multilingual education as an outgrowth of late modernity, there is, in fact, nothing new about

multilingualism. This is no less true in California, where bilingual education has been practiced for many years and many speakers remain bilingual. Yet, by reframing bilingual education as innovative, new, global, and multilingual, Proposition 58 distances itself from past programs and their associated stigma and repackages bilingual education in order to appeal to voters. In fact, as the following section illustrates, not only are spatial and temporal contexts expanded within Proposition 58, the target audience—that is, who (and what) this bill is designed to benefit—is expanded as well.

5.4. Language education for whom?

An analysis of the actors present in each of the texts provides further evidence of the changing discourses that shaped the two propositions. Fig. 5 (below) shows the categories of actors named within each text and the proportion of the total actors accounted for by each category.

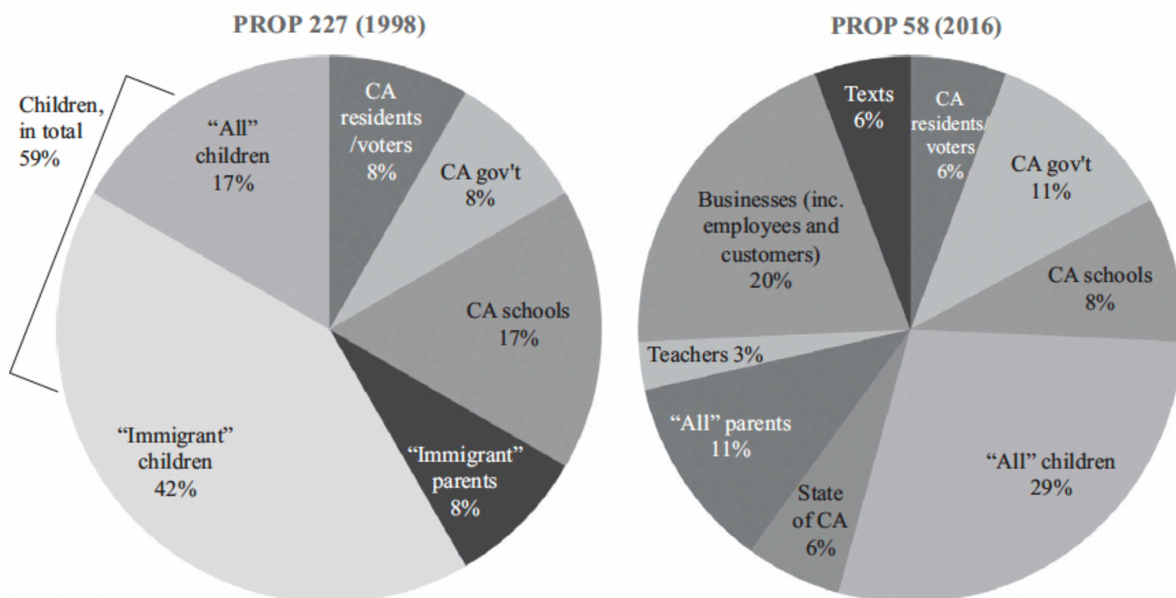

Fig. 5. Proportion of actors by category within each text.

As Fig. 5 shows, several significant shifts in actors have taken place between the propositions. First, while children (of any language background) make up the majority of actors in Proposition 227 (59%), they only constitute 29% of the actors in Proposition 58. Additionally, children are present in 80% of whereas clauses in 1998, but just 50% of whereas clauses in 2016. Meanwhile, businesses, their employees, their contacts, and their clients now account for 20% of all actors in Proposition 58. These businesses are also not just a few and not just local, but "thousands of multinational businesses that must communicate daily with associates around the world" (Proposition 58 § 300 c). There are parallels between this analysis of actors and the analysis of spatial and temporal markers. In Proposition 227, the context is short-term and local, and centers on children. In Proposition 58, a much larger context is presented, and while children

are still the largest percentage of actors, the second largest percentage is businesses and their employees and clients, operating at a global level. The stakes in Proposition 58 are thus not limited to whether children in school will learn or not, but have grown to include California's future role in the global economy and the future capacity of California businesses to connect and compete on a global scale.

Another shift worth noting is the disappearance of immigrants as actors in Proposition 58. In Proposition 227, all of the references to parents are to "immigrant parents" and most (five of seven) of the references to children are to "immigrant children." This conveys to voters that the solution offered by Proposition 227 is targeted only at this population. In Proposition 58, however, the word "immigrant" is no longer present, and references are to "all parents" (or simply "parents") and "all children," "California's children," or "pupils." By eliminating "immigrant," Proposition 58 is able to dissociate speaking and learning in more than one language from immigrants, and thus expands its appeal to a broader audience. Yet, at the same time, by subsuming "immigrant children" (or ELLs) and their parents into the larger category of "all children" and "all parents," ELLs and their parents are obscured as agents and as primary beneficiaries of the language policy. A look at the titles of the two texts in the following section supports this claim.

5.5. Looking to the titles: same structure, differing implications

When Proposition 227 became a statute, it was added to Part 1 of the California Education Code as California Education Code §§ 300–340 and was titled, Chapter 3: English Language Education for Immigrant Children. This title echoed the campaign slogan for Proposition 227, "English for the children." The title and slogan are similar not just in word choice but in structure: Both titles follow the syntactico-semantic format "BENEFIT for BENEFICIARY." By using that construction, they place "English" or "English Language Education" as the benefit and "Children" or "Immigrant Children" as the beneficiaries. The structure lends additional support to the arguments we have made above, namely that Proposition 227 embodies a language as problem orientation in which English is presented as the solution to immigrant children's language "problem."

Interestingly, Proposition 58 appears to use the same structure in its title: California Education for a Global Economy. On an initial read, it could be interpreted that California Education (benefit) is now going to serve the Global Economy (beneficiary). This interpretation aligns with our analysis so far—the elision of "the children" from the title mirrors their decreased presence in Proposition 58, and it reinforces the shifting of benefits from the student to the state and nation, and, crucially, to businesses. A second interpretation is possible, however. The "for" could instead mean "designed for" or "well-suited for" as in "Gadgets for the modern home" or "Dresses for summer." These constructions follow the format "PRODUCT for CONTEXT OF USE/CONSUMPTION." Here, the gadget is designed for, and will be used in the modern home, and the dresses are designed, and will be purchased, for summer. If California Education for a Global Economy instead aligns with this syntactico-semantic format, "California Education" becomes a product designed for "a global economy." This second interpretation supports the claim that Proposition 58 embodies a language as economic resource orientation and draws on marketing discourse to "sell" multilingual education to voters: multilingual education thus becomes the perfect product to use in this new, global economy. In our discussion, we address the implications, and possible dangers, of this strategic move.

6. Discussion: the hidden costs of rebranding bilingual education

Our contrasting analyses of California's Proposition 58 (2016) and Proposition 227 (1998) have demonstrated how discourses of neoliberalism, global human capital, and linguistic instrumentalism are utilized in Proposition 58 to reintroduce multilingual education to California voters. The author of Proposition 58 positions multilingual education against the backdrop of globalization, relying on "common sense" neoliberal discourse to persuade voters that English-only education not only limits students' academic and employment opportunities but also severely restricts the ability of businesses, the state, and the nation to compete at a global level.

At several places throughout this paper, we have called Proposition 58 a proposition for the repeal of Proposition 227. In light of our findings, however, we are no longer sure that "repeal" is the appropriate word, as it implies that, in the technical sense, the provisions of the law would be removed, but also that, in the practical sense, education in California might return to a pre-227 era of bilingual education. Yet, as we have shown, the rationale behind each piece of legislation is different. The bilingual education system that was dismantled was one aimed at supporting language minority students, while the multilingual education proposed now is one of multilingualism for all, aimed at supporting all students—including English-speaking students—as well as the economic interests of California and its businesses.

Kelly (2016) highlights this shift in the intended beneficiary of the new legislation in her analysis of Proposition 58 and a small-scale dual language pilot initiative passed in Arizona in 2014 (SB 1242). She draws on the theory of "interest convergence" (Bell, 1980)—the idea that the majority in power will only support the interests of minority groups when those interests converge with the interests of those in power—to explain why proponents of dual language education (DLE) would target all children and not just English language learners. Kelly argues that DLE's primary chance of being reinstated in the US is for it to be re-packaged for a white, middle-class student body (and, we would add, voter base and business community). Similarly, Lu and Catalano (2015) point out that "it is more likely for a program to receive opposition when the program focuses on the provision of L1 instruction to minority or socially subordinated groups, compared with a program that targets English (language majority) speakers" (p.17). As the passing of Proposition 58 suggests, by marketing DLE to dominant interests through neoliberal discourse, policies and programs are more likely to gain the legislative, financial, and ideological support necessary for their maintenance and expansion.

These ideas have led Varghese and Park (2010) to suggest that "going global" might be one way to "save" dual language education. Yet, our concern, and that of many other scholars, might be summarized as: "At what cost and for whom?" Varghese and Park (2010), for instance, conclude that while placing value on cosmopolitanism and linguistic instrumentalism might boost dual language programs, it remains to be seen if there will be positive effects for all students. They worry about "the grafting of a neoliberal and global education agenda over a program model that originated in a legal decision regarding the educational and civil rights of language minority students" (Varghese & Park, 2010, p. 78). Valdez et al. (2016), too, celebrate the increased interest in dual language programs in Utah while also expressing reservations about justifying these programs through a Global Human Capital (GHC) framework, which "disregard[s] equity concerns for English learners (ELs) in U.S. schools" (p. 3) in favor of economic concerns, and therefore has the potential to increase inequity. Lu and Catalano (2015) point out that the seemingly neutral GHC discourse is also tied to issues of race, immigration,

and power. They argue that while GHC discourse is more likely to appeal to the language majority—and thus to sell dual language education—without a focus on equity, it will also "guarantee continued educational inequality for ELs and linguistic minority students" (p. 17). Yet these concerns are not new. Writing nearly two decades ago, Valdés (1997) noted the inherent difficulty of creating dual language programs that could serve both the needs of minority language speakers—whose primary objective is access to the curriculum and equal educational opportunity—as well as the desires of majority group members, and in particular, of their parents—whose primary objective may be gaining an economic edge for their children.

Therein lies the tension. We wonder: Is it better to see DLE on the rise, particularly in "English-only states," even if it first serves dominant students (and dominant interests), in hopes that it will achieve a new level of support and then "trickle down" to all students? Or do we risk further stratification as DLE enrichment programs provide new resources to the already resource-rich? As Ricento (2005) bluntly puts it: "Resources for whom?" and "For what purpose or end?" (p. 364). Ricento also warns of the danger in emphasizing language skills, but not speakers, as resources. Not only does this elide speakers and their communities, it pegs the value of any language to the "market," rendering a language only as valuable as what it can contribute to economic ends. Petrovic (2005), too, rings the alarm: When neoliberal justifications for multilingualism—economic benefit and marketplace competitiveness—are used as a weapon against a conservative, monolingual perspective, we are fighting with "symbiotic forces from the same arsenal (neoliberalism/neoconservativism)" (p. 400). For Petrovic, the risks of such a tactic include the creation of policies that wield linguistic diversity as a tool to benefit already-advantaged students and the potential "hijacking" of the purpose of school, from intellectual and social to purely economic. Similarly, Giroux (2003) writes of "the growing tendency to subordinate democratic values to market values" (p. 124) in education, and he expresses a concern that the link between democracy and schooling that goes back to the founding of this country has been abandoned. The danger of using a discourse of power to promote a populist ideal, then, is that its very success ends up obscuring the difference between ideology and ideal, putting the weaker (ideal) into the service of the stronger (ideology), rather than the other way around. For, as Shohamy (2006) notes, policies are often the mechanisms by which ideologies are turned into practice. This is the concern expressed by the scholars above, as well as others in the fields of applied linguistics and language education (e.g., Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016).

Yet, as Ricento and Hornberger (1996) write, "the goals, means, and ends of language planning [including policy] are contentious and subject to ongoing reanalysis and renegotiation" (p. 404). Although the means being used to sell multilingualism to voters is neoliberal ideology, the alignment of these means with the original goals and final ends is not airtight. For example, while we cannot know what was in the mind of Senator Lara as he authored Proposition 58, we do know that he received the California Association of Bilingual Education's Legislative Award in 2013, and that, according to his Senate biography, he is "a champion for educational equity, civil rights and immigrant rights" (California State Senate Majority Caucus, 2015). These facts support the conclusion that Lara's use of neoliberal discourse may have been a rhetorical maneuver rather than an attempt at transforming ideology into practice. In fact, even as Kubota (2016) critiques neoliberalism in language planning, she suggests just such an approach as a means to counter it:

> One strategy might be to appropriate the discourse of neoliberalism to promote critical awareness of diversity without endorsing capitalist domination (Kubota 2013). In fact,

> this strategy might more easily convince practitioners and policymakers about alternative views than asking them to drastically change their ideological position would. (p. 491)

Just as importantly, between the passing of any education bill and its implementation in districts, schools, and classrooms, there is always a gap—in time, in space, in scale—in which laws are interpreted by actors at multiple levels (Jimenez-Silva, Bernstein, & Baca, 2016; Johnson, 2013). As Johnson (2011) writes, the "interpretation and appropriation of language policy occurs across various contexts and, at each institutional level, negotiation and contestation can occur thereby changing what a policy means in that particular context and beyond" (p. 269). Therefore, while we share in the concerns about the language used in Proposition 58 and do not take lightly the power of language to shape reality, it is in the gap between passage and implementation that we place our hope, as it provides space for the resignification of meaning and the renegotiation of ideology.

Our position is therefore that the means used to market Proposition 58—that is, neoliberal ideology—need not determine the ends. We are cautiously optimistic that the questions of what kind of resource language is, for whom it is a resource, and to what end that resource is used may be asked and answered anew in each context where multilingual education is once again permitted. As Holborow (2012) has pointed out, the outcomes of neoliberal ideology—like global English teaching or, in our case here, dual language programs—are not the same as neoliberalism itself. Those outcomes can of course become tools to perpetuate neoliberalism, but they can also become tools of resistance against it (Hsu, 2015; López, 2015). It will be in the implementation of Proposition 58, if not in its passing, that opportunities for renewed dialogue are generated and spaces for critical reflection become possible.

We, as language researchers and educators, therefore have a grave responsibility. In the coming years, teachers, principals, and school boards across California and the U.S. will be given new opportunities to create (or recreate) dual language programs, and they will look to us for guidance not only in best practices for structuring these programs, but in how to understand the fundamental purpose of DLE. If we hope to see an interpretation of "resource" that moves beyond economic considerations to include cultural, educational, emotional, and cognitive ones, we must convey those elements in what we write and how we speak about DLE. If we want the superintendents, principals, and teachers implementing new policy to remember the human beings who both contribute to and benefit from the incredibly rich and multifaceted resource of language, we as researchers must include them in our narratives, whether in journal articles, on consulting jobs, in teacher preparation, or at Thanksgiving dinner.

For discourse not to be destiny in the move from policy to practice, there must be a range of discourses in circulation for teachers and policymakers to draw on. The dialogue of multiple discourses will serve as a safeguard against the monologic closure of the common-sense discourse. Heeding Biesta's (2009) call, we must return to "the question of purpose in education" (p. 33), placing an emphasis on which values we, as a society, hope to impart through schooling, rather than on the (economic) value obtained by viewing students as human capital. We, as scholars, must critique texts like Proposition 58 and the neoliberal message they normalize.

Such a critique, however, does not preclude us from celebrating Proposition 58's passing and the return of bilingual education to California, as long as we "capitalize" on the gap between passage and implementation. Martin-Jones and Heller (1996) write that regardless of how "tightly articulated the structure of society, there are always interstices; that is, spaces where

structures fail to seal hermetically, and which provide sites [. . .] where different practices of resistance [. . .] can be developed and where different world views can be articulated" (p. 7). We must occupy these spaces, working from within to cultivate and promote the values of social justice and educational equity.

In this paper, we have demonstrated the ways in which neoliberal discourse has been employed within the policy text of Proposition 58 to "sell" multilingualism to California voters. We have discussed the implications of this strategic move and possible ways to counter its most harmful effects. This work contributes to the fields of critical language policy (CLP) (Tollefson, 1991, 2006), which "conceptualizes language policy as a mechanism of power with the ability to marginalize (especially) minority languages and minority language users" (Johnson, 2011, p. 268), and critical discourse analysis, by exposing the way language is used within these policy texts to reproduce power structures that benefit dominant interests. Furthermore, our research should be of interest to policy makers, educators, administrators, students, and parents—that is, all those who have a stake in language education policy and implementation. Future research might investigate the ways in which Proposition 58 (and the neoliberal ideology it reproduces) is implemented or contested at the various sites in which it is recontextualized. Research using ethnography of language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) in combination with CDA could prove especially useful because of its ability to illuminate connections between language policy at the macro level and policy interpretations and language use at the micro level (Johnson, 2011) and thus may provide a richer understanding of the various interacting levels within the policy process.

7. Conclusion

A wide array of positive social, cultural, emotional, psychological, cognitive, and academic effects are associated with bilingualism and bilingual education (Adesope, Lavin, Thompson, & Ungerleider, 2010; Bialystok, 2011; Genesee, 2006), yet current discourses on dual language education focus almost entirely on economic benefits (e.g., Agirdag, 2014; Chiswick & Miller, 2016, etc.). When discourses of neoliberalism, global human capital, and linguistic instrumentalism are put into the service of a language as resource orientation, their narrow construal of "resource" in solely economic terms eclipses the myriad other benefits of learning and speaking more than one language.

In our analysis and discussion above, we illustrate how these discourses are used to repackage bilingual education within Proposition 58. This "rebranding" is carried out through the use of several rhetorical maneuvers at the textual level, including:

1. a shift in the framing of the bill, from a language as problem (and English as solution) orientation to a language as (economic) resource orientation in which multilingual skills become, among other things, "critical to the state's economic trade";
2. the replacement of the word "bilingual" with "multilingual," exchanging old stigmas for positive associations of innovation and cosmopolitanism;
3. an expansion of spatial and temporal contexts; and
4. a shift in the beneficiary of bilingual education, from immigrant children to "all children," California businesses, the state, and the nation.

While we support the passage of Proposition 58 for the ends it suggests (the re-establishment of dual language programs across California), we are critical of the means employed to achieve these ends (neoliberal discourse). Our work outlines some of the dangers of the strategic move to repackage bilingual education, which include eclipsing the needs of the communities DLE was designed to serve in the first place and perpetuating a hegemonic ideology in which democratic values are usurped by the unitary focus on economic value. Yet, we also suggest ways to mitigate these dangers. By providing alternate discourses, we can question the "common sense" of neoliberalism and counter its hegemonic nature. Similarly, we can capitalize on the gap between neoliberal discourse in policy and the "real-world" practices that are implemented, using active resignification to resist neoliberal ideology. Through a principled enactment of these safeguards, the ends may indeed justify the means.

CHAPTER 3

Mechanisms of Neoliberalization within California's Language Education Policy

Over the last several decades, a growing body of research has documented the increasing influence of neoliberalism within and across a broad range of disciplines, from public health (Carter, 2015; Hartmann, 2016; Segall, 2003) to urban planning (Newman & Ashton, 2004; van Gent, 2013; Vogelpohl & Buchholz, 2017), environmental science (Furlong, 2010; Schwartz, 2013; Weissman, 2015) to education (Giroux, 2014; Hursch, 2007; Weiner, 2004). Given its representation across broad disciplinary lines, it is unsurprising that neoliberalism has been theorized in quite a number of ways: from a modified form of traditional liberalism (OED), economic policy and free-market ideology to a parasitic ecology (Baldacchino, 2019); from a political rationality and form of governmentality (Brown, 2016; Foucault, 2007) to a global normative logic (Dardot & Laval, 2017). Regardless of the differences, most concede the following: that neoliberalism has a way of extending the logic of the market–with its emphasis on competition and profitability–into all other spheres of life (Brown, 2016; Davies, 2014; Kiely 2018).

While the scholarship on neoliberalism is vast, relatively few researchers have delved into the precise mechanisms of neoliberalization within their respective fields, with the exception, perhaps, of work on neoliberal governmentality—or the ways in which neoliberal rationality governs the conduct of populations by creating particular forms of subjectivity (see, for example, Pyysiainen, Halpin, & Guilfoyle, 2017; Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2020).

In this paper, I use the theoretical and methodological frameworks of critical policy discourse analysis (Mulderigg et al., 2019) and corpus linguistics (Hunston, 2002) to examine what I consider to be key mechanisms of action in the process of neoliberalization within language education policy in California. These mechanisms consist of the infiltration of business-domain vocabulary into the field of language education policy; the sloganization of terms native to the field of language education policy such that they become idealized and decontextualized, leading to loss of definitional precision; and, finally, the commodification of multilingualism.

In the following sections, I theorize and lay bare each of these mechanisms, drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data analyses to support my claims. For the first mechanism, I use the tools of corpus linguistics to conduct a diachronic analysis of California language education policy texts spanning from 1967 to the present, demonstrating a significant increase in market-based vocabulary within the policy texts from the 2000s on. For mechanism #2 I use both quantitative historical data and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to show the way multilingualism has been sloganized within more recent California language education policies like GlobalCA2030. Finally, for mechanism #3 I once again draw on the tools of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to demonstrate the ways in which language–and multilingualism in particular–has been commodified within language policy texts since the turn of the 21st century. Following the three sets of analyses, I discuss the implications of this neoliberalization–or, as I argue, a new form of colonialism–within the field of language education policy. Finally, I make some recommendations for how those of us wanting to re-center equity and social justice within the field might proceed.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Following Bacchi (2000) and Ball (2006) I view policy as *discourse* and discourse as situated in particular social and political contexts and participating in larger historical processes. Discourse is, therefore, both ideological and dialogic. I agree with Shohamy's (2006) assertion that policies are the mechanisms by which ideologies are turned into practice as well as her assessment that, far from neutral, language policies represent "a significant tool for political power and manipulations" (p. 159). For the analysis and interpretation of the language education policies included in this paper, I employ a critical policy discourse analytic approach (CPDA). By uniting critical policy studies with critical discourse analysis, CPDA seeks to integrate "detailed analysis of situated meanings [with] historically informed explanatory critique of why certain meanings achieve hegemonic dominance in specific contexts" (Mulderigg et al., 2019, p. 4). This analytic approach emphasizes multiple dimensions of context, the constitutive nature of discourse, and the role of power in policy design and interpretation. While CPDA relies on some form of critical discourse analysis (I follow in the lineage of Fairclough, 2003), it allows for a fair amount of methodological flexibility, including the combination of multiple methodological approaches.

Neoliberalization Mechanism #1: Influx of market-based vocabulary into the field of language education policy

Different disciplines often display linguistic variation through their use of specialized discourse. When it comes to the language of business, researchers have examined a wide variety of genres–both written and spoken–from business presentations and negotiations to business emails and company websites (see, for example, the edited volume by Mautner and Rainer, 2017). In terms of semantic and pragmatic characteristics, Göke (2017) notes the often vague and ambiguous nature of the language of marketing while Poncini (2004) has noted the profit- and goal-oriented nature of business language. In terms of rhetorical devices, a number of studies have highlighted the extensive use of metaphor within business discourse (e.g., David, 1999; Fischer, Göke, & Rainer, 2017). At the lexical level, scholars have documented differences in the vocabulary of business English when compared with the vocabulary of general English (Nelson, 2000; Hanford, 2010). Within this section I, too, focus on the lexical items that have come to index the business domain, and–in particular–how they have made their way into the realm of language education policy.

Data Corpus and Analytic Procedure

In order to show how the language of business has infiltrated the domain of language education policy, I draw on the tools of corpus linguistics. This subfield of applied linguistics allows researchers to examine large bodies of text–or corpora–in order to find patterns or describe characteristics of particular types of language. Specialized corpora are meant to be representative of specific types of text (Hunston, 2002), and can be compared with other specialized (or general) corpora to illustrate meaningful differences. To investigate changes over time within California policy texts (a diachronic analysis), I created two corpora of California language education policy texts–one from the 1900s, and the second from the 2000s. All texts in

the 1900s Corpus were sourced from the Hathi Trust Digital Library - California Legislative Publications 1850-2009[11]. The texts included in the 2000s Corpus were sourced from either the California Legislative Information website or the California Department of Education website. Below are the charts showing the texts included in each corpus:

1900s	**Policy Type[12]**	**Title of Legislative Text**	**Word Count**	**Purpose**	
1967	SB 53	An Act to Repeal Section 71 of the Education Code	274	Repealed the English-only education mandate that had been in effect in California since 1872	
1972	AB 2284	The Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1972	2147	Promoted and provided funding for bilingual education programs in public schools	
1976	AB 1329	The Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976	5557	Made bilingual education a right for English language learners in the state	
1980	AB 507	The Bilingual Education Improvement and Reform Act of 1980	10565	Strengthened the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act	
1998	Prop 227	English Language Education for Immigrant Children	1614	Required all public school instruction to be conducted in English–effectively banning bilingual education in the state	
			20157		
2000s		**Title of Legislative Text**	**Word Count**	**Purpose**	
2011	AB 815	The State Seal of Biliteracy[13]	1190	Established the State Seal of Biliteracy to recognize high school graduates who have attained a high level of proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing in one or more languages in addition to English	
2016	SB 1174	"California Ed.G.E. Initiative" or "California Education for a Global Economy Initiative."[14]	1665	Repealed Proposition 227	
2017	AB 1142	Amendment to the State Seal of	600	Improved upon and widened the scope of the State Seal of Biliteracy	

[11] https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/mb?a=listis;c=1808948120

[12] Abbreviated policy types: SB - Senate Bill; AB - Assembly Bill; Prop - Proposition (ballot initiative)

[13] Source: https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201120120AB815

[14] Source: https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201320140SB1174

		Biliteracy[15]			
2018	Initiative of State Superintendent of Public Instruction	GlobalCA2030[16]	2014	Laid out a set of goals to expand biliteracy and multilingualism within California by the year 2030	
2021	Published Letter by State Superintendent of Public Instruction	The Importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy[17]	720	Affirmed the importance of biliteracy and multilingualism and encouraged superintendents, administrators, and principals to increase participation in the State Seal of Biliteracy	
2023	California Department of Education Webpage	"Multilingual Education"[18]	785	Provides resources and information "on the development, implementation, and location of multilingual programs" in California	
2023	California Department of Education Webpage	"State Seal of Biliteracy"[19]	459	Provides "Information about the California State Seal of Biliteracy program and its requirements for students, parents, and educators."	
			7433		

Next, I compared each of these with a specialized business corpus to show whether and to what extent either legislative corpus contained evidence of market language. However, as Jaworska (2017) notes, few comprehensive business corpora exist, and of those, even fewer are readily accessible. For this reason, I created my own corpus of business English.

To build a relatively representative corpus of business vocabulary (with a total of 23,968 words) I created and combined the following subcorpora:

Subcorpus 1: MBA program websites (7,256 words)
Subcorpus 2: Business English wordlist compilation (6,961 words)
Subcorpus 3: Cambridge English Business Preliminary (7,889 words)
Subcorpus 4: Business Vocabulary in Use Index (2,109 words)

I created **subcorpus 1** by searching for "the best business schools in the United States" and consulted the top result, the 2023-24 Best Business Schools from *U.S. News and World Report*[20]. From the top dozen schools listed I visited the following eight: University of Chicago

[15] Source: https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=201720180AB1142
[16] Source: https://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/in/documents/globalca2030report.pdf
[17] Source: http://www.cde.ca.gov/nr/el/le/yr21ltr0929.asp
[18] Source: https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/multilingualedu.asp
[19] Source: https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/sealofbiliteracy.asp
[20] Source: https://www.usnews.com/best-graduate-schools/top-business-schools/mba-rankings

(Booth); Northwestern University (Kellogg); University of Pennsylvania (Wharton); MIT (Sloan); Harvard; Dartmouth College (Tuck); Stanford; and Berkeley Haas School of Business. For each of these I copied a minimum of 3 webpages (e.g., “About”; “MBA Program”; “Academics”; “Required Courses”; “The Experience”), compiling a corpus of 7,256 words.

For **subcorpus 2**, I searched in google for “business English wordlist,” “1000 business English vocabulary words,” “business vocabulary words” and was able to access wordlists from the following sites:

- https://www.oxford-royale.com/articles/business-english-vocabulary/
- Vocabulary.com
- https://www.myenglishpages.com/business-english/top-1000-business-english-vocabulary.php
- https://grammarvocab.com/top-100-business-vocabulary-words/
- https://grammarvocab.com/english-business-vocabulary-words/
- https://quizlet.com/24550990/the-top-100-most-important-words-in-business-english-flash-cards/
- https://learn-english-today.com/business-english/marketing-sales-vocabulary.html
- https://www.wordscoach.com/blog/business-english-vocabulary/

I compiled the lists to yield a corpus of 6,961 words.

Among the lists resulting from the google search for “business English,” I was able to access two full texts. The first was the 2006 *Cambridge English: Business Preliminary Vocabulary List*[21]. I used this text of 7,889 words to build **subcorpus 3**. The second full text I accessed was an opensource version of *Business Vocabulary in Use* (2002, Mascull)[22]. I copied the index of terms from pages 160-171 to create **subcorpus 4** totalling 2,109 words.

I combined these four corpora and ran them through the corpus analysis software program AntConc (version 4.2.0) to yield a wordlist of most frequent terms. I sorted out function words (e.g., conjunctions, determiners, prepositions, pronouns), leaving me with a list of content words. From this list, I selected the top 50 words (or word stems)[23] to create the Business Domain Wordlist (see Appendix A). In addition to using AntConc to generate frequency lists, I also used another feature of the software, KWIC–or *key words in context*, to analyze precisely how these words were being used within longer stretches of text.

Analysis/Findings

By comparing the corpus of business English first with the legislative text corpus from the 1900s and then later with the legislative text corpus from the 2000s, I was able to document a marked increase in the presence of business vocabulary in the latter.

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[21] Source: https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/images/22099-vocabulary-list.pdf

[22] Source: https://archive.org/details/BusinessVocabularyInUse_201608/page/n159/mode/2up

[23] For example, entering the word stem *produc** in AntConc yields results for all words starting with *produc-* such as *produce, produces, producer, producers, product, products, production*, etc.

Word or Wordstem	Presence in 1900s Corpus (19,734 words)	Normed Ratio (based on corpus size)	Presence in 2000s Corpus (7,085 words)
business*	1	1 to 19	7
market*	0	0 to 6	2
lead*	11	1 to 4	16
work*	6	1 to 6.5	14
produc*	1	1 to 11	4
world*	1	1 to 61	22
new	6	1 to 2.3	5
account*	1	1 to 6	2
econom*	3	1 to 19	21
career*	3	1 to 3.7	4
industr*	0	0 to 3	1
global*	0	0 to 56	20
job*	1	1 to 3	1
opportunit*	23	1 to 1.8	15
innovat*	3	1 to 2.7	3
trade*	0	0 to 6	2
customer*	0	0 to 8	3

In reviewing this chart, the first thing to notice is the business domain words that have no presence whatsoever in the 1900s corpus but that do appear in the 2000s corpus: *market, industries, global, trade,* and *customer.* The very presence of these business-domain words within the 2000s corpus provides preliminary evidence of neoliberalization within the domain of language education policy. Next, we can see how many of the business-domain terms that do appear in the 1900s corpus increase dramatically in use within the 2000s corpus. Words like *business* and *economy/economic* increase 19 fold; mentions of *job* or *career* increase at least 3 fold; and references to *global* (absent from 1900s corpus) and *world* (appearing once in the 1900s corpus) are two of the most frequent business-domain terms within the 2000s corpus, appearing 20 and 22 times, respectively.

Let's look more closely at the context of use for a couple words on the list. First, we have the wordstem *lead**, which appears 11 times in the 1900s corpus and 16 times within the 2000s corpus:

Target Corpus
Name: temp
Files: 1
Tokens: 19734
CA Leg Data 1900s.docx

KWIC | Plot | File View | Cluster | N-Gram | Collocate | Word | Keyword | Wordcloud

Total Hits: 11 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 11 of 11 hits

	File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1	…	ıral but who is enrolled in a program	leading	to a certificate of competence for bilingual-crosscultural
2	…	·olled and participating in a program	leading	to a bilingual specialist credential or a certificate of com
3	…	to enroll in a career ladder program	leading	toward a single- or multiple-subject teaching credential
4	…	to enroll in a career ladder program	leading	toward a single- or multiple-subject teaching credential
5	…	ticipating in an appropriate program	leading	to a bilingual specialist credential or a certificate of com
6	…	be used for training and assessment	leading	to a bilingual specialist credential or a bilingual-crosscu
7	…	ent component with daily instruction	leading	to the acquisition of English language proficiency, includ
8	…	ation on special classes or programs	leading	to a certificate of competence for bilingual-crosscultural
9	…	linguistic and grammatical structure	leading	to proficiency in reading and writing English, (2) primary
10	…	students pursuing a course of study	leading	to a certificate of competence for bilingual-crosscultural
11	…	f California residents, and is also the	leading	world language for science, technology, and internationa

Search Query ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 14 token(s)

lead* Start ☐ Adv Search

Looking first at the 1900s corpus, we can see that hits 1-10 out of 11 consist of the phrasal verb *lead* to/toward,* in the sense of causing a particular effect, as in "a program leading to a certificate of competence" (hit 1). This generalized usage is not associated with the business domain or neoliberalism in the way that the noun forms *leader/s*, the verb *lead**, and the adjective form *leading* (hit 11) are. Through their semantic relation to competition, these latter forms do reflect a certain level of discursive neoliberalization. This is much more apparent in the 2000s corpus:

Target Corpus
Name: temp
Files: 1
Tokens: 7085
CA Leg Data 2000s.docx

KWIC | Plot | File View | Cluster | N-Gram | Collocate | Word | Keyword | Wordcloud

Total Hits: 16 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 16 of 16 hits

	File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1	…	K-12 students to participate in programs	leading	to proficiency in two or more languages, either through
2	…	·elve students will participate in programs	leading	to proficiency in two or more languages, either through
3	…	mmunity or who are enrolled in programs	leading	to biliteracy. The passage of the California Education fo
4	…	, legislators, and community and business	leaders	to join us on the road to a multilingual California. We n
5	…	;, communities, and cultural and business	leaders	toward common goals. Together, we have the dedicatio
6	…	a is immersed in the global economy, is a	leader	in global culture, and is home to flourishing industries
7	…	ıe Mexican national education system and	leaders	of the Baja California education system to better serve t
8	…	ates the program model's effectiveness at	leading	students toward linguistic fluency and academic achiev
9	…	ʒ world languages helps students become	leaders	in their communities and workplaces, and it ensures th
10	…	ıriving and to continue its role as a global	leader.	Dual-language immersion programs most frequently us
11	…	dents we share. Furthermore, California is	leading	the nation in recognizing high school students who der
12	…	2018 Global California 2030: Speak Learn	Lead	Executive Summary State Superintendent of Public Instr
13	…	ls shall be informed by research and shall	lead	to grade level proficiency and academic achievement in
14	…	and is home to flourishing industries that	lead	the world, including high-tech, entertainment, and agri
15	…	rity of California residents, and is also the	leading	world language for science and technology, thereby bei
16	…	ate has made a special effort to work with	leaders	of the Mexican national education system and leaders c

Search Query ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 14 token(s)

lead* Start ☐ Adv Search

While hits 1, 2, 3, 8, and 13 represent the phrasal verb *lead* to/toward,* we see evidence of neoliberalization through the noun forms *leader/s* (hits 4-7, 9, 10, and 16), the verb *lead** (hits 11, 12, and 14), and the adjective form *leading* (hit 15). In the 2000s corpus more than two-thirds of the word forms *lead** have a semantic relation to competition, while this is the case for only one-twelfth of the word forms *lead** in the 1900s corpus.

Next, we can look at the context of use in both corpora for the term *business**:

Target Corpus
Name: temp
Files: 1
Tokens: 19734
CA Leg Data 1900s.docx

KWIC | Plot | File View | Cluster | N-Gram | Collocate | Word | Keyword | Wordcloud

Total Hits: 1 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 1 of 1 hit

	File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1	…	for science, technology, and international	business,	thereby being the language of economic opportunity;

Search Query ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 14 token(s)

business* Start ☐ Adv Search

The single appearance of *business* within the 1900s corpus comes from Chapter 3, Article 1, Section 300 of Proposition 227 (1998), as shown below.

> 300. The People of California find and declare as follows:
> (a) Whereas, The English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the State of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity;

What is interesting in this text is that English is positioned as the "leading world language for… international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity." While there is mention of "world" languages and "international" business, the orientation here is still primarily nationalist and ideologically monolingual. This makes sense in the context of a policy that effectively banned bilingual education in California for nearly two decades.

It is worth noting that the one neoliberal use of *lead** and the single use of *business* within the 1900s corpus both came from the 1998 policy text–demonstrating the way neoliberalism was already starting to make its way into the field of language education policy. As my analysis shows, this trend continues to grow over the next couple of decades.

Target Corpus
Name: temp
Files: 1
Tokens: 7085
CA Leg Data 2000s.docx

KWIC | Plot | File View | Cluster | N-Gram | Collocate | Word | Keyword | Wordcloud

Total Hits: 7 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 7 of 7 hits

	File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1	…	stronger bonds with customers, clients, and	business	partners; and (e) Whereas, Multilingual skills are nece
2	…	›rs, parents, legislators, and community and	business	leaders to join us on the road to a multilingual Califo
3	…	with parents, communities, and cultural and	business	leaders toward common goals. Together, we have the
4	…	›n • Engage all sectors of the education and	business	community and parents to support this vision and wo
5	…	n a State Seal of Biliteracy.1 Universities and	businesses	can begin to support the program today by giving stu
6	…	›ar: access to an expanded market, allowing	business	owners to better serve their customers' needs, and th
7	…	ornia is home to thousands of multinational	businesses	that must communicate daily with associates around

Search Query ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 14 token(s)

business* Start ☐ Adv Search

Moving into the 2000s corpus, we can see how *business* is now associated with multilingual skills (as opposed to English), expanded markets, and a global orientation. As we see above, hits 1-4 and 6 consist of the adjective *business* modifying the following nouns: partners, leaders, community, and owners. Hits 5 and 7 consist of the plural noun *businesses*. At this point, we must ask: why would business figure so heavily within language education policy? By taking a closer look at the context, we can find out what specific role business or businesses are playing. In the first hit (expanded below) we see how the beneficiaries of the policy are "employers across all sectors, both public and private, [who] are actively recruiting multilingual employees because of their ability to forge stronger bonds with customers, clients, and business partners" (2016). Similarly, hit #6 highlights business as beneficiary by stating that "[t]he benefits to employers in having staff fluent in more than one language are clear: access to an expanded market, allowing business owners to better serve their customers' needs, and the sparking of new marketing ideas that better target a particular audience and open a channel of communication with customers" (2011). Finally, in hit #7, we also see how the policy frames "multinational businesses that must communicate daily with associates around the world" (2016) as clear beneficiaries of the policy. Expanding the context of hit #3, we see the way the policy's purported benefits are framed as "common goals" not only for the State, but for parents and communities as well as for cultural and business leaders:

"Our ambitions for Global California 2030 are high but so is our ability to work together with parents, communities, and cultural and business leaders toward common goals." (2018)

The effect of this assertion of "common goals" within a context so heavily focused on the world of business is to elide and obscure the distinct goals of students, parents, or communities by subsuming them under those of employers, businesses, or the State economy.

What becomes clear through this analysis is not only the fact that a market-based vocabulary has entered the domain of language education policy, but the ways in which this presence has affected both how policies are framed and, more importantly, who is seen as the beneficiary. As the language of business spreads into other domains–including everyday speech–there is another, larger-scale effect. By populating our daily talk, this language and its metaphors work to naturalize a market mentality, or neoliberal rationality, along with its values of competition and individualism. However, as Dardot and Laval (2017) argue, neoliberal rationality can erode democracy: "By reinforcing social inequality in the distribution of service provision and access to resources in employment, health and education, it strengthens social logics of exclusion that manufacture a growing number of 'sub-citizens' and 'non-citizens'" (p. 304). I return to this point in the discussion section.

Mechanism #2: Sloganization of Multilingualism

Looking at the Oxford English Dictionary, the original definition of *slogan*–dating back to the 1500's–is "war cry or battle cry." Over the next several centuries, we see the meaning of *slogan* broaden into the definition current readers will find most familiar: "a short and striking or memorable phrase used in advertising." Despite the semantic evolution and shifting domain of the word, a *slogan* remains a call to action. Modern-day slogans are used to compel their hearer not so much to go to battle but rather to vote for or, most often, simply to buy (or buy into)–whether it is a product, an ideology, or a new vision of reality. In this way, slogans have become

an indispensable marketing tool and part of the neoliberal obligation to seek greater and greater profits.

Like the specialized language of other disciplines, terminology within the field of language education has not been immune from shifting ideological landscapes. While slogans are traditionally a feature of the business world and advertising, recent scholarship in the field of applied linguistics provides insight into the way certain terms have undergone a process of sloganization. Sloganization, as defined by Schmenk, Breidback, and Küster (2018), is the "tendency to use a range of popular terms in scholarship, policy papers, practical applications, and curriculum development as if their meaning were obvious and shared across the globe" (p. 6). Yet a slogan's lack of precise definition is what contributes to its effectiveness in persuading varied audiences and is a common characteristic of marketing language in general. As Göke (2017, p. 499) notes:

> When marketers scrutinize their language, they often complain about its vagueness or ambiguity. For example, some of the most important American marketing associations lament "ambiguity and definitional differences between functions within and across firms and their partners" (AMA Common Language).

In addition to lack of definitional precision, Schmenk et al. (2018) identify five characteristics of a sloganized term: it is idealized, used with increasing frequency, has common-sense appeal, is easily transposable (i.e., to other disciplines, into other discourses), and is decontextualized. In the sections that follow, I will show how the term *multilingual/ism* has undergone a process of sloganization within the field of language education policy.

Data Corpus and Analytic Procedure

To demonstrate increasing frequency of use, and transposability within a variety of disciplines, I drew on quantitative data analyses. To demonstrate the characteristics of idealization, common-sense appeal, and decontextualization, I drew on qualitative data analysis.

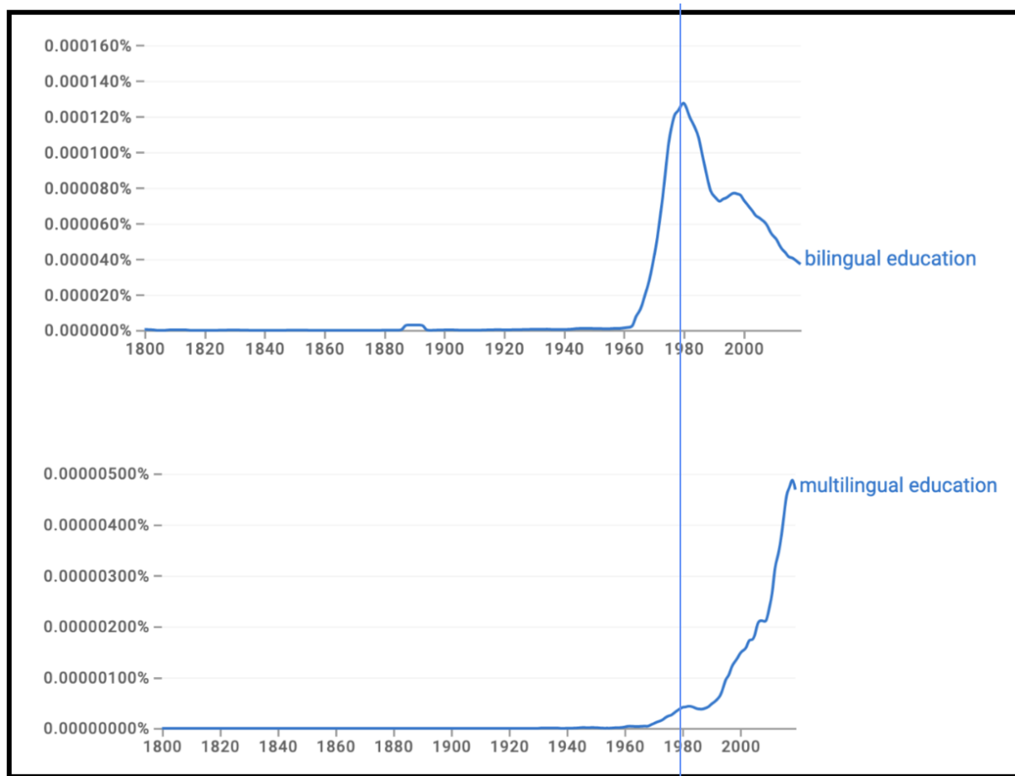
In order to see whether the term *multilingual/ism* has increased in usage, popularity, and/or scope over the last few decades, I conducted a number of searches. I started by using Google Book's N-gram viewer. This tool allows one to find usage trends over time by searching for particular terms within a corpus of digitized books. I selected the *English 2019* corpus, made up of "(b)ooks predominantly in the English language published in any country" and setting the search parameters from 1800s to 2019 (the latest available). While no word count is available for this particular corpus, Google N-gram has access to millions of digitized books. A 2010 study conducted by the team at Google Books that was published in the journal *Science* estimated they had digitized approximately 4% of all books ever printed in English at that point (Michel et al., 2010). To determine whether the term *multilingual* demonstrates another key characteristic of slogans, transposability, I needed to see if its increased use was occurring in different domains or disciplines. Searches were conducted in a variety of domain-specific publication databases to show hits of *multilingual* over time including the ProQuest Performing Arts Periodicals Database, the NIH National Library of Medicine (PubMed) Database, the Newsbank Database, and the Elsiever Engineering Village Database.

Next I used critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to examine one legislative document in particular, GlobalCA2030. This initiative of State Superintendent of Public

Instruction Tom Torlakson, published in 2018, lays out a set of goals to expand biliteracy and multilingualism within California by the year 2030. It consists of 2,014 words.

Analysis/Findings

Using Google N-gram, I compared frequency of use over time for "bilingual education" and "multilingual education," yielding the following results:



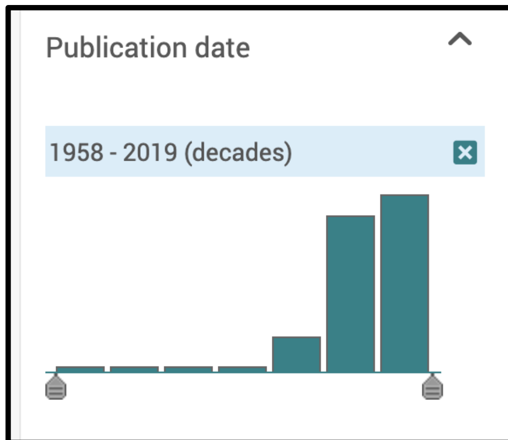
Source: http://books.google.com/ngrams

While the scales are different–as is evident from the number of 0s following the decimal point on the y-axis of each set of results–the trends are perfectly clear, demonstrating that at the same time as "bilingual education" was losing popularity, "multilingual education" was gaining it.

Multilingualism's increasing frequency of use within California language education policy can be demonstrated by once again drawing on the tools of corpus analysis. While a search for the term *multilingual** within the 1900s corpus yielded no results, searching the 2000s corpus for *multilingual** yielded 24 results. This finding corroborates the trend noted above from Google N-gram.

Art

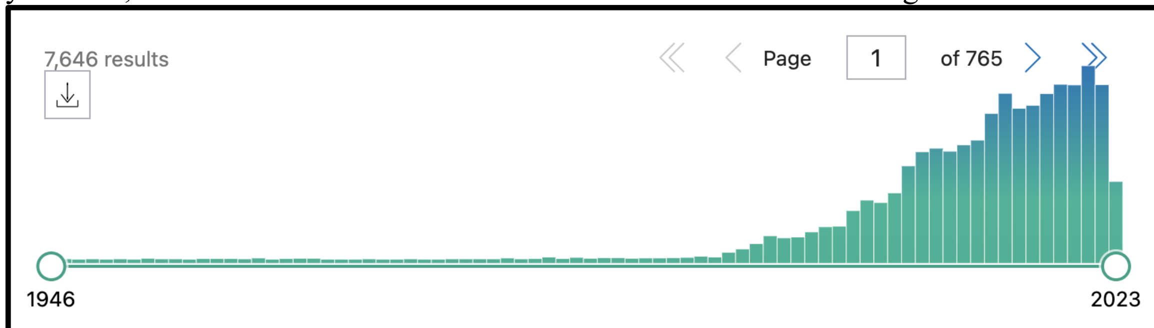
Searching ProQuest Performing Arts Periodicals Database for "multilingual" yielded 1,152 results between 1958 to 2019. The distribution (by decade) is shown in the following chart.



Source: https://www.proquest.com/iipa/results/3283E7459B344A1DPQ/1?accountid=14496

Medicine

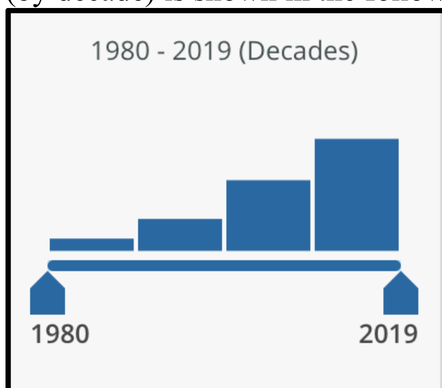
Searching for "multilingual" in the NIH National Library of Medicine (PubMed) Database yielded 7,646 hits. The distribution over time is shown in the following chart.



Source: https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/?term=multilingual&timeline=expanded

News

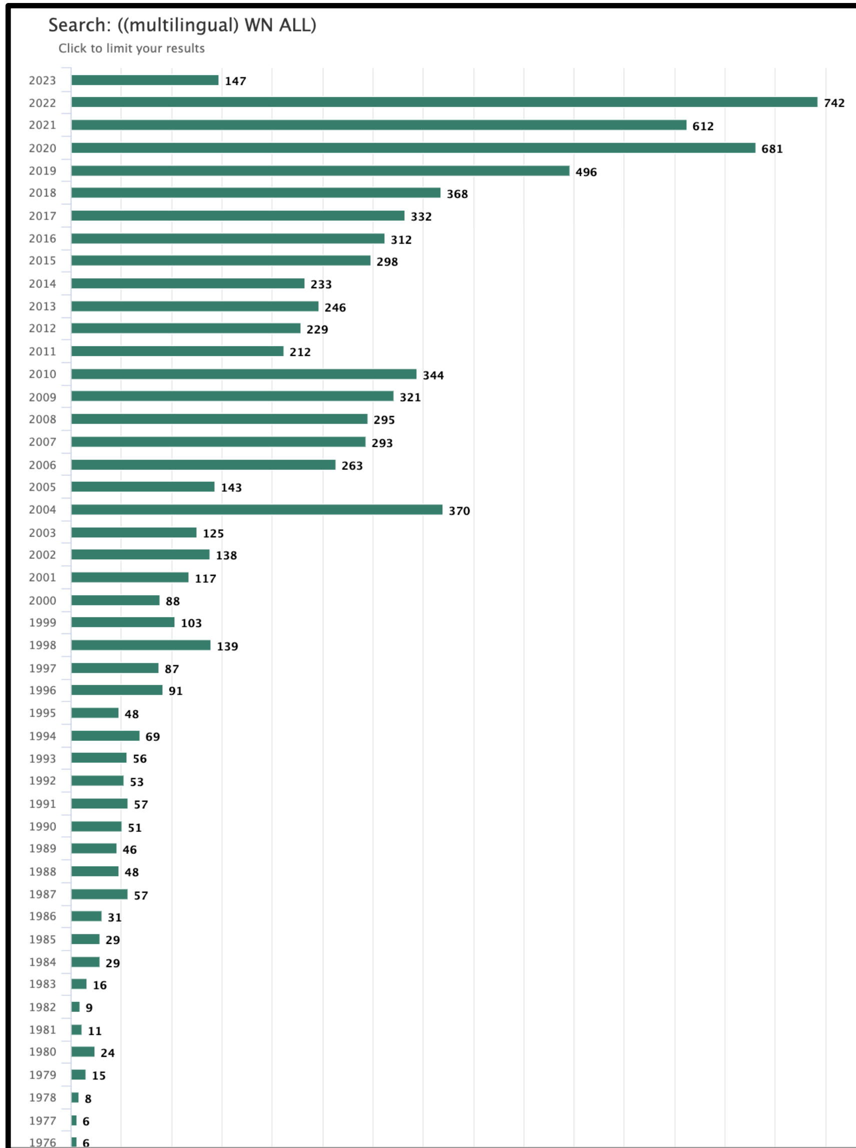
Searching for "multilingual" in the Newsbank Database yielded 71,549 results. The distribution (by decade) is shown in the following chart.



Source: https://infoweb-newsbank-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/apps/news/results?p=AWNB&t=&sort=YMD_date%3AD&fld-nav-0=YMD_date&val-nav-0=1980%20-%202019&fld-base-0=alltext&maxresults=20&val-base-0=multilingual&z=co_sc_postsearch_datesearch

Science

Finally, searching for "multilingual" in the Elsiever Engineering Village Database yielded 26,556 results. The distribution is shown in the following chart. Please note that the lower results showing for the year 2023 are due to the fact that only four months of 2023 data were included based on when the search was executed.



Source: https://www-engineeringvillage-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/search/quick.url?SEARCHID=2697677b9bab42b18b6005113b9bf281&COUNT=1&usageOrigin=&usageZone=

The increased frequency of use across a wide range of disciplines highlights the transposability of the term *multilingual/ism*. This transposability is further evidenced by the fact that the World Health Organization, UNESCO, the United Nations, and the National Academy of Arts and Sciences each have webpages devoted to multilingualism[24].

[24] https://www.who.int/about/policies/multilingualism

In order to see whether the remaining three characteristics of sloganization–idealization, common sense appeal, and decontextualization–can be applied to *multilingualism*, let's look more closely at GlobalCA2030[25]. The initiative of then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tom Torlakson, came out in 2018 after the ban on bilingual education was repealed in 2016 through Prop 58/SB 1174. The stated goal of this initiative is listed on page 4 of the document:

"By 2030, we want half of all K–12 students to participate in programs leading to proficiency in two or more languages, either through a class, a program, or an experience. By 2040, we want three out of four students to be proficient in two or more languages, earning them a State Seal of Biliteracy."

Throughout the document, the term *multilingual** appears three times. Let's take a look at each of these, in context:

Excerpt 1. My initiative—Global California 2030—is a call to action. We are inviting educators, parents, legislators, and community and business leaders to join us on the road to a **multilingual** California. (p. 4)

Excerpt 2. Global California 2030 is part of a larger effort to better prepare students for twenty-first century careers and college, recognizing that **multilingualism** is an essential skill. (p. 5)

Excerpt 3. The Path to a **Multilingual** California
Our call to have more students study and become proficient in a world language, while ambitious, is within reach. (p. 9)

While the document as a whole reflects a number of discourses relating to language and language education including equity/heritage (Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2016)–that is, discourse that centers the needs of language minoritized communities–the neoliberal discourses of global human capital (Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2016)–that is, the view that language education, and education more broadly, is seen as a type of individual investment that makes one (and even one's nation) more competitive in the global economy–and linguistic instrumentalism (Kubota, 2011; Wee, 2003)–that is, a view of language as a neutral skill to be strategically deployed–seem to dominate. This is in line with the sloganized use of *multilingual** represented above.

It is interesting to note the use of "call to action" in Excerpt 1 as the function of a slogan is precisely a call to action. In both excerpts 1 and 3, *multilingual* is used as an adjective modifying California. In Excerpt 1 the call is "to join us on the road to a multilingual California"

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https://www.unesco.org/en/ifap/multilingualism
https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/multilingualism-and-global-citizenship
https://www.amacad.org/humanities-indicators/public-life/multilingualism
[25] A link to the full document: https://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/in/documents/globalca2030report.pdf

(p. 4). Similarly, in Excerpt 3, there is a destination or goal that is "ambitious," (that is– "a Multilingual California") and the way to reach it is by following "[t]he Path" (p. 9). The metaphorical use of "road" and "path" suggests that this *as of yet unrealized* goal is a destination we may reach in the future. This presentation of an idealized version of California, alternately referred to as "multilingual California" (Excerpts 1 & 3) or "Global California" (Excerpt 2) that may someday be achieved completely ignores California's existing multilingualism. According to a US Census Report titled *Language Use in the United States: 2019*[26], California is the most multilingual state in the nation, with over 44% of the population speaking a language other than English at home. This demonstrates the way *multilingualism* is used in an idealized and decontextualized manner within GlobalCA2030. This decontextualization is further evident in the way "Multilingual California" is equated with "Global California" throughout the policy. In fact, the link between multilingualism and the global (as opposed to the local) has also been documented within SB 1174, "California Education for a Global Economy Initiative" (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

Finally, let us return to Excerpt 2 which states that "Global California 2030 is part of a larger effort to better prepare students for twenty-first century careers and college, recognizing that **multilingualism** is an essential skill" (p. 5). Who could argue against "preparing students for twenty-first century careers and college"? It seems like a reasonable goal of education, surely. Multilingualism as "essential skill", too, is presented as simply common-sense given our globalized economy and interconnected world. It is also an example of the neoliberal discourse of linguistic instrumentalism (Kubota, 2011; Wee, 2003) mentioned above.

Thus we see how *multilingual/ism* has been sloganized within language education policy in the neoliberal era. But what is this slogan selling? And why is the multilingualism that already exists in the here and now rejected and replaced with an idealized marketable form of multilingualism? When it comes to multilingual education, which is what current language education policies address, we have to look at the social, political, and historical context to understand how *multilingual* as a slogan emerged. The political nature of bilingual education has a long history in this country (Crawford, 1995; Ovando & McLaren, 2000). In fact, from the 1980's onward there was a systematic attack on bilingual education from the right. The war was fought discursively, with conservatives linking bilingual education with failure, and calls for English-only education serving as thinly veiled expressions of nativist and anti-immigrant sentiment (Cummins, 2009). The stigmatization of bilingual education led to the disappearance of the word *bilingual* from policy texts and government agencies (Evans & Hornberger, 2005; García & Torres-Guevara, 2009).

After some years, the gap left by *bilingual* needed to be filled and the term *multilingual* education emerged, providing a clean slate of associations. While denotations of multilingual and bilingual are quite similar–they are often used interchangeably–where they differ most significantly is in their connotations. Connotations of the prefix *multi-* include broad, abundant, vague in numeric value, adaptable, and versatile. On the other hand, connotations of the prefix *bi-* include split, divided, in tension, specific, lacking unified identity, not trustworthy, having split loyalties. The denotation of the prefix *bi-* can either mean two of something or it can mean something split in two. Whereas the prefix *multi-* has only a positive, or additive meaning. Additionally, multilingual education–as sloganized term–has built-in decontextualization,

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[26] Source: https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2022/acs/acs-50.pdf

whereas bilingual education carries with it the context of place in which it was used (in the United States) and the stigma it came to garner.

This terminological shift is borne out in my own diachronic analysis of California's language education policy texts: while the 1900s corpus makes mention of *bilingual** 217 times, there is not a single mention of *multilingual** throughout. Whereas in the smaller 2000s corpus *multilingual** is mentioned 24 times, *bilingual** is only mentioned 13 times, with ten of those appearing as *bilingual teacher** clusters.

The sloganization of multilingualism has had two large-scale effects within the field of language education: on the one hand, by making it attractive to a larger audience–including White, middle-class families–it has likely contributed to successful passage of a number of language education policy initiatives (e.g., Proposition 58 in California) as well as the increased popularity and rising demand for dual-language programs across the United States (Boyle et al., 2015; Gándara & Slater, 2018); on the other, there have been growing concerns that these newly framed initiatives and program designs–now geared more toward English-dominant families–do not adequately address issues of equity or meet the needs of the populations bilingual education was originally designed to serve (Delavan, Valdez, & Freire, 2017; Dorner & Cervantes-Soon, 2020; Flores, Tseng, & Subtirelu, 2021). These concerns are only amplified by the process of commodification addressed in the following section.

Mechanism #3 Commodification of Multilingualism

Language commodification is a process by which language–in its various forms–comes to be seen as a resource, asset, or commodity. While language has traditionally been understood as the meaning-making practices of particular groups–and thus as an important marker of social identity–scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and applied linguistics have noted a shift in the conceptualization of language over the last few decades. Linguistic anthropologist Monica Heller (2003, 2010) argues that neoliberalism–or what she calls late capitalism–has created the socio-historical conditions for language to be commodified. As language becomes commodified, it is transformed, as Cavanaugh (2018) notes, "undergoing processes of separation and objectification" (p. 266). This notion of separation is echoed in Ricento's (2005) comment that "language as commodity [is] displaced from its historical situatedness" (p. 357). Similarly, Park and Wee (2013) discuss the process of commodification as a shift from language as practice to language as entity.

In her 2010 article, Heller outlines a number of key characteristics of commodified language, including: its stated importance in the new global economy; the way language is framed as an "added value" that can be both material and symbolic; the value of flexibility and distinction in already saturated markets; and, finally, an emphasis on detaching language-as-skill from language-as-identity. Citing her previous work (Heller & Boutet, 2006), she argues that this commodification "leads to competition over who defines what counts as legitimate and commodifiable language, over what counts as such, and over who controls the production and distribution of linguistic resources" (Heller, 2010, pp. 102-3)–a point I return to in the discussion. In the analysis that follows, I will show the ways in which the above characteristics of commodification manifest within the language education policies focused on the State's Seal of Biliteracy–a brief history of which I turn to now.

In 2011, California passed legislation enacting the Seal of Biliteracy to recognize graduating high school students who had attained and could demonstrate proficiency in English and another language. The first state to do so, California was lauded as a pioneer and in the dozen years since all 50 states (and the District of Columbia) have followed suit in adopting the Seal of Biliteracy (sealofbiliteracy.org). While the Seal of Biliteracy was first conceived, developed, and advocated for by equity-oriented grassroots organizations (e.g., Californians Together), concerns have been raised about how the policy's design and implementation privileges White, English-dominant students studying foreign/world languages while limiting access to racially and linguistically minoritized groups (Subtirelu, Borowczyk, Thorson Hernández, & Venezia, 2019).

Data Corpus and Analytic Procedure

In this section I draw on the methodological tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003) as well as corpus linguistics to analyze the policy texts of AB 815, the State Seal of Biliteracy (2011), its amendment, AB 1142 (2017), GlobalCA2030 (2018), as well the *Letter to County and District Superintendents, Direct-Funded Charter School Administrators, and High School Principals regarding the importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy* (2021) published by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tony Thurmond. This corpus consists of 4,524 words. I use the following analyses to demonstrate the third mechanism of neoliberalization in language education policy: the commodification of language–or more specifically–of multilingualism.

Analysis/Findings

1. Stated Importance in the New Global Economy

In the following chart, I list six excerpts that demonstrate the importance of biliteracy/multilingualism to the global economy. I have underlined the words or word clusters that indicate importance and bolded those that refer to the global economy.

AB 815 *The State Seal of Biliteracy* (2011)	1. Proficiency in multiple languages <u>is critical</u> in enabling California to participate effectively in a **global political, social, and economic context**, and in **expanding trade** with other countries.
GlobalCA2030 (2018)	2. The mission of Global California 2030 is to equip students with world language skills…while also <u>preparing them to succeed</u> in the **global economy**. 3. As the **world** becomes more **interconnected**, fluency in another language <u>opens up opportunities</u> for people to succeed **economically** 4. More students earning the Seal of Biliteracy means more young people will enter the workforce with the skills and knowledge to <u>keep</u>

	California's economy thriving and to continue its role as a **global leader**. 5. Together, we have the dedication, skill, creativity, and vision to give all students the opportunity to learn another language and enhance their ability to fully engage with the culture and **economy of California and the world**.
The Importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy (2021)	6. … while fluency in more than one language has always been an admirable skill, biliteracy is increasingly important to **employment** in an **international and global context** to prepare students for the jobs of tomorrow.

Excerpts 1 and 4 above demonstrate the importance of multilingualism/biliteracy for *California*–specifically in regard to its competitiveness within a global economic context. In the first excerpt we see that multilingualism "is critical in enabling California to participate effectively in a **global political, social, and economic context."** The State is similarly centered as beneficiary of multilingualism in Excerpt 4 where it is needed "to keep **California's economy** thriving and to continue its role as a **global leader**." In excerpts 2, 3, 5, and 6, we are told that multilingualism "prepares [students] to succeed in the **global economy**," "opens up opportunities for people to succeed **economically**" within an interconnected world, "enhance[s students'] ability to fully engage with the culture and **economy of California and the world**," and "is increasingly important to **employment** in an **international and global context**." Once again, by centering success in the economic sphere, these statements highlight competition, a theme that continues in the following section. Additionally, the overwhelming orientation to the *global* obscures the local context along with the particular needs of local populations leading to a "one-size-fits-all" approach that rarely does.

2. Language as "Added Value" Granting Distinction

In the excerpts listed below, I have bolded words or word clusters that indicate added value and/or distinction.

AB 815 *The State Seal of Biliteracy* (2011)	1. the Legislature wishes to publicly recognize pupils for **exemplary achievements** in academic studies 2. It is the intent of the Legislature to **promote** linguistic proficiency and cultural literacy in one or more languages in addition to English and to **provide recognition of the attainment** of those **needed and important** skills through the establishment of the State Seal of Biliteracy. 3. To **certify attainment** of biliteracy. 4. To provide employers with **a method of identifying people** with language and biliteracy skills.

	5. To provide universities with a method **to recognize and give academic credit** to applicants seeking admission.
GlobalCA2030 (2018)	6. Universities and businesses can begin to support the program today by giving students who **earn** the State Seal of Biliteracy **additional consideration** for admission or hiring. 7. Develop a communications campaign to share the academic, social, and economic **advantages** of graduating students with biliteracy skills
The Importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy (2021)	8. … while fluency in more than one language has always been an admirable skill, biliteracy is **increasingly important** to employment in an international and global context to prepare students for the jobs of tomorrow.

In the excerpts above, biliteracy is framed as having added value as an "**exemplary achievement**" (ex. 1) with "academic, social, and economic **advantages**" (ex. 7) such as providing "**academic credit**" (ex. 5) or "**additional consideration** for admission or hiring" (ex. 6), and as a "**needed**" (ex. 2) and "**increasingly important**" skill (ex. 8) that the Legislature wishes to "**recognize**" (ex. 1) and "**promote**" (ex. 2). Additionally, this added value grants distinction through formal recognition (ex. 1, 2, and 5) and certification (ex. 3), allowing employers and universities to identify and recognize (ex. 4 and 5) people with biliteracy skills.

It is important to note that not all groups have equal access to this added value (Chávez-Moreno, 2021; Snyder, 2020). In her discussion of Appadurai's 1986 concept *regimes of value,* Cavanaugh (2018) highlights the way "commodities' value is defined within particular arenas of circulation, outside of which they may not have the same or any value. As Appadurai observes, 'value is never an inherent property of objects, but is a judgment made about them by subjects' (1986:3)" (p. 268). This idea evokes what Flores and Rosa call the *white listening subject* (2015) or the *racially hegemonic perceiving subject* (2017). They argue that "racially hegemonic modes of perception…enacted not simply by individuals but also nonhuman entities such as institutions, policies, and technologies…shape how racialized subjects' language practices are construed and valued" (Rosa & Flores, 2017, p. 628). Thus, the bilingualism of racialized groups is often devalued while the bilingualism of dominant groups is applauded as a "real (and individual) achievement." I return to this notion of differential value in the discussion section below.

3. Detaching Language-as-Skill from Language-as-Identity

One way to demonstrate the detaching of language-as-skill from language-as-identity is to look at all the instances in which biliteracy or multilingualism is referred to as a "skill." The following chart groups these instances by policy:

AB 815 *The State Seal of*	1. It is the intent of the Legislature to promote linguistic proficiency and cultural literacy in one or more languages in addition to

Biliteracy (2011)	English and to provide recognition of the attainment of those needed and important **skills** through the establishment of the State Seal of Biliteracy. 2. To provide employers with a method of identifying people with language and biliteracy **skills.** 3. To prepare pupils with 21st century **skills.**
GlobalCA2030 (2018)	4. The mission of Global California 2030 is to equip students with world language **skills** 5. Global California 2030 is part of a larger effort to better prepare students for twenty-first century careers and college, recognizing that multilingualism is an essential **skill.** 6. Develop a communications campaign to share the academic, social, and economic advantages of graduating students with biliteracy **skills** 7. More students earning the Seal of Biliteracy means more young people will enter the workforce with the **skills** and knowledge to keep California's economy thriving and to continue its role as a global leader.
The Importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy (2021)	8. … while fluency in more than one language has always been an admirable **skill**, biliteracy is increasingly important to employment in an international and global context to prepare students for the jobs of tomorrow.

The excerpts above all highlight the way multilingualism or biliteracy is seen as a ("needed and important" (ex. 1), "21st century" (ex. 3), "essential" (ex. 5), and "admirable" (ex. 8)) *skill* that can be attained (ex. 1). Framed as an attainable skill, it becomes available to anyone who can meet the requirements of certification–a point elaborated below.

A second way to demonstrate the shift away from linking language with identity is to show how bilingual education–which in the past was associated entirely with language minoritized students (e.g., immigrant children or children of immigrants parents)–rebranded as multilingualism/biliteracy is now something for *all* students, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

AB 815 *The State Seal of Biliteracy* (2011)	1. It is the intent of the Legislature to encourage excellence **for all pupils**, and the Legislature wishes to publicly recognize pupils for exemplary achievements in academic studies.
GlobalCA2030 (2018)	2. My plan to reach our goal includes the following: …Work with the Legislature to provide additional funds to initiate and expand a variety of bilingual program opportunities **for all students** pre-K through twelfth grade

	3. Together, we have the dedication, skill, creativity, and vision to give **all students** the opportunity to learn another language and enhance their ability to fully engage with the culture and economy of California and the world.
The Importance of the State Seal of Biliteracy (2021)	4. The CA Ed.G.E. Initiative encourages schools and school districts to provide opportunities **for all students** to participate in multilingual programs. 5. … while fluency in more than one language has always been an admirable skill, biliteracy is increasingly important to employment in an international and global context to prepare **students** for the jobs of tomorrow.

The use of "all" in excerpts 1-4 and the generalized use of "students" in excerpt 5 shows the way multilingual education–once meant to provide equal educational access to students designated as English language learners–is now meant for *all* students. This analysis is further corroborated by the following corpus-based comparative analysis of policy beneficiaries.

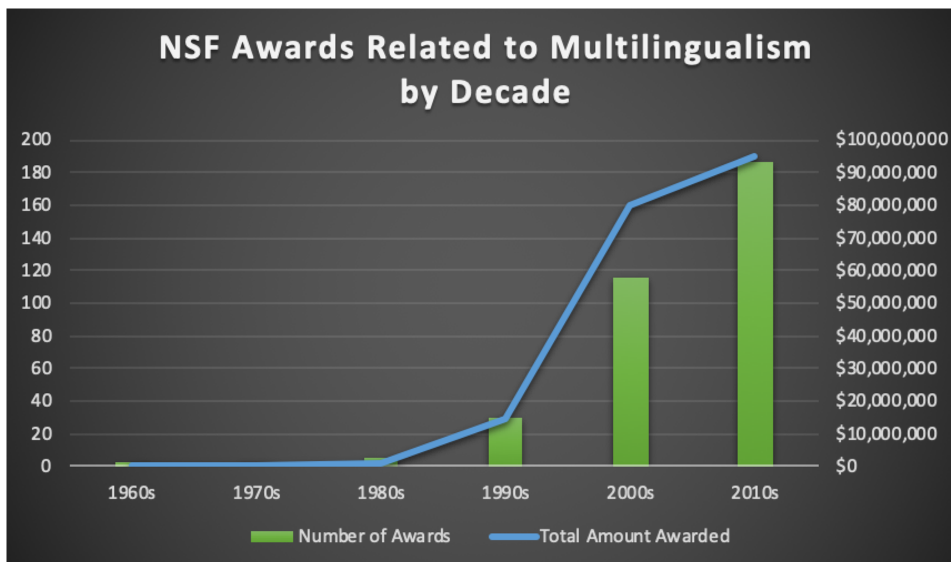
In the 1900s corpus, searches for student* (n=15) and pupil* (n=356) demonstrated that aside from particular clusters like "Student Aid Commission" or section headings like "Student Achievement" the overwhelming majority of references were to non-English dominant students (e.g., "limited-English-speaking **pupils**" or "**students** whose native language is other than English"). In the 2000s corpus, searches for student* (n=73) and pupil* (n=35) demonstrated that 75% of references were to students/pupils generally (e.g., "all **students**" or "the study of languages boosts **students'** mental flexibility") whereas only 25% referred to non-English dominant students (e.g., "non-English speakers or **students** with limited literacy skills in their first language" or "instruction for English learners utilizing English and **students'** native language").

This shift in the stated beneficiaries of language education policies from those designated as "limited English proficient" (LEP) or "English language learners" (ELLs) within the 1900s corpus to "all students" or simply "students" more generally within the 2000s corpus demonstrates three important points. First, focus on language-as-identity has shifted to a framing of language-as-skill that can be achieved by "all." Second, as a newly framed commodity, it must now be made available to more privileged, English-dominant students. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the use of the word "all" works to obscure the fact that, subsumed under a universalized category, language minoritized students and their needs are elided within these policies. There is a real danger to this elision, as Flores (2020, p. 61) notes:

> At best, Latinx students become commodities who can be exploited by white middle-class families to further improve the economic prospects of their already privileged children (Burns, 2017). At worse [sic], because of the entrenched racism of U.S. schools and the broader society, they may be systematically excluded from these programs as they refocus their attention to the interests of affluent white communities.

This concern is borne out in scholarship that documents the ways in which neoliberal language education program designs serve White, English-dominant students at the expense of–and, at times, through the exclusion of–students of color, English language learners, and students with disabilities (Cioè-Peña, 2017, 2020; Dorner et al., 2020; Subtirelu et al., 2019). As Heller (2003) notes, "[t]hose whose marginalization once granted them the then-dubious privilege of bilingualism may now find themselves forced out of the new market in which bilingualism, but of a different kind, is now newly valued" (p. 484).

The commodification of multilingualism outlined in this section–including its stated importance within the new global economy, its added value granting distinction, and its framing as attainable skill–highlights what Dei (2019) calls the epistemic power of neoliberalism that "seeks to regulate and control knowledge systems through a culture of hierarchies" (p. 50). This includes the hierarchy of academic subjects and which students are seen as more or less capable, as well as the way decisions are made about what research gets funded. The chart below demonstrates quite literally the way that multilingualism (as research topic) has been commodified over the last two decades:



Data Source: National Science Foundation (NSF.gov)

Together, the three mechanisms outlined above–infiltration of market-based vocabulary, sloganization, and commodification–demonstrate the precise workings of neoliberalism within language education policies. In the following section, I discuss the implications of this neoliberalization within and beyond the field of language education.

Discussion: *Caveat Emptor!*

Multilingualism is, and has been, the norm rather than the exception in much of the world for quite some time (Goldenberg, Reese, & Rezaei, 2011; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). This multilingualism has resulted from a variety of factors that have brought speakers of different languages into contact with each other. As sociolinguist Gillian Sankoff (2001) points out, "[l]anguage contacts have, historically, taken place in large part under conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery, and migrations – forced and

otherwise" (p. 640). California's multilingualism is a case in point. From native inhabitants to Spanish conquistadores, British colonialism, the Spanish-American war, western (and later global) migrations–nearly every box is checked. Thus, the neoliberal framing of multilingualism as somehow ahistorical, conflict-free, and full of economic promise for all is not only factually inaccurate, but disingenuous.

Applied linguist Norman Fairclough was prescient when in 2002 he spoke of neoliberalism–or what he then termed *new capitalism*–as "a 'colonization' of other fields by the economic field" (p. 163). In fact, the facilitative relationship between colonialism and liberalism (in its various forms–from classical liberalism to social liberalism to neoliberalism), is well documented. Strakosch (2015) notes that "[a]t the same time as European societies were developing notions of individual rights, democracy and the illegitimacy of absolute authority, they were initiating some of the most hierarchical and destructive political encounters ever seen" (p. 5). In order to reconcile the seeming incongruity between, on the one hand, newly formed ideals of liberty and justice, and, on the other, colonial incursion, enslavement, domination and genocide, race as a construct emerged (Mahmud, 1998) and "a modern discourse of racial difference and hierarchy gained hegemony, whereby capacity and eligibility to freedom and progress were deemed biologically determined, and colonialism was legitimated as the natural subordination of lesser races to higher ones" (p. 1219). Born out of the Enlightenment, the scientific method was enlisted to provide justification for racism and racist policies and led to two centuries of racial difference research (Skiba, 2012). As Rosa and Flores (2017) argue, during the early years of European colonization, raciolinguistic ideologies such as languagelessness (Rosa, 2016)–or the construction of certain groups as utterly lacking linguistic capacity–were developed and used to frame indigenous populations first as subhuman and later as less evolved humans.

Focused on the anglophone settler colonies of Australia, Canada, and the United States, Strakosch (2015) discusses how the exclusion of indigenous populations based on the attribution of 'incapacity' during the classical liberal era was followed by their eventual inclusion into the circle of citizenship during the social liberal era. While many saw legal inclusion as the end of colonization, Strakosch argues that unlike the formal decolonization of extractive colonies such as India, Kenya, or Vietnam–where European colonizers were in the minority–"Anglophone settler colonies have not undergone either structural decolonisation where Europeans have returned to Europe, or a genuine moment of transformative political change" (p. 19). In fact, she notes that the dual institutions of liberal democracy and settler colonialism have continued "in remarkably similar forms" (p. 20) to this day. Strakosch goes on to discuss how once permanent (though never equal) categorizations of citizenship within the social liberal era have blurred within the current neoliberal era. With the emergence of a new construct, the "incapable citizen," subjects must continually prove themselves as capable/deserving to enjoy the benefits of citizenship. This precarious positioning takes a greater toll on marginalized populations: "Indigenous peoples, as already racialised, criminalised and intensely disadvantaged, are more intensively assessed and more often categorised as incapable" (p. 27). This dynamic is further reinforced through policy design and which groups are deemed deserving beneficiaries.

In their book, *Policy Design for Democracy*, Schneider and Ingram (1997) argue that policy designs can have detrimental effects on the civic participation patterns of different groups through what they call degenerative policy-making. This occurs when:

> [T]he political power of target populations interacts with the way they have been socially constructed (often as "deserving" or "undeserving") to produce different design patterns. Differences in the power and social construction of target populations are systematically associated with differences in the distribution of benefits and burdens, the rationales used to justify the policy, tools, rules, implementation structures, and underlying structural logic of the policy design. (p. 11)

Given this discussion of continued–and often disguised–colonial relations of domination, as well as the way attributions of humanity/citizenship and distributions of policy benefits/burdens rely on the social construction of some groups as more deserving than others, I'd like to draw a parallel between Longley's (2021[27]) three-part definition of (settler) colonialism, presented below, and the three mechanisms of neoliberalization in language education policy I have outlined above:

1. In essence, colonialism is an act of political and economic domination involving the control of a country and its people by settlers from a foreign power. [infiltration]
2. In the process, the colonizers—sometimes forcibly—attempt to impose their religion, language, cultural, and political practices on the indigenous population. [imposition]
3. In most cases, the goal of the colonizing countries is to profit by exploiting the human and economic resources of the countries they colonized. [exploitation and expropriation]

A. First, we have business-domain vocabulary *infiltrating* the field of language education policy.
B. Next, we have the *imposition* of market-based (linguistic, cultural, and political) practices–in the form of sloganization–on the terminology and understandings native to the field of language education.
C. And, finally, we have the *exploitation* of marginalized and racialized bodies in conjunction with processes of commodification of language where access to ownership of the "new" resource of multilingualism is highly restricted to those in power.

My articulation of the third step above betrays my belief that the neoliberal colonization that is occurring within language education policy is not simply metaphorical or analogous. That is, neoliberal language education policy–like neoliberal policy more generally–works to reproduce colonial relations of power that privilege Whiteness (Dei, 2019). As Khoury (2015) notes, neoliberal policies "have vastly enriched the holders of capital, while leading to increasing inequality, insecurity, loss of public services, and a general deterioration of quality of life for the poor and working classes" (p. 171).

The very real and harmful effects of the neoliberal colonization of language education on linguistically and racially minoritized groups have been noted by numerous scholars in the field. For instance, some have likened the neoliberalization of language education to the process of

[27] Source: https://www.thoughtco.com/colonialism-definition-and-examples-5112779

gentrification–where marginalized and racialized inhabitants of poor urban areas are displaced by wealthier (and whiter) people moving in (Delavan, Freire, & Menken, 2021; Heiman & Murakami, 2019; Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016). Building on Harris's (1993) groundbreaking framework of *whiteness as property*, Chávez-Moreno (2021) theorizes *dual-language education as White property*. Using critical race ethnography, she demonstrated how the dual-language programs within one middle school and one high school–both framed as "desegregation intervention[s] aimed at bolstering the educational attainment of Latinx and ELs" (p. 1114)–ended up perpetuating racial hierarchies and excluding Latinx students deemed "deficient in Spanish or English" (p. 1126). Similarly building on Harris (1993), Chang-Bacon and Colomer (2022) present their *biliteracy as property* framework. Using discourse analysis to examine Seal of Biliteracy policies from a number of states, they show how biliteracy is propertized through its objectification as an attainable commodity with economic value. Furthermore, they argue that just as property is "legally bound to assessment" (p. 195), biliteracy as property is also assessed–in this case through standardized testing which privileges dominant groups. Chang-Bacon and Colomer point out that, while property frameworks have generally worked to preserve existing privileges, the Seal of Biliteracy "provides a pathway for the transference of biliteracy as property from marginalized to more privileged social locations" (p. 189). This idea is articulated more forcefully in Freire, Gambrell, Kasun, Dorner, and Cervantes-Soon (2022) who argue that dual language bilingual education has been *expropriated,* which they define as "the act of co-opting and dispossessing DLBE resources, opportunities, and rights, that should be prioritized to language-minoritized communities, and reframing and reusing these resources in order to benefit white English-privileged communities" (p. 41). Colonialism, like other dominant forms of power, is a master of disguise, growing and receding, shifting shapes as it moves–opportunistically–to more fertile soils, laying dormant for a while, but never gone for good.

It is ironic that the bilingual educational programs first inscribed within our legal system during the Civil Rights era, whose purpose was to secure equal educational access for language minoritized children, and which were then attacked and vilified for several decades, are now edging out the students who most need them in order to secure more privilege for the already privileged. Citing Flores (2016) and Trujillo (1998), Snyder (2020) notes how, within the Chicanx social movements of the 1960s:

> bilingual education was conceptualized as a means for young Chicanx students to authentically learn, come to embody, and represent their culture, language and history. It was also part of larger efforts to counter white supremacy and to support nationalist movements aimed at regaining territory lost during colonization. (p. 34)

This irony is underscored by the use of one sentence in particular within the legislation introducing (2011) and later amending (2017) California's Seal of Biliteracy: "For purposes of this article, "foreign language" means a language other than English, and includes American Sign Language" (2011, 2017). Thus, anything other than the colonial language of English–including *native American* languages and *American* Sign Language–is considered foreign. As García (2019) notes, the construction and "imposition of the language named and recognized as English was [and continues to be] an important tool for the colonization and oppression of many" (p. 155).

Ways to re-orient language education toward equity and social justice: Is decolonization possible?

Fighting for equity and social justice in language education policies and programming means fighting against long-standing structures of power; it means swimming upstream against a strong current that keeps pulling you down. Given the oppressive neoliberal landscape we find ourselves in, Flores (2017) proposes transitioning from a language-as-resource orientation to a language-as-struggle orientation. This means:

> [Making] the concerns of language-minoritized students and communities central to any advocacy for these programs; [Raising] questions about the unequal racial distribution of political and economic resources that lies at the core of neoliberalism; [Challenging] the racialized discourses that position the bilingualism of white students as more valuable than the bilingualism of language-minoritized communities; and [Centering] the belief that social transformation can only develop through political struggle–not through the feel-good commodification of difference. (Flores, 2017, p. 79)

For this to be achieved, race and racial equality need to be re-centered in the design and formulation of language education policies and programs, as well as in their implementation (Snyder, 2020). Existing barriers to access should be addressed and removed. For example, to mitigate inequity for the Seal of Biliteracy, English learners should not be required to pass additional tests beyond the English proficiency tests required of all graduating high school students (Davin, Heineke, & Hancock, 2022; Subtirelu et al., 2019). In order to truly serve "all", the neoliberal, one-size-fits-all approaches to dual language education which privilege dominant groups should be replaced with locally crafted programs designed to meet the particular needs of their language-minoritized students (Dorner, Cervantes-Soon, Heiman, & Palmer, 2021; Freire et al., 2022).

In her 2019 chapter, *Decolonizing foreign, second, heritage, and first languages: Implications for education*, Ofelia García argues that named languages (like "English" and "Spanish") are social and political constructions of western powers that have been used as tools "of domination, conquest and colonization" (p. 152) to produce governable subjects. She calls on her readers to make visible the ways in which "invented named language and elite bilingualism [continue] to marginalize many multilingual communities of brown and black bodies" (p. 162). Using a translanguaging approach–that is, recognizing speakers' dynamic language practices and adopting pedagogical practices that leverage multilingual learners' use of their entire, complex, linguistic repertoire–can disrupt "the hierarchies of named languages that were installed by colonial expansion and nation-building" (p. 163), and may provide a first step toward decolonizing language education.

Conclusion

In this paper I have shown the ways in which language education policy has been neoliberalized by outlining three precise mechanisms of action. Through the influx of business-domain vocabulary, the process of terminological sloganization, and the commodification of multilingualism, California language education policies in the 21st century have reproduced colonial relations of power that continue to serve dominant interests while further disenfranchising marginalized groups. The irony is that neoliberal policies–through color-blind,

ahistoric, and universalistic rhetoric–are deceptively designed to appear objective and democratic ("for all"). This speaks to the shape-shifting prowess of power–always morphing to conceal itself. Indeed, if we want to build a more equitable world, with more equity-oriented language policies, more critical work is needed–particularly work foregrounding race and its relationship to linguistic ideologies through a raciolinguistic perspective and subjectivation through a governmentality lens.

CONCLUSION

While there are always a number of ambient discourses in circulation, neoliberal discourse has become the hegemonic discourse of our time, framing nearly every aspect of our social world in terms of competition and profitability, and shifting responsibility for success or failure to the individual with little acknowledgment of the structures that limit access to opportunities for some while granting them to others–often along lines of race and class.

In my first paper, I showed how language-as-resource discourses work together with language-as-problem discourses within the field of language education to marginalize racialized speakers by framing their language varieties and practices as problems and by stripping them of any special claims to languages (e.g., cultural or familial) through the whitewashing of multilingualism. My co-authors and I suggested that through a process of ideological becoming, students, educators, and researchers could critically engage with and reflect on the discursive landscape in order to find and animate the discourses that are internally persuasive and most aligned with their values. This work contributes a nuanced understanding of what discourse is and what political work it accomplishes within the field of language education. It also highlights the slippery nature of power and its ability to morph–manifesting anew as required by shifting political projects.

Within my second paper, my co-author and I demonstrated how the rebranding of bilingual education as multilingual education through the use of neoliberal discourse has fundamentally altered its raison d'être–shifting from a program conceived of for the purpose of granting equal educational access to minoritized emergent bilinguals to a type of enrichment program for the already privileged. Rather than a focus on educational equity, current programs increasingly emphasize language–that is, standardized, school taught languages–as a resource that provides students, businesses, the state, and the nation with a competitive edge in a global economy. While multilingual education "for all" appears at first glance to be a democratic vision that echoes the liberal ideals laid out in the nation's founding documents, this framing obscures the way our educational system continues to reproduce unequal power relations and inequitable life outcomes. Just as the "all lives matter" campaign sought to undercut the "Black lives matter" movement, multilingual education "for all" undercuts and expropriates an educational program meant to support the most vulnerable students by gearing it to serve majoritarian interests.

Finally, in my third paper, I theorized and laid bare the precise workings of three discursive mechanisms of neoliberalization. I then drew a parallel between these mechanisms–the infiltration of business-domain vocabulary into the field of language education policy, the sloganization of terms native to the field of language education policy, and the commodification of multilingualism–and colonialism, arguing that California language education policies in the 21st century have reproduced colonial relations of power that continue to serve dominant interests while further disenfranchising marginalized groups.

This collection of papers highlights the political work of language–that is, the ways in which discourses are leveraged by dominant groups to legitimize the unequal social structure and their position at the top. As French economist Thomas Piketty (2014) notes, "whether such extreme inequality is or is not sustainable depends not only on the effectiveness of the repressive apparatus but also, and perhaps primarily, on the effectiveness of the apparatus of justification" (p. 264). Neoliberal discourse is the current apparatus *par excellence* with its refrains that 'a rising tide lifts all boats,' or that 'competition is the best way to solve all of our social problems',

or that ‘competition leads to more efficient production and cheaper and better products “for all,”’ or that ‘the free market actually levels the playing field’. Never mind that the facts say otherwise. Since the United States transitioned from the New Deal order to the Neoliberal order in the 1970s, income and wealth inequality continue to grow. As Giridharada notes in his 2019 book, *Winners take all: The elite charade of changing the world*:

> The average pre-tax income of the top tenth of Americans has doubled since 1980. That of the top one percent has more than tripled, and that of the top 0.001% has risen more than seven-fold even as the average pre-tax income of the bottom half of Americans has stayed almost precisely the same…and the top 10% of humanity have come to hold 90% of the planet’s wealth. (p. 7)

Never mind the countless global financial crises that point to the flaws of the market order; or the countless educational ‘reforms’ that have failed to reduce educational inequality. Never mind the fact that the desegregation efforts of the 1950s-70s have not only stalled, but recent reports show that segregation along race and class has been growing over the last thirty years[28]. Never mind the fact that, starting with Reagan’s efforts to expand the nation’s prison system in the 1980s (Gerstle, 2022), the U.S. prison-industrial complex is now the largest in the world. As a 2014 report[29] from the National Institute of Corrections states:

> After decades of stability from the 1920s to the early 1970s, the rate of imprisonment in the United States more than quadrupled during the last four decades… The U.S. rate of incarceration, with nearly 1 out of every 100 adults in prison or jail, is 5 to 10 times higher than the rates in Western Europe and other democracies. The U.S. prison population is largely drawn from the most disadvantaged part of the nation's population: mostly men under age 40, disproportionately minority, and poorly educated. (p. 2)

What these glaring and interconnected facts make plain are the ways in which those at the top leverage forms of structural domination to maintain concentrations of wealth and power. Just as raciolinguistic ideologies were used to legitimize early colonial practices of enslavement and domination, they continue to be enlisted to justify unequal educational outcomes, disproportionate incarceration rates, and rising income inequality by framing racialized bodies as deviant and intellectually deficient. While the passage of the 13th Amendment in 1865 ‘officially’ put an end to the colonial practice of enslaving and exploiting racialized bodies, it also introduced a particularly effective loophole. As Section 1 of the 13th Amendment states, “[n]either slavery nor involuntary servitude, *except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted*, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (emphasis added). The U.S. prison-industrial complex thus serves as a living legacy of slavery.

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[28] Source: https://www.edweek.org/leadership/an-expansive-look-at-school-segregation-shows-its-getting-worse/2022/06#:~:text=School%20segregation%20has%20increased%20in,the%20nation's%20K%2D12%20population.

[29] Source: https://nicic.gov/resources/nic-library/all-library-items/growth-incarceration-united-states-exploring-causes-and#:~:text=%22After%20decades%20of%20stability%20from,the%20largest%20in%20the%20world.

Neoliberal policies–through color-blind, ahistoric, and universalistic rhetoric–are deceptively designed to appear objective and democratic ("for all"). This speaks to the shape-shifting prowess of power–wielded through hegemonic discourses–to conceal itself by appearing somehow neutral and natural. As Dardot and Laval note, "[f]ar from being 'neutral', [neoliberal rationality] inflicts direct damage on the democratic logic of social citizenship. By reinforcing social inequality in the distribution of service provision and access to resources in employment, health and education, it strengthens social logics of exclusion that manufacture a growing number of 'sub-citizens' and 'non-citizens'" (p. 304). Exemplifying how the naturalization of hegemonic discourses occurs, Margaret Thatcher famously declared in reference to the market economy, "there is no alternative." But there are alternatives. There are alternative political and economic systems, alternative discourses (as my first paper laid out), and alternative subjectivities. There are alternative ways to design policies and programs. There are alternative visions for success and alternative visions for society.

What is at stake here goes beyond the realization of social equality, beyond even the survival of democracy, is our very self-understanding. In their book, *The new way of the world: On neoliberal society*, Dardot and Laval (2017) write that neoliberal rationality "has taken material form in a set of institutional, political, legal and economic apparatuses that constitute a complex, mobile network" (p. 307) to support its ultimate goal of neoliberal subjectivation. In their conclusion, they point out that:

> It is easier to escape from a prison than from a rationality, since escaping the latter involves emancipating oneself from a system of norms established through a whole labour of internalization…Thus, the issue is first and foremost how to pave the way for such an escape–that is, how to *resist* the dominant rationality in the here and now. The only practicable way is to promote in the present *alternative forms of subjectivation.* (p. 316)

In future research I hope to pursue this line of inquiry by using a governmentality lens to explore the ways in which subjectivation is accomplished discursively so that I may contribute to the scholarship on resistance to neoliberalism through alternative–and more agentive–forms of subjectivation.

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APPENDICES

CHAPTER 2

Appendix A. Section 300 of California Education Code as currently written (1998) and as proposed in SB 1174 (2016)

Proposition 227 (1998)	SB 1174 (2016)
300. The People of California find and declare as follows:	300. The People of California find and declare as follows:
(a) Whereas, The English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the State of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity; and	(a) Whereas, The English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the State of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science and technology, thereby being an important language of economic opportunity; and
(b) Whereas, Immigrant parents are eager to have their children acquire a good knowledge of English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement; and	(b) Whereas, All parents are eager to have their children master the English language and obtain a high-quality education, thereby preparing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement; and
	(c) Whereas, California is home to thousands of multinational businesses that must communicate daily with associates around the world; and
	(d) Whereas, California employers across all sectors, both public and private, are actively recruiting multilingual employees because of their ability to forge stronger bonds with customers, clients, and business partners; and
	(e) Whereas, Multilingual skills are necessary for our country's national security and essential to conducting diplomacy and international programs; and
	(f) Whereas, California has a natural reserve of the world's largest languages, including English, Mandarin, and Spanish, which are critical to the state's economic trade and diplomatic efforts; and
	(g) Whereas, California has the unique opportunity to provide all parents with the choice to have their children educated to high standards in English and one or more additional languages, including Native American languages, thereby increasing pupils' access to higher education and careers of their choice; and

(c) Whereas, The government and the public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of California's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society, and of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important; and	(h) Whereas, The government and the public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of California's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society, and of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important; and
(d) Whereas, The public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children; and	(i) Whereas, The California Legislature approved, and the Governor signed, a historic school funding reform that restructured public education funding in a more equitable manner, directs increased resources to improve English language acquisition, and provides local control to school districts, county offices of education, and schools on how to spend funding through the local control funding formula and local control and accountability plans; and
	(j) Whereas, Parents now have the opportunity to participate in building innovative new programs that will offer pupils greater opportunities to acquire 21st century skills, such as multilingualism; and
	(k) Whereas, All parents will have a choice and voice to demand the best education for their children, including access to language programs that will improve their children's preparation for college and careers, and allow them to be more competitive in a global economy; and
	(l) Whereas, Existing law places constraints on teachers and school, which have deprived many pupils of opportunities to develop multilingual skills; and
	(m) Whereas, A large body of research has demonstrated the cognitive, economic, and long-term academic benefits of multilingualism and multiliteracy.
(e) Whereas, Young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age.	
(f) Therefore, It is resolved that: all children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible.	(n) Therefore, It is resolved that: amendments to, and the repeal of, certain provisions of this chapter at the November 2016 statewide general election will advance the goal of voters to ensure that all children in California public schools shall receive the highest quality education, master the English language, and access high-quality, innovative, and research-based language programs that provide the California Ed.G.E (California Education for a Global Economy).

Appendix B. Content word lists generated from Section 300 of each Proposition

Proposition 227 ($n = 247$)

Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word
8	language	1	decades	1	important	1	programs
7	california	1	declare	1	international	1	provide
6	children	1	demonstrated	1	job	1	rapidly
6	english	1	dream	1	knowledge	1	rates
4	immigrant	1	drop-out	1	leading	1	regardless
4	public	1	duty	1	levels	1	residents
3	schools	1	eager	1	low	1	resolved
2	acquire	1	early	1	majority	1	resources
2	all	1	easily	1	many	1	science
2	economic	1	educating	1	members	1	social
2	literacy	1	effectively	1	moral	1	society
2	national	1	ethnicity	1	most	1	spoken
2	skills	1	experimental	1	necessary	1	state
1	advancement	1	exposed	1	new	1	states
1	age	1	failure	1	obligation	1	taught
1	allowing	1	financial	1	opportunity	1	technology
1	america	1	find	1	origins	1	two
1	american	1	fluency	1	over	1	united
1	among	1	follows	1	parents	1	vast
1	business	1	full	1	participate	1	wasting
1	classroom	1	fully	1	past	1	world
1	constitutional	1	good	1	people	1	young
1	costly	1	government	1	poor		
1	current	1	heavily	1	possible		
1	currently	1	high	1	productive		

Proposition 58 ($n = 539$)

Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word
13	california	1	acquisition	1	efforts	1	preparation
10	language	1	actively	1	election	1	preparing
7	education	1	additional	1	employees	1	private
7	english	1	advance	1	employers	1	productive
6	all	1	advancement	1	ensure	1	provides
6	children	1	allow	1	equitable	1	provisions
5	public	1	amendments	1	essential	1	receive
5	skills	1	america	1	ethnicity	1	recruiting
4	economic	1	approved	1	existing	1	reform
4	funding	1	associates	1	find	1	regardless
4	parents	1	based	1	follows	1	repeal
4	program	1	benefits	1	forge	1	reserve
3	access	1	best	1	formula	1	residents
3	choice	1	body	1	fully	1	resolved
3	control	1	bonds	1	general	1	resources
3	high	1	building	1	goal	1	restructured
3	including	1	business	1	government	1	science
3	languages	1	businesses	1	governor	1	sectors
3	local	1	century	1	greater	1	security
3	more	1	chapter	1	higher	1	signed
3	multilingual	1	clients	1	highest	1	social
3	national	1	cognitive	1	historic	1	society
3	opportunity	1	college	1	home	1	spanish
3	provide	1	communicate	1	increased	1	spend
3	pupils	1	competitive	1	increasing	1	spoken
3	quality	1	conducting	1	international	1	standards

Proposition 58 ($n = 539$)

Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word	Freq	Word
3	school	1	constitutional	1	large	1	states
3	schools	1	constraints	1	largest	1	statewide
3	world	1	country	1	law	1	stronger
2	american	1	county	1	leading	1	teachers
2	careers	1	critical	1	legislature	1	technology
2	economy	1	customers	1	literacy	1	term
2	global	1	daily	1	long	1	thousands
2	important	1	declare	1	majority	1	trade
2	improve	1	demand	1	mandarin	1	unique
2	innovative	1	demonstrated	1	manner	1	united
2	master	1	deprived	1	members	1	vast
2	multilingualism	1	develop	1	moral	1	voice
2	necessary	1	diplomacy	1	multiliteracy	1	voters
2	opportunities	1	diplomatic	1	multinational		
2	participate	1	directs	1	native		
2	research	1	districts	1	natural		
2	state	1	dream	1	new		
1	ability	1	duty	1	november		
1	academic	1	eager	1	now		
1	accountability	1	ed	1	obligation		
1	acquire	1	educated	1	obtain		

Appendix C. Spatial and temporal contexts from Section 300 of Proposition 227 (1998) and Proposition 58 (2016)

	Spatial contexts (associated language/program)	
	Prop 227 ($n=11$)	Prop 58 ($n=24$)
Local	• "in the classroom" (English)	• "schools" (English) • "school districts" (English) • "county offices of education" (English)
State	• "public schools of California" (English) • "California public schools" (English) • "State of California" (English) • "California" (English) (2x) • "public schools of California" (bilingual education)	• "public schools of California" (English) • "State of California" (English) • "California" (English) (2x) • "public schools of California" (multilingualism) • "the state" (multilingualism) • "California" (multilingualism) (5x)
National	• "national" (English) • "United States of America" (English)	• "national" (English) • "United States of America" (English) • "our country" (multilingualism)
Global	• "world" (English) • "international" (English)	• "world" (English) • "around the world" (multilingualism) • "multinational" (multilingualism) • "international" (multilingualism) • "the world" (multilingualism) • "global" (multilingualism) (2x)

	Temporal contexts (associated language/program)	
	Prop 227 ($n=5$)	Prop 58 ($n=11$)
Past	• "over the past two decades" (bilingual education)	• "historic" (English)
Present	• "currently" (bilingual education) • "current" (bilingual education)	• "existing" (English) • "daily" (multilingualism) • "actively" (multilingualism) • "now" (multilingualism)

	Temporal contexts (associated language/program)	
	Prop 227 ($n=5$)	Prop 58 ($n=11$)
Future	• "allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream" (English) • "to become productive members of our society" (English)	• "preparing them to fully participate in the American Dream" (English) • "to become productive members of our society" (English) • "21st century" (multilingualism) • "increasing pupils' access to higher education and careers of their choice" (multilingualism) • "preparation for college and careers" (multilingualism) • "long-term" (multilingualism)

CHAPTER 3

Appendix A. Business Domain Wordlist

business	price*	develop*	global*	innovat*
market*	world*	employ*	job*	entrepreneur*
lead*	new	cost*	turn*	brand*
manag*	account*	career*	office	trade*
company/ies	meet*	service*	order*	stock*
work*	econom*	change*	corporat*	term/s
produc*	network*	strateg*	capital*	report*
sale*	profit*	share*	opportunit*	customer*
financ*	pay*	industr*	department	hand/s
time*	bank*	skill*	plan*	cash

Appendix B. Presence of Business Domain Words in Legislative Text

Word or Wordstem		Presence in 1900s Corpus (19,734 words)	Normed Ratio (based on corpus size)	Presence in 2000s Corpus (7,085 words)	Norming Quotient (x2.78)
business*		1	1 to 19	7	2.78
market*		0	0 to 6	2	2.78
lead*		11	1 to 4	16	2.78
manag*		3	3 to 0	0	2.78
company/ies		0	—	0	2.78
work*		6	1 to 6.5	14	2.78
produc*		1	1 to 11	4	2.78
sale*		0	—	0	2.78
financ*		6	2 to 1	1	2.78
time*		8	1 to 1.75	5	2.78
price*		0	—	0	2.78
world*		1	1 to 61	22	2.78
new		6	1 to 2.3	5	2.78

account*	1	1 to 6	2	2.78
meet*	44	1.75 to 1	9	2.78
econom*	3	1 to 19	21	2.78
network*	0	—	0	2.78
profit*	0	—	0	2.78
pay*	0	—	0	2.78
bank*	0	—	0	2.78
develop*	78	1 to 1	28	2.78
employ*	21	1.2 to 1	6	2.78
cost*	10	10 to 0	0	2.78
career*	3	1 to 3.7	4	2.78
service*	39	39 to 0	0	2.78
change*	0	—	0	2.78
strateg*	1	1 to 0	0	2.78
share*	0	0 to 11	4	2.78
industr*	0	0 to 3	1	2.78
skill*	64	1.1 to 1	21	2.78
global*	0	0 to 56	20	2.78
job*	1	1 to 3	1	2.78
turn*	0	—	0	2.78
office	2	1 to 12.5	9	2.78
order*	9	1 to 1.9	6	2.78
corporat*	0	—	0	2.78
capital*	0	—	0	2.78
opportunit*	23	1 to 1.8	15	2.78
department	47	2.1 to 1	8	2.78
plan*	42	2.5 to 1	6	2.78
innovat*	3	1 to 2.7	3	2.78
entrepreneur*	0	—	0	2.78
brand*	0	—	0	2.78

trade*		0	0 to 6	2	2.78
stock*		0	—	0	2.78
term/s		6	1 to 1.3	3	2.78
report*		20	20 to 0	0	2.78
customer*		0	0 to 8	3	2.78
hand/s		0	—	0	2.78
cash*		0	—	0	2.78