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Multilingualism, elitism and ideologies of globalism in international schools in Catalonia: An ethnographic study

Andrea Sunyol Garcia-Moreno
PhD Thesis supervised by Eva Codó Olsina

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Per a la Rosada, l'Esteve, en Xavier i la Laura

Abstract

I n the last decades, many elite schools, which were founded following national models of education, have been internationalising to adapt to the rapidly changing conditions of neoliberalised late-modern societies and remain competitive in highly disputed education markets. Internationality can take more or less explicit forms, and can vary in intensity in public, semi-private and private schools (Bonal, 2009; Vilalta, 2016). It usually involves, however, intensifying the presence of English and other foreign languages, institutionalizing exchange or term/year abroad programmes, and implementing international curricula such as those offered by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO), which are increasingly gaining presence in schools worldwide (Resnik, 2012, 2015). This original ethnography explores the construction of the category *international* in two elite educational institutions from a critical sociolinguistic perspective. The focus on language(s) in processes of elitisation of education is unique, and unexplored until now in the context of Catalonia. For a period of three years I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two schools in the Barcelona area, a 'British international' school and a 'Catalan international' school. I draw on participant observations of classes and a variety of school spaces, conversations and interviews, linguistic landscapes, and also field notes, visual data, field do-

cuments, website data and social network data, but also language-in-education policies to understand how semiotic regimes are transformed when becoming international. This happens through processes of stylisation taking place at multiple scales. My analysis shows how atmospheres, spaces, curricula and individuals are both updated and upscaled. I have explored the nuanced dynamics of distinction practices (Bourdieu, 1984) behind the internationalising processes in which schools and individuals engage; who gets to access which resources; how different participants become capitalised or decapitalised; which processes of social categorisation take place; and what consequences this has for the social and academic endeavours of students and schools. The stories of the schools and their communities reveal the frenzy for capitalisation of the (upper-)middle classes in a post-crisis Catalonia, who desire to gain access to privileged spaces or maintain their status. An international education, and a 'very good English' seem to be the ultimate distinctive capital. It is attractive to the traditional local clientele of these schools and increasingly to the global middle classes, who seek to compete with the best hand in neoliberalised education markets. The unique analysis of the educational strategies of the (upper-)middle classes provided in this thesis reveals the possibilities and limitations of class advancement for students with different stocks of capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). A deeper understanding of such mechanisms is crucial to understand how processes of social stratification work and emerge in the Catalan education system today.

Resum

En les últimes dècades, moltes escoles d'elit fundades segons paràmetres nacionals s'han internacionalitzat per adaptar-se a les condicions canviants de les societats en la modernitat tardana, i mantenir-se competitives en un mercat educatiu altament disputat. La internacionalitat pot ser més o menys explícita, i s'implementa en major o menor mesura en escoles públiques, concertades i privades (Bonal, 2009; Vilalta, 2015). Internacionalitzar-se implica, normalment, augmentar la presència de l'anglès i d'altres llengües estrangeres, consolidar programes d'intercanvi o cursar períodes a l'estranger, i implementar programes internacionals com els que ofereix la Organització del Batxillerat Internacional (IBO), que són cada cop més presents en escoles de tot el món (Resnik, 2012, 2015). Aquesta singular etnografia explora la construcció de la categoria internacional en dues escoles d'elit des de la perspectiva de la sociolingüística crítica. Posar la llengua al centre de l'estudi dels processos d'elitització educatius és força excepcional, i un angle fins ara inèdit en el context de Catalunya. Durant un període de tres anys he dut a terme treball de camp etnogràfic en dues escoles de l'àrea de Barcelona, una escola 'britànica internacional' i una escola 'catalana internacional'. La meva anàlisi es basa en les observacions d'aula i de diversos espais de les escoles, converses i entrevistes, en

els paisatges lingüístics i també en les notes de camp, dades visuals i documents, en les pàgines web de les escoles i dades de xarxes socials, i polítiques lingüístiques educatives. Tots aquests elements permeten mostrar i analitzar les transformacions semiòtiques que ha requerit en aquests casos el procés d'esdevenir internacional. La meva anàlisi mostra processos d'estilització que han tingut lloc en diversos àmbits: l'ambient, els espais, el currículum i els individus. He explorat les dinàmiques complexes que intervenen en les pràctiques de distinció (Bourdieu, 1984) que hi ha al darrere dels processos d'internacionalització en les quals escoles i individus s'embarquen; qui té accés a quins recursos; com els diversos participants es capitalitzen o descapitalitzen; quins processos de categorització social hi tenen lloc; i quines conseqüències té tot això per als projectes socials i acadèmics dels estudiants i les escoles. Les històries de les escoles i les respectives comunitats educatives revelen el desig frenètic de capitalització de les classes mitjanes-altes que, en l'escenari de post-crisi actual a Catalunya, desitgen accedir a posicions de privilegi, o mantenir-les. Una educació internacional, i un 'molt bon anglès' semblen ser el màxim capital distintiu, que atrau tant al públic local com a les classes mitjanes globals, per tenir la millor mà per a competir en un mercat educatius neoliberalitzats. L'anàlisi de les estratègies educatives de les classes mitjanes-altes que es mostra en aquesta tesi revela les possibilitats i limitacions de mobilitat social per a estudiants amb capitals diversos (Bourdieu, 1986). L'anàlisi dels mecanismes de producció i reproducció de classe és crucial per a entendre com els processos d'estratificació social funcionen i emergeixen del sistema educatiu a Catalunya actualment.

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1. Introduction

1.1. English, problems and the popularity of international schools

'We want an international school.
We don't want English to be a problem for her'.
(Alejandra, fieldnotes, January 2017)

Alejandra and Pablo started looking for their daughter's school long before she had to register. Tina was only one and a half when her mum contacted me for advice, in January 2017. Alejandra made it very clear, from the beginning of our conversation, that they were looking for *English*. The opening quote of this thesis foregrounds English as a central element in their choice of school. Judging by her words, English is the main reason why an international school is *the* option. Alejandra imagines an international school as the place where the *problem* of English is solved. Her association of 'international education' with the English language reveals a widespread assumption: international schools are schools *in English*, or where more things happen in English than in other schools. Her words not only give a glimpse of the importance of English in the educational decisions of many parents, they also show how Alejandra, like many others, conceptualises English as a worry, a *problem.*

Because she knew I was researching *international* schools, and I was teaching at an English department at a university near Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain), Alejandra wanted to know my opinion as to which school would be the best for her daughter to learn *good* English, as she would have done in a bilingual school, had they stayed in Argentina. In Argentina (Heredia, 2012; Veleda, 2011), as in Catalonia (Sunyol, 2017) and in many other countries, English is a resource that is increasingly used to consolidate positions of privilege and guarantee membership of certain social groups (Ziegler, 2016). People increasingly perceive advanced English language skills as necessary to build global identities, cosmopolitan lifestyles and successful careers, so much so that it has become a 'pending subject' for many. People often worry that their level is too low, or that they cannot speak it *properly.* They are self-conscious about their accents when they do not sound *native* enough. The generalised and growing saliency of English as indispensable capital needs to be understood in the context of the intensified globalisation of recent decades. It is no coincidence that, in the school map of Catalonia, an international school sector has flourished over the past decade, in which English is made the flagship of their educational pro-

ducts. These schools have produced and endorsed discourses like the one Alejandra reproduces: English language skills are the key to a *problem-free* future.

Some of these schools have undergone institutional transformations in order to adapt to the times and provide a type of education that will prepare students to live 'successfully' in a globalised society (Resnik, 2008). These transformations are normally labelled as *internationalisation.* Such processes entail intensifying the presence of English, as we have said, but also offering international curricula, such as those offered by the IBO (International Baccalaureate Organisation), for example. They also foreground the transmission of values, skills and dispositions that go beyond linguistic knowledge (Sunyol & Codó, 2019). Students with upwardly mobile trajectories are taught to be flexible, adaptable, open-minded and disposed towards becoming geographically mobile. All this is in order to achieve educational and professional *success*, at a later stage.

Parents' individual trajectories shape how they imagine their sons' and daughters' futures, and thus the educational choices they make for them. Regardless of their geographical or social origins, their generational experiences construe the social and developmental expectations they hold for their children. In Catalonia, possessing English language skills has become an index of social status among (upper-)middle class and privileged parents who are now in their 40s, and who often perceive their English language education to have been somewhat lacking.

This might be the case with Alejandra and Pablo. They are a couple of Argentinian doctors who moved to Barcelona to develop their careers. Such educational concerns may be the motivation for these early-bird parents to start looking so soon, and asking for guidance. I met them long before they became parents. Their work in an important hospital requires them to keep up-to-date with major breakthroughs in their field, and also to produce scientific knowledge. They often have to read, speak and write in English. Alejandra, like many parents of her generation, did not have an English education when she attended primary and secondary school in Argentina. It is as an adult that she has had to put a lot of effort, time and money into learning the language to the level she requires. In fact, she still takes weekly English lessons at work to improve her language skills. She resents not having had a better English language education. By this she means one that granted her more exposure, from an early age, such as the one her husband received in Argentina. Pablo did attend a '*cole*

bilingüe', she says, and English is not a problem for him. She perceives this as having opened up better professional opportunities for him.

Bilingual schools are a common choice among (upper-)middle class and elite families in Argentina. They are understood to be the place to acquire *good* English skills, and there is an attempt at stylisation behind this belief that goes beyond the label *bilingual.* They are often modelled after British public schools (McCarthy & Kenway, 2014) and they are perceived as a prestigious and modern option for those who can afford their relatively high tuition fees (Ziegler, 2016). All this contributes to the creation of a sense of legitimate *Britishness,* or Englishness, and of their being a solid, sensible educational option. In the Argentinian context, as in Catalonia, education and school choices are believed to channel individuals through social spaces. It is well known that education systems are sites of production and reproduction of social status. (Upper-)middle class and elite parents seek to ensure economic, social or cultural advantage for their children through their school choices; they want to grant them access to or continuity within supposedly privileged 'lifestyles'. Alejandra and Pablo are following this pattern too.

Family choices are increasingly decisive in attributing prestige and in structuring educational privilege (Ziegler, 2016). This generation of parents in Catalonia and in countries with stagnant economies (Resnik, 2015) is increasingly valuing language(s) as an important index of prestige and social advancement, over other types of educational capitals that have traditionally been valued in the formation of elites. Classical humanist forms of education which provide students with highbrow cultural capital are no longer the core of elite schooling. Parents seek a bilingual or multilingual education —typically in English, but also French— as sources of distinction. And they pay special attention to aspects such as the social networks a specific school gives access to, or the general *lustre* of the school (ie. the perceptible characteristics such as location, facilities or uniforms) (Kenway & Fahey, 2015; Smala et al., 2013; Windle & Nogueira, 2015; Ziegler, 2016).

Like many other parents of their social position, Alejandra and Pablo were actively engaged in the school selection process. In accordance with their contemporary style of (upper-)middle class parenthood, their making the right educational choices is synonymous with good parenting (Smala et al., 2013). Having to educate Tina, their daughter, in a system that they are not familiar with poses a challenge. Alejandra and Pablo are part of what Ball & Nikita (2014: 82) refer to as a 'burgeoning, mobile, post-national middle class who operate on a global

scale, or perhaps more precisely, who act locally and think globally'. In order to be able to negotiate their local and global social admittance, first, they wanted to be sure that they invested in the right types of educational capital, those perceived as offering access to a better and more stable future. However, they also sought an environment in which they would feel socially integrated. Alejandra was effectively asking me to be her indexical broker. She wanted me to scan the Catalan education market for them, to find the place where they might immerse their daughter into a social milieu where they felt comfortable. They were looking for 'social similarity' (Weber, 2010), for a sense of belonging. They were looking for an equivalent to the '*coles bilingues*' back home, with the same educational capital (English) but also offering social capital.

Their conceptualisation of the market reveals how language programmes have become the prism through which more and more families seem to approach the school system nowadays in Catalonia. Language(s), and most notably English, have become a drawing power, an element of distinction for schools in the public, semi-private and private sectors, so much so that they have become a key structuring element of education systems. It is not uncommon to find formulas as varied as 'bilingual', 'trilingual', 'multilingual', 'English', 'French', 'German', 'Italian' or 'Japanese' schools, to name but a few. All these have in common that they define themselves, primarily, through their linguistic models of instruction. In the Catalan market, owing to a complex sociopolitical context in which language is a key element of national identity (see Chapter 2), many of the private schools do not follow the 'conjunction in Catalan' model (Vila, 2008) established in the 1980s. 'International' schools usually have their own language policies. These schools, as Alejandra's words show, have commonly been viewed as sites *for English.*

As languages become key to the structuring of systems of education, they become social structuring tools. Different types of language programmes — mostly CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and immersion, but also EFL (English as a Foreign Language)— are offered in different types of schools and appeal to different social groups. The value attributed to the sort of educational capital acquired in different types of schools is unequally convertible in different job markets. In fact, Alejandra and Pablo do not merely look for English, they look for convertible English. Their educational investment has to be profitable in the long term and thus educational capital is perceived to be necessarily complemented by social and economic capital. In order for this

to happen, however, they have to find the perfect match, not only in terms of curricular content but also in terms of social channelling.

As Ziegler (2016) observes, social belonging facilitates the acquisition of social capital. Alejandra and Pablo worried that *international* schools, which in Catalonia are private schools, would translate into elitist spaces of social exclusivity, where their children might not feel at ease (Parkin, 1974; Ball, 2003). They imagined families whose children would attend such schools as members of a financial elite. In the same way, after their pre-school experience in a state kindergarten, they also wanted to avoid making choices that might be too localised. They were the only non-Catalan family at the kindergarten, and their daughter was taught in Catalan, a language they did not speak. Even though they wanted their daughter to develop a degree of rootedness in Catalonia, to learn Catalan, and to be familiar with Catalan traditions, they also wanted her to acquire other sorts of linguistic capital. Their example shows how school choices are made from the specific habitus of parents, with the aim of socialising their children into a specific class habitus. Alejandra and Pablo decide on the educational and linguistic resources that their daughter will need in order to perpetuate and advance their social positioning in a different context, at a different time.

In April 2018 I received a text message from Alejandra. She wrote that she was about to decide on Tina's school:

> Miraculously … we have been selected as the only family with a place in St Andrew's that does not live in the neighbourhood (…) this one was super difficult to get into because it is semi-private … but well … I thought it was destiny.

Their final choice was between a private and a semi-private school (*concertada*), both conceptualised as English or British elite schools. Even though neither of them brands itself as an 'international' school, people, such as Alejandra, tend to categorise them as such, probably because English is the medium of instruction in most of their subjects. They both emphasise their trilingual policies, with English, Spanish and Catalan as curricular languages, but they lack the vehement globalist rhetoric and the unrestrained international branding of other private schools.

Alejandra characterises the happy ending to their process of choosing a school as a miracle. The way she terms the selection process makes it clear that they feel special. They are the only family out of catchment who got in,

although in fact her workplace is very close to the school. According to her, 'destiny' dictated that they ended up going to a *concertada* school —one where families share costs with the state, one where they felt they belonged socially, since neither of them imagined themselves as members of the privileged elites. Despite the fact that they could actually afford the high fees in the other school they were considering, they preferred a socialisation in a middle class milieu to which they felt they belonged, for which they were *destined*.

The message shows how Alejandra is delighted that they got what they wanted for their daughter. If we go back to our first conversation, however, we are reminded that what they wanted was an *international school*. Tina's school does not, in fact, position itself in the market as such. Still, it has an English name, trilingual programmes, a privileged geographical location and the globalist style of a fully private school - for half the price. The ambivalence in the categorisation of the school poses a number of questions that are at the core of this thesis: What is an 'international' school?; What is the role of English in the construction of such 'internationality'?; and Are they so defined only through the presence of English, or do other languages contribute to their profiling as 'international'*?* What is the role of the local languages in these schools, and how do they shape the school choices of both local and non-local parents? The example of Alejandra and Pablo shows a rationale for school selection that might be shared by many families, regardless of their geographical origins. We also see a struggle for the maintenance of social status, or in some cases for 'social climbing'. By pulling the thread of English, we discover other elements and discourses in the creation of 'international' identity in these schools. What is the purpose of embracing internationality? Who are these schools for, and what do they prepare their students for? Are there any restrictions for/to becoming international? Who can be or become international, and who cannot?

1.2. English and internationality as class distinction

Education is a key site for the production and endorsement of discourses on the social benefits and opportunities of English. Parents' frustrations are as intense as the schools' fever to sell multifarious innovative pedagogies, multilingual programmes and other educational extras, to match the changing demands of a globalised neoliberal society. This 'education frenzy', which has been reported

in other latitudes, (Kenway, Fahey & Koh, 2013) in Catalonia affects families that opt for elite and non-elite education alike. At a moment when the Catalan/ Spanish educational model is extremely devalued (Bonal, 2009; Vilalta, 2016), and there are generalised tensions in the education system, the privileged opt for 'international' education. They do so in the belief that this schooling choice is a stable, secure investment, wherein potential risk is controlled. These are schools that rely on a relatively established tradition of educating the elite of the country, and that have been able to adapt to change. Moreover, as private schools, they are not at the mercy of sudden political changes, which may affect policies and funding. An international education will help parents secure and advance their children's economic and social position (Maxwell, 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2016), as we can read in Alejandra's intentions. This type of education is devised as the one providing the *best,* most *authentic* English.

Schools construct their new image through offering what they call language immersion programmes, foreign curricula (typically from English-speaking countries) and by establishing other activities designed to boost mobility and exposure to the English language (term abroad programmes, participation at Model United Nations conferences or in language exchanges) in order to go beyond what other types of school (i.e. state and semi-private) are offering (Codó & McDaid, 2019; Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018).

By observing the practices of such parents, how they decide which types of education and knowledge their children should acquire in order to do *better*, and how different schools sell their language programmes, we can dissect how social structuration is organised. The education system is one of the key sites, not only of social channelling but of class production and reproduction. In schools, individuals become acculturated into class habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). One of the purposes of educational institutions is to maintain the *status quo,* the social order. At this specific point in time, a growing number of elite schools seem to be choosing 'internationality' as a strategy to revalidate their privileged position in the market, and to perpetuate privilege. The process of internationalisation is understood, in this thesis, as a transformation undertaken by many institutions and systems —not exclusively in the area of education— as a way to update their original function or purpose.

Over the past two years, I have dived into the everyday lives of two of these schools in order to understand what it means for them to become international. I have sought to explore the central role of English in this transformation, but also

the question of what lies beyond the Englishisation of education, having observed that English is the nexus where many other discourses meet and are constructed —as we can see in the processes of legitimation of the Diploma Programme by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBDP) as a *genuine* form of international education. English is the base underlying sprawling discourses on educational anxieties and desires that motivate the choices of students, teachers, parents and institutional managers. But there are other aspects related to social class dynamics that inform their choices and cause them to embrace such a transformation. In fact, as we have seen, *international* means different things to different people and is understood and done in different ways in different contexts.

1.3. Aims and research questions

The core of this thesis is to trace and understand how internationality is articulated through English, how the close connection between these two ideas is established and what lies beyond English in the construction of *Internationality*. During the four years in which I have been working on this PhD, I have been attentive to my encounters with this word. As Williams (1983) found with words like *culture* on his return to the University of Cambridge after a period away, the instances where we find the word *international* have multiplied over recent years. When we spot the word *international* today — featuring in names of things as diverse as sports championships, walks, music festivals, magazines, departments, teams, companies, schools or even trainers— we get a sense of something much more than merely 'existing, occurring or carried on between nations' (OED). This word has become widely available and present in everyday conversations to convey ideas such as diversity, mobility, distinction, rigour or superior quality, among many others. It is an adjective for all things modern, outward-looking, global, things that happen across-borders, and for all things that happen in English. *International* has become a keyword (Williams, 1983).

This thesis seeks to explore and unpack the indexical cluster to which *international* is ascribed. It is guided by the following research questions, which are a departure point for the critical appraisal of the category *international* and to explore the discursive and semiotic transformations that individuals and institutions undergo in order to become international:

- What does internationality mean to the institutional actors in our two sites?
- How is internationality done / achieved, discursively and semiotically?
- How do institutional voices accept, reproduce or contest internationality? Who can access international identities, and who cannot?
- What can processes of internationalisation of education illuminate about mechanisms of production and reproduction of social inequality in globalised neoliberal societies?

1.4. Doing ethnography in two elite 'international' schools

To answer these questions I have conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two sites. Both are elite schools that are constructing their identities as international schools, either because they have been newly established as such, or because they are in the process of becoming international. They both depart from national models: formerly, they were a British and a Catalan school. These schools, which now have international as part of their names, are located in the Barcelona area, in the north-east of Spain. They both have an elite outlook (see Chapter 4) even though they do not educate the plutocrats of the country.

My presence at each school has been unequal. I have conducted classic institutional ethnographies at both sites, and fieldwork has been more intensive in one of them. By this I mean that I have deployed conventional ethnographic techniques, such as ethnographic observations of classes and of several spaces and events being held in the schools. I have also documented their 'semiotic ecology' (Kenway & Fahey, 2015) by observing their websites, and collecting different kinds of documents. A more detailed account of my research methodology can be found in Chapter 4. However, the scope of the ethnographic observations goes beyond the school walls. Marcus (1995: 96) argues for the need for ethnographers to move out and away from 'the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs' in favour of following, examining and analysing 'the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space'. I have tried to capture the movement, the flow of ideas and discourses coming into and out of each site. I have sought to follow these discourses as they circulate through spaces outside the school (i.e. the education system and public discourses), and not merely within the

specific sites, as would occur in traditional institutional ethnographies. The two sites chosen for this study represent two models of schools undergoing internationalisation. This study captures their evolution across time, the changes they have undergone, and the connections and tensions between different ways of understanding and being *international*. It also shows how these are engrained today in a school system. The goal of this project is not only to understand how internationality is constructed and carried out in each of the sites in isolation. The specific articulation of internationality in each of the sites is a departure point to establish broader links, and for understanding the bigger picture of how the private sector in education works, changes, and adapts to the times. This allows us to establish connections with how and why internationality is being established regionally, locally, nationally and globally (Maxwell, 2018) and contributing to structural transformations such as the stratification of the education system in Catalonia.

Thus, methodologically, this study takes a step beyond traditional ethnographic views that confine fieldwork within the enclosed space of the institution's walls and it tries to establish broader, more complex connections. One of the examples of this, which I believe constitutes a methodological contribution to previous studies with a sociolinguistic ethnographic approach, is the use of Instagram posts as ethnographic data, which is incipiently being used in sociolinguistic research (see current lines of research on self-presentation on this social network explored by Kori Allan or Matley, 2017). As a complement to on-site observations, interviews and student diaries, Instagram posts have been used as situated practices in order to explore identity performance. Images, captions and social interactions between research participants have been analysed as part of the ethnographic data, thereby adding a virtual dimension to the data collected. The analysis of such data shows permeations across virtual and physical spaces, and constitutes an extremely rich element with which to complete the picture. Virtual social practices have become a crucial part of teenagers' lives. We have observed the fluidity of virtual and physical spaces in class. What happens on Instagram is commented on, and what happens in class or at school is also represented and discussed in the virtual world. The merging of these spaces allows us to add voices, perspectives and spaces being represented to the ethnographic account of the sites.

1.5. Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. This introductory chapter establishes a dialogue between the fields of critical sociolinguistics and sociological research on elites and Education and contextualises the phenomenon of the internationalisation of education within the Catalan education system. Chapter 2 historicises or genealogises (Foucault, 1977) discourses of internationality in education in Catalonia since the final years of the 20th century, and the role of languages in the education system in Catalonia. It also situates the educational programmes (such as the IBO) that have been studied from a historical and politico-economic perspective.

The third and the fourth chapters provide the theoretical and methodological frameworks for this study. I explore, from the standpoint of critical (socio) linguistic ethnography, the theoretical debates on education, language and elitism that are relevant to my analysis. Then, I move on to describing the methodology and the practical implementation of the study. I detail the methods of data collection used, and I contextualise the sites socially, geographically and historically. I also engage with ethical considerations and explore issues on reflexivity and the researcher's positionality. It is in chapter four that I justify aspects of the project design, such as the reasons for including two sites, or the methodological decision to include social network data. I also elaborate on the implications and methodological possibilities that arise from these types of data, and the extra dimension they can bring to traditional ethnographic methods.

Chapters 5-8 are the analytical chapters. They include my analysis of the ethnographic data collected in the two sites. This thesis does not have a classical structure in which each of the research questions is addressed in its own analytical chapter. The questions arise within, and guide every chapter of the analysis. The structure is understood more transversally. These chapters show how 'becoming international' is achieved under different conditions and from different, yet interconnected angles. The analytical chapters show how the idea of internationality permeates these institutions from the surface to the core: they focus on the stylisation of an international environment, the design of an international curriculum, the construction of internationality as privilege, and the process of becoming an international subject.

Chapter 9 is the closing chapter. It is conceived as a discussion covering the data and the theoretical debates initiated in the introduction. This chapter also

underlines the contributions of this PhD thesis to the field of sociolinguistic ethnography, but also to that of discourse studies and the study of elites, education and inequality.

2. Research context: Mapping education in Catalonia

T his section traces the multi-scalar transformations that the Catalan education system has undergone in recent history, of which internationalisation is only one aspect. The international drive of elite educational institutions, the meanings attached to *internationality,* and their specific ways of approaching the internationalisation process cannot be detached from the English 'frenzy' that many parents experience, not only in Catalonia but in many other parts of the world nowadays (Bae & Park, 2016). Neither can it be dissociated from the financial crisis of 2008, the globalisation of markets and the increasingly insecure lives that cause people in countries with smaller GDPs to imagine their futures as lying abroad. The trajectories of English language learning and foreign language learning generally in the Catalan education system have to be understood within a very specific context of Language Policies (LPs hereafter) in the field of education (Flors, 2017; Vila, 2005). The roles of Catalan and Spanish in the curriculum have been a matter of debate for decades in Catalan society, and it is still a highly topical subject which generates strong opinions and emotional attachments. In recent years, the broader presence of English and other foreign languages has only made the picture more complex (Codó & Sunyol, 2019; Sunyol, 2017, 2019).

The following pages will try to establish the basis from which to explore how, in the Catalan education system, language, privilege and sociopolitical and economic contexts intersect and shape the ways in which internationality is constructed in elite educational institutions in Catalonia today.

2.1. The Catalan education system: A general overview

Catalonia, in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula, is the main industrial engine of the Spanish state (Vila, 2005). It has an autonomous government, the Generalitat de Catalunya, and a parliament. Catalonia is one of the autonomous communities within the Spanish state, which has had its own Statute of Autonomy since 1978, when democratic institutions were re-established after 38 years of fascist dictatorship. In practice this means that the Catalan government has shared jurisdiction with the central government of the Spanish State over a number of matters. Education is one of the areas that the regional government co-regulates with the state. Both the *Ley Española para la Mejora de la Calidad Educativa* (Spanish Law for the Improvement of Educational

Quality) (LOMCE 8/2013) and the *Llei Catalana d'Educació* (Catalan Education Law) (LEC 12/2009) constitute the legal framework for education in Catalonia. Higher education is excluded from this legal framework. In this system, each government has distinct competences: the Spanish state regulates academic certificates, establishes the 'basic norms for the development of the right to education' (149.1.30) and is in charge of inspection. The state also has to guarantee equity across the system. Notwithstanding, the Catalan government can legislate on education and execute its jurisdiction over aspects such as the administration of teaching and curriculum design (Vilaseca & Fransesch, 2012). This distribution of jurisdictions has generated tensions between the two governments over the years.

Schooling in Catalonia is organised in four stages: Nursery (2-5), which is optional, Primary (6-12), Secondary (13-16), and post-compulsory secondary education (17-18). Compulsory education, then, is from ages 6 to 16. After that, students can choose to take the *Batxillerat,* a pre-university programme, professional training, or to exit the system. Access to university is subject to *selectivitat,* a subject-based school leaving qualification. In recent years, however, other pre-university programmes are becoming officially recognised by the education authorities as credentials to access higher education. The Diploma Program by the International Baccalaureate Organisation is one of the most common choices, and it is increasingly being adopted by high schools of all kinds.

In the Catalan education system families can choose between three types of provision: public, semi-private and private. This distinction is based on the ownership of educational institutions, and on their funding scheme. State schools are government owned, funded and run. Families pay for extras such as school materials, canteen services, day trips and camps, which are usually organised by each school's parents' association (AMPA). Semi-private and private schools are privately owned, and they can be subsidised (*concertada*) or non-subsidised (fully private schools). Historically, public authorities have subsidised some private schools to compensate for the shortage of public institutions, as a measure to guarantee equal access to free education for the general population. Most semi-private schools, however, charge monthly fees for the maintenance of school facilities, complementary activities and services —such as supplementary teaching hours, smaller groups and the provision of teaching assistants— (Vila, 2008). Fully private schools are economically independent from the state. Parents cover the whole cost of schooling. There is, then, a liberalised education system in

which private enterprises can provide educational services, and they coexist and compete in the market with a state-subsidised system.

In Catalonia, since the 1980s, most students attend state-subsidised education. According to statistics, around 66% of students receive state education and 34% opt for privately owned schools, which are distributed among the semi-private system (28%) and the fully private system (6%) (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2017). Markets of education follow different logics in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, as opposed to the rest of Catalonia. In urban areas, a majority of students (55.5% vs. 44.5%) opt for private education, especially at secondary level —where this number rises to 58.4% (49.7% attend semi-private, and 8.7%, fully-private schools) (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2015). In these areas, there is a higher concentration of semi-private and fully private schools than in the rest of the country. The target families of these schools are, on the one hand, working class families who believe in the beneficial effect of attending private schools or who do not want to attend highly stigmatised state schools in their neighbourhoods (Albaigés & Pedró, 2016), and (upper-)middle class families with similar aims. Segregation is one of the biggest problems of the Catalan education system, which is defined by school ownership (Síndic de Greuges de Catalunya, 2016).

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis of 2008, there has been an increasing tendency for families to opt for educating their children in state institutions. In 2005, 61% of students attended state schools. This percentage steadily grew and, in 2017, state schools educated 66% of children from nursery to baccalaureate IDESCAT, 2017). Overall, then, the percentage of students educated in the private sector has diminished, reducing steadily from 38% in 2005 to 34% in 2016-17. This flow of students from private to state education could correspond to the deceleration of the economy during this decade. However, and most importantly, it could be due to the concentration of newly arrived migrants —who sustain overall growth in the education system— in the public sector (Flors, 2017). In fact, the empirical data of this thesis show how the movements of students between schools is complex, and that the ways in which school segregation is articulated are not straightforwardly dictated by social class. In some neighbourhoods, non-elite semi-private schools, which used to educate (lower-)middle class students, have lost their market to the state schools, or to fully private schools, thus polarising markets. As happens in many other European countries, more and more professional middle-class pa-

rents decide to educate their children in the state system for ideological reasons —and supplement their capitalisation through extra-curricular activities, for example. Conversely, some middle-class parents relocate their children to prestigious semi-private or fully private schools, either to avoid the consequences of segregation in the state system, or to avoid the LPs of the Catalan education model, explained below.

Zooming in on the private sector allows us to observe that private education has undergone some transformations too. During the period 2010-16 the fully private sector has practically doubled in size. In 2010, 3,3% of the overall students being educated in Catalonia attended fully private schools. Since 2015, this number has reached 6% (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2016). In turn, the number of children educated in semi-private schools has reduced by 10% of the student population, from 38.3% in 2005 to 28% in 2016. These polarising patterns are a reflection of the growing social inequalities in increasingly neoliberal societies, in which the wealth gap existing between more and less privileged groups is widening. Such numbers portray the educational frenzy witnessed over the past decade, and the struggle for distinction in an increasingly competitive world. The following sections will focus on how the system has reacted to recent economic transformations as the viability of welfare states is challenged globally. In this context, re-directing our gaze towards the more privileged sectors of the population, the 6% of privately-educated students, is crucial to understand the dynamics of the construction of social difference.

2.2. The 'Catalan school model': A consensus model

Education has historically been a strategic area in which to shape models of social development and growth. At the core of the political projects of the Catalan republican governments in the 1930s was the desire to universalise education in order to modernise the country and build a more democratic, equal and just society (Marquès Sureda, 2016). Such organic projects of renovation were truncated by the military coup of 1936, which resulted in the Spanish civil war and almost 40 years of fascist dictatorship. With the restitution of democracy and the establishment of the *Estat de les autonomies* (state of autonomies) in 1978, education, and especially LPs in education, became central again (Vila, 2008) in imagining the new social and political projects for Catalonia.

Vila (2005, 2008) and Flors (2017) both underscore the importance of the demolinguistic configuration of Catalonia in the 70s (Calsamiglia & Tusón, 1980; Woolard, 1992) in determining the educational LPs of the new democratic state forged from 1975. The design of the Catalan schooling system was imbued with integrationist ideologies that aimed to avoid a society segregated by language and social class (Boix, 1993, 1997; Nussbaum, 1992; Pujolar, 1995; Vila, 2005; Woolard, 1989). This goal had to be achieved by ensuring universal access to the Catalan language. Education served as an indispensable tool in this regard. The first legal framework, after the Statute of Autonomy (1978), regulating language in Education passed by the Catalan government was the Llei de Normalització Lingüística (7/1983). The main goal of this law was to re-establish Catalan as the language of 'normal' use in public institutions, and it specifically detailed LPs in education. These regulations enjoyed a vast political and social consensus. They were the central axis of the political strategy to promote social cohesion, by planning the acquisition of Catalan by Spanish monolingual speakers. In other words, they intended to make the whole of the population of Catalonia bilingual. Access to Catalan was crucial for social mobility for the Spanish-speaking working classes who migrated during the 60s and 70s, changing drastically the demographic and sociolinguistic reality of Catalonia (Pujolar, 2007b; Siguan, 1992, 2003; Vila, 2005; Woolard, 1989). In practice this meant creating a 'conjunction model' in which Catalan, which was the language of identification of the Catalan middle classes and bourgeoisie, was taught to all students (Flors, 2017; Pujolar, 2001; Unamuno, 2000). Eventually, it became the default language of instruction. Students from Spanish-speaking families and those from Catalan-speaking families all had to become proficient in both languages by the end of their compulsory education.

The 'Catalan school model', commonly called *immersió lingüística* (language immersion), following the Canadian model, came to be perceived as a modern and progressive pedagogical model. It was steadily and successfully implemented during the 80s and 90s, to become the system in which 95,51% of students were being educated (see Vila, 2005; Vila & Galindo, 2012). However, the general struggle for stability of the first decades of democracy was overthrown by structural demographic changes toward the turn of the century. Between 2000 and 2008 Catalonia saw the arrival of large numbers of foreign migrants. In 2000, only 3% of the population was born outside Spain. This figure rose to 16,1% in 2010. The flow of migrants of multifarious origins

—generally from the global south— (Ortega-Rivera & Solana, 2015), required the adaptation of both the local and migrant populations, and of institutions. This sudden and rapid demographic growth, aided by globalisation, changed the social, economic and also the demolinguistic dynamics of Catalan society. This posed new challenges for the education system and for the Catalan school model, which a new education law, the LEC, passed in 2009, aimed to resolve.

In the context of the social, economic and political changes of the 21st century, with growing and intensified debates over the political future of Catalonia, the debate over the Catalan school model has become a political battlefield. Studies by Newman, Patiño-Santos & Trenchs-Parera (2013), Nussbaum (2003), Pujolar & González (2013) and Unamuno (2003, 2011) have explored changing language attitudes and language choices in the Catalan education system in the 'superdiverse' era. As Flors (2017) observes, some residual sectors of the population and political parties with little representation in Catalonia, such as the Popular Party, have called for a greater presence of Spanish in the education systems of the autonomous regions with co-official languages. From the year 2000 onwards, the demands for a school model that included the incorporation of Spanish as a medium of instruction, and now also English — that is, trilingual schooling models— were supported by the conservative PP in other Catalan-speaking regions, such as the Balearic Islands and Valencia, and were the flagship of the political programme of the newly created party, Ciutadans. However, there is consensus among vast sectors of the population, as well as the majority of political parties with parliamentary representation, over the necessity to implement policies to ensure good levels of proficiency in both Catalan and Spanish for all students, and it is felt that special measures need to be implemented to protect the presence and learning of Catalan, in its status as a minoritised language. Making Catalan the preferred, default language of the system is seen as a corrective measure to compensate for the greater presence of Spanish in many spheres of society —the media, the business sector or the judiciary systems being just a few examples.

The close link between language learning and educational LPs, national identity and social planning (Unamuno, 2003; Unamuno & Nussbaum, 2006) is the reason why education has been found itself at the core of political tension and debate. Since 1978, Spain has undergone eight major education reforms, creating a general sense of instability in the system, strongly dependent on party-political programmes. This is an ongoing trend. In October 2018, a newly

established PSOE government announced a forthcoming educational reform. Such desires for ideological control over education have translated into reforms aimed at increased centralisation. The latest is the Ley Orgánica de Mejora de la Calidad Educativa (LOMCE 8/2013), passed by the Popular Party and further analysed in following sections, which directly challenged the Catalan school model discussed above. The fight for regulating LPs in education has to be understood within the context of Catalan demands for greater autonomy.

In this context of legal instability and change, the Catalan government has been implementing pilot programmes to improve students' foreign language skills. A special emphasis has been placed on internationalising policies, which promote the learning of English by teachers and students alike. They have promoted experimental programmes, such as GEP (Plurilingual Generation), and implemented Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018). A side effect of these policies has been, for example, the growing popularity of language assistantship schemes (Codó & McDaid, 2019; Jurado, 2019). The Catalan school model has had to adapt to the new multicultural and multilingual realities (Codó & Nussbaum, 2007). It has continued to promote the knowledge of the official languages of Catalonia with the objective of educating the future citizens of a (linguistically) cohesive society. These strategies have culminated in the presentation, in 2018, of a new linguistic framework for the Catalan education system to comply with the regulations of the LEC, which puts more discursive emphasis on general (foreign) language competencies, while remaining faithful to the original *integrationist* project: that of making both Catalan and Spanish available to the entire student population (Departament d'Ensenyament, 2018).

An unstable and centralised legal framework, along with a stagnant economy, in which a lack of public investment in education has been especially damaging in recent years, have changed the perception and make-up of the education system in Catalonia (Vilalta, 2016). Measures such as implementing a sixth teaching hour in the state system, which previously only offered five hours' tuition per day (one fewer than in the private sector), was designed to promote equality, but has since been reversed. The following lines explore how, in a general context of growth in numbers of students, neoliberal education policies have tended to favour the private sector.

2.3. Education in the post-crisis era: Conservative modernisations and the growth of the private sector

Privatisation of education in Spain did not start with the outbreak of the economic crisis in 2008. The global political tendency to move towards models with a greater presence of private actors and measures to emulate market dynamics, even among state-funded systems, has long been in operation (Bonal & Verger, 2006). In Catalonia, sociologists of education have been identifying a move towards privatisation, which has coincided with conservative educational reforms since the 1980s (Bonal & Tarabini, 2016; Bonal & Verger, 2006) This tendency, however, has intensified in the last decade.

The financial crash of 2008, especially harsh in southern European countries (Palomera, 2015), altered the social, political and economic orders of many western countries. The debt incurred by the Spanish government during the financial crisis had a direct impact on the production base of the country. Restructuration and layoffs became common. With a saturated labour market, and soaring unemployment rates, the spending power of families was limited, which had various demographic consequences. A reduction in the birth rate —rapidly decreasing since 2008 (IDESCAT, 2019)— coincided with working-age citizens leaving the country in search of better opportunities abroad. The state's response to the loss of competitiveness was to implement a series of policy reforms directed at reducing public spending on services and state institutions. Funding cuts, deregulation and privatisation of public entities markedly reformulated the Spanish public health and education systems —in 2013, investment by the Spanish state in state education was less than 2.8% of GDP (Martínez-Celorrio, 2016). Household expenditure on education, however, grew by 25.3% between 2009 and 2014 (Albaigés & Pedró, 2016).

Since the outbreak of the economic crisis, both the Spanish and the Catalan governments implemented measures towards a 'conservative modernisation' (Dale, 1989) of the system. Taking as their reference point the Thatcherite reforms in education in the United Kingdom of the 1970s, these conservative, elitist reforms prescribed a 'back to basics' policy in terms of curricular content, more liberal models of educational management and provision and systems of evaluation that respond to conservative and neoliberal ideals (Bonal & Tarabini, 2016: 4). Privatisation is not simply an austerity measure, the economic recession was the perfect excuse to succumb to long-standing pressures from

economic and political elites to privatise education. State policies that promote greater freedoms for private and foreign providers within the public sector —i.e. the implementation of private programmes such as the IBDP in state schools— in common with initiatives in the private education sector, challenge the role of the state as the key provider of public education, something that Ziguras (2005: 103) observes. Following the crash, Spain also saw cut-backs in funding for the state education system, with a relatively high proportion of available resources being spent on sponsoring private education providers (private-public partnerships).

Claims for efficiency aside, privatisation, along with the lack of investment in public education, has generated a two-tier education system. It has created a scenario wherein the different sectors cannot compete on a level playing field with schools targeted at different kinds of 'clientele'. Discourses favouring privatisation assure us that an an expansion of private provision would relieve a congested state system and offer the least privileged the opportunity to receive an education under better material conditions. However, as we have seen, there tends to be a higher concentration of students in the public system —a good number of whom are of migrant origin (Flors, 2017). These policies have resulted in a stratified system that leads to inequality and educational segregation (Bonal, 2015; Síndic de Greuges de Catalunya, 2016; Valenzuela et al., 2014). The different educational 'products' on offer have unequal characteristics, and position graduates differently in the education and job markets, as different sorts of provision become markers of social class. In recent years, discourses discrediting the quality of state education have flourished (Resnik, 2015). These become more manifest as a result of 'school failure', for example, and its associated phenomena —high drop-out rates, low achieving students, failure to transmit knowledge effectively or problems of discipline (Vilalta, 2016; Martínez-Celorrio, 2016; OECD, 2012). Spain's poor PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) results are often used as an argument. The perceived failure of the Spanish education system in these OECD-lead tests make some families turn to foreign curricula in order to acquire globally valued educational capitals.

Governments in these situations —and the Spanish government is no exception— implement measures to make state schooling more 'efficient, more responsive to the private sector' (Apple, 2007: 212). In Spain, attempts to improve what was perceived as a systematic failure of Spanish education culmi-

nated in the passing, in 2013, of a new Organic Law of Education, the Ley Orgánica de Mejora de la Calidad Educativa (LOMCE), by a majority of the conservative Popular Party. The law, which was intended to improve the general level of education of the Spanish population, is, according to Bonal and Tarabini (2016), a strategy of conservative modernisation of education which parallels privatising measures being implemented by other nation-states. Such strategies put education systems at the service of job markets and the economy. In other words, these policies are an attempt by the economic elites to exert more control over education, but also to intensify the importance of the education business within the national economy (Apple, 2006; Ball, 2012; Bonal, 2000).

2.4. Fully private education in Catalonia

We have seen how the fully private sector is the smallest in terms of numbers of students and schools (around 6%), and how the sector is especially thriving in the areas of higher economic development in the country. Private schools are mostly located in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. A few, however, are based in some coastal regions and the other three provincial capitals of Catalonia: Girona, Lleida and Tarragona. This tendency is also found in other countries (Bunnell, 2008; Dolby & Rahman, 2008; Yamato & Bray, 2006). Even though there have been a few schools founded this century, most of them were established during the second half of the 20th century.

In the late seventies, with the passing of the first democratic Spanish and Catalan laws, there was a need for public provision of education. Many private schools —owned mostly by religious orders but also by private enterprises such as educational groups or cooperatives of parents— that had offered an alternative to the education of the regime, were given the opportunity to become part of the public system, as we will see in the following section. At that time, there was a need to cover the educational requirements of the baby boomers. The state school system absorbed many of them. Private schools either became part of the co-funded system or remained fully private. The latter choice was possibly motivated by the desire to maintain independence, status, and/or for economic reasons.

Fully private schools usually depend economically on foreign governments or private foundations. Since the economic crisis a significant number have be-

come part of national or multinational education corporations that have turned them into franchises. They tend to share an elitist profile and implement a varied range of programmes. At an institutional level, the distinction is made between those schools that offer *regulated* and those that offer *non-regulated* teaching. The former adhere to the Catalan Education Law (LEC) because they implement national curricula and issue national certificates. They are inspected by the Department of Education but, despite offering regulated education, are given more freedom than semi-private or state schools. The LEC lays down very few regulations regarding implementation of curricula in these types of schools and, while it regulates the material conditions that the school needs to meet, it barely mentions educational content or teacher profiles. In fact, they are seen by governmental institutions as 'private enterprises'. This has consequences for the terms of their relationship: even though they are offering a service that has a social impact, little accountability is demanded of them (interview data). Their favourable financial situation, and their legal and institutional frameworks, lend them many advantages in the education arena. The market logic that governs their choices explains why, in Catalonia, these schools have been implementing methodological innovations since the beginning of the 20th century.

An important sector within the private school system, both today and historically, is the international school sector. People share different understandings of what international schools are, and these have evolved over the years. The following paragraphs will provide a brief history of the tradition of international schools in Catalonia, and an up-to-date picture of the international school sector today.

2.5. International schools in Catalonia: A brief history

International education as we know it today has its seeds in the international education movement that appeared in central European countries in 1924, after the First World War. The International School of Geneva (ISG) was the first school of its kind, together with the Yokohama International School (YIS), also established in 1924 (Hayden, 2011). The ISG was founded by civil servants working at the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the League of Nations —today the UN— to cater for the specific needs of the children of mobile diplomatic workers in the inter-war period. They offered what they

still define as a 'specific, high-quality, international education' (ISG website). Philosophically, it was grounded in the ideas of peace building, mutual respect and understanding between people of different nations, religions and cultures. Students attending these schools became acculturated to what later became the founding principles of UNESCO, in 1942. This sort of education was based upon liberal internationalist ideas that can be traced back to the 18th century (Halliday, 1988), believing that 'independent societies and autonomous individuals can through greater interaction and cooperation evolve towards common purposes, chief among these being peace and prosperity' (p. 192). These students' educational needs differed from those educated locally. The school needed to match their linguistic demands. Their education had to be flexible enough to allow them to reinsert into their original national education systems if they were ever to return, or to access university internationally. Such origins have tied international education to ideas such as elitism, educational quality, and tailor-made curricula for a privileged sector of the population that, at that time, was the globally mobile elite (Hayden, 2011).

The market of international education is today a diverse one, with schools of multiple types and with differing characteristics. From the very beginning, what was meant by international education differed across countries, and at different moments in time. This makes it difficult to group international schools into categories. It is true, however, that globalisation has homogenised some of these processes, as we will see, and we can find similar models of international education in different latitudes of the world. In broad terms, research distinguishes between schools offering national and international curricula. In the case of Catalonia, such a distinction is also made with schools teaching in languages other than Catalan or Spanish. The following lines will trace how international education has been configured there.

In Catalonia, so-called international schools were established as early as 1894, with the foundation of the Deutsche Schule Barcelona by Otto Amstberg. In the early years of the 20th century other European governments established schools in Barcelona. The Schweizer Schule, Barcelona opened in 1919, the French Lycée in 1924 and the Scuola Italiana in 1927. What was commonly designated *international* back then, however, had little to do with the original model of the International School of Geneva. These were 'national schools abroad', or schools that offered national curricula from other countries, owned or mainly funded by their respective governments and established originally

in order to offer education to expatriate families of those national communities, who constituted the majority of their clientele. During the 1930s, these schools, which were located in the city of Barcelona, coexisted with the network of republican schools established by the Catalan republican government (1931-39). At that time the government undertook a programme of pedagogical renovation that aimed to develop and implement up-to-date pedagogical trends throughout the country, such as student-centred learning pedagogies that followed the Montessori precepts (AMHM). Schooling was universalised in order to boost the literacy levels of the general population and to provide citizens with basic schooling. Republican schools were coeducational, non-confessional, and they taught in Catalan (Fernández Soria, 1999).

This modernising trend was cut short after 1939, when, under the Francoist dictatorship, education recentralised and homogenised. The Francoist education system was of fascist inspiration —ideologically aligned with the precepts of National Catholicism, markedly hierarchical and repressive in nature (González-Agapito & Marquès Sureda, 1996; Marquès Sureda, 1999; 2016). Teacher practice and curricular content were subject to censorship, and the corporal punishment of students was a regular practice. From 1939 until 1975 education in Spain was predominantly provided by Catholic religious orders, and thus confessional, and it was single-sex. In this context, the type of families opting for the education models of other national began to include local families who were ideologically opposed to the regime. These schools already enjoyed social prestige and a good reputation for offering high quality education. They became an index of progressiveness, because of their pedagogical programmes, and their non-confessional, coeducational models. This diversified the social picture of national schools abroad in terms of national origin and class. It was not uncommon for local middle class families who were politically opposed to the regime to make economic efforts to escape the education model of the dictatorship.

In Catalonia, the market of 'national schools abroad' has traditionally been quite small and stable, with a few relatively new incorporations such as the Japanese school in 1985 (Fukuda, 2009) or the Jewish school, which opened in 2008 but which is the consolidation of an educational project started in the 1970s. As mentioned, most of these 'national schools abroad' only opened up to local students during the years of the dictatorship, although a few did so earlier. The Schweizer Schule Barcelona, for example, has traditionally educated

local families and expatriates from multiple nationalities. Today it is common in such schools to have quotas of local and international students, as well as expatriate students from the host country. Some of these schools, however, are restricted to expatriate families, as is the case with the Japanese school of Barcelona (Fukuda, 2009).

2.6. The international school market today

Since the late 1980s-90s, and even more so since the beginning of the 21st century, the international schools market has transformed globally (Hayden, 2011; Sancho, 2015). This has happened in parallel with the observed growth, in many non-anglophone European countries, of international education (Weenink, 2009). The international schools market is shaped differently according to context. In fact, as the introduction to this thesis reveals, the category 'international school' is a problematic one, including very diverse types of schools (Lallo & Resnik, 2008). In Catalonia, an increasing number of private schools offering education in English, and teaching American and English curricula have been established over the years, as independent schools. They are not owned by states, and their only formal relationship with foreign governments is the authorisation to implement their national curricula abroad. Hayden (2011) identifies this increasing mirroring of British and American models as, responding to two factors. Firstly, the aims of international education, and the forms it thus takes, are no longer linked to the original notion of education for peace building. Rather, they imagine themselves as a direct response to a need to transform education in the 21st century, in which foreign language learning has become a pivotal demand. They frame their existence as a modernisation of the system. These schools are focussed on offering an English-medium education that facilitates bicultural literacy and relationships (Heyward, 2002). Secondly, they wish to offer a type of education —such as the IBDP— that allows students to obtain globally recognised qualifications and access to prestigious universities worldwide. Through this type of education, students also develop self-dispositions and self-knowledge, and forms of cultural capital branded as reflecting cosmopolitanism (Weenink, 2009) or global mindsets.

These two aims of recently developed models of international education are key to understanding the transformations that the system has undergone, global-

ly and locally in Catalonia. Specific data on the number of international schools are not available, as they do not identify as a group and there are substantial differences across schools. However, school brochures for expatriate families issued by institutions offering hospitality services —such as Barcelona Activa's 'Practical guide for newcomers with children'[1]— list around 40 of such *international* schools in the area of Barcelona. Even though these lists are often not comprehensive —they do not include schools outside the area of Barcelona— they usually include the 6 'national schools abroad' mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, and also schools that are being set up as, or transformed into, international schools. Despite the diversity in school typologies (Hayden & Thompson, 1997; Lallo & Resnik, 2008; Mackenzie et al., 2003), these schools can be grouped into two main blocks: schools without *international* in their names, and schools that are explicitly called 'international' schools.

The group of international schools without *international* as part of their names is the largest. It includes schools whose names are in a foreign language —typically English— and usually recall celebrated American or British historical figures, saints or royalty. These schools, of varied historical trajectories, were established mostly since the 1980s as schools offering their curricula in English, French or German, or as trilingual schools —in English, Catalan and Spanish. The Catalan curriculum is present in all of them, but some offer American and British curricula in addition. Often, their general outlook resembles that of British public schools. Even though many focus on their language programmes —underscoring the increased presence of English in their curricula—, they do not adopt an internationalist rhetoric.

In turn, the schools that call themselves 'international' are generally more recently founded, or have undergone major transformations in recent years — usually since the late 1990s, but intensifying since 2008. All the schools that are grouped into this category are fully private. Some are independent, and some are part of bigger educational groups, working as franchises. They are all strongly corporatised, inasmuch as the institution is visibly a business. There are two general trends among these schools. The most common type of international school is generally implementing the Catalan national curriculum through trilingual language programmes. A more intensive English language education, usually sold as immersion, tends to be the flagship of their edu-

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1. Retrievable from: https://www.slideshare.net/barcelonactiva/international-schools-in-barcelona (last accessed 14th November 2018)

cational offer. They advertise themselves very explicitly as sites for authentic English learning, and of *authentic internationality,* and they have aggressive marketing strategies with a marked globalist rhetoric. Their sales discourses emphasise their recognition of local roots —culture, traditions, language— but combined with outward-looking programmes that prepare students to live and work in globalised societies. Fòrum International School (FIS), the 'Catalan International School' in which I have conducted intensive ethnographic fieldwork, is one of these schools.

Among the schools that call themselves 'international' there are fewer schools that implement foreign curricula —English or American. Barcelona International School (BCN-IS), the 'British International School' where I have collected data, is an example of such a school. This main difference is apparent in the way they present themselves and define their corporate identity. Because the history of international schooling in Catalonia is closely related to foreign curricula, they make less discursive effort in justifying and explaining what it means for them to be international. Since they offer English-medium programmes, the presence of English is taken for granted. Generally, one would say that these schools are not 'prominently and comprehensively demonstrating internationalisation' (Yemini & Fulop, 2014: 529).

Aside from these two groups, these lists of school of interest to expatriate parents tend to include a few schools that offer certain features or extras that cause them to fall into the category of 'international schools'. There might be a greater presence of English in their curricula than in other schools, they might offer international curricula, such as the IBO programmes, participation in academic events, such as the Model United Nations (MUN) or Global Young Leaders Conference (GYLC), or foreign exchanges and stays abroad. These schools are generally independent, private institutions, but a few also receive government funding, such as the one in which Alejandra and Pablo, the couple we met in the introduction to this thesis, enrolled their daughter, Tina. Their co-funding has recently been challenged by members of government, precisely because of the school's exclusivity, which is perceived to engender inequality alongside local state schools. Only four of these schools are fully government funded. These state secondary schools appear in international school lists only because they offer the IBDP (International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme). These cases show how *internationalisation* is a process that has permeated the entire education system in response to market demand.

The mapping of the market that I offer in these lines reveals the necessity for a nuanced analysis of the tensions between international and local educational experiences. Schools differ in their appreciation of the relevance of the local environment. There are, amongst these options, multiple solutions that foreground or downplay the idea of embeddedness in the local community, as specific curricular content, or the presence of particular languages show. Parents and schools have different takes on what is best suited for their children. This thesis explores these tensions only in the schools that call themselves 'international'. They will be further characterised in Chapter 4. For now, what is important to note is that leads to their appearing next to one another in these brochures, what brings them all together, despite their efforts to distinguish themselves from each other, is that they all belong to the elite schooling market, and that they are all self-identifying as *international*, for a number of reasons that will be explored below. By looking at the market positioning strategies of existing and newly created schools in the private sector, one gets a sense that an 'international' education is being established as the elite form of education, the education for privilege and social advantage in the 21st century.

2.7. 'Third wave' international schools: The stepping stone for global citizenship?

International education, back in the 1980s, catered for the educational needs of the transnationally mobile (upper-)middle classes and the multinational companies that employed them. They were spaces to improve multilingual and multicultural competences, and spaces where ethnic, cultural and linguistic difference was the norm. What all the students had in common was that they were all different. This characteristic made international school classrooms spaces of comfort and, paradoxically, homogeneity. In these schools, tastes, attitudes and the needs of transnationally mobile children became standardised (Fasheh, 1985; Hayden, 2011). These schools emerged as bubbles where (upper-)middle class nomadic families could find a recognisable habitus, regardless of their immediate context. Students of similar class backgrounds became familiar with ethnic, cultural and linguistic difference. Indeed, this kind of familiarity with superficial difference, very close to Hannerzian (1990) cosmopolitan dispositions, was a pre-test for multinational corporate life. It was valued symbolic capital with clear transferability in these students' futures as workers in ethnically and culturally diverse environments.

Across society, the turn in which processes take place in increasingly globalised societies has favoured the mobile trajectories of workers, where less mobile parents perceive that multilingual and multicultural competences are valuable skills for their children. These circumstances have promoted the creation of new models of international education, such as those termed above 'third wave' international schools. This phenomenon has been observed in education systems throughout the world, such as the French (Lallo & Resnik, 2008), but also in Australia, the US, in South America or in Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates (Kenway & Fahey, 2014, 2015; Lallo & Resnik, 2008). The international schools analysed in this thesis underscore their national grounding, and their international projection. One of the schools in which I have conducted fieldwork, for example, calls itself 'a Catalan international school'. The other is a 'British international school'. These labels are a reflection of such an evolution. They are 'third wave' international schools (school headteacher, interview data). By this I mean that these schools are primarily established by and for the host country's elite and aspiring middle classes. They need to provide an education that grants them a competitive edge, both in local and global educational and job markets, and the *international* in their names speaks beyond their pedagogical stances. These are the type of schools that are sustaining the astounding growth of the international school sector throughout the world (Mackenzie et al, 2003; Maxwell et al., 2018; Sancho, 2015; Ziguras, 2005), to the detriment of purely national models (Lallo & Resnik, 2008) —with the exception of English-speaking systems, in which English as a medium of instruction has allowed them to retain value.

Such a transformation needs to be understood not only pedagogically but also in terms of a business strategy. On the one hand, in order to reassert their position in the market, and renew the loyalty of their traditional target audience, they need to offer state of the art products. On the other hand, in the light of a saturated educational market, as has been the case in Catalonia over the past decade, and against the backdrop of the post-crisis era, these schools have had to diversify their target audience. Selling under the label of *internationality* has made them visible also in the market of expatriate families who are looking for a school.

2.8. The formation of the elites: Acquiring privileged capitals

'Third way' international education seems to be the type of education that offers more flexibility, and thus great possibilities of convertibility, in the 21st century. It is a type of education that has adapted to the educational needs of the global era in a way that neither the purely foreign, nor local state education systems have. At least, they have not been able to adapt at the same speed, or to the same extent. 'Third way' international education has incorporated capitals that national curricula were not offering, whilst recognising the value that national curricula still have in local job and education markets —thus maximising opportunities for their students.

These capitals are not only materialised in curricula. These schools contribute to habituating students into ways of talking, acting and thinking that are appropriate to the spheres of privilege they may wish to access. By exploring the knowledge being transmitted to students through curricular content, but also the non-formal activities and the forms of authorised knowledge emerging from such activities and class interactions, we can observe precisely how this type of education is attempting to adapt to the new economic and social order, and how it is attempting to cater for its students' demanding needs, not only in terms of what they know, but also in terms of who they become.

As mentioned above, the type of international schools under discussion here often implements a national curriculum —Catalan, British or American. In these schools, the Catalan national curriculum is usually taught in multiple languages —typically in a trilingual version comprising Catalan, Spanish and English. British and American curricula have similar core subjects, but they are taught fully in English. Usually, the content of social sciences and literature subjects includes little by way of local references. They may be included in specific didactic modules (e.g. the Spanish civil war) or referred to when studying specific items (e.g. visits to nearby volcanic areas when studying these geographical features), but such schools tend to opt for the study of historical periods and phenomena from a global perspective (e.g. world wars, universal literary classics or phenomena such as global warming, pollution, etc.).

One of the exclusive capitals being offered in these schools is that of languages (Sunyol, 2017; Sunyol & Codó, 2019). Schools design elite multilingual repertoires (Barakos & Sellek, 2019) that include at least two global languages —English and Spanish, following the 'two European languages' precept of

the EU. In Catalonia, the general language curricula in state and semi-private schools tends to be composed of two of the official languages, Catalan and Spanish, taught as L1, and a compulsory foreign language, English. The picture of language programmes in state and semi-private schools, however, differs from that of private international institutions, where more subjects are taught through the medium of English, and where second —and even third— foreign languages tend to be compulsory for all students.

In the schools where international curricula are implemented, they teach Catalan and Spanish as first languages for local students, and Spanish, French and sometimes German as foreign languages as well. It is rare but not uncommon for students of backgrounds other than Catalan to take Catalan courses. Catalan programmes, however, are not imagined for these students. The most common foreign languages taught in all kinds of schools are French and German. Fewer offer non-European languages, of which Mandarin Chinese and Arabic are the only ones available to non-heritage speakers (interview data). The new linguistic model of the Catalan state education system, presented in 2018, seeks to encourage the presence and learning of such languages in both formal and informal contexts. In many cases, as happens in one of the sites for this study, a third global language is also programmed: Mandarin Chinese (Codó & Sunyol, 2018).

To these subjects other extras such as robotics, advanced musical education, education for global citizenship, or emotional education have to be added. Some schools also have complementary projects on human rights, organised by UNICEF, forest school projects, theatre groups —in English—, and charity programmes. In addition to these curricular activities, all these schools have study abroad programmes, in collaboration with networks of schools in other countries, typically in English-speaking countries. They offer both term and school-year placements in those schools for teachers and students, and shorter stays devised mainly to improve language skills. As part of the English and social sciences programmes, most of the schools are also increasingly participating in events with an international focus, such as MUN or GYLC, which can be organised by the school or by other organisations locally or abroad. They also take part in school-organised assemblies in which students debate in formal environments on topics of global relevance such as climate change. These require them to have advanced oral language or public speaking skills, and to undertake prior research to expand their knowledge of geopolitics.

A very important recent addition to international schools' curricula, one which has been used to legitimise their *international* nature, are the curricula of the International Baccalaureate Organisation. The IBO is a Swiss-based non-profit organisation that provides international curricula to schools worldwide. Their initial idea of designing a pre-university curriculum, the Diploma Programme (DP), which provided a transversal education that allowed students to access universities worldwide has grown. They now offer full curricula, from primary to late secondary education. The PYP (Primary Years Programme), MYP (Middle Years Programme) and DP together form the IB continuum, in which students receive curricular content relating to global phenomena but that also pays attention to local realities, such as language diversity, and in which self-dispositions —the IB Learner Profile— are essential. These programmes are highly adaptable to individual schools and the requirements of national education policies, which is one of the keys to their success. Their worldwide recognition as a transferrable and prestigious type of education is being used by many *international* schools as a way to legitimise their internationality, as will be argued in Chapter 7, and to distinguish themselves in the market.

These curricular contents, and especially the *international* extras, contribute to creating in students a sense of imagined future trajectories as workers in spheres of power, nationally or internationally. The curriculum shapes what success looks like, how it is imagined, and it establishes paths by which it can be achieved. I will now turn to explain the methodology I adopted to conduct the ethnography that informs this study.

3. Theoretical framework: Language, education and privilege in late modern societies

T he previous chapter pinpointed this study, and the internationalising practices of elite institutions, within the broader social, political and geographic map of education in Catalonia. In this chapter I seek to explain the lens through which I have looked at these processes, and the theoretical tools that have helped me to think about my data. I relate them to the broader questions on language, education and privilege that I ask, in order to understand how these questions intersect in the situated context of two elite schools in the area of Barcelona at this specific moment. The following lines will provide the theoretical background that has helped me both to formulate my research questions and to explore them.

This chapter is organised into three parts: education, language, and elitism. It is difficult to isolate, conceptually, each of these sections, as I understand them as deeply enmeshed within the social reality that I explore. These areas do, however, represent useful partitions for me. The central theme of this thesis is how education, language and privilege are at the core of the construction of internationality and these divisions reflect the way I have approached my study, from the fieldwork through to the analysis of my data and, therefore, my ontological and epistemological perspectives. Providing the theoretical basis of sociological/anthropological and politico-economic approaches to education is crucial in order to understand mechanisms of access to resources, and processes of identity making. I expound on my understanding of language in order to establish how I explore meaning-making practices, and discourse in relation to internationality. Finally, it is essential to talk about elitism and privilege to explain how social inequality is produced from the most advantaged social positions in late modern societies.

3.1. Education

This section will provide a theoretical anchorage for understanding the changing roles of schooling, and specifically, of international forms of education provision, in late-modern societies. For reasons of space and focus, I will not engage in a genealogical review of philosophical-educational debates. Educational institutions have been vastly researched and my objective is not to provide a thorough literature review of this field. Rather, I will trace the ways in which education, as a tool of political power, has been reconceptualised, or, as

Del Percio and Flubacher (2017) put it, 'resignified' under neoliberalism, in order to build the backbone of my sociolinguistic ethnographic approach to the study of internationalisation processes in that field.

I first explore what education is, and what it does for individuals and societies today. I look at education through the prism of Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) model, which understands education —systems, institutions and knowledge— as a mechanism of social structuration. I am especially interested in showing what forms of school organisation and educational aims have emerged in recent decades to adapt to new social, political and economic contexts. I explore the ways in which, under the new global rationalities imposed by neoliberalism, education systems become key spaces where individuals capitalise to become new kinds of citizens —neoliberal, international, cosmopolitan, global, etc. I also explore how the establishment of neoliberalism as a predominant paradigm has transformed the ways in which education constructs the self. For that I draw on Foucauldian notions of self-governmentality and the entrepreneurial self (1988, 1991). Linguistic capitals have continued to have a key role in education, and are being used more than ever as a 'technology of the self' (Foucault, 1988) contributing to boundary drawing and distinction making.

3.1.1. Education and social structuration

Schooling has a key role in the construction —and maintenance— of social difference and inequality. The analytical chapters of this thesis show how education systems and educational institutions are one of the main spaces in which families' strategies of social positioning materialise. (Upper-)middle-class parents, and students themselves, react to growing levels of uncertainty in their lives by becoming managers of their own educational paths. They make educational choices seeking to maximise trust and minimise risk (Giddens, 1991) to gain a feeling of security derived from the perception that such capitals will allow him/her to compete with the best hand in the future, both in education and the job market. Education, then, is an instrument of distinction that, like aesthetics or language, forms and shapes class relations (Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Eagleton, 1989 in Skeggs & Loveday, 2012: 473). 'Attending elite private schools, or having an international education, is both a mechanism of expression and a strategy of legitimation and maintenance of

class distinction' (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). The participants in my research engage in capitalising activities which inevitably position them socially. Before exploring the market-driven character of education in neoliberal times, however, it is important to pin down the basics: what education is, and how it contributes to the perpetuation of socially segregated/unequal societies.

Education —as a system, or an institution— is a highly organised and normativised space. Individuals can access specific institutions depending on their age, home address, number of siblings, family income, and other factors which vary across contexts. These factors make school access highly influenced by circumstances which are apparently alien to education, such as real estate prices. For that reason, the social composition of classrooms often mirrors the social, cultural and economic reality outside of the school walls.

What happens inside the classroom is also strictly regulated, and subject to surveillance by all actors involved: families, teachers, headteachers, and national and supranational governments. On entering the gates of a school, one is assigned a (homogenising) institutional role. Children become students, and adults become teachers, administrators, headteachers, etc. They enact their site-specific identities in highly ritualised ways. The school is, in Goffmanian terms, a sort of total institution (Goffman, 1961; van Zanten, 2009) where people conform to rigid hierarchies. Groups of students, who are treated as equals, follow strict schedules and receive a prescribed body of knowledge, which is carefully designed to achieve the objectives of the institution. Education prepares individuals for engaging as full, active members of collective life and for becoming independent future adult citizens. The school becomes a space where who one is, and more importantly, who one will become, gets decided.

Since the emergence of the nation-state in the 19th century, the responsibility for providing education has been undertaken by states, rather than being exclusively discharged within the family or by religious orders. Welfare state systems of education sought to widen access to education and were grounded on discourses of equality of access and opportunity. Two of the main objectives that states have sought to achieve through the universalisation of education are the training of skilled workers and the formation of competent national citizens (Green, 1997). Thus, education systems are designed to pass on to students the modes of functioning of societies (Martín Rojo, 2010), through school regulations and course contents. These are strongly shaped by national imaginaries and embody the dominant culture, language and traditions of the nation-state.

Classical critical studies of western education systems have seen the school as a state instrument through which specific capitals become legitimised, while others are delegitimised. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) show how schools maintain social hierarchies by expecting and promoting behaviours, dispositions, and styles which are highly influenced by the tastes, behaviours and dispositions of the bourgeoisie, or the (upper)middle-classes. Education is shaped by and for them (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). Success in school will depend on how much one is able to align with a middle class ethos which, despite being necessary, is not explicitly taught. Family cultural, social and ethnolinguistic background will place students in advantaged or disadvantaged positions (Warikoo & Fuhr, 2014). Studies by Heller (1992, 1995, 2006) and Martín Rojo (2010, 2013a) among very many others show how normative linguistic resources and language practices are among the capitals that perpetuate symbolic domination by dominant social groups.

In recent decades, the acceleration of globalisation (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2000) and the establishment of neoliberalism as a hegemonic ideology have questioned and reconfigured the role of nation-states as the overseers of education (Ziguras, 2005). Supranational entities that have been key in the spread of neoliberalism, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD or the EU, are increasingly influencing educational policies and programmes, contributing to legitimising knowledge and shaping forms of educational provision within nation-states (Robertson & Dale, 2009). One clear example of the intervention of such global institutions is how language learning programmes are designed according to the recommendations of the Council of Europe. Ideologies of globalism, that is, the view that the worldwide market eliminates or supplants political action (Beck, 2000: 9) have become hegemonic and have wormed their way into education. Globalism naturalises the liberalisation of economies and the global integration of markets (Steger, 2005). Globalist discourses portray globalisation as a self-regulating force that does not serve the agenda of any particular social group. The globalised world and its power structures come to seem 'natural and welcome, and certainly unavoidable' (Haberland, 2009: 19), as a precondition to social and democratic progress and economic growth.

The advent of neoliberal globalism (Beck, 2000: 9) as a dominant ideology has triggered a redefinition of relationships between the public and the private (Gardner-McTaggart, 2014); a restructuring —and destructuring— of the state and institutional lives (Bullen & Kenway, 2002) that has also intensified

in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. Education has had to respond to the rapid cultural, political and economic globalisation that has brought with it new forms of citizenship and new ways of 'imagined belonging' (Bullen & Kenway, 2002: 34) beyond the nation-state. The spread of international education, which is imbued with globalist discourses, can clearly be seen as a consequence of a weakening of the bonds between the state and education systems in the post-national era. In their study on globalisation and post-national possibilities in Education, David et al. (2010) note how the schools and education systems we have inherited from the 20th century are 'designed within national boundaries' and have 'national purposes'. This is true for both public and private forms of education, internationalised or otherwise. Today, the relationships between nations and their schools is being reshaped.

In the post-national era, the functions of schooling and processes of identity construction are increasingly complex. Whilst they are no longer comfortably attached to homogenising national paradigms, neither do they entirely reject them in favour of communities of 'global humanity'. David et al. (2010) analyse how, in renegotiating the meaning of the nation in late-modern societies, the role of the nation in defining identities is challenged. Schools have to adapt to new forms of identities and communities —more flexible (Ong, 1999); cosmopolitan (Hannerz, 1990), etc.— with 'multiple affiliations and places of attachment' (David et al., 2010). In the post-national school, ideas of citizenship and identity have to be disaggregated. These processes have consequences for the ways in which schooling is being adapted and reimagined. Ideas such as multiculturalism and diversity circulate within education systems in the form of inclusionary and exclusionary discourses. Different ways of conceptualising citizenship give rise to different forms of schooling provision. Some scholars have noted how the tensions between nationalism and post-nationalism in our societies have consequences for social structuration: 'a national system of schooling is likely to give way to local systems for the poor and global systems for the rich' (Ilon, 1994: 99). This thesis is an example of how 'a small segment of elites will receive an education that prepares them for the global economy, a second tier will receive an adequate education to fulfil necessary administrative and bureaucratic functions, and the majority of people will be schooled to fill low-skill, low-paying jobs.' (David et al., 2010: 43). This challenges the goal of equality of opportunity.

3.1.2. Capitalisation through education

At the beginning of this chapter I stated that education in late modern societies is a key site for the accumulation of symbolic capitals. In schools, doing well, fitting into what is understood and counts as educational ability is 'measured' by grades. They quantify how well an individual does and places her/him hierarchically in relation to the rest. In Foucauldian terms (1977: 181) this quantification is 'a disciplinary apparatus that hierarchises the 'good' and the 'bad' subjects in relation to one another. Through this micro-economy of a perpetual penalty operates a differentiation that is not one of acts, but of individuals themselves, of their natures, their potentialities, their level or their value'. Grades rank and certify students' abilities and legitimise their social positioning. They also naturalise the possibility of acquiring further capital in other educational spaces, and of later (re)converting the social, cultural and symbolic capitals acquired into economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) in the workplace. Doing well, then, is a question of how good one is at demonstrating one's accumulation of valuable symbolic capitals.

Schools value differently specific types of knowledge, language varieties —and speakers of such languages—, forms of speaking, etc. As Martín Rojo observes, 'this value-giving process is inextricably bound to the representation of students as legitimate or non-legitimate participants in the classroom' (2010: 67). As mechanisms of legitimation of capitals and of distribution of value, schools have traditionally established who is a good citizen of the nation and who is not. In a world of changing social and cultural contexts, with the intensification of globalisation and the neoliberalisation of societies, the evaluation and legitimation of knowledge, including languages, finds itself in crisis and is in the process of re-evaluation (Martín Rojo, 2013b). There is an ongoing 'recalibration of value' (Park, 2011). These visions of capitalisation as a source of social structuration may come across as deterministic, but, in fact, these new 'regimes of value' are often challenged and resisted by students during their processes of self-capitalisation, as seen in Chapter 6. International education does not readily reject forms of local capital: there is tension and ambiguity in the valuation of 'global' and 'local' resources, as stakeholders have different perspectives and opinions on what counts as valuable.

Distinction mechanisms are in and of themselves boundary-drawing strategies that generate social stratification, and inequality (Skeggs, 2015). Harvey

(2003) understands that the process of accumulation happens by dispossession. Value-making processes entail degrading the value of specific capitals, as we see in the multiple examples where local languages are devalued when they are not seen as exportable capital. This thesis shows how, even within very privileged educational spaces, there are recursive processes of inequality. The capitals of each individual student are not equally valued within the school, and the capitals that elite school students acquire are not valued equally with those of non-elite school students. Marta's story, in Chapter 7, illustrates how social mobility and the attainment of status are subject to family earnings and, as Bourdieu (1984) and many other scholars in the field of sociology of education note, the possibilities for social mobility through education are limited. There are structural opportunities for some and barriers for others (Warikoo & Fuhr, 2014).

Marta's educational choices are founded on the meritocratic premise prevailing in most modern western states that status is achieved rather than inherited (Warikoo & Fuhr, 2014) or gained through economic wealth (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Maxwell, 2015; Weber, 1978). Elite schools use and benefit from this idea that mystifies previous gatekeeping mechanisms and processes of social selection   such as socioeconomic family backgrounds, but also academic records and personal dispositions   to build individual and school status. Schools assume they take 'normal' students and transform them into 'the best' (Kenway & Lazarus, 2017). This, in turn, nurtures the belief that 'elites are selected based on their academic attainment' (Maxwell, 2015: 19). Students supposedly achieve elite status solely through their own academic and intellectual effort. Because they have earned it, they are entitled to social advantage. Such a view implies that exams and tests are neutral and levelling. Achievement is a product of working one's way to excellence.

Assuming that there is, in fact, equality of access and opportunity would lead us to consider that only the 'best' students are ambitious and committed. Kenway and Lazarus (2017) explore processes of commodification and reification of students in relation to meritocratic discourses, which are similar to processes of social fetichisation taking place at FIS. Academic effort and hard work may be real, but meritocracy muddles processes of social stratification in education by blindly trusting in equal opportunity and passing over the importance of socioeconomic family backgrounds in ensuring success at school. And as Kenway and Lazarus observe, achievement and success are conditional on investing in the 'right educational, career and social class dividends' (2017:

271), those with exchange value. FIS glorifies students who do well in sports, or who participate in charitable organisations. The alumni who are offered as examples of the successful 'outcomes' of the school are all working in finance, liberal professions, or curiously the military. This narrow understanding of success challenges discourses of diversity in the school as it favours achievement only by students who may well be racially diverse but are very homogeneous in terms of class. Meritocracy operates as a form of class mystification.

3.1.3. Neoliberalised spaces of education

In the understanding of education presented above, it becomes clear that a neoliberal ethos has permeated not only education systems but also the very way in which, as a society and as individuals, we think of education. Principles such as globalisation, free markets, deregulation, quality, performance, quantification, freedom, flexibility and competition have become central in current philosophies undergirding education. These precepts have become hegemonic. Neoliberalism —as globalisation— is viewed as an inevitable, unstoppable force, and as the engine of desirable modernisation and development: either you accept the rules of the world market or you perish. Neoliberal education policy has changed the relationship between education and labour markets, the role of the state in funding education, and also the way in which educational strategies attempt to eradicate social inequality —or not (Ball, 2010; Bonal, 2009; Robertson & Dale, 2013; Robertson & Verger, 2012).

A good many studies from the fields of sociology of education (see Apple et al., 2005; Ball, 2010; Bonal, 2009; Bonal & Verger, 2006) and critical sociolinguistics (Block, 2018a; Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017; Piller & Cho, 2013 among many others) have taken up Bourdieu's (2001) observation that such transformations are the result of a systematic, organised and carefully orchestrated policy. States have progressively moved from the construction of a welfare state to the establishment of a neoliberal and corporatised state. As Block (2018a: 73) observes,

> One important effect of the adoption of the market metaphor has been that domains of social activity, previously organized according to criteria that had to do with community and institution (in addition to economic imperatives) have come to be framed in terms of economic exchange and market interests above all

else. Education is perhaps the best example of such processes in action, as it has been thoroughly neoliberalized in most parts of the world.

Education has been a strategic space for the spread of market mechanisms and the establishment of 'competition as a rationale' (Block, 2018a; Harvey, 2005; Heller, 2018; Piller & Cho, 2013) beyond strictly economic domains to take on a role in citizen-making within 'knowledge societies' (Bonal, 2009). The change of logic can be observed at different levels. States and governing bodies, educational institutions, families and individuals compete with each other for resources, and act in ways that maximise their own benefits following an ethic of cost-benefit analysis that has become the dominant norm (Apple, 2005: 214). Piller & Cho (2013: 26) identify how 'individual and collective livelihoods, security, development and well-being are continuously at stake (…) in this hypercompetition where everyone competes against everyone', stating how, even though the penalising consequences of 'doing badly' are real, most of the competition is symbolic.

Governments have progressively restructured their economies, promoting deregulation, liberalisation of trade and industry and favouring privatisation (Singh, 2002). Such conservative modernisation reforms promote the creation of markets (Bonal & Verger, 2006; Singh, 2002) and are orientated towards developing the economy both nationally and transnationally. Following OECD precepts, public investment and performance in education have become indexes through which the economic competitiveness of states in the global market are measured (Considine *et al.,* 2001; Lipman, 2004; Ziguras, 2005). In many western states, including Spain, such free market policies have been intensified by the economic crisis, as has historically tended to happen in capitalist systems during times of economic recession (Bonal & Verger, 2006; Harvey, 2005).

Markets of schooling are designed to raise standards of achievement and attain greater social equity in access to schools (Ball, 2010) by 'the replacement of highly centralised, hierarchical organisational structures by decentralised management environments where decisions on resources allocation and service delivery are made closer to the point of delivery, and which provide scope for feedback from clients and other interest groups' (OECD, 1995: 8). There is extensive research, however, on how choice increases disparities in school performance and inequalities of opportunity (Ball, 2010; McEwan & Carnoy, 2000; Hidalgo McCabe & Fernández-González, 2019; Powers & Cookson,

1999; Weiss, 2000; among others). Families from more privileged socioeconomic backgrounds have greater possibilities of avoiding working class schools, while schools employ all the means at their disposal to supply an education to easy-to-teach students who will, in turn, ensure the outstanding academic performance that will lend them higher status within the market. Market structures 'exacerbate the polarisation of school intakes that already existed on the basis of residential segregation' (Lauder et al., 1999: 135). Questions of equality of access and opportunity, which were at the core of state education agendas, remain largely unaddressed in these new types of organisation.

The combination of such policies has resulted in the corporatisation of educational enterprises (Singh, 2002). Scholarship in the field of education has largely discussed how, against the backdrop of frenetic competition among students to access top educational institutions because they are proxies for better positions in job markets, education has become an industry. It is, today, a global business opportunity for many transnational corporate groups, hedge funds, and also states, who invest in the educational business as a profitable endeavour. This trend is explained by neoliberal state education policies favouring privatisation and financialisation practices, and it also explains internationalising practices within systems and institutions (Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017; Gao, 2017). Block argues that these are not new phenomena. However, in recent years 'the links between private businesses and education are far more extensive and profound than in previous epochs' (2018a: 74). The structural transformations in schools explored in this thesis exemplify these processes. One of them is currently owned by one of the worlds' biggest education groups, after a series of financial operations in which well-known hedge funds within the Spanish state —previously unrelated to the field of education— played a starring role.

FIS and BCN-IS are also examples of how neoliberal rationalities promote an understanding of education as a commodity —rather than a service— which can be traded. Schools become increasingly commercialised (Bourdieu, 2005). In this framework, curricula are advertised through corporate campaigns, and implemented —sold— by teachers —workers. This has crucial implications, primarily with regard to who can access education (see following sub-sections), and under what conditions. Such issues are relate to the neoliberal precepts of devolving not only power, but also responsibilities (Zimmermann & Flubacher, 2017). States are no longer held responsible for the distribution of resources among the population. Individuals have to find their own ways to access them.

A corporate approach to education is also reflected in how everyday practices in schools are organised in terms of managerial style (Lingard & Gale, 2007). Schools —public and private— are subject to accountability requirements and performance measurement (Ball, 2003; Gale, 2006). These measures are designed to make schools more competitive economically and are part of a school's strategy to maintain good rates of enrolment and remain attractive choices within the local education market. Participation in rankings and advertising is key, and these have become an obsession in schools such as FIS. Even a cursory glance at international schools reveals the breadth of their advertising. On buses, bus shelters, billboards, banners and placards, advertisements for international schools decorate well-off areas of our cities, trying to convince potential customers of the glories of such schools. At FIS, school premises are rented to corporations to hold conferences or sports events. Canteen lunches are cooked and sold to other companies every day to maximise return from the kitchen facilities. Headteachers are no longer teachers but managers, usually holding prestigious business school credentials. Teachers' aprons have been substituted by suits. In the lapel of their blazers, business card-like name tags indicate to parents and students —their customers— their role within the organisation. In the case of private educational institutions, the neoliberalisation of education has led to more precarious employment situations for teachers (Bunnell, 2016), who have less secure jobs and poorer working conditions as they are increasingly less regulated by the state. These issues were repeatedly raised in our interviews with teachers both at FIS and at BCN-IS.

Criticism of such an approach focuses on how the adoption of neoliberal policies in order to respond to the pressures of development under globalisation often results in further disadvantaging underprivileged groups. Bonal (2009), among other scholars, has explored the shortcomings of, and problems arising from such policies. One of the areas in which they are especially problematic, and which has direct effects on the conceptualisation of the student-individual, is the relationship between neoliberal education systems and the job market. Under neoliberal regimes, schools undertake the task of shaping the workforce of the future. 'Educational infrastructure has to ensure the employability of workers within a capitalist society undergoing fluctuations and restructuring' (Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017: 7). The student/future citizen/worker has to meet the demands of global neoliberal labour markets. Knowledge is no longer valued intrinsically, but only inasmuch as

it is 'useful', convertible cultural and symbolic capital (Ball, 2012; Collini, 2012; Holborow, 2015).

3.1.4. International students, global citizens, skillified workers

Castells (1996, 2000) has analysed the effects of globalisation and the neoliberalisation of economies on job markets. This is a vast arena of interconnected phenomena with implications for how the neoliberal ethos, the logic of the market and commodification affect the individual. This idea is central to this study. As Holborow observes, 'educational products compete on the market for student consumption and then the knowledge that students acquire is sold on as human capital on the wider employment market' (2015: 16). The market logic brings with itself a logic of commodification that, following from theories on human capital, affects how students are conceptualised as individuals. This section, then, will focus on the implications of neoliberal globalist education for the formation of student/citizen/worker subjectivities, which is key to understanding how power relations are established in this arena.

Lingard and Gale (2007) point out how, within neoliberal globalised societies 'the imagined community of the nation has become more frayed with hybrid identities, flows of people and emergent post-national politics' (p. 13). In this context, the role of schooling in the shaping of citizenship is reimagined and reframed in terms of the production of individual citizens for global arenas —recent scholarship talks about the production of a 'humanity' class— which are imagined in terms of workers for globalised labour markets. That is why international education is seen as a sensible investment (Kenway et al., 2013), triggered by the desire of families and individuals to access privileged positions in globalised job markets, and acquire forms of citizenship which are embedded both in national and supranational levels.

Neoliberal rationalities have permeated and shaped concepts of the citizen. Block (2001, 2018a, 2018b) explores a tridimensional model of citizenship established by Osler & Starkey (2003) in relation to neoliberalism. Shaping 'citizenship' involves questions of status, feeling and practice. These three dimensions refer to the political and social rights and duties of individuals within their societies, their self-identification or affiliations, and their forms of social participation. The data of this thesis (in particular in chapters 4 and 6) provide interesting in-

sights on how international school students are imagined as citizens within a neo-liberalised school system. Firstly, through an international education, students are taught to become citizens who exercise their democratic rights responsibly —by being informed of their choices and voting in elections. They are explicitly made aware of their individual and collective rights as children —BCN-IS runs specific rights respecting programmes in partnership with NGOs. Students should not only exercise their rights, but also be vigilant of compliance with such legislation. In addition, through programmes such as the IBO, or the British National Curriculum, the school promotes forms of self-identification and affiliation with national and supranational entities. Similarly to programmes on global citizenship education, FIS and BCN-IS seek to promote a sense of belonging to 'global collectives' or leagues, through participation in spaces where national embeddedness is unequally valued. The IBDP is sometimes understood as one of these collectives. Finally, the schools also promote a dimension of 'citizenship as practice'. They encourage their students' participation in the celebration of national and international festivals and holidays. They celebrate and engage in practices of cultural diversity such as international food days, and they encourage membership and affiliation to specific clubs, associations and organisations (local, national and transnational). All these shape the forms of citizenship these students will be inclined to adopt as adults.

A central aspect of the shaping of students as future citizens is that of their future worker-selves. International school students' futures are projected as workers in globalised scenarios —at home or abroad. The opening up of new possibilities for citizenship has triggered the development of standardised curricula, learning objectives and assessment tools —such as the ones proposed by the IBO, for example, but also the adoption of the national curricula of globally powerful nations such as the UK, as seen in this thesis. The places in which the internationalisation of education has been more favourably received tend to be in countries with less powerful national economies that are struggling to become more relevant in the global competition for power and resources (Resnik, 2012, 2015). This is especially true of areas that have been severely struck by the financial crisis of 2008, and consequentially, have high unemployment rates and stagnant job markets. Developing specific forms of citizenship and worker profiles is perceived as a sensible act of capitalisation. In the context of 'knowledge economies', the state benefits as much as the individual from having citizens who match the ideal of new forms of personhood (Block, 2018a: 105).

These new forms of citizenship are no longer imagined as an aspect of collective public participation. Rather, the focus is put on the individual (Block, 2018a; Heller, 2019)

The ability of individuals to participate competitively as citizen-workers within global economies is dependent on their market value. As Urciuoli (2008) observes, 'in the neoliberal imaginary of contemporary capitalism, workers' employment value depends on their skills'. Education is conceptualised as a mechanism for the acquisition of quantifiable skills and dispositions, which needs to make the value of workers comparable within and across national economies (Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017: 6; Koyama, 2017). By this logic, students become an exportable workforce. Skills in different fields and knowledge in general have been rebranded as 'human capital', a central idea to neoliberal thinking. Human capital theory understands that 'what humans can do and learn to do must be scientifically measured in order to evaluate their 'returns' potential, for the individual and for the economy as a whole' (Holborow, 2015: 15). Individuals, seen as 'products' (Seaman, 2005: 99), have to be equipped with the skills and dispositions necessary to participate efficiently and effectively in highly competitive interconnected economies (Block, 2018a: 73).

Urciuoli has written about the role of education, job markets and the development of new forms of personhood (2003, 2008; Urciuoli & LaDousa, 2013). The data analysed in this study underscore how individuals uncritically begin to think of themselves as 'bundles of skills'. Skills —primarily acquired and certified through education— become viewed as aspects of personhood that ultimately define who one is, what one can do, and one's value. The value of skills in specific fields is transferred to the individual, who is ranked in markets according to such value. 'Skillified selves' are the quintessential internalisation of the neoliberal rationalities: the self is treated as a commodity with market exchange value (Harvey, 2005). We see, in the analytical chapters of this thesis, how —as Urciuoli (2008) observes— certain skills are fetishised, reified. By this process, an abstract category is 'treated as a thing in itself and attributed powers that properly belong to human beings' (Arthur, 1974: 19). Language skills, or mobile dispositions, are highly coveted skills/commodities as they are perceived to be usable to one's own material advantage in the tertiarised economies.

Such understandings of personhood in terms of human capital attribute value to the individual depending on the 'skills' and 'assets', he or she is able to accumulate. Neoliberal rationalities, as Holborow observes, have revived the 'en-

trepreneurial self' (Du Gay, 1996; Holborow, 2015), a reflexive (Giddens, 1991) and risk-averse subject (Beck, 1992) who looks after him/herself in order to obtain the necessary resources for 'self' formation, in constructing their own subjectivity. Research on neoliberal subjectivities is highly influenced by Foucault's work on governmentality (1991) and more recent interpretations of his work (Block, 2018b; Brown, 2005; Fraser, 2003; Burchell et al., 1991; Heller, 2019; Lemke, 2003; Martín Rojo, 2019; Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019). The analytical chapters of this thesis show how the two schools produce and circulate new hegemonic discourses. They establish new frameworks for governmentality, moulding the type of personhoods the schools seek to create. The student/citizen/worker shaped by the IBO programmes encapsulates the ideal of the *homo economicus* (Foucault, 2008) or the entrepreneurial self. These concepts explain how individuals manage their life in calculated ways and make decisions based on the desires to achieve goals. Through their programmes and discursive practices, and this is especially salient at FIS, the schools seek to delineate and rationalise the social conduct of their students. They engage in practices of governing the self in 'demarcating areas of responsibility and activity for the individual'(Foucault, 2008: 7), which were previously under government control. FIS students are nudged to regulate their own conduct to govern themselves on the path to becoming 'self-activating' entrepreneurs. Guidelines for 'correct' and 'incorrect', 'desirable' and 'undesirable' behaviour are posted —more or less explicitly— in highly visible places, dominating the school landscape (see Chapters 6 and 7). The individual, as Marta's story shows, has to become an active agent in her/his own development and independence, a self-made person. Becoming a self-shaping entrepreneur, 'being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of [his] earnings' (Foucault, 2008: 226) is, according to Holborow (2015: 86) 'the enactment of the submission of the person to the neoliberal regime'.

The IBO learner profile, explored elsewhere (see Sunyol & Codó, 2019), is a breviary of conduct towards becoming a paradigmatic neoliberal worker. Park (2013: 559-60) describes the neoliberal individual as somebody who 'does not begrudgingly participate in work, but displays initiative, responsibility, and flexibility, willingly taking risks and engaging in projects of endless self-improvement (e.g. by developing new skills and new career paths) instead of relying on past achievements, welfare or solidarity'. To Barakos, the neoliberal worker is someone who is 'adaptable, subject to certification and who embod-

ies entrepreneurial values' (2018: 3). The behaviours that students are told to adopt are praised in corporate environments and advised by career counsellors (Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019). Through the discursive power exercised by IBO textbooks and pedagogic practices 'learners' have to internalise responsibility for their personal development —as Alèxia and Marina explain in Chapter 6. Students have to become willing to make personal sacrifices in order to better themselves. They not only compete with others, but also with themselves (Sunyol & Codó, 2019). The skills offered by the school, which are knowledge-based but also attitudinal, become key technologies of neoliberal governmentality (Foucault, 1991).

In line with Block & Gray's analysis of language teaching materials (Block & Gray, 2018; Gray & Block, 2014), the IBO language A and B textbooks can be analysed from the perspective of Foucauldian governmentality, inasmuch as they contribute to the creation of student-learners as future workers with specific dispositions that are aligned with the mission of producing a neoliberal citizenship of the late modern education systems. They actively engage in governing the self, in 'conducting students' conduct' (Foucault, 1991; Gordon, 1991). The bulk of texts and activities proposed in textbooks are designed to modify or shape students' assumptions about themselves and about the world, to shape 'how they are willing to exist as subjects' (Gordon, 1991) by proposing and providing sets of accepted forms of being, as individuals and as workers. They inculcate specific rationalities and ethics, they engage in strategically programming individual activity (Foucault, 2008: 223). Through these technologies of social control, states and institutions produce self-governed individuals who, as Dardot & Laval (2013) observe, by internalising specific forms of conduct make choices from a perceived position of individual 'freedom' but conforming to such precepts of conduct.

3.2. Language

This study takes a post-structuralist approach to the study of language as inserted in the material world (Gal, 1989). This section is aimed at situating my understanding of language, and at explaining why I decided to undertake a sociolinguistic ethnography of elites in the context of education. I understand language as a social practice, that is, at the same time constitutive of and consti-

tuted by the social order. Language, therefore, as a socially embedded reality, is affected by power relations and the circulation of resources motivated by factors such as social class, ideology or, broadly, political and economic orders.

There is now a relatively long tradition of poststructuralist approaches to language. Over the last two decades, a number of factors have transformed our understanding of language. These include: globalisation and the social changes it has triggered; the expansion of the internet and communication technologies; and the hegemony of neoliberal rationalities permeating not only politics and the economy but also every aspect of human life. The particular cultural conditions of late capitalism (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1984; Harvey, 2006) have had major implications for the ways in which language in society is conceptualised (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017: 1). Language has been 'resignified' (Flubacher and Del Percio, 2017) as a skill, as a commodity (Cameron, 2000; Heller, 2010; Heller et al., 2014; Holborow, 2015; Urciuoli, 2008). In what follows I will present a brief overview of the literature on multilingualism, regimes of value and processes of commodification of language, focussing on the theoretical debates that are more directly relevant to this thesis, with a full awareness of all the omissions resulting from the lack of space for further exploration, but that are also part of the conglomerate of lenses through which I might shed light on my data, and that are connected to language, education and society.

3.2.1. Why a critical sociolinguistics of elite education?

In the current context of rapid cultural, social and linguistic changes, situated practices in teaching and learning, and the beliefs, values and understandings bound up with those practices (Martin-Jones, 2016: 187) have become a common focus for interpretive research in education. At this point, it is timely to answer one of the central questions of this section: what contributions can be made to the study of elite education from the epistemological and ontological perspectives of critical sociolinguistic ethnography? In other words, what can an ethnographic, interactional and discursive perspective add to the understanding of contemporary processes of elitisation, and therefore, of the construction of inequality. The questions I ask in this thesis are classic critical ethnographic questions: I seek to understand why the category *international* becomes important to stakeholders, and in what ways; how the members of the school community reproduce or challenge social

categories and what consequences this has for them. I seek to explore processes that involve social categorisation, which emerges based on the resources to which different stakeholders have access, and those from which they are excluded. In the language of Bourdieu (1990), these resources or capitals are unequally valued in specific markets. These markets can have different scopes: the classroom, an IBDP track, the playground, the education system or the labour market. Central in the processes of internationalisation is the 'recalibration' of language(s) and their value (Park & Wee, 2011, 2012). The forces that control the production and reproduction of linguistic resources, how they are valued and the power relations they establish between social groups involve broader political, social, economic and cultural processes. In this respect, language is central to the political economy. FIS and BCN-IS students are made aware, by multiple means and through different actors, that 'without the right kinds of linguistic capital you simply do not get access to the spaces where other important resources are produced and circulated, and you do not get to have anything to say about what is valuable and what is not' (Heller, 2011: 9).

Access —or lack of thereof— to valuable resources, and the consequential (im)possibility of belonging to certain social categories, perpetuates inequality and social stratification. Heller (2011) defines inequality or stratification as 'a process rather than a fixed structure somehow outside of everyday life, but a process based on some fundamental material conditions for getting the resources necessary to survive and prosper'. We have seen in the previous section how this happens in education. Martín Rojo (2010: 57, 2013) has shown how processes of capitalisation and decapitalisation happen 'within classroom interactions and through the management of linguistic resources'. Language has become a capital with high symbolic value. Many social practices invoke a desire to buy 'prestige and status', to demonstrate power. At FIS, for example, attending a 'posh' school, wearing expensive designer clothes or driving an Aixam microcar instead of a scooter are as important as speaking polished English. Students assume that capitalising in 'good' English is highly important for their projected identities and life trajectories, and they display their capital through multiple platforms, for example, their Anglicised Instagram stories.

Researchers sharing critical ethnographic approaches to the study of educational institutions (Codó; Eckert; Garrido; Heller; Lorente; Martin; Martin-Jones; Martín Rojo; Park; Patiño-Santos; Pérez-Milans; Rampton; Relaño-Pastor; etc.) argue that this approach is highly suited to our purpos-

es for two reasons. Firstly, ethnography is seen as 'a necessary way to address how social actors act upon each other and the world in specific and singular moments' of meaning-making, and a helpful epistemological tool to trace 'the consequences of these moments for the sedimentation of the categories that organise the distribution of resources and of the activities where they are produced, circulated, consumed and valued' (Heller et al., 2018). Ethnography, then, allows the researcher to direct her/his gaze at the unequal social evaluation of linguistic differences, that is, of styles, varieties, registers, accents, or ranges of competences, and the social identities these give access to. It requires being a witness to the social life of the institution in order to notice the underlying ideological assumptions behind the processes of evaluation and 'recalibration' that, for example, make of 'well spoken' and 'well written' English the 'right' kind of capital to have.

Central to critical sociolinguistic ethnography is 'the axiomatic proposition about social reality as being discursively constructed, reproduced, naturalised, and sometimes revised in social interaction, in the course of large-scale historical, political and socio-economic configurations' (Pérez-Milans, 2015b). It builds on the work of interactional sociolinguists, such as Gumperz, in seeking to reveal the nuanced ways in which social hierarchies and social relationships are built and established from close analyses of interactions. Interactions may constitute, at given times, resources 'for constructing, levelling, contesting and blurring boundaries in order to attempt to maintain, contest and modify relations of power' (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001: 4). Analysing local practices sheds light on how they are embedded in and, at the same time, shape the social order (Martin-Jones, 2007). This presupposes that agency and social structure are mutually constitutive. This conceptualisation of social reality is imbued with Giddens' (1984) theories:

> This theoretical standpoint calls our attention to human activities as socially situated practices ordered across space and time whereby human beings engage reflexively and agentively in daily activities while at the same time reproducing the conditions that make these activities possible (Pérez-Milans, 2015b: 85).

The second argument for the validity (and necessity) of this approach is that ethnographic sociolinguistic approaches contribute to tracing the threads between communicative practices, institutional policies and wider socio-econom-

ic transformations. Sociolinguistic ethnography is a key discipline to explore the relationships between language and the political economy (Block, 2018a; Block et al., 2012; Gal, 1989; Irvine, 1989) in a post-national era, where language practices have become increasingly complex (Blommaert, 2015). The connections between the situated negotiations in the classroom and the wider context of, for example, colonial processes, globalisation, national and supranational ideologies and projects (Rampton, 1995; Heller, 2006) make the critical dimension of this approach particularly relevant. An in-depth analysis of complex ethnographic stances is needed to gain a nuanced understanding of language and multilingualism, and how these are at the core of processes of social stratification in the context of the internationalisation of elite schools. I will now turn to unpack the very notion of language, multilingualism and the underlying ideologies in how languaging is done at FIS.

3.2.2. Language and multilingualism as ideology

The post-national era, and the social, cultural and political changes of late modernity (Giddens, 1991), have had implications for how language has been approached in the diverse critical sociolinguistic disciplines. The conceptualisation of language as a bounded system that belongs to a community and hence is the 'expression' of the culture and tradition of a nation-state (Hobsbawm, 1990) is in tension with more fluid understandings of language and multilingualism. The school, as part of the political project of nation-building in the frame of nation-states, has traditionally played a central role in processes of language standardisation (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). It was devised to build value and status for certain fixed languages —and to devalue others (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Heller, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), to legitimise some and delegitimise others. Education has remained a site wherein 'standard' practices have been consistently valued and where monolingual conceptualisations of languages as bounded systems have persisted. There prevail strong purist language ideologies in which 'well-learned', 'well-spoken' languages are equivalent to non-hybrid practices that reproduce and follow the rules of standard varieties; beliefs about languages as complete units and an idea of language proficiency as being measured in relation to this absolute; and concepts of authenticity, whereby languages are valued accord-

ing to their capacity to be a 'cultural commodity' (Heller, 2010) in a specific market, in Bourdieu's language.

In this ideological framework, multilingualism is the summation of individual languages coexisting as separate entities. In globalised markets, multilingual repertoires have become a desired commodity, and multilingualism is being promoted by schools as well as other national and supranational organisations. We have witnessed, in recent years, how initiatives like CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and language immersion programmes flourish in Language Policies in education (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018; Codó, forthcoming). Especially in countries with stagnant economies in post-crisis scenarios, speaking multiple languages is a highly valued capital. As often happens with general praises of diversity (Ahmed, 2007), multilingualism, as linguistic diversity, only seems to be valued as 'a set of parallel monolingualisms, preferably of Western European cut' (Heller 2007; Jaspers & Madsen, 2018: 1; Moore 2015). FIS, for example, quantifies at 33% the amount of each official language —Catalan, Spanish and English— being used as a medium of instruction. This conceptualisation shows the establishment of boundaries between communicative practices that happen in different codes, fixed languages, revealing prevailing purist ideologies.

Nørreby and Madsen (2018: 147), in their study on the symbolic organisation of languages in an elite school in Denmark, observe that

> International private schools with prestigious reputations, for instance, are no less lin- guistically and culturally diverse than other urban schools due to their international status, the pupil population and the language of instruction that differs from the national majority language. However, in these settings, we would expect to find a sociolinguistic ordering different from that of the urban public schools. Such schools are at once concerned with academic prestige and with multilingualism as a valuable resource. The question is how this plays out linguistically. How do these concerns relate to the everyday management of linguistic purity and hybridity? And how are some forms of multilingualism or types of linguistic diversity possibly positioned as more valuable than others?

FIS and BCN-IS build value —and prestige— for their sociolinguistic regimes through discourse. The questions Nørreby and Madsen pose are highly relevant to the context of international education, a field where diversity is reified and

fetishised. Discourses of diversity (also language diversity) are highly circulated and praised discursively in many arenas. Diversity, however, only has value as long as it is composed of certain languages and happens in certain spaces. Syrian, for example, is unrecognised as a spoken language at BCN-IS, despite the fact that I heard it a few times in the playground. It was taught by a boy of Syrian origin to his best friend, as a game. This learning has no value. The erasure of some students' family languages contrasts with the fixation at FIS on highlighting any word in English being spoken outside the classroom. English, as the vehicle for internationality, is constructed as universally valuable. Discourses praising diversity may mistify a prevailing monolingual norm of which FIS percentage policy is quintessential.

It is important to address the first question Nørreby and Madsen ask. The everyday linguistic reality of an international school, or any school, is much more complex and difficult —impossible, I would say— to quantify or divide up into stable percentages. Approaching multilingualism from structuralist perspectives, which understand it from a 'monolingual' point of view as the addition of individual languages, is problematic in certain spheres of institutional life. Although this framework is of little use when looking at the complex reality of language as social practice in the era of 'superdiversity' (Blommmaert and Rampton, 2011; Li, 2018), it still explains certain of the language spaces being created and designed by the school, in an attempt to 'stylise' (see the following subsection) language practices. There are, therefore, differentiated spaces being created where specific language practices have more currency value than others, as I illustrate in my analysis of front-stage and backstage practices at FIS in Sunyol (2015). Different regimes of value apply to and are being negotiated in different spaces, by different actors.

The institutional context of a school is often a reflection of what happens outside the schools' walls. There are highly diverse student and teacher bodies, with myriad combinations of verbal repertoires in terms of the 'fixed languages' they speak, their proficiency levels, the use they make of each of them and the rationalities behind these choices. This results in practices that happen in multiple languages, which are plural, shifting and eclectic, in that they use linguistic features and means from multiple languages, varieties, styles or speech registers (Blackledge & Creese, 2010: 25). In this context, the legitimacy of the 'native speaker', notions such as 'mother tongue' or 'ethnolinguistic groups' should be excluded from sociolinguistic analysis. There are spaces, however,

such as class-time, where hybridity and non-target languages are erased. During the ethnographic fieldwork, these notions often surfaced, showing their validity in the minds of stakeholders. This reflects the existence of inherited 'modern' school language policies.

Blommaert and Rampton (2011) urge us to accept uncertainty in socio-linguistic analysis, and to face 'complexity, hybridity, 'impurity', and other linguistic features, as normal characteristics of contemporary language practices (Blommaert, 2015: 83). These terms have become preferred to 'switching', or 'mixing', which imply the combination of 'features that conventionally belong to separate 'languages' Rather, recent sociolinguistic research is more inclined to adopt 'a focus on how speakers flexibly combine linguistic features of whatever pedigree, in line with local perceptions of language' (Jaspers & Madsen, 2018: 2). In exploring how international students of the trap[1] generation use and make sense of language, I can only approach language from this perspective. IBDP 'languagers' (Otsuji & Pennicook, 2010) disrupt the rules. They play with indexical stereotypes to negotiate who they are. They proudly mock both their 'impure' Catalan and Spanish, and incorporate with irony the refined registers they learn for their essay writing. They juggle the languages of the '*poligoneros*'[2] with 'higher' standardised forms of both Catalan and Spanish, their *Netflix* English and their MUN (Model United Nations) English. In addition, they create their own slang. They are *language* 'omnivores' (Friedman, 2012) who constantly cross the borders of what is expected by the institution but can also abide by the rules of fixed 'multilingualism' laid down by the school when required, as I show in chapter 4 of this thesis. Their uses, however, are not free from an ideologically informed hierarchical order.

As Jaspers and Madsen (2018: 2) observe, 'fluid language use is unnecessarily stigmatised or misrecognised, especially in education'. Students, then, enact

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1. Trap music is a subgenre of hip hop which has become extremely in vogue in urban areas in Catalonia since approximately 2015 with the popularisation of the band 'Pawn Gang', followed by very many others. The growth of the genre is deeply emmeshed with other forms of popular culture. Youtube, for example, was key in the spread of the genre which, from being essentially a millennial phenomenon, crossed generational borders and colonised the cultural establishment by becoming one of the main genres hosted by major music festivals such as Primavera Sound. One of the main characteristics of this genre is its fluid, flexible use of language which breaks with linguistic purism by incorporating transliteration, non-standard forms, a mix of registers and 'languages' and even invented slang.

2. *Polígono* in Spanish is an industrial estate. The term *poligonero* is used to refer to the stereotype of young working class people who live in the outskirts of big cities. It is a derogatory term that is sometimes invoked at FIS to refer to habits such as drug consumption. Ironically, FIS is itself located in an industrial estate.

and articulate language policy and the ideologies underlying these policies in their everyday practices. Language practices at FIS and BCN-IS reveal that, as in the elite Danish school studied by Nørreby & Madsen, 'the symbolic organisation of different language use in and around educational practices, to a large extent, reproduces wider patterns of social stratification' (Collins, 2015; Jaspers 2014; Nørreby & Madsen, 2018: 146;). The tensions between fixity and fluidity encountered in sites such as the school Nørreby & Madsen observed, or FIS and BCN-IS, reveal value boundaries where positively valued and negatively valued styles compete, and, as we have seen, are institutionalised. Non-standard ways of speaking are perceived as 'vulgar' (Nørreby & Madsen, 2018). Without a more 'post-language' approach to the conceptualisation of language, it is impossible to build more equal social relations that avoid categorising some speakers as deficient. The following sub-section explores the commodification of language resources and practices.

3.2.3. Language as a commodity and the linguistic market of education

The work of Monica Heller (2003, 2010) is central to the study of the elaboration of processes of commodification of language and identity. Adding to the work of other scholars, Heller explores the process by which language has come to be treated as a resource that one can acquire in exchange for material goods —typically money, since language and communication have become key tools, the skills required to do most jobs in the tertiarised and globalised economies (Heller, 2010; Holborow, 2015; Pujolar, 2007a; Urciuoli, 2008). Central to the studies of language in the new economy is the idea that language has gained relevance, both by becoming an instrument of work —most jobs are communication based— and as the resulting product of labour. Many authors claim that workers' language skills, as well as their speech styles and language practices in the workplace, have become commodities (Cameron, 2000; Urciuoli & LaDousa, 2013). Language 'acts as a resource to be produced, controlled, distributed, valued and constrained' (Heller, 2010: 108), it has exchange value in a market (Block, 2010; Heller, Pujolar & Duchêne, 2014; Park & Wee, 2012), it is convertible into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Urciuoli & LaDousa, 2013).

Language commodities, or skills are ascribed market value through semiotic work. Processes of semiotisation are is informed by language ideologies, and

are subject to the regimentation of spaces and of language practices. Urciuoli & LaDousa (2013) and Heller (2011) talk about discursive constructions of experience and they use as examples the marketisation of touristic experiences of ethnic authenticity, or the creation of niche markets for 'terroir' products. International schools, engage in doing semiotic work in similar ways in their construction of 'authentic' and 'more valuable' language learning experiences, because they happen in 'unique'/'distinctive' contexts, in which 'iconicised' and 'distinctive' language varieties or styles are learned. The uniqueness of the authentic experience renders it more valuable, because it is distinctive and not accessible by everyone, everywhere. These discursive constructions require establishing regimes of meta-semiotic regimentation, as we constantly see in chapters 4 and 6, mostly when actors engage in regulating language and in disciplining or stylising linguistic action. The schools, especially FIS, and the agencies responsible for curricula production (e.g. IBO) issue 'metamessages delimiting the range of possible interpretations, but which do so indirectly, implicitly, or inductively' (Urciuoli & LaDousa, 2013: 176). This work is done and justified on the assumption that there will be some profit gained by at least some of the actors. What is happening at FIS and at BCN-IS is a process of (re)semiotisation of a space, of language learning, and of establishing new regimes of value —also for specific language varieties or styles of speaking. These new constructions, what these spaces and practices mean, and how much they are valued, are issues revealed discursively and are informed by ideologies of pride and profit, by ideologies valuing authority or ethnic authenticity (Heller & Duchene, 2012; Urciuoli & LaDousa, 2013; Woolard, 1989), amongst the other ideologies at play.

In this terrain, the second thing that happens as a consequence of an economy driven view of language is that traditional discourses viewing language as political and cultural would seem to become eroded. Visions of language as an identity marker of a community, typically a nationally bounded one, or of language as belonging to a group of native speakers who are constructed as the only legitimate users, influenced by ideas of language purity and authenticity (Woolard, 1989), would initially seem to be in contradiction to the rule of 'profit'. Heller and Duchêne (2012) refer to pride and profit to establish the journey from romantic to economic visions of language. The metaphor of the journey necessarily implies a temporal dimension as well: going from one earlier more primitive state to another, more advanced one. Tropes of pride and profit, however, exist as 'intertwined', and they 'index debates about the nature

of language itself, as the idea of language as a whole, bounded system cedes ground to the idea of language as a set of circulating, complex, communicative resources' (2012: 4).

In internationalised spaces these old and new discursive regimes (of pride and of profit, of the national and the post-national) exist in tension. In both sites there is, on the one hand, a great discursive effort being made by institutional actors for the establishment of a new regime of value. Everything that stands for internationality (cosmopolitanism, English, multilingualism, diversity, mobility) is constructed as progressive, modern, as necessary for social development —i.e. social climbing (see Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017). This coexists with more intricate, covert and nuanced discourses of authenticity, of pride, which are drawn upon by different actors in relation to English, Spanish or Catalan, depending on the contexts. In this turn from pride to profit, ideologies linking language to territoriality, community and identity may suffer transformations but still exist and are revealed in numerous instances. As Heller and Duchêne (2012) observe, and as also analysed in the context of football fans by Del Percio and Duchêne (2012), institutional actors often seek to mobilise 'the authenticity resources legitimately owned by others as a way to increase profit'. Authenticity/pride can be commodified in order to construct value for languages that were already subject to ideologies of profit, such as English at BCN-IS. The fact that international school teachers emerge as 'authentic' language workers shows prevailing native-speaker ideologies, which are in and of themselves part of the cluster of romantic nationalist ideologies conceptualising the nation-state as one people, one language, one state, contributing to the construction of authenticity. The construction of the school as a site of 'authentic' English, explored in Chapter 4, also illustrates the complexity of such processes.

This thesis shows how specific languages, languages that are subject to being anonymised (that is, English and Spanish) can become commodified either as a technical skill, as an indispensable resource to compete in the job market (Cameron, 2000) or as a sign of authenticity (Coupland, 2003). Authentic varieties become valued only if they can count as a technical skill; in Bourdieusian terms, if they can pass as convertible capital.

The processes of commodification and of attribution of linguistic value observed in this thesis show how both ideological stances feature in the discursive basis of the construction of distinct language repertoires, and identities. The schools retain and exercise control over the production and distribution of lin-

guistic resources among students and teachers, and over the processes of value making for specific languages and varieties, and speakers. The work by Urciuoli (2008) on language skills and 'skilling of selves' (Allan, 2013) is central to understand the processes taking place in the schools and how they mirror broader processes taking place beyond the schools walls. Some language skills are more valued than others in specific fields, and there are recursive processes of commodification taking place. Critiques of language commodification question the extent to which the use of Marxist commodification theories can be applied to language. Block (2017) revisits his own and others' work on language commodification. Understanding language 'as a means of communication (…) and as an objective skill, acquired and possessed, that affords status, recognition, legitimacy and ultimately material remuneration, to those who possess it', allows language to be understood as a commodity. However, to Block, a strict Marxist reading does not apply to language since it does not have a cost of production, and since the commodification of language as a skill is not relevant to language in isolation but as something interlinked with other sets of skills. Thus, he suggests that maybe it is *language as skill* that should be the object of the critique. Others (Holborow, 2015) observe how language commodification theories overuse the market metaphor by ignoring speakers' agency in negotiating and resisting its supposed dominance. I will explore how these questions relate to the data of this thesis in the Discussion.

Into these theoretical debates are inserted debates on English as a global language, and discourses on dominant languages, language maintenance and language endangerment, which position speakers in situations of privilege or precariousness too. The design of multilingual repertoires that represent distinct value to speakers, that is, elite repertoires, is one of the ways of constructing privilege through language. I will now turn to explore how privilege intersects with language in education.

3.3. Elites

3.3.1. On the nature of elites

Research on elites has traditionally focused on the strategies social groups employ in order to achieve or maintain their status or dominant position, or on

how such elites exercise their power. This thesis adds to the first research tradition by exploring strategies of elite recruitment from a critical sociolinguistic perspective. The notions 'elites', and 'elitism', are central to the analysis. The reader will find, in the stories of how the schools do internationality, a discursive operation of value-making that has, as its ultimate goal, the construction of certain capitals as distinct and more valuable than others, capitals viewed as yielding power. I think of this section as an abridged book on what has guided my understanding of what elitism is; how it manifests itself at this historical moment; how this relates to changing understandings of social class and social class formation in globalised neoliberal societies; and the role of education systems today in the social structuring of individuals, as well as in the production and reproduction of privilege. In this section I engage with the thinking of sociologists and social theorists, sociologists of education, and sociolinguists who have turned their critical gaze to the study of social class and elites to understand better the mechanisms of social inequality.

It is no coincidence that elite studies, and more specifically studies focusing on the educational strategies of elites, constitute an increasingly prolific field. The growing gap between rich and poor, and the compression of the middle classes toward the lower end of the social spectrum may account for a renewed interest in the study of elites. In defining 'elite', it is imperative to note that this thesis does not explore the educational strategies of the 1% of global plutocrats. With the desire to move away from essentialist and slightly fetishised views of who the elites are, it explores strategies and practices of 'elitism' being employed by the (upper-)middle classes, as a central mechanism of access to power.

Scholars in the field (Ball, 2015; Maxwell, 2015; van Zanten, 2015) invariably underscore the difficulty of pinning down what counts as 'elite'. It can be a class or a social group, but also practices, activities, or a set of dispositions, attitudes towards others. All imply the notion of superiority in terms of power or influence. As Howard and Kenway (2015) observe, there are new and old elites; global and local elites; political, cultural, super and top elites; ruling elites or hidden elites. The existence of many different kinds of elites indicates the necessity to avoid thinking of elites as one body, but rather as those holding a social position of privilege or power that is displayed in a specific field (Bourdieu, 1998). Following van Zanten (2015), I understand privilege as 'the specific advantages granted to —or seized by— particular individuals or groups', and power as 'the authority and capacity to affect other people's lives

in significant ways' (p. 4). Elite spheres or the condition of being elite can be accessed, but also abandoned. Time, space, field, degree, power and visibility determine one's position in relation to elite status, which, for those who don't possess it, is normally regarded partly with desire, partly with envy.

Elite status is conditional on the power that specific capitals or resources —economic, social, symbolic— grant the individual. The scope of this power, in late modern societies, operates within national as well as in transnational spaces. As Maxwell (2015: 16), or Savage and Williams (2008) point out, 'the study of elites should be about the study of power and how power operates within (nationally bounded) societies, but increasingly understandings also need to focus on the flows of power at a global level'. 21st century elites are no longer restricted to Mills' (1956) group of white men with identical class backgrounds occupying positions of power in political, military and economic institutions in the US. Mills' ideas on power structures and the reproduction of privilege have been superseded by those of researchers analysing more liquid forms of concentration of political and economic power, transnationally (Bühlmann et al., 2013; Buono, 2012; Dogan 2003; Hartmann, 2010; Maclean et al., 2010; Murray, 2012; Savage & Williams, 2008; Scott, 2003). Less perennial forms of accumulation —and dispossession— of power require more agentive, self-governed individuals who are ultimately responsible for their own social success.

The renewed interest in elite studies, mostly within the field of sociology, may coincide with the need to approach —from different perspectives— what elite status and privilege mean in the late modern era. There is a perceived need to find new ways to account for how power is accessed and operates in neoliberal societies, with 'aggressive' transformations of social class distribution, and disturbingly growing inequalities (Pikkety, 2014; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017), especially acute over the last decade. As Block (2017) observes, the beginning of the economic crisis in 2007 marked a shift in the intensity with which neoliberal policies have favoured the interests of the wealthy, while increasingly neglecting the well-being of the popular classes around the world. 'Nowhere has such an attack been more evident than in the transfer of capital assets from the less wealthy in society to the wealthiest' (2017: 19). The interest in elites also responds to a desire for a better understanding of the nature of power.

Recent scholarship on elite studies depart from Bourdieusian approaches, and understand membership of an elite in terms of the 'control over, value of,

and distribution of resources' (Khan, 2012: 362). This thesis portrays what is entailed in 'being elite' from this perspective. It focuses on the performative, discursive nature of elitism, rather than on the class dimension underpinning who 'the elites' are. 'Elite' is understood as 'something people do, not something they necessarily have or are' (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017: 12). This implies a vision in which agency is as important as structure. It is a form of social positioning which is done through the deployment of semiotic and communicative resources that help people to distinguish themselves from others, and 'access symbolic-material resources for shoring up status, privilege and power' (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017: 13). Elitism is performed, talked into existence.

The analytical chapters of this thesis display relatively privileged stakeholders constructing value systems for specific sets of resources, which should make them privileged. They act as gatekeepers in regulating how these are accessed and by whom, engaging in mechanisms of social closure and constructing exclusivity as a way to maintain the value of their capital intact. This is a precondition for the exercise of power over others (Scott, 2008), and following Bourdieu's work, this constitutes 'being elite'. Elite status is relative and relational (Block, 2014; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017), it has to be recognised by others.

Studies on the workings of power tend to point out that the accrual of capitals that give access to power is always done through the 'dispossession' of the capital of others (Harvey, 2010). Power has been conceptualised as a 'zero-sum game', as being 'fixed in quantity' (Maxwell, 2015; Scott, 2008: 29). Because of its limited nature, access to specific 'fields of power' (Bourdieu, 1984) requires competing for control over resources —or economic, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984)— that allow access to these dominant social spheres. Power is transferred to higher status groups that occupy dominant social positions from less dominant or less powerful groups. This mechanism for the distribution of power is the driving force of social inequality.

3.3.2. Capitals, distinction and the making of social class

As stated above, in analysing how elitism is 'done', Bourdieu's notion of distinction is essential. The accumulation of resources, or capitals, in societies where a neoliberal ethos prevails, is central to the idea of competition. It constitutes a process of social positioning, of classifying oneself within the social spec-

trum (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991a, 1991b, 1991; Skeggs, 2015). Accruing exclusive material and symbolic resources, that is, capitals that are not widely available across the social spectrum, allows the individual to access social positions of relative advantage, to remain ahead of the game.

In trying to answer the critical question of who and what the elites are, and how elite status is enacted, we must inevitably question how elitism relates to the notion of social class, and more specifically, how this relationship has changed and is articulated in the 21ˢᵗ century, especially since the economic crisis. Numerous studies have questioned the analytical validity of considering the 'elite' as a distinctive class (Scott, 2008), arguing for the heterogeneous nature of the social groups that hold or have been granted an elite status. Maxwell (2015) in her mapping of elite studies, establishes the binding of elite status and social class as a priority in the research agenda of this field. She argues that more evidence is needed from empirical studies to show how elites form a class of their own. She suggests the need for further study of elites in order to come up with generalised theoretical conceptualisations of the elite class. The empirical data of this thesis will contribute to such conceptualisations of an elite class, by shedding light on these groups' educational and linguistic practices.

In order to participate in this debate, I feel it pertinent to sketch the lines of thought that have informed my understanding of class. Contemporary class theories build on classic Marxist conceptualisations of class as relations of production, but since the cultural turn in social theory (Ball, 2003) most definitions of class portray it as a multi-dimensional construct. David Block incorporates models such as that of Durkheim (1984), Weber's theory of 'status groups' (1978) and, most importantly, Bourdieu's work, especially *Distinction* (1984) (Block, 2017: 19). These conceptualisations of class bring together economic and sociocultural foundations in the mechanisms of structuration of societies. They take into account both structural constraints and agentic practices in class-making mechanisms. Upbringing, education, occupation and income, traditional class markers, are as important as social networks and lifestyle practices —that is, forms of symbolic behaviour such as patterns of consumption, leisure activities, mobility, neighbourhood or housing (Block, 2014, 2017). These social practices have been understood as forms of exercising power and markers of social status (Skeggs, 2004), and in line with Bourdieu's theory, they are at one and the same time constituents of, and constituted by social structure (Block, 2014: 52).

This study, in common with most research conducted on social class in the fields of sociolinguistics and the sociology of elites and education is inspired by Bourdieu. Bourdieu's framework of capitals, habitus and field (1986) is especially useful in approaching the relationship between class and elitism, and is an essential set of tools for the theoretical elaboration and analysis of the empirical data presented in this thesis. A few authors have questioned the lasting validity of Bourdieu's work, arguing that cultural distinctions conforming class boundaries have been diluted (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2010; Peterson & Kern, 1996) or that his model of class-based lifestyle differences is not especially relevant to contexts outside France (Lamont, 1992, 2000). In my analysis of interactional data, the dynamic processes of class formation and the micro boundaries established within class groups become evident through the lens of capital frameworks. Studies such as those of Jarness and Friedman (2017) show its validity for micro-class analysis. Bourdieu's theories allow researchers to see close-up how different stocks of social, symbolic or economic capital are differently valued and convertible in each specific field, and how they give way to a myriad of possible combinations, which establish harder or softer class boundaries — that is, how they grant or deny individuals with specific capital configurations access to specific social spaces. This becomes especially evident in chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis.

One of the aspects that Block explores in his book *Social class in applied linguistics* is the limits of economic capital in the constitution of social class. This is directly relevant to this thesis. While, as stated, none of the stakeholders is one of the Catalan superrich, they are members of the (upper)middle classes who are actively engaged in practices of creating social distinction and in processes of value attribution in order to establish their relative social privilege. Block, drawing on Bourdieu's *Distinction*, quotes him as saying that 'economic barriers (…) are not sufficient to explain the class distribution of certain activities' (1984: 217, as cited in Block, 2014: 52). He cites sports such as golf, skiing, or sailing as activities traditionally associated with elites. Elite education, or international tracks within elite education are another example of this. Bourdieu goes on to say how 'there are more hidden entry requirements, such as family tradition and early training, or the obligatory manner (of dress and behaviour), and socializing techniques, which keep these sports closed to the working class…' (1984: 217). The gatekeepers for elite educational institutions are usually dispositional, and judge a candidate's suitability based on class habitus, especially attitudinal dispositions such as

valuing academic training and credentials and being hard-working, responsible individuals (see Sunyol & Codó, 2019).

In the analytical chapters of this thesis, especially Chapters 5 and 7, the separation between economic capital and social and symbolic capital becomes even more evident. Marta's story, in Chapter 7, shows firstly that economic capital is a precondition to accessing the exclusive educational resources the school makes available to its students. It also shows, however, that differences in family wealth have an impact on the ability of students to accumulate other types of capital (social, symbolic) and to convert these types of capital in specific fields. In other words, the extent to which each family is able to convert economic capital into cultural capital translate into unequal possibilities among individual students of securing competitive advantage at key transitioning moments throughout their education (van Zanten, 2015). Marta's lesser family wealth ends up penalising her and she needs to invest more time and effort than her fellow students to achieve similar goals.

I have said earlier how I understand elite status as performative. Bourdieu's definition of class also sees it as an agentive practice: 'class must be understood as embodied, multimodal symbolic behaviour (e.g. how one moves one's body, the clothes one wears, the way one speaks, how one eats, the kinds of pastimes one engages in, etc.) and, in part, a matter of style'. Class is the embodiment of a habitus, of acquired dispositions, a 'durable way of standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu, 1990: 69–70), of adopting appropriate taste and legitimate behaviour in different social contexts. If class can be 'done', it can also be learned. Nespor (2014) in his study on institutional wormholes analyses the processes through which, and spaces in which individuals become 'habituated' into the right types of dispositions to access elite tracks. Family background, that is, its social and economic resources, geographical location and its generational and transnational trajectories of social and geographical mobility, are highly decisive.

One of the ways of enacting 'being elite' is through education. School-mediated forms of social reproduction are becoming more prominent (Bourdieu, 1996; Flemmen, 2017) than family inheritance. Education, and schools, have a crucial role in the processes of social structuration and class formation (Ball, 2013). Schools are sites of symbolic distribution and the formation of class relations (Bernstein, 1990; Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Eagleton, 1989). They are sites where individuals are 'inscribed into conduct' (Eckert,

2000), where specific habitus are constructed and reproduced. Students are expected to become enculturated into a specific class, to acquire and learn to embody, as stated above, ways of looking, walking, talking, etc. Through education, powerful groups seek to secure and advance their social and economic position (Ball & Nikita, 2014; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2016).

3.3.3. Elites and educational privilege

Van Zanten (2015) notes how the education of the elites has traditionally been understood as a mechanism of transmission of privilege and power. A plethora of studies have analysed what an elite education is, or what constitutes educational privilege, broadly from two perspectives: firstly, how specific types of education become instrumental in accessing dominant positions; secondly, what discourses and symbolic resources shape the formation of elite identities and dispositions, and how they come to legitimise one's privileged status Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009; Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2013; Howard, 2010; Kenway & Koh, 2015; Khan, 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014, 2016; Maxwell et al., 2018; etc.). This thesis sheds light on both aspects, with a focus on how distinct language resources become an essential element in embodying elite identities within the contexts of this study (see Codó & Sunyol, 2019).

Educational privilege, or elite education systems, nationally and globally, are organised 'institutional wormholes' (Nespor, 2014) aimed at propelling the individuals who transit them into positions of power. Elite schools are sites for the cultural production of privilege, sites where the tastes, dispositions, knowledge and beliefs of dominant groups are legitimised and passed on to the future generation (Howard, 2010). The elite school is a site for the internalisation and justification of social advantage. First, it is an instrument of legitimation for holding advantaged social positions. Holding elite educational credentials, or prestigious academic capital, usually translates into being a 'deserving' member of the elite classes. Such credentials are also a marker of class habitus, or of possessing an acquired set of embodied dispositions (Block, 2014), which have been transmitted in these institutional settings. The distinctive educational capital that is accrued in such schools grants access to higher education and employment that will translate into power and prestige, regardless of its

usefulness in job markets. Schools have a crucial role in what Nespor identifies as the basic aim of elites, which is to 'dominate fields of activity over the long-term by controlling key resources and extracting surplus value and wealth from their own and others' labor' (2014: 28). Choosing a suitable school contributes to guaranteeing an entry into such dominant positions.

The key resources being made available at these sites are shaped by, and at the same time shape what resources are associated with the dominant culture, the dominant regimes of value in a specific field of power. Different types of elite institutions cater for different types of elites, and include in their curricula what counts as valuable knowledge for each group. This is done through numerous processes of establishing the social value of specific capitals. Stakeholders' 'innocent' practices inevitably draw symbolic boundaries, engage in group formation and determine forms of social inclusion and exclusion, all based on sharing the prescribed tastes, life-styles and other social practices (Bourdieu, 1984: 730; Jarness & Friedman, 2017). Participating in MUN conferences, school trips in 5 star hotels, displaying stylish hairstyles, clothing, hosting parties in one's covered swimming pool, dining at Michelin starred restaurants or embarking on transatlantic trips are all essential to the transmission of class habitus at FIS. Embedded in these social practices are practices of group formation and one's ability or willingness to participate is decisive in processes of social inclusion or exclusion.

In the prologue to *Elites, privilege and excellence* van Zanten identifies elite forms of schooling that reproduce aristocratic and high-brow bourgeois culture. However, new, more hybrid forms of cultural knowledge and cultural consumption have become valued (Van Zanten, 2015; see also: Jarness & Friedman, 2017; Weenink, 2009) that allow 'omnivorous' members of the elites to deploy their artistry in order to cross group boundaries and be more culturally and socially flexible (Block, 2014; Van Zanten, 2015). Elite schools are oriented towards producing specific types of citizens. With the growing perception that there is a need to create global citizenry, many opt for preparing students to become members of a transnational ruling class. Studies by Kenway and Fahey (2014) and Kenway et al. (2015), or Maxwell et al. (2018), show how elite international schools cater for the demand for 'cultural openness' or 'social openness' of some elite groups, who wish to develop cosmopolitan identities, get used to interacting with 'cultural others' and become socially and geographically mobile across global as well as local contexts (van Zanten, 2015: 8).

Establishing such regimes of value requires processes of stylisation, that is, establishing hegemonic cultural models of interaction (Agha, 2007: 4), which entails adopting new verbal behaviours, but also buying into dominant discourses and ways of thinking and acting. This is what happens at FIS, and BCN-IS. Actors, or speakers, adapt their own discourses, their views, opinions, interests and the way they present themselves to others through, for example, styles of dressing, speaking. This allows them to participate, from hegemonic positions, in tight-knit networks or social groups, and to belong to coveted social categories —for example, that of an IB learner, or an international school student— which confers on the individual, or the school, an outlook of privilege (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Speakers deploy a number of verbal and non-verbal semiotic resources (Auer, 2007: 11–12) to produce social meaning, and to conform to a particular style, that is, to the set models of interaction with others that hold value in a given space (Eckert, 2012). By conforming to the model, adapting one's communication to a specific genre, individuals are stylised. Speakers, participants, align themselves with dominant discourses, by mimicking glorified views on internationality, globalism, diversity, cosmopolitanism or mobility. Stylisation uniforms social spaces, it eliminates whatever does not fit.

There exist multiple forms and configurations of educational privilege, which is why it is difficult to provide a generalised definition of elite schools. There are, however, some common elements. Beyond fees, appearance in rankings and success in public exams, having influential alumni in powerful institutional positions and being wealthy entities, elite schools educate the most powerful and privileged classes (Kenway & Lazarus, 2017: 266). At a historical moment when growing inequality poses questions globally about the ethics of elite practices, education systems based firmly on educational excellence and academic quality are a fertile discursive ground to build legitimacy. One of the characteristics of privileged educational institutions is their effort to disavow their elite status (Kenway & Lazarus, 2017; Maxwell, 2018) and of mystifying the direct relationship between economic investment and revenues in highly valuable educational capitals, social capital and other forms of symbolic capital which have high convertibility later in life into economic capital. Meritocratic discourses are instrumentalised to dissimulate the causal relationships between family wealth and aspirations of future socioeconomic privilege as 'deserved' and commendable, self-won, rather than inherited. Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) offers a model called *the*

five E's of elite schooling: exclusion, engagement, excellence, entitlement and envisioning, to explain how this approval is dispensed.

Elite schools are *exclusive*. Their admissions processes are set up to exclude. These schools are not accessible to everyone, and there are specific frameworks for such exclusions. As a member of the institution, one has to *engage* actively in its many activities, and become involved in the school's semiotic apparatus. Students have to demonstrate *excellence* in doing all such activities, in order to prove their *entitlement* to being members of the privileged group, and being regarded as 'elite' both now and in the future. Depending on the school, this can mean producing outstanding results, becoming a paradigmatic moral, Christian gentleman, or in our case, an IB learner, as shown in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, and in Sunyol and Codó (2019). This is mandatory in order to become deserving members of the group. A number of studies have analysed how this sense of entitlement is discursively constructed in elite educational institutions (Forbes & Lingard, 2015; Howard et al., 2014; Khan, 2015; Maxwell & Aggleton, 2013, 2014). A further essential aspect is *envisioning*. Elite school students are able to envision elite futures for themselves and their peers. Some ways of enacting privilege may not be as straight forward as they seem, being highly context-driven and experienced and interpreted in different ways by different actors.

As in any market, within elite education, or among the most privileged education options, there are inner processes of distinction. In this sense, in recent years, forms of elite education that sell themselves as 'international' have become highly prestigious (Deppe et al., 2018b; Maxwell et al., 2018). This constitutes a further turn of privilege within the elite market, and has an effect both on elite education systems and the rest of the education system, generating further social stratification and inequality. Within the education system, as a reflection of broader society, the elite are becoming increasingly separated from the rest (Piketty, 2014). This seems to indicate that globalising processes in education have altered processes of elite group formation at different scales, but they have not undermined the essential goal of the social reproduction of these groups nationally. This has an effect on people's attitudes towards these educational options. Kenway, Fahey and Koh (2013) have analysed the globalising elite school market as a 'libidinal economy' that benefits from the 'desires' and the 'affective agency' of the wealthy and socially powerful to remain so, or to advance in their positions. Seen from a logic of competition, individuals and

families with 'ardent social aspirations' see international education as the ultimate and most desirable educational asset, the most distinctive one.

3.3.4. Elite multilingualism

One of the theoretical areas in which this thesis makes a contribution is in the conceptualisation of elite multilingualism. The process of the construction of multilingual repertoires as elite is in and of itself a process of commodification, of ascribing a greater market value to some sets of resources than others. Certain forms of multilingualism are sought to fill certain niches, to distinguish or to ensure the greater profitability of one's linguistic resources/skills (Flores & García, 2013). Neoliberal governance is the basis for understanding the process by which elite forms of multilingualism are constructed.

Recent conversations have opened up in the field of sociolinguistics on this matter, largely triggered by the special issue edited by Elizabeth Barakos and Charlotte Sellek in the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development (2019; see Codó & Sunyol, 2019). The appearance of PhD theses like this one, versing on this topic is a proof of the renewed interest in 'studying up', also in the field of sociolinguistics, that will be further explored in coming sections. All these studies build on the seminal work of Anne-Marie de Mejía, *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism,* in which she explores additive, elite and prestigious bilingualism (p. 39), from the Bourdieusian perspective of language resources as symbolic capital. De Mejía categorises elite multilingualism as a form of 'additive bilingualism', which is the 'acquisition and learning of majority or world languages which are seen as being 'useful' for enhancing future opportunities (2002: 40). In late-modern societies, the development of language repertoires that include a first, or home language alongside languages whose acquisition is seen as 'profitable' is strongly promoted by institutions such as the EU. As Pérez-Milans observes, language learning and the possession of multilingual repertoires is being 'framed in direct relationship to employability and mobility', to 'equip the young for today's job market and address the consequences of the economic crisis' (2014: 154). Elite multilingual resources give access to more privileged subjectivities, and social positions.

The frenzy for developing elite multilingual repertoires is especially salient in areas where the national economies are less developed, or where speakers

see less potential for national development. These also tend to be areas where national education systems are less valued, or less trusted by the general population, and where the national languages are subject to ideologies more of 'pride' and less of 'profit', as is the case of Catalonia, and also Spain. What Pérez-Milans calls an 'impetus for foreign language learning' has established English as the most institutionalised and dominant language in the EU, but increasingly, together with French, Spanish or German, other Non-European languages such as Mandarin Chinese are being included in elite multilingual repertoires (Barakos & Sellek, 2019; Codó & Sunyol, 2019; Garrido, 2017; Pérez-Milans, 2014: 155).

Such languages have no intrinsic value. Their value depends on how they are discursively constructed and positioned within a specific market. Gal (1989) observes that such value is often linked to the capacity of a language to give access to desired positions in the job market. A pre-condition to languages and repertoires gaining elite status is their exclusivity. These languages are not widely available as societal languages in most of the contexts where they are constructed as elite varieties. De Mejía pictures these types of multilingual repertoires as 'elective', that is, individuals choose to become bilingual and they acquire these sorts of capital through formal instruction, that is, through education (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994). The interest in accumulating this type of capital is often to seek distinction:

> It represents a definite advantage, socially and economically to speak more than one language for people who, because of lifestyle, employment opportunities and education, need to move frequently from one country to another, or who, because of the multilingual-multinational nature of the organisations they work for, need to interact with speakers of different languages on a daily basis (De Mejía, 2002: 41).

Selleck and Barakos (2019) reflect on the market-driven nature of such choices and the consumerist rationale behind them. Elite multilingual repertoires are available only to those who have access to the spaces where these capitals can be accumulated, to those with the capacity to convert their economic capital into these forms of symbolic capital. Interestingly, according to De Mejía, possessing distinctive language resources is part of an ethos of social, cultural and economic advantage, it is part of being 'elite' and contributes to the maintenance of social status.

One interesting thing about this thesis is that it shows how processes of construction of elite varieties are recursive. In the specific case of FIS, the construction of the English and Mandarin Chinese included in the students' repertoires constitutes a further recursion, and the same happens with the English taught or learned at BCN-IS. Only 'good English', or 'authentic English' are valuable Englishes for the speakers being produced at FIS. As we shall see, other types of English are strongly penalised. In the case of Mandarin Chinese, only when it is learned in a specific context, through a specific programme —the language is compulsory since age 4, it counts as distinctive capital. As these insights suggest, the construction of elite language varieties and elite repertoires lays bare the complex coexistence of language understood as 'pride', and language understood as 'profit'. Ideologies of the native speaker and language purity continue to be at the roots of language hierarchies and are a basis for the construction of distinction (Park, 2016). While the neoliberal ethos, then, has colonised many spheres of society, including education, and language, and coloured the way we think of ourselves as students and as speakers, there still exists a substratum of previous ideas that retain their value and play out in different ways across different contexts, as my analysis will show in more depth. The context of Catalonia is a particularly rich one in which to explore such issues, because of the complex sociolinguistic reality and the imbricated relationships of power and prestige associated both with Catalan and Spanish. This is reflected in studies by Woolard (1989), Pujolar (2001) or De Mejía (2005) in relation to the notion of elite multilingualism. The empirical data of this thesis show how the global financial crisis has further complicated the picture over the last decade. I will now turn to the methods to explain how this project has been designed and carried out.

4. Data and method: My journey into two elite international schools

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will explain the methodological procedures of this study. I will guide the reader through my ethnographic journey in two elite schools in the area of Barcelona, with the hope of clarifying the reasons to ask the questions I ask, and of showing how I have sought to answer them. I depart from the understanding that situated language practices cannot be detached from broader social processes. In fact, I believe that these broader social processes unfold, and thus can be observed, in social interaction. That is why, in order to understand how the education system deploys mechanisms for class production and reproduction that maintain or generate inequality, I observed and focussed on how this was done in two elite educational institutions.

This thesis is shaped by its ethnographic nature. In the previous chapter, ethnography was discussed as an epistemological stance, rather than a mere methodology. We have seen, thus, how it shapes the theoretical grounds and research questions it asks. In this case, the research method is inextricable from the way we understand the social world, and language. Episteme and ontology go hand in hand. As has been discussed in previous chapters, I believe the social world to be discursively realised, talked into being. The construction of social reality can be observed and analysed empirically (Pérez-Milans, 2015a; Heller, 2008) in social interactions. Ethnography allows us to gather and generate empirical data to describe how issues of power, and inequality, and the consequences of broad social processes unfold in specific conditions and contexts. By analysing situated practices and identifying representative or telling cases, we can gain a deeper insight into how such broader social processes work, what they mean to people and why (Heller et al., 2018).

This chapter will show how I have attempted to capture how inequality is being produced and reproduced in two elite international schools. Before showing some representative and telling instances (Heller et al., 2018) of how these broader processes influence, and are generated at, the micro level (Chapters 5–8) it is necessary to explain why I chose to visit two schools (4.3), and why these two schools and not others. In this chapter the reader will find the historical, geographical and social context of the two sites. I will show how and why I have sought to engage in conversation with many interlocutors, in order to put together an account of what it means for them to be or to become international, to understand why and how they enact internationality in their everyday lives.

In this chapter I will engage reflexively in some of the key methodological choices I made, even though the reader will find instances of these further explained in the analytical chapters that follow. These choices refer to the selection of key participants, and also the types of data that I collected, or how I approached research ethics (4.7). This chapter ends with some reflections on my positionality as a researcher and on the importance of researcher reflexivity in this type of research.

4.2. Choosing the setting of my ethnographic journey

I had conducted fieldwork at Forum International School for a previous study (Sunyol, 2015) which focused on language practices and how languages were used to project the international identity of the school. After 4 months of intensive ethnographic research I left the school with plenty of questions and puzzles, thirsty for a better understanding of why and how internationality was constructed. It became quite evident that there were interwoven processes, such as the elitisation of the school, that were triggering many changes in the way it was run, the demographic composition of the school community, the choice of curricula and the multiplication of services the school offered. The school was undergoing a sea change at a very rapid speed, and I was fascinated to observe how it was taking place, and wished to explore how this mirrored other transformations taking place around me, in a post-crisis Catalonia. The saturated job markets, and the desire (and struggle) of young people to reconfigure their lives in order to navigate the new social, economic and political order at the time, made a good level of English a very desirable skill to possess. Schools like FIS were making fortunes out of this 'English frenzy' and 'international' education was cashing in on this. Schools like FIS seemed the sorts of places I might investigate in order to understand why, all of a sudden, everything seemed to revolve around English.

The decision to add a second site responded to my wish to focus on internationality as a transversal and overarching process that transforms systems, institutions and individuals, and positions them differently in the world. I was interested in knowing how and why, under different conditions, the meaning of internationality is constructed. How this concept is understood and how it circulates within education systems, permeating institutions and people's minds.

The move towards internationality is a process that entails defining and re-defining social categories, and that transforms and challenges patterns of circulation of resources, and how these resources are valued. This study tries to make sense of the 'complexity, connectivity and intersectionality' of this ongoing process in order to gain a deeper —albeit incomplete— understanding of this social reality (Heller et al., 2018: 48). In order to explore the circulations of meanings, objects and identities associated with internationality 'in a diffuse time-space' (Marcus, 1995), I could not restrict the focus of my intensive ethnographic fieldwork to a single site. Exploring how meaning circulates across and within multiple sites allows for a clearer picture of the cross-contextual elements, that is, general patterns within a process that transcend the structures of a single school. I needed to take into account the wider context in which these situated discourses are produced, reproduced, circulated and contested. Marcus (1995) and also McCarthy and Kenway (2014) see the emergence of multi-sited ethnography as a necessary response to 'empirical changes in the world' and 'transformed locations of cultural production' associated with postmodernism and globalisation (Marcus, 1995: 97).

In order to capture how internationality was being articulated in elite schools in Catalonia I explored schools that were changing or establishing their institutional narrative and that were including internationality or a global rhetoric in their marketing approach, from a specific moment in time —after 2008— that is, schools that were shifting from a national to an international paradigm. I discovered that there were many of them, and most were quite similar typologically. After thoroughly reading their marketing discourses, visiting some of them and talking to families, teachers and administration officers, I found that most of the so-called 'third wave' international schools were large in terms of student numbers, they covered all the compulsory and pre-university educational stages and they offered the national curriculum with extras —and were sometimes international curricula, such as those provided by the IB. They all charged high fees, were mostly non-religious, and were quite managerial in style. Their language programmes included a greater presence of English in the curriculum than in the average semi-private or state schools, be it in the form of English-medium instruction in other subject areas, more hours of foreign language study or a wider offering of activities oriented towards the improvement of English. In broad terms, these schools were very similar to FIS.

There was one school, however, that differed from all these. BCN-IS was rather small in student numbers, and it had a limited growth scheme. It did

not implement any of the international curricula as extras —e.g. the IBDP, American or French baccalaureates— but it still had educational extras and the fees were hefty. The school had a unique way of constructing exclusivity in the Catalan international school market. Moreover, unlike the rest, its internationality was not built on the Catalan or Spanish curricula but around the British. Classes were taught exclusively in English but English language learning was not emphasised in the school rhetoric. If anything, it was rendered somewhat invisibe, naturalised. All these elements, together with its singularity within the Catalan schools market, made it a good site to explore how internationality is constructed as an elite educational choice, and would provide a more nuanced picture of the relationship between language(s) and internationalising processes. Conducting less intensive ethnographic fieldwork in this additional school would allow me to unpack the elements in the construction of internationality and privilege in different environments, and would allow me to gain a wider perspective. In what follows, I will present the settings of my ethnography.

4.2.1. Forum International School

I have called the school where I carried out more intensive ethnographic fieldwork the 'Forum International School'. During the academic years 2014-15, 2015-16 and 2016-17, I visited the school on a regular basis —two, three, or four times per week. During some periods, I spent whole school days there, as if I were a student. FIS is a private, non-religious and coeducational school which was founded, in 1989 on the outskirts of Sant Medir, as a Catalan school, offering the Catalan national curriculum to families mostly from the neighbouring cities and towns. From the start, the school charged exclusive fees and offered a number of educational extras, such as musical education in partnership with a prestigious music school in the area. It later incorporated more extensive language programmes than state schools typically offered, with the aim of distinguishing themselves from the competition in the local schools market. This consisted in doing more hours of English language instruction, establishing a language immersion programme from early years education, and offering extracurricular Mandarin classes. They boast of their comprehensive arts programme, and sports are also a fundamental part of the school's project.

These elements, together with their facilities, have given the school an elite reputation. The following images show the school's main buildings:

Picture 4.1. FIS Junior and Secondary building

Picture 4.2. FIS Infant building

The school, like any private school, was business-oriented and took market dynamics into account from the very beginning. It was an enterprise. However, since the economic crisis of 2008, this intensified. In order to compensate for the shortage of students, and to overcome the difficulties associated with times of recession, in 2008 the school undertook an internationalising project which entailed a number of structural changes. On the strictly economic plan, the founding partners merged with other school partners to become a larger educational group (New FIS Group, referred to as NFG hereafter), which continued to acquire schools in Spain and beyond. The FIS founding partners still retained shares in the company, which had expansion as its business goal. In recent years the firm has suffered a number of financial problems that have resulted in it being bought by bigger venture capital funds specialising in the sector and its market value has steadily increased as the number of educational centres they own has grown, primarily in Spain, but also in other European countries and in South-East Asia. Today they have more than 30 schools in countries such as Andorra, India, France, Italy, the UK, Portugal and Qatar. Internationalising schools, and internationalising as a business strategy has lead NFG to become one of the biggest educational groups worldwide (eleconomista).

Between 2008 and 2011 *Forum* became *Forum International School*. As part of the restructuration, in 2011 they incorporated a new management board with the mission to 'internationalise' the school, whilst still retaining their *Catalan school* identity. FIS defines itself as a 'Catalan school with international projection'. The wording of their identity reveals their desire to establish themselves on what Maxwell (2018) calls a 'glonacal' scale, combining global, national and local dimensions. FIS was the first of all the schools owned by the group to undertake internationalisation, and still retains its status as the flagship of transformation for other schools. Proof of this is that up until 2018, the schools that the NFG has absorbed become international by following the same procedures as FIS. On academic grounds, the new board of directors worked on creating a new discursive apparatus from which to build the new school identity, and instigated curricular transformations. The main routes to this metamorphosis were, firstly, making the school multilingual. The intensification of English in the school is the primary axis of the school's internationality. Then, internationalising the curriculum by offering additional programmes, such as those offered by the IBO. Next, they fostered student and teacher mobility.

And finally, they sought to create an international atmosphere in the school, which they did both by organising *international* events and by introducing iconicised elements into the school landscape, such as flags, world maps, or multilingual signposts —something I explore in Chapter 5.

Forum International School caters for all educational stages, from nursery to baccalaureate. They offer the national curriculum of Catalonia, together with the IBDP (since 2011). In 2016, the school opened a vocational training section, and is applying to implement the whole IB continuum with the incorporation of the PYP (Primary Years Programme) and MYP (Middle Years Programme) in the coming years, to be the only school in the area offering these programmes. Since 2011 they have also joined several international schools communities, and they have become official language examiners in partnership with Cambridge, CIEP (Centre International d'Études Pedagogiques), the Goethe and Confucius institutes.

FIS is, therefore, a large school (1580 students, 180 teachers) and even though most of the families are still of local origin —coming from Sant Medir or one of its neighbouring towns, since its transformation the number of international students (those with at least one parent from abroad) has risen from 2% (2008) to 15% (2018). Most of the families attending the school live in Sant Medir, the nearest city, and one of the wealthiest in Spain. The industrial estate where the school is located hosts a number of multinational companies, where many of the parents work. Basic monthly fees range from 280€ —primary school— to 700€ —secondary education—, which need to be supplemented with extras, such as lunch, which is cooked in the school, school trips or school materials, compensatory language lessons and extracurricular activities. Taking the Diploma Programme of the IB also comes at an extra cost, and families can end up paying around 900€ monthly. Fees become higher as students advance in the curriculum. The school's facilities are comprised of two main buildings, the primary and the secondary schools, and a large playground with pine woodlands. It also has an auditorium, tennis and basketball courts, and football pitches. These facilities are rented out in the evenings, and at weekends.

Since 2008 the school has implemented a trilingual language programme, which consists in teaching an equal number of subjects (33%) in English, Catalan and Spanish in primary and secondary. In post-compulsory education lessons are taught either in Catalan or Spanish in the 'national' section, according to teacher choice, and mostly in Spanish in the IB. Sometimes, however,

IB classes are taught in Catalan if the teacher and students agree. In addition to this, the school has widened its foreign language provision by establishing compulsory Mandarin Chinese lessons from ages 4 until 10. After Year 5, and until the end of secondary, students can choose to continue studying Mandarin Chinese, or taking up French or German.

The new school management board has put a lot of discursive effort into the new corporate identity, and these changes have become salient in the communication between teachers, students, and families, and also on their ever-changing website. This, and the fact that the transformation is still ongoing, have made it an excellent site to witness the processes entailed in becoming international; how the school has changed its rhetoric; how the new international identity is embraced at a personal level and how the social dynamics of the school have been altered.

4.2.2. BCN International School

Barcelona International School is an independent, non-religious and co-educational school located near Barcelona, that was founded in 2007. This rather small school comes across as somewhat exclusive. Entry mechanisms, fees, campus facilities and its numerous 'distinction' practices render it accessible only to a privileged few. The school eschews aggressive advertising campaigns, and relies largely on word of mouth for publicity. Keeping student numbers low is part of their business strategy. The school is, and wishes to remain, one-form entry; they have a limited growth plan. Their discreet advertising style relies more on parental social networks than flashy campaigns, even though they put up the occasional billboard, or participate in international school fairs. The parent community is quite close-knit, and students often share family ties (interview data). The school is one of the most expensive in Catalonia. Parents pay from 700€ per month per child in the Early Years Education to 1,300€ in Key Stage 4 (late secondary), to which a 2,100€ annual registration fee, uniforms and additional services such as lunch, transport and school trips have to be added. Such high fees are the price parents pay for their children to learn in a *unique* environment: classes are arranged in very small groups of up to 15 students; and their schooling takes place in a modernist villa, and in the newly developed adjacent building, with state-of-the-art facilities:

Picture 4.3. View of BCN-IS main door through the wrought iron fence of the modernist villa where the playground is located

Picture 4.4. BCN-IS's new premises

One of the singularities of this school is that it offers the British international curriculum. In other words, the school is accredited by the UK government to implement their national education abroad. This distinguishes it from all other schools in the area, which all offer the Catalan national curriculum, and makes it an attractive school choice to both local and non-local families (Sunyol, 2019). They offer integral English-medium education, with the exception of Catalan, Spanish and French language lessons. This *unique* pedagogical programme is central to the sales pitch of the school as 'international'. The British curriculum is sold as an advanced, modern, high-quality option, in contrast to the local curriculum. Most teachers are from the UK, have been trained or have work experience in the UK. This is particularly relevant in order to picture BCN-IS as an enclave of 'authentic' British English. Their 'foreignness', and the incorporation of pedagogies such as Forest School or the Unicef programmes on respecting human rights are the discursive basis to justify their internationality.

When it was founded in 2007 the school was originally set in a small residential town (with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants), which developed at the beginning of the 20th century as a holiday destination for the Catalan bourgeoisie. Initially the school hosted local families —from neighbouring towns— who wanted their children to study in an environment of English immersion. After a period of economic difficulties and the restructuring of the shareholding, the school moved to a larger town, *La Ribera*, with better communications with Barcelona and the main industrial areas nearby. The relocation was part of a controlled expansion plan. Today, the school is located at the modernist epicentre of the town, which was also a popular holiday spot for the early 20th century Barcelona elites, and has remained markedly residential. Even though it is located in the town centre, the school premises are in a quiet area, with little traffic, surrounded by summer villas and gardens, and close to the main public transport networks that connect the town with Barcelona.

By settling in *La Ribera*, which had other international schooling options, BCN-IS has established a market for international education in the town, and has made it an attractive residential option for global middle-class families, changing both the demographics of the school and the town. Even though local families still form a majority —60%— in the school, the percentage of non-local families is higher than at FIS. This school, then, does not primarily educate the children of British expatriate families, as would be expected of a British school abroad. British nationals are, in fact, a minority.

The school's singular take on constructing privilege, the similarities between the settings of the two school studied and parallels apparent with regard to the tensions between 'national' and 'international' made BCN-IS an excellent site in which to discover and distil the meanings of 'internationality' in the two sites.

4.3. Organising fieldwork

4.3.1. Continuing access at FIS

I organised my fieldwork in two periods. I needed to continue my fieldwork at FIS, and I had to lay the ground for doing fieldwork at BCN-IS. This conditioned timings. In September 2016, I would resume fieldwork in the lesser known spaces of FIS, such as the IBDP section. From February onwards, I would start fieldwork at BCN-IS.

Accessing FIS again was not complicated. I had been visiting the school regularly since my first period of observations, during the school-year 2015-2016, to collect data for a publication. Contacts had already been made during my first period of fieldwork, and people were keen to continue to help me with my study. In this regard, building and maintaining good field relations was key.

Back in 2015, access at FIS had been easier than I expected. I had assumed that since it was a large school, and because of its elitist nature, I would experience greater difficulties in being able to 'linger' there. However, there were a number of unanticipated circumstances that worked to my advantage. The school was close to my university, and some of my colleagues lived in the area. The availability of social connections gave me several alternatives when planning my access strategy. I finally contacted the director through a teacher who had previously worked at my university. It seemed the best option, since Pau, the Latin teacher, was new to the school. He was young, and his research-oriented profile and connections to the university helped him build a good reputation among teaching staff and with the head, or so I learnt. Evidence for this is that, after his first year, he was made group tutor of a baccalaureate class. I also knew, however, that he was not fully aligned with the entrepreneurial vision of the school, and I presumed that this would make him somewhat independent of the general teaching body —he was not identified with any of the teacher cliques, nor was he close to the managerial staff. After exchanging a couple of

emails, he put me in touch with the headteacher, to whom he had previously mentioned my project. After a long access interview, in which the director focussed on selling the school's internationalisation drive, and on presenting their new educational objectives, I gained access to the school. That interview was striking. Turn-taking was clearly imbalanced. Mr. Ermengol sat in his office, talking and talking. In fact, while I was presenting myself and the project I was working on, he stopped me when I mentioned that my interest was in observing 'language practices'. He took the floor to clarify that the school was not *trilingual* but *multilingual*, and he went on to give a detailed explanation of their language curriculum, mobility programmes for teachers and students, the IBDP and other international activities. It seemed to me a very well-structured, learned discourse. Even though it was not going to be at the core of that first research step, that interview pivoted around the IBDP, which he described back then as 'a requirement to be recognised as an International school'. Towards the end of the meeting the director handed me leaflets on the school, and other promotional documents. After that, I explained what I wished to observe and what my research consisted in, and we agreed that I would send him more detailed information on what I needed and my fieldwork planning. In that very first interview I observed how Mr. Ermengol was very invested in the school's transformation, and how he was he seemed keen to have an external voice, mine, validating this process. From his words, I gained the impression that he took my interest in the topic as confirming that he was taking the school to the right place, somewhere that mattered.

In the month that followed, we arranged a second interview, in which he introduced me to the person who would become my 'sponsor' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), Roser. This teacher had worked in the school since it opened in 1987, and she was the Primary School coordinator. She showed me the school, and she introduced me to the teachers and coordinators I would be observing and visiting. During this initial fieldwork period I observed classes in all the sections of the school and I was intensively present, attending school events too. It was in this period that I got to know the IB coordinator, and most of the IB teachers.

As mentioned earlier, nurturing field relationships was crucial in order to regain access. Once I left the field, I contacted some of the coordinators on several occasions. I circulated an email to thank all the participants who had contributed to my MA thesis, and in October 2015, I contacted the director's

office in order to arrange a feedback session with teachers and coordinators. That meeting for me served the dual function of closing the first step of my research and negotiating access to other sections of the school for my PhD research. Up until then, I had been surprised by how all the participants had generously opened spaces up to me and shared their views on the school and on education. In October 2016, I contacted the director again to arrange a meeting. In addition to giving him feedback on the research based on the Mandarin programme that I had been conducting during the winter and spring terms of 2015-16 (Codó & Sunyol, 2019), I presented my research plans for that school-year. I wanted to observe the IB section of the school, as it had been recurrently presented to me as the core of the Internationalising project since the very first day.

In order to schedule my observations, I was pointed towards Mercè, the IB coordinator. We had met before when I first did fieldwork at FIS. On that occasion, she had explained the workings of the IB to me, and she had helped me organise classroom observations. I had also observed some of her Philosophy lessons. On this occasion, we conversed about the IB and I explained what lessons I was interested in observing. She updated me with the changes, mostly in teaching staff, and we worked on a schedule that would satisfy my needs. It was clear to me that there was a very established order of command that I would need to stick to in order to navigate this section of the school, and that the degree of external supervision that they were exposed to by the IBO required me to be more careful with permissions and consent from students, teachers and coordinators. Mercè and I agreed that I would start at my earliest convenience.

4.3.2. Gaining access at BCN-IS

I presumed access to BCN-IS was going to be difficult. I had no contacts in the school, and I knew I would need to build the relationship from scratch. Drawing on personal connections, I was able arrange an interview with the town councillor representing the local Education Authority. From her I gained a wider perspective on the education market in the town, and I could place the school within the town's international education options, which included another school that I had previously visited and decided against, based on its strong similarities to FIS. Through the town councillor I learned about the

history of the school, and how they became established in the town. I also became aware of the educational project they pursued, and the relationship between the school and the town. Coincidentally, they had recently held a meeting in which the director and owner of the school, herein called Fiona[1], expressed the desire to participate more in municipal activities related to sports and education. It was through the councillor that I was able to arrange an initial meeting with Fiona[2]. In this case, the access interview was of a more informal tone. The director shared many personal anecdotes with me, and she identified with my position as an incipient PhD student. She herself had started a PhD, but she had abandoned the idea after deciding to undertake other professional ventures. The headteacher of BCN-IS did not look for a sponsor for me, but she herself contacted teachers and forwarded my letter of presentation to each of them. BCN-IS was a smaller school and, even though Fiona was not teaching, I perceived that she was more involved in the ins and outs of everyday school life than Mr. Ermengol.

After that introduction, I started visiting classes and introducing myself directly to teachers. Even though I gained access with no major difficulties, both schools wanted to retain control over the spaces I visited. They wanted to set up the stages I would be observing and made sure the teachers, subjects and classes I attended were projecting a good image of the school. It is possible to read between the lines of my daily schedules to reveal which teachers were valued and would give a better impression of the school, which subjects mattered the most, and therefore should not be missed and who was assigned the more important tasks. They also reflect what was considered to be desirable behaviour, and who counted as the ideal student in a given space. This had a crucial influence on how I organised my fieldwork, how I chose my participants and on the data that I obtained.

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1. Unlike Mr. Ermengol, Fiona was always called by her first name by all the members of the school community. That is why I have chosen to reproduce her first name, and not her surname, without a title.

2. During that first meeting, I explained my PhD project, and how it fitted within the APINGLO project, emphasising the relevance of their distinct model of English language learning in the broader context of the Catalan education market. Fiona, the director, showed a general interest in collaborating with research, and in helping me as a student. She opened the doors of the school to me, as she had previously done with other students in teacher training programmes.

4.4. Data

4.4.1. Data collection

Generating different types of data requires different data collection techniques and different strategies. Field relations are decisive in building access to spaces and participants, and will determine the type of information that you are looking for. In my case, when I took up fieldwork at FIS again, after having been there previously for almost 9 months, I needed to sharpen my ethnographic vision, and to start questioning anew the dynamics that I had become used to. This process of reflecting on what you 'normalise' as a researcher and what you no longer problematise, the misting of your ethnographic lenses, was as important at the beginning as at the end. I had to step outside of a place I already knew, take a step backwards from a system in which I had already become quite a natural element, to make the familiar strange again. And the same feeling of blindness became a sign that I had reached a moment of saturation (Heller, 2008), that perhaps my fieldwork should come to an end.

In order to decide on the data you need to obtain, however, it is important to understand what is important in the field, and that you understand the logic behind what is happening and the field dynamics. I had never worked or studied at FIS or BCN-IS: I was an outsider and needed to make my presence in the schools as smooth as possible. One of the difficulties of fieldwork in both schools was negotiating my role as a researcher, as I was building field relationships. I found, in both sites, whether I met eagerness to help or hostility, my presence did not go unnoticed. It was altering the social order and causing students and teachers alike to wonder who I was, why I was there and what was I trying to achieve. Before making the familiar strange, I had had to make the strange familiar. At FIS, this was an easier task than at BCN-IS. Most of the people had already seen me wandering around the corridors or had even granted me access to their classrooms. They were already familiar with my presence there, and some even with my research. I noticed, after almost a year, that I was already part of the scene. During my time away from the school, they had introduced a visitor card system, and it was agreed that I would get a permanent visitor's card that allowed me to go in and out of the school freely. At the beginning I used to stop by at the receptionist's desk, and explain to the new receptionist the purpose of my visit, and she would let me in. After a few weeks,

she told me that the routine of stopping by her every time was no longer necessary. The administrative staff all recognised me and greeted me in the corridors, and so did other workers to whom I had not previously been introduced, such as midday monitors or the Educational Psychologists, as well as some students I had interviewed in the past.

Beginning fieldwork at BCN-IS, however, revived memories of my first visits to FIS. I was an outsider, which meant I had to identify myself every time I entered, and I needed to fill in a visitor form. I needed to introduce myself and explain what I was doing in every class I was visiting, and to every teacher I was interviewing. I needed to explain and negotiate my role as a researcher with participants, so that they did not interpret my presence there as judgemental. I needed to underline my independence from the school, and to make my research focus clear in a way that would not alter the social reality too much. Many teachers fear that they are being evaluated by university researchers, and this hinders the relationship of trust you seek to establish with them.

The process of collecting ethnographic data was a laborious one. Even though a school setting was not completely unknown to me, I was once a student in Catalonia, I was initially unfamiliar with schools like FIS or BCN-IS. My own schooling experience at state schools differed substantially from that of a student in these schools, as I observed from the very beginning. Time and context were very different. My school was quite small and relaxed, and I had never had the sense of discipline and strictness that I observed in these schools. I had never worn a uniform, nobody had cared if you looked unkempt, and disorganised drawers were never a source of trouble. In high-school, classrooms were very austere, in terms of furniture and slogans. The walls were bleak, or maybe a blank space of freedom. My classmates and I were of very similar colour, but of a quite diverse range of class backgrounds. English was a subject. Mobile phones were for adults, and students who were lucky enough to have one, did not have long lists of contacts to message or call during class. Laptops stayed at home and tablets were the stuff of science fiction.

4.4.2. School days: Doing participant observation in elite schools

I organised data collection in both sites following a similar strategy. In order to be able to decide on what would be more relevant to the study, and to gain

a deeper understanding of the field, I conducted observations of a varied range of subjects and spaces, at all educational stages. This allowed me to direct my focus towards specific teachers, subjects, class groups or programmes. In the case of FIS, I became particularly interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the Mandarin Chinese programme, and the IBDP. I had observed primary and secondary lessons and interviewed teachers and students of these stages in a previous study (Sunyol, 2015). Most of the data that I have used to narrate the story of this thesis come from the IBDP section of FIS. I spent a large proportion of my fieldwork in this programme, where I interviewed students individually and collectively. I mostly attended language lessons, but also other subjects. My observations at BCN-IS were less intensive. I attended the school twice a week for a shorter period of time —3 months. I first attended a varied range of lessons in all subjects and stages in primary education, with a variety of teachers. I followed a literacy unit taught by one of the school coordinators. After that, I crossed the hall to the secondary building. There I also observed a range of lessons from different curricular stages, to end up following only a secondary class-group for three weeks. I attended lessons as if I were one of the students, for two or three days a week. I chose the dates and designed my schedule based on the lessons I wanted to observe, and I also paid attention to special events being held at the school.

During data collection I would usually arrive at the school at 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, and passed the whole school day there. I found this useful. As the day wore on, I could experience fatigue and hunger personally, and I could understand students' drowsiness, or why they might suddenly become more chatty. I could also observe mood changes and how students behaved differently with each of their teachers. I witnessed what happened between classes, within the classroom and in the corridors —who talked to whom, who was friends with whom, how students pushed boundaries and how they were disciplined. Those moments were particularly telling of how social relationships were organised in the two schools. I particularly enjoyed getting to school in the mornings. As I approached the school from the public transport stop, or from where I had parked my car, I usually walked along with groups of children. I could see some being dropped at the school gates, or being walked to school by their parents or nannies. During these everyday moments I observed the students' social relationships with their families and friends unfold. I could learn about their family background and habits, as well as the school's social

fabric: whether parents worked or not, the type of cars they drove, whether they had neighbours in the school, family friends or relatives. I remember being surprised by the number of microcars parked in front of the school gates at FIS, which were a preferred option among teenagers there, rather than the mopeds or motorbikes one usually finds outside high schools.

The morning welcome rituals were also rich moments. The way the school stages these routines gives information on school hierarchies, and the relationship between the school and the families is also visible. At BCN-IS, particularly, language barriers were apparent at these moments of casual interaction between local parents who were not fluent in English and the headteacher, who would customarily greet students at the front gate every morning. These moments were also valuable for me to connect with participants. At FIS it is not the director who greets students, but tutors or coordinators. I would sometimes greet students on my way to the school gate and exchange a few convivial words with their teachers. It was important for me to build my researcher persona, and project an image of dedication and responsibility, which were important values in these contexts.

Later on, when fieldwork was more advanced, I sometimes just attended the school for a few hours, in order to observe specific classes, or because I had scheduled interviews. In these less planned visits, I felt I regained my outsider perspective as I wandered around without being noticed. Sometimes improvised conversations with a teacher took place, or in the silence of the corridors during class-times I might see a couple of students rushing to a lesson, or someone being punished, I might see what happened when somebody was ill, or parents delivering what their oblivious children had left behind at home. It was in these moments that I felt like a spectator behind the scenes, watching social reality unfold.

4.4.3. Field relations: Navigating sponsorship

Negotiating one's positioning in the field and developing relationships is also very important. The ways in which one enacts the role of researcher will determine access to spaces, participants, and information. It is important to build trust with participants, and to appear honest and frank, whilst safeguarding the researcher persona. At the beginning of my journey at FIS, just after my

access interview with the headteacher, he set up a tour of the school for me. My guide was Roser, the coordinator of the Primary School and one of the longest standing teachers. My very first appearance in the Primary School, and my first contact with the teachers I observed was made through Roser. This situation jeopardised my chances of remaining neutral and equidistant from all stakeholders. I did not want to be identified as an agent of power, as a spy of the director's, as I was once called. This was clearly a problem in terms of gaining access to the perspectives of those who were in less privileged positions. Some teachers who had been downgraded and perceived themselves to be threatened refused to tell me their stories, because they had only seen me with the coordinators. I had to reconfigure my researcher identity, which I finally achieved after a few weeks of shadowing some of the newly arrived non-permanent teachers. My new field 'friendships' categorised me as somewhat like a trainee teacher or a student who needed help with her project, rather than a spy who was reporting to those in power. In a school environment, I discovered, teachers sympathise with the idea of being facilitators of someone's education. Enacting the role of the university student, along with my sense of ethical commitment, helped me overcome the concern that I might be somehow working in collaboration with the school management. When I started my second period of observations, I tried to avoid this danger by talking to teachers directly via email, rather than through Mercè, the baccalaureate coordinator. I already knew some of them, and this time I felt I had more freedom to choose who I wanted to observe. Chains of command were important at FIS, I had learned, and whilst Mercè contacted teachers to explain that I would be visiting their classes and thereby paved the way for me, I kept her informed of every move I made. I always sought permission before taking a new step, for example, setting up interviews, or observing new classes. I felt I was more trusted from the beginning this time, and that I was understood as an independent figure. Where you stand in the field will influence your perspective on the social world and determine who you can observe, or interview, and what information you are given. The strategies you use to manage relationships in the field will shape the final story you will be able to tell.

When designing my study and deciding on the types of data I wanted to collect, I put classroom observations at the centre of my fieldwork. Lessons are at the very core of what happens in the school, in Goffman's theatrical

metaphor, they are the front-stage (Goffman, 1959). I decided what subjects areas I wanted to observe, bearing in mind my focus on language, and so I organised my schedule to follow language teachers, or teachers who taught in English and therefore were considered by the school as having an 'international profile'. Occasionally, however, I would also observe other subjects that were of interest to me, such as history, geography or philosophy, in order to analyse how aspects such as (inter)national identity were being imagined and negotiated in subjects areas, and how tensions regarding national embeddedness arose in these lessons. Other aspects that became hugely relevant to my analysis also surfaced in these spaces, such as the formation of specific teacher and student subjectivities in the IBDP. Theory of Knowledge lessons, for example, or CAS (Creativity, Action and Service) activities were especially rich in instances where selves were being governed (Foucault, 1991) into being perfect neoliberal citizens, following the IB learner profile (see Sunyol & Codó, 2019).

From what happened front-stage, I was able to pull the threads of what was going on back-stage. Classroom interactions between teachers and students allowed me to understand and to orient my gaze towards the less-structured but perhaps more revealing interactions taking place in corridors and staff rooms, in between classes and during playtimes. This also helped me to understand the importance and dynamics of ritualised events such as award ceremonies, MUN conferences, Christmas drama productions or school festivals. It was in these less scripted moments that the importance of (language) etiquette unfolded, as well as the rules governing relationships between students, which gave me the clues I needed to explore crucial aspects such as social class. I also observed how official conceptualisations of language clashed with actual language use.

4.4.4. Types of data

I visited FIS over a period of almost three years. During this time, and since concluding the fieldwork, I have collected numerous documents, such as leaflets, newspaper articles and advertisements, web documents and letters. I actively collected most of these, but sometimes pieces of data have also crossed my path in unexpected circumstances. Sometimes, the banality of life becomes

part of your research. The idea of using Instagram data crossed my mind while I was *stalking* some of my participants on social networks. After giving it some thought, the need to embrace what seemed like a chance encounter became evident. These moments of serendipity shape the way you see the story you are trying to tell; they add information that will become crucial. One morning, during playtime at BCN-IS, I left the school to buy myself a snack. When I got to the café at the other end of the street, I was surprised to see a group of FIS teachers on the terrace outside. They were there to supervise some children on a school trip, but were currently taking their break. I was invited to sit with them, and took the opportunity to speak with them on a more personal level. I could see how the social dynamics I usually observed in the staff room took place out of the school environment.

Equally, whenever I came across a document I thought might be useful, I tried to get hold of it, either by asking the teacher or students for a copy, or taking a picture of it, or perhaps by simply taking it from a pile. Such documents ranged from class worksheets to letters to parents, menus or magazines. The same happened with the schools' physical and virtual landscapes. I took pictures and screenshots of all the elements on the walls or on the school's webpages that could be useful to my analysis, documenting also the ongoing changes. I also kept track of the advertising campaigns of FIS and other schools in their group, and I stayed tuned to all the newspaper articles related to the internationalisation of education, to private education in Catalonia, to the education of elites, or on general trends in educational discourses in Catalonia. I also took pictures of the schools' spaces: of classes, facilities, events, and decorations.

During my meetings and visits to the schools, I took notes when I could, and I also wrote fieldnotes and field narratives whenever something relevant had happened. These included factual information on events, but also how I perceived them. I tried to make those as detailed as possible. These texts show how my deepening knowledge of the field, but they also reveal the gradual blinding of my ethnographic eyes as the process continued, until I reached the point at which I felt my fieldwork had to come to an end. This happened when I could predict the patterns of behaviour quite confidently, when nothing seemed new. The following table shows a summary of the data I have collected in both sites:

Table 1. Data types

Site 1: FIS

Data types	Description	Quantification
Observational data	Fieldnotes of general and focussed ethnographic observations of English as a Foreign Language (Nursery, Pre-school, Infant, Junior, Secondary, LOE Baccalaureate and IBDP); English-medium instruction (Science, Technology, Art, Computers in Primary and Secondary); IBDP lessons, informal conversations in the staff room, coffee room and dining room; school festivals and events (Model United Nations; *Sant Jordi*; Documentary launch; International Day, Christmas play, Language certificates awards), feedback session with teachers and headteacher, etc.	65 visits; 80 class observations
Recordings	79 classroom recordings in infant school, junior, secondary, IBDP and Batxillerat LOE. 11 sessions of English-medium instruction; 30 sessions of English as a foreign language; 39 sessions of other subjects; 6 events; breaks; etc.	62h10m of recording
Interview data	Individual interviews with teachers: • 7 coordinators and IB language teachers • 1 headteacher • 1 RRHH manager • 1 infant school immersion teacher • 1 language assistant • 1 former teacher	10h15m
	Individual interviews with students: • 11 IB students • 6 students of Mandarin Chinese	4h40m
	3 Diary-based interviews + 1 follow-up interview with an IB student	3h30m
	2 Individual and group interviews with policy makers	2h30m
	Individual interviews with parents and former parents: 2	2h
	Focus groups with English-medium instruction teachers: 1	1h
	Focus groups with IBDP students: 2	1h30
	Focus group with parents: 1	1h

Written data	Teaching materials; students' work; school and school events leaflets and promotional materials; schedules; teachers' schedules; student diaries; articles and school's collaboration in national and local newspapers (September 2015- June 2017); web content; etc.	
Survey data	Questionnaires to parents Questionnaires to students	55 75
Demographic data	Population surveys, PIB, survey of language knowledge and use, surveys of education	
Visual data	Pictures of the linguistic landscapes of the school and web documents	+ 575
Social network data	Instagram stories and posts	+150
	Whatsapp conversations with Marta, IBDP students and language teachers	

Site 2: BCN-IS

Data types	Description	Quantification
Observational data	Fieldnotes of general and focussed ethnographic observations of most subjects taught in the school (Literacy, Catalan, Spanish, French, Science, Technology, Art, History, Geography, Choir, Computers in Primary and Secondary); informal conversations in the playground and in the dining room; school festivals and events (Open day, Day for Change); etc.	
Recordings	26 Class recordings of primary and secondary; breaks; open day; day for change	29h15m
Interview data	Individual interviews: headteacher 7 students 4 teachers 1 local policy-maker	 4h41 3h30
Written data	Teaching materials; students' work; school and school events leaflets and promotional materials; schedules; teachers' schedules; web content; etc.	
Demographic data	Population surveys, PIB, survey of language knowledge and use, surveys of education	
Visual data	Pictures of the linguistic landscapes of the school and web documents	202 pictures

4.4.5. Participant selection: Choosing the voices of my ethnography

An important source of data was interviews with stakeholders. During the course of these three years, I have interviewed managerial staff, teachers, students and parents. I have done more structured and less structured interviews, depending on my relationship with the participant, and on the type of information I sought to gather. Some interviews, for example, tended towards life-story interviews. I tried, as much as possible, to be guided by the participants' desires to communicate, and to follow their train of thought as much as possible. I also led focus groups, or had informal conversations that resulted in improvised interviews or focus groups, with students, with teachers and with parents in both schools. I conducted both individual and group interviews with all participant categories.

When selecting my research participants, I tried to operate according to two principles. First, the relevance or the role of the participant within the site. This applies mostly to teachers. Second, the character of the participants, their social standing within the group, or their representativeness within the whole class. In the case of students, mostly, I have tried to seek those who were mature enough to talk and argue within an interview setting, those who had singular roles within their classes, and those who might be representative of the student-types to be found in their classes. Sometimes, however, you sense that particular participants might be more willing to collaborate with you and engage in your topic than others. On a couple of occasions, I have had students who wanted to be interviewed because they had heard about the topic of my project and felt they had something to say about it. In these cases, the conversation was guided mainly by their experiences.

Inevitably, my interaction with different participants was unequal. I observed some classes in more depth than others, and therefore established closer relationships with some students and teachers than others. In some cases, my relationship with the teacher or students went beyond the confines of the school, either virtually or *physically*. This happened at FIS because of my prolonged ethnographic fieldwork at this site. During the time spent there, I occasionally engaged in more personal conversations with some of the participants, typically teachers, but also with some students, in which we discovered a few personal connections outside the school. These coincidences created stronger bonds with those teachers, and this has led to us becoming *friends* on social networks, mostly Instagram, and our interactions continuing beyond the fieldwork.

During my fieldwork at FIS, there were also several moments of serendipity that have greatly influenced the result of this thesis. When I was leaving my first feedback meeting with the headteacher, I bumped into an old friend of mine. We were both Catalan philologists and had attended some courses together on teaching Catalan as a foreign language. She was a left-wing political activist, and her ideas, I thought —and she corroborated this— clashed with certain views held by the school. My knowledge of her, and the opportunity to talk with her throughout her working experience at FIS —from when she began to work there until she left— have been invaluable. The frankness with which we spoke, and my need to reposition myself as a researcher in my interactions with her were useful in reflecting upon everyone's stances and (re)positionings, and in my seeing the schools in a different light. All the people with whom I have established closer bonds were the ones who were more overtly critical and who wished to share some of their own reservations regarding the school's new drive.

4.4.6. Using diaries in ethnographic research

The case of Marta is special. She became the protagonist in one of the chapters of this thesis, almost by chance. I taught her English when she was younger, and I had not been in touch with her for almost 10 years. At the time I heard that she was starting at FIS, I had been reading about trajectories and reflecting on fieldwork techniques such as shadowing, which I had been doing with some teachers in a somewhat unorthodox manner. I had also been in contact with researchers such as Carla Jonsson, who use research diaries as a research method (Jonsson, 2013). Despite the distance that time and space had put between Marta and myself —we were both older and had little in-depth knowledge of one another—, we still shared a certain familiarity and fondness, albeit perhaps tainted with nostalgia, and this made her a perfect candidate for me to try out some of the methodological ideas I had in the back of my mind.

The use of diaries as a tool to generate data raises some methodological considerations. The diary genre brings with it a number of constraints (Jonsson, 2013). Diaries are often called *secret* diaries, we often imagine them as a notebook with a lock, evoking the idea of privacy. Conventionally, we write notes to ourselves in diaries that are not meant to be read by anyone else. Entries are regarded as honest, direct reflections of real life. There is, however,

implicit in all forms of narration, a mediating of reality through text. In giving shape to events, selecting, organising and textualising them, we are generating a discourse, a new manipulated reality. Research diaries incorporate an additional distorting element: there is a tacit understanding of their non-private nature. The audience is, primarily, the researcher, but the writer is also acutely aware that he or she will sacrifice the *intimacy* shared, since the content will be eventually circulated to a wider audience. The presumed unfiltered sincerity of feelings and thoughts that is typically associated with this type of texts is lost, even though the generic conventions may still influence the tone and content of the texts. The type of projection of the self the writer builds, in this case, may also be altered. She or he is not writing for a future self, but for others. There is, implicitly, the construction of a social persona through the texts. This has to be taken into account when analysing them as data What is maintained is the idea that they are periodical reflections, based on lived experience. This makes participant diaries an invaluable methodological tool to show the evolution of thought over time.

I asked Marta to write monthly entries, which we would discuss together on our diary-based interview meetings. We had to decide on the platform. The app Evernote seemed the best option, as it allowed us to share a virtual space for Marta to create her notebooks, which I could access to download them immediately, meaning that I had read them before our meetings. I thought a digital platform would make the activity more attractive to her, and it seemed more practical to manage than the romanticised paper notebook.

Another important element was the amount of guidance I decided to give her on the content. I told Marta that I was interested in her overall experience as a new student at FIS, and in her experience of the IB. I told her that I was looking into the role of languages in the programme, too, but I explicitly asked her to write about anything that was interesting or relevant to her; anything that surprised her (positively or negatively), that she found worth commenting on. We agreed that we'd meet after each diary entry to comment on what she had been writing and thinking about. Both in her texts and in the interviews Marta was highly reflexive and critical. She wrote 3 diary entries, two in October and one in November 2016. The first two, consecutive entries show her initial enthusiasm with the idea of participating in my research. We met for our first interview in October 2016, and our second was in mid-December. After the Christmas break, I tried to encourage Marta to continue with the

diary writing. She was snowed under with work, and I learned that she had had some family issues that were causing her distress. After unsuccessfully trying to prompt her to write a short note after her exams, I approached her in class one day, and we agreed that we would leave the diaries aside and we would discuss her experiences through conversations. We met in April, July and in early November 2017 for a follow-up interview.

4.4.7. Social network data

I sometimes held Whatsapp conversations with some of the participants. They had my phone number, either because we previously knew each other from being classmates, ex-students, or because we had exchanged them to set up our meetings. I found that some of the participants spontaneously wrote me messages in order to gossip about something that had happened in the school, or to make some follow-up comments after our interviews. In Marta's case, I soon realised that I wanted to be able to use our Whatsapp interactions, and that some of the content she was posting on social networks (Instagram) could be really relevant to my study. She was presenting her student persona in a very rich way. Following her led me to her classmates' profiles, and I found these identity-making activities might very well illustrate aspects I was planning to touch upon in my study relating to class, language(s) and also the construction of international identities. Because I had already left the field, I contacted these students via Marta. She asked the classmates of hers that I had previously interviewed, and therefore had written consent from, whether they wanted to be included in a Whatsapp group with me. In it, I asked whether they were happy to be in the group, and I explained that I wanted to ask them some follow up questions, and for their permission to use their Whatsapp profiles. Most of them accepted. The follow-up question consisted of them writing a short paragraph on how they perceived their transition from the first year to the second year of the IBDP. I asked them vaguely about any changes in their situation, and I let them answer through Whatsapp or email. Some of them answered, but not all. I also asked them whether they would agree to let me observe their Instagram account and use some of the entries that I found interesting because they showed how they presented themselves as a particular type of student. I made it clear that I was not interested in any of their more personal (romantic

or festive) content, and I made it very clear that just as in the interviews, all the material would be anonymised and treated with the same level of confidentiality. I only used the data of those who explicitly gave permission. The Instagram posts that I captured and have used in my analysis correspond to the period in which I was doing data collection in the field. I have used it, therefore, as a virtual element of the ethnographic observations. Later on, I used that group to ask questions on their class Whatsapp groups, and to wish them luck with the IB and the national university entry exams.

4.5. Storing and analysing data

I have stored the data I collected typologically. Even though most of the data has been stored digitally using a safe cloud server system provided by the university and approved by the ethics committee, I have also kept hard copies of all the documents (leaflets, letters, magazines and newspaper articles) that I have collected in the sites. All interviews, pictures, fieldnotes and class recordings are coded by date, class group, teacher and school. I used fieldnotes or notes on archives to keep track of significant, telling moments that I would use in my analysis, so that they could be transcribed. Because of the type of analysis I have conducted, which is theme-based, I have not included many layers of detail in my transcriptions. Conventions can be found in the annex to this thesis. In order to protect the schools' anonymity, many of the excerpts from web documents and published documents have been rephrased, doing my best to avoid altering the original meaning.

4.6. Ethics

This study contains data collected and generated in highly sensitive sites. They are places where people work and where children and teenagers study. They are businesses, and sites where resources are distributed to stakeholders. Before starting fieldwork, and during the whole process of data collection, especially when I was in the classroom and during interviews, I had to be aware of the challenges that my presence in the schools could pose for teachers and students. Sometimes, in my interaction with teachers, the impression that I was being perceived as a

threat was very vivid. Their insecurities when doing their job surfaced in our conversations, and on a number of occasions I was explicitly asked whether I was reporting on their teaching tasks to the management board. This posed some methodological challenges, but also made me aware of the importance of my ethical conduct. None of my research procedures, from beginning to end, had to put any of my participants or the institutions themselves at risk. This included children and teenagers under-18, who generally had not given their explicit individual consent to be observed, even though it was granted by their tutors.

Before starting fieldwork at FIS for the first time, I addressed my concerns regarding ethics and permissions at one of my meetings with the director. I could see how this was not an issue of great importance to him, and he gave me written consent to observe and audio-record classes, to interview teachers and students with their prior consent, and to take pictures of spaces. I was also allowed to take pictures of children and people, even though those pictures would have to be checked, as some parents do not consent to the school taking pictures of their children. I decided I would not take any pictures where people's faces could be recognised. Because schools are large institutions, both the FIS and BCN-IS directors assumed the school's consent was on behalf of all parents. In order to regularise these procedures, and as part of the APINGLO research project, the ethics protocols of this thesis were approved by the the ethics committee of the UAB (see appendix).

In order to formalise my ethical commitments with my participants, I took several measures. Firstly, I obtained a letter from the schools, making explicit my permission to conduct research in the institution. In addition to this, I prepared several consent documents for the different participants. All the adults I interviewed signed an informed consent document, prior to the interview, and after being informed of the conditions under which they were going to be interviewed, and their rights as a research participant. These mainly addressed anonymity, data uses, protection and management, and their freedom to withdraw from the study at any time. I gained informed consent from the parents of all students under 18 who were being interviewed individually or in groups. In addition to parental consent, I read an oral assent form to all participants aged 12-18. Students were reminded of the fact that they had the right not to answer any of the questions they were being asked, and also of the confidentiality of our conversations. These forms also took into account the possibility of my contacting them at later stages of the study, or after the study, to clarify or fur-

ther explore areas of our conversation. These documents are found in an annex.

At a later stage, I made sure that all participants were anonymised, and that the schools' identities are masked. This means that I have had to alter certain details, and I have had to conceal sources of information. Data storage and management has also been a challenge. I have had to reconcile the necessity of keeping safety copies of all the data I have obtained with my obligations regarding the security of the servers in which these were stored. That is why I have only used cloud platforms granted by the university. Throughout this study I have complied with the commitments I made in those ethics forms.

4.7. Dressing up: Reflexivity and researcher positionality

In interpretive methods more than in other research approaches, it is crucial for the researcher to engage critically with his/her way of doing research. This means asking questions about oneself (Heller et al., 2018). He/she has to become aware of his/her positionality and bring it into research as another data type which is in dialogue with the rest. The researcher's own persona intervenes in choosing research questions, and directs his/her gaze towards certain sites, participants, topics, and perspectives. His/her attitudes, thoughts, stances inevitably guide the project from the very beginning, from the question of how the study is designed, what data is to be collected and how, to how it is analysed and reported; from how the investigator's presence in the field affects the interactions and behaviour being observed to how the questions and focus of an interview condition the responses received by the participants; from the literature selection, to one's threads of thought, and the ways of analysing data. Everything is conditioned by the researcher.

In this regard, my research is no different, and I am aware that it is heavily influenced many aspects of my own *persona.* Some of these cannot be mitigated, such as my gender, race, age, and physical characteristics. I am a white woman in my late twenties, and I am short in stature. These characteristics, for example, might help me to come across as unthreatening. Other personal attributes, however, can be conveniently attuned to the circumstances —how I enact my gender role, how I use facial expressions, my tone of voice, my way of using language, or the way I dress in specific circumstances, etc. When I was going into the field, I would usually wear make-up, made sure my hair did not look

too messy, and I would dress smartly. I realised, sometimes, that I modulated my accent in Catalan by fronting and opening certain vowels to make it appear more standardised, closer to the accent heard in Barcelona. An accent from Vic, the area where I was born and raised, can have strong connotations. For some, it might index a strong Catalan nationalism or separatist political stance. For others it might be seen as an *untainted* variety of Catalan, although, at the same time, it can be regarded as rural and non-sophisticated. I preferred to try to avoid such associations. I also avoided the use of certain words or expressions, to adapt my register conveniently to that of my interlocutors and the space in question. I adjusted my verbal and non-verbal etiquette in order to cross spaces more freely and to gain greater access to people's thoughts and opinions.

There were other aspects that had indexical value in the eyes of participants, and which had an influence on the way my fieldwork developed, such as my institutional persona. The fact that I was coming from a well-known and quite prestigious public university, and specifically from an English department had, I believe, a positive influence in my self-presentation. At the time I started doing fieldwork I was an MA student, and I was teaching some courses at the English department. Only the headteachers knew of my academic credentials (they knew, for example, that I had a BA in Catalan philology, assuming they ever took the time to read through my CV). However, I chose to downplay this aspect of my academic background and my job in the department. Studying Catalan philology in Catalonia has ideologically connotations too, which, added to my geographical origins, did not contribute to giving the impression I wanted. Being categorised as a hardcore pro-independence Catalan would have further coloured the discourses on language(s) and identity I was exposed to. I found, too, that presenting myself as a university teacher was potentially problematic in terms of the power dynamics in my relationships with teachers, who were usually older than me. I wanted to avoid them feeling assessed or threatened. Rather, if I underscored my student self, I was someone who could be helped academically. I discovered that this had value in an educational institution, since it is a mission most teachers and educators share.

I have found, during this journey towards an understanding of the inner workings of inequality, power and class, that as I have come to understand the field better, I have understood myself and my immediate context better. Some of the processes I have observed and lived during my PhD have shed light on, and triggered profound reflections on my own background, my family,

my education. I believe that self-reflection is crucial in the type of research I do. Doing research, and doing ethnography is 'a social activity', which is 'socially constructed' and subject to power relations (Heller et al., 2018: 2). The data we generate, and the way we interpret it is subject to who we are and to how we interact and intervene in the co-construction of the world we observe. The following chapters show my gaze at the field.

5. Styling an international atmosphere

Elite international schools are not like the rest. When you walk through their doors, you are immediately made aware that what happens within their imposing walls goes beyond academic instruction. There is an aura of high status in them. A careful curation of the semiotic symbols on the walls, the material objects and also the words one exchanges shape one's experience of the school (Agha, 2011; Bernstein, 1990; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Rose, 1999). Spaces and the social actions that take place in them are deliberately 'styled' (Cameron, 2000) to make of them spaces of internationality and privilege. In this chapter, the first of my analytical chapters, I explore the 'setting up' of internationality. I argue that the internationality of these schools is done through an intensive 'resemiotisation of space' (Iedema, 2003). By looking at its semiotic ecology, I show how the international school —a habitus, a culturally patterned sensory experience— is constructed, 'styled', to create a specific atmosphere.

This chapter shows two ways of being international that respond to the two most prevalent models of internationality in the Catalan private education sector. One of the schools, FIS, is overtly amidst an ongoing process of discursive transformation to become international. The other, BCN-IS, was set up in 2008 and branded from the start as an 'international' school, despite offering the British national curriculum. Internationality at BCN-IS has been established silently as a hegemonic identity. It is never overtly discussed, or stressed, but it is naturalised as the dominant discourse. Discourse is here understood in broad terms, as 'language use relative to social, political and cultural formations —it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society' (Jaworski & Coupland, 2016: 3). I understand discourse as multi-modal and multi-voiced (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001), including linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic systems, verbal and non-verbal features, extending communication to the body and the material world.

In the two school sites, we observe diverging mechanisms for making *internationality* win the discursive battle over previous models —explicitly or implicitly, of using resources and practices to achieve or maintain symbolic domination (Heller, 1992, 1995). Being and becoming international requires stakeholders to accommodate, resist and redefine the value of each of the symbolic resources in

the specific field of power of the school (Bourdieu, 1977; Heller, 1992, 1995; Martín Rojo, 2010). I have explained in Chapter 3 how internationality is often presented as something essentially good (Deppe et al., 2018b). However, despite its positive moral evaluations, the meaning of internationality is often vague, fickle, or difficult to define. In interviews, I repeatedly asked participants what this omnipresent *keyword* (Williams, 1983) meant to them. Some had ready-made answers, taken from the schools' discursive apparatuses and selling lines. But it was one of the hardest questions for those who sought to find their own voice, one that stayed with them after the interviews, and made some come back to me to elaborate on their hesitant answers after a while.

Internationality has been defined in many ways. In the context of education, some scholars (Deppe et al., 2018a) find Yemini's (2017) morally neutral definition useful, because it is applicable across contexts, and it does not make value judgements on the desirability or outcomes of internationality. Internationalising is 'the process of encouraging integration of multicultural, multilingual, and global dimensions within the education system, with the aim of instilling in learners a sense of global citizenship' (2017: 21). Internationality is presented as a process that constitutes an 'updating' of educational models —that were previously monoglot, monocultural and nation-based— to meet the demands of an increasingly globalised society. However, the construction of internationality and that of elitism are inextricable processes. 'Updating' through internationality is also 'upscaling', a way of constructing or maintaining distinction. The nexus between these two processes will be explored in Chapter 6.

I use the concepts of 'styling' (Cameron, 2000) and 'space' (Solana et al., 2015) because both terms encapsulate the existence of a social configuration of meaning and practices that is mutually constituted and that responds to processes of formation, rather than responding to fixed, permanent structures. Cameron applies the idea of 'styling' to service workplaces when she refers to top-down, imposed, 'verbal hygiene' practices which stand in opposition to verbal practices and styles that have been generated by and in the community. The directionality and imposed character of the 'styling' practices she analyses make it a very useful tool to explain how verbal regimes are set up in schools in order to win discursive power, to achieve discursive hegemony. The modes of 'styling' that this thesis analyses, in contrast to Cameron, are multiple —not exclusively verbal. Multiple forms of material and social aesthetics are part of the 'styling' process. A very important one is 'space'. As Solana et al. (2015) point out,

poststructuralist approaches to 'space' understand that it is much more than a mere architectural container, a setting where things happen. Geographers and anthropologists use postmodern conceptualisations of space (Augé, 1992; Benko, 1997) such as Frémont's idea of 'lived spaces', which are configured by and through daily practices. Space shapes and at the same time is shaped by social processes; it is socially constituted and constituting. Space is understood as constantly being produced and reproduced in repeated social and linguistic practices (Lefebvre, 1968; Busch, 2015). Having control over a space means controlling what happens in that space, and how it gets constructed, produced and inhabited as a 'place' (Robertson, 2010). This implies that one can control the subjective experience of space. Both concepts are key in the construction of social difference.

This chapter is organised in the following way. Firstly, I will explore issues of scale, that is, how internationality intersects with the national, regional, local and global dimensions of schools, language(s) and diversity —all elements that the schools use to construct their international identities. Then, I will walk the reader through the school spaces, and show how the international school identities are displayed, and/or hidden, and how internationality is imagined thematically. I will explore how in discourse and in practice the themes of internationality are circulated, adopted and/or contested.

5.2. Internationality: A multi-scalar process

The educational model offered by international schools seems to be aligned with what is perceived to be the current sociocultural, political and economic conditions of our time. International education is seen to be the valid model of and for globalised societies. This projection of the gaze at supra-national layers is what makes these schools attractive to most parents, as we will see throughout this thesis. The desire to be oriented towards a global, or supra-national dimension, however, does not come without tensions, regrets, and problems. This section shows, firstly, how the ways in which international schools become embedded are multi-scalar (Kenway, 2018; Maxwell, 2018). Their spatial localisations, everyday interactions and social scales are not always isomorphic (Appadurai, 1996: 179). Secondly, it explores how the question of scale, especially when it comes to including regional, local or national aspects, raises tensions

among parents and the whole school community. One of the ways in which scalar dimensions surface is through issues with or relating to language use and language policies.

Beck (1999) and Giddens (1994) have explained how globalisation weakens individuals' and institutions' rooting in concrete geographical locations, and how people increasingly develop a sense of belonging in transnational spheres. It is in this area that political, economic and social interests become imagined and materialise. No matter how post-nationally oriented one is, however, there are certain everyday activities that are inevitably locally situated. Education is one of them, regardless of where one comes from, or what type of educational model one chooses. Schools, and children's schooling experiences, are always rooted in very specific geographical coordinates. They are localised (Appadurai, 1996), and they have to comply with regionally or nationally imagined education regulations that grant schools the right to deliver educational services to the population. My experiences of both FIS and BCN-IS show the need to examine international schools within a 'glonacal' (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) analytical framework, as:

> Global, national and local policies intersect with local community demographies and histories of education institutions in these spaces, which in turn shape the curricula offerings made and the development of student subjectivities in relation to internationalisation and orientations to mobility (Maxwell, 2018: 349).

FIS and BCN-IS are both sites wherein these multi-scalar insertions are made visible. An examination of the social interactions taking place in these spaces can help to answer questions on the role of the nation-state and the meaning of locality in the current context of globalisation (Appadurai, 1996), as explored in the theoretical framework of this thesis. FIS defines itself as a third wave international school (see Chapter 2). By this they mean a nationally rooted school that expects to, or aspires to 'encourage the integration of multicultural, multilingual and global dimensions' (Yemini, 2017) to their programmes. The curricular base of both schools is a nationally imagined and designed curriculum —in this case those of Britain and of Catalonia, with *international* add-ons. The schools need to be accredited to deliver the curriculum, and their good relationships with local and national education authorities depend on their curricular design. In order to be able to issue valid credentials, their curriculum

has to include specific *local* content. In Catalonia this is normally materialised as local language programmes, but also locally-related content in the areas of geography, history and literature, as will be explained in Chapter 7.

The trajectories of each of the schools also play a role in how they fit in to their local contexts. Historically, FIS was a Catalan school. Still today, more than 80% of its students are local.[1] FIS offers the Catalan curriculum, and an international 'plus', as we have seen. The international 'plus' serves to provide a level of distinction, although what still holds real educational value to circulate in the local markets of education —i.e. to access university in Catalonia or Spain— are its national credentials. To some parents, the international curricula are dangerous experiments, a risky investment, as there are no assured paths of convertibility for that sort of educational capital (Mari, FIS mother, interview data). That is why the school only offers IBO paths as companions to the national programmes, in the form of double certificates.

The peculiar 'glonacal' profile of schools such as FIS is also used as a way in to Catalan society for some families who decide, for the time being, to pause the 'mobility' of their lifestyles. Astrid and Theresa are both IBDP students at FIS. They landed in Barcelona with their families to settle there for a few years. Their families chose the school for them because they were used to IBO programmes, which they would be able to combine with the Catalan curriculum. This would offer the girls more insight and understanding of their host society, and a social embeddedness that they would not have had in other types of international schools. Astrid already knew that she was going to migrate to the Netherlands to pursue a university degree there, but she wanted to retain a connection with Barcelona, as her family would probably end up settling there. Teresa did not know what her future would look like at the time of my interview, but she ended up staying in Barcelona and studying biology at a state university. To many families, the study of the local languages, geography, history and literature is key to their children's education. Indeed, these curricular elements, which are often unevenly distributed, end up being essential to global middle class families who want to integrate themselves into the local community, having decided to pursue less mobile and more localised futures. Multi-scalar insertions of the

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1. At FIS, Local and International are emic categories to refer to different social groups in the school. Locals are those who were born in Spain or in Catalonia, and have not had mobile trajectories. They are typically from *Sant Medir* or neighbouring towns. Internationals are those who were born abroad, who have foreign partners, or who have spent considerable time living, studying or working in other countries.

families into the community allow for more flexibility; they maximise student opportunities as promised by the school in one of their recent slogans: 'whatever they choose, they will be prepared'.

At BCN-IS the question of scale is a different story. The school was founded as an International school offering the British curriculum, with Scandinavian education as a model, and implementing projects like Forest School Education and a programme of local languages (see Chapter 4). This mix is what makes its director, Fiona, call it a European model composed of the distinct educational experiences she encountered throughout her years of teaching practice. Interestingly, though, the school is named *international;* not British or European, as she describes it. The way schools define what they are reveals as much what they do not want to be. Her model is constructed by her in direct opposition to the Catalan and Spanish educational models, which she thinks of as 'outdated' and 'useless' to her students (interview data, 23/03/17). The label *international* is a guarantee of modernity, of an up-to-date and high quality project. It also places the school within the league of schools they want to play in —private, elite schools. The school's curricular choices, that is, its British national affiliations distinguish it from other private international schools.

Even though at BCN-IS 60% of the students are from the local Catalan population, the school is a *rara avis* within the local school panorama. It is seen by the local education authority as a secluded institution. Despite the school's efforts to participate in certain local social and cultural activities, they are rarely part of locally organised sports contests or celebrations involving other schools. The reality within its walls feels quite separate from what happens outside. Language and social class may be the biggest barriers to integration. The mechanisms of entry to the school are quite exclusive. Fees and other regulations promote a sense of social closure that maintains it as a bubble of social privilege. Not everyone knows about BCN-IS. The school is a safe space for GMC (Global Middle Class) families and students who are constantly moving and wish to do so without integrating much into their local environment (Ball, 2016). BCN-IS students from GMC families expressed the desire to avoid excessively localised school choices (see Sunyol, 2019 for an account of how GMC families avoid Catalan language classes). None of the participants imagined their future educational trajectory as happening in Catalonia, or Spain. Some local families were happy about the immersive context in English and did not pay much attention to the consequences of the institutional orientations or

habitus in relation to the local environment. To others, however, the school was lagging behind in this area, as the following vignette shows.

One of the biggest days at BCN-IS is the 'Day for Change'. Students and teachers organise this fundraising event, in which parents participate and donate money to a specific cause each year. I attended the Day for Change in 2017. The school band was playing rock hits. A young, tall mother wearing designer sunglasses and a very stylish but casual-looking long dress stood by my side. When one of her sons approached her to give her some of the student-made art he had bought for her, I realised who she was. I knew her nanny through a personal connection, and she had mentioned me to the family. I wanted to take the opportunity to talk to her. I introduced myself and she seemed as excited to hear about my project as she was to explain her story. She told me she was happy that her children attended BCN-IS because they had become very proficient in English. Their father spoke to them in German, and she was the one who had to do all the 'Catalan indoctrination', she explained. That was the one thing she did not like about the school. Her children did not learn any of the Catalan traditional songs or folklore. They were not very good at writing in Catalan either, and she felt she had to compensate for that shortcoming herself, otherwise, they would be totally disconnected from their immediate reality.

BCN-IS, unlike FIS, hired British nationals as teachers. Among this teaching body, there was quite a high level of turnover. These teachers felt comfortable living in Barcelona, a big cosmopolitan city, and commuting to the school. This lifestyle allowed them to live a life quite disconnected from the local community of the town, and even from local teachers at the school, with whom they hardly interacted except for strictly professional matters. The latter often complained, in interviews, about how there was a deep division between local families and the school, mostly due to communication problems, which they had to bridge. None of the non-local teachers spoke Catalan, or had any intention of learning any. What, to some, appeared a disrespectful attitude on behalf of foreigners, had deeper consequences for the school's teaching body. Unwanted and unpaid responsibilities were falling on local, Catalan-speaking teachers with whom the local parents could communicate and to whom they felt culturally closer. They became incidental mediators between families and the school, at a high price. The power imbalances across the teaching body resulting from this situation generated tensions that eventually caused one of them to lose her

job. This disconnect between the two worlds, the 'international' and the 'local/national', was further illustrated by the fact that the Catalan language teacher, who only teaches local students, was not required to be proficient in English. Her linguistic limitations placed her as an outsider, as someone who had the specific job of teaching Catalan to locals, but whose role was not imagined as central to the school community. As Maxwell observes, different approaches and attributions of importance to local factors affects how young people and educational communities develop their sense of identity, belonging and social responsibility (Maxwell, 2018: 352).

5.3. Looking beyond the nation: Constructing a new school culture

Being international has required both schools to (re)calibrate their imagined spaces of belonging. This section engages with the sociality and materiality (Pink, 2009: 10) of the two schools I have been visiting in order to explore how, through various types of (re)semiotisation process, the schools bridge the multiple scales in which they wish to have a presence, to construct themselves as spaces of internationality. I have mostly portrayed how these processes and discourses unfold at FIS, as they are very explicit. BCN-IS does not display iconicised instances of internationality or multilingualism in its landscape. Its way of enacting internationality is, as I mentioned, less evident, more nuanced. Their internationality derives from implementing a curriculum that is not the national one, in a context where this is not the norm; also, from implementing programmes based on Scandinavian educational models; collaborating with international NGOs and teaching in English.

I remember being nervous on my first visit to FIS. Meeting the headteacher felt like going to a job interview. All our interactions had been through his secretary, and Mr. Ermengol appeared to me to be a distant, powerful figure in a tailored suit, who was too busy for the nuts and bolts of everyday school life. This fitted my idea of an executive manager, rather than that of the headteachers I had known when I was a student at a state school. Access procedures are important to understand how FIS, like many elite international schools, is explicitly displaying an image of rigor, seriousness and efficiency, applying aesthetics, vocabularies and gestures important in the field of business to education (see Chapter 3).

A row of flag poles welcomes visitors on the walk towards the school's main doors: the Spanish, Catalan and European flags wave next to two flags with the logos of the school and the multinational educational company to which it now belongs. The uniformed receptionists in the reception area quickly offer you a seat on one of the sofas in the vestibule while you wait to be attended to. On my first visit, instead of reading through a copy of *La Vanguardia,* a conservative Catalan newspaper which was always lying on the side table, I feasted my eyes on the *mise en scène* of the place. The reception area was a declaration of intentions. There was a motto, by Piaget, presiding over one of the walls, written in Catalan, Spanish and English, as every sign in the school is. There were reproductions of paintings by Miró and Rafael. In the corner of a wall, a group of placards with institutional affiliations of the school declared the school's links with Cambridge, for example, or a number of International Schools associations, including its category as an 'IB School'. There was also a screen with a compilation of the school's recent appearances on local TV.

In the vestibule or reception area, the main wall exhibited pictures of student exchanges, maps and IBO posters. A copy of the canteen menus and the school calendar were on a conspicuous stand, the latter announcing international events and holidays. Parents were updated on the activities of each of the forms for the week. They could discover that students were on an exchange abroad, that Mexican Food Day was on that week, whether a sports competition was coming up or if they could already buy tickets for upcoming theatre shows. The vestibule is a reflection of life in the school and also of its trajectory. The style of the first graduation photographs in the late 1980s was a faithful reminder of the long and winding journey to become what the school is today: an *international* school.

Whenever I visited, the vestibule was a busy space. It connects the administrative units with the higher primary and secondary school, and also with the vocational training premises, and it is the natural way into the primary school building. It was usual to see teachers rushing across the room, and children in uniform buying school material from the secretary. That foyer was also the waiting room for parents —usually mothers— who came in the quieter mid-mornings to bring the sports bags their forgetful children might have left at home, or where sick students met their families when they were sent back home. The hospitality regime, the rigorous control of visitors and students by the secretaries, inspired a sense of security. I was always warmly greeted when-

ever I came in, and I had to identify myself and inform receptionists of my schedule for the day until well into my fieldwork, when I got a 'permanent visitor card' with my name on it. Still then, there was always someone to say 'hello', and occasionally admin people would ask cordially about my work.

The setting sets the tone for the social interactions that will happen within it. The school's internationality is presented as something experiential. Internationalising is a profound transformation that starts with the school's physical landscapes but it goes far beyond that, as we shall see. That is why we explore the conversion towards an international space, or atmosphere, rather than the *creation* of an international *school.* The director presented himself as the instigator of change in the school. He was once a foreign languages teacher, and he had also studied in educational psychology. Drawing on his first-hand experience of building an international model from scratch at the school he worked for previously —he was one of the founding teachers—, he designed and 'packaged' an internationalisation project for FIS that was later 'exported' to other schools in the same educational group: a new normative construct for the brand, the new stylistic ideal. Internationality is presented as a process of (trans)formation of spaces and discourses. I have explained in chapters 2 and 3 how 'simply national' curricula (FIS, web data) became perceived as outdated or insufficient. With the outbreak of the economic crisis, that also affected the school, the former owners of FIS reacted by contacting Mr. Ermengol and a small group of young teachers to revamp the project. Their previous experience in international schools and their training in business were crucial to that task. According to the headteacher, the owners were 'visionaries'. They wanted to create an international school. They did not know, however, what this really meant or how to do it. That is why, to modernise the school they relied on young people such as him (interview data, 17/07/17).

Mr. Ermengol set in motion four axes of transformation: language learning, an international dimension to the curriculum, the fostering of student and teacher mobility and the promotion of an international culture in the school. These were the pillars of the FIS model for internationalisation. In transforming the school, Mr. Ermengol also updated the discursive apparatus that accompanied the educational project. Eckert (1996) portrays the construction of a style as a process of bricolage. Acting as a stylistic agent (Cameron, 2000), Mr. Ermengol drew on different discursive and ideological resources, and recombined them to make the 'FIS international package', which has since served

as a model for the internationalisation of the other schools in the NFG (New FIS Group). He circulated specific ways of speaking about, understanding and portraying what internationality is at FIS; he orchestrated a new school culture. The following section shows how this was done.

5.4. The road map to internationalisation

Designing an international school implies a discursive transformation to explain the changes in orientations and scalar affiliations, as we have seen, as well as specific practices. Mr. Ermengol explains how he set the ball rolling by implementing changes that would 'style' the new atmosphere in line with his mentioned four axes:

Extract 5.1[2]

1	E:	en una escola com aquesta que jo sempre la defineixo com una escola catalana amb
2		projecció internacional/ catalana-espanyola amb projecció internacional/ necessita fo-
3		mentar la cultura internacional dins de l'escola\ i per fomentar la cultura internacional
4		a l'escola s'havia de fer molt vivencial\ i és per aquí com vam canviar tot el tema de la
5		retolació/ fer-la trilingüe\ qualsevol discurs que es feia en qualsevol esdeveniment fer-la
6		en tres llengües\ comunicació amb els pares també en tres llengües\ vam fer també que
7		totes les aules de P3 fins a 6è tinguessin el nom d'un país/ que després vam aconseguir
8		que cada país representés a alumnes o pares o treballadors de l'escola/ per tant estan
9		vinculades amb això\ crear també l'*international day* que creava la oportunitat que els
10		pares visquessin la internacionalitat/ ara fem també un cop al mes dinars internacio-
11		nals/ fem dinars a més es fa tota una decoració:: el cuiner s'ho prepara\ es fa tot un
12		seguit d'accions perquè visquin el menú internacional/ i després a nivell d'associació
13		de pares també vam crear una *intercultural commission* i després vam tenir la *welcome*
14		*comission*\ aquestes comissions el que pretenien sobretot era facilitar i ajudar les famílies
15		nouvingudes la integració tan a l'escola\ conèixer altres famílies\ donar la oportunitat
16		de tenir famílies mentores que les ajudessin com també a la comunitat de Sant Medir\

2. Interviews were conducted in Catalan, Spanish and English, which are the languages in which the participants, Jessica (the assistant researcher) and I spoke to each other. The translations provided next to the originals or within the text are my own.

(English translation)

1   E: in a school like this, which I always define as a Catalan school with an inter-
2   national scope/ Catalan-Spanish with international scope/ we need to foster an
3   international culture within the school\ and to foster an international culture in
4   the school we had to make it very experiential\ and this was where we changed
5   all the signposting/ we made it trilingual\ any information that was given for any
6   event/ make it in three languages\ communication with parents was also in three
7   languages\ we also gave all the classes from P3 to 6th grade the name of a country/
8   and then we managed to get each country to represent the students or parents or
9   workers of the school/ so they are linked to this\ creating also the international
10   day which gave parents the opportunity to live the internationality/ now we also
11   do international lunches once a month/ we do the lunch along with a whole
12   decoration:: the chef prepares it\ we do a number of things so that they can live
13   the international menu/ and then with the parents association we also created
14   the intercultural commission and then we had the welcome commission\ these
15   commission were aimed mostly at facilitating and helping newly arrived families
16   to integrate into the school, meet other families, giving them the opportunity to
17   have mentor families who would help them, and also the Sant Medir community\

INTERVIEW DATA, 17/07/17

The headmaster identifies the main business goal for a school like FIS as being to foster the *international culture* of the school, one of his four axes of inter-nationalisation. We see how he hesitates when defining the character of the school. From the first category 'Catalan', he self-corrects to 'Catalan-Spanish', and he adds international *scope*. FIS used to be known as a 'Catalan' school. Internationalising has often implied a stereotyped and dichotomic reconstruction of the school's past. The school discursively takes advantage of its more than 25 years of experience. This allows them to build a sense of continuing good reputation within the local education market (web data).

To achieve the 'projected' identity of the school —something yet to be re-alised— they need to make internationality visible, as the headteacher explains (see extract 5.1). In this excerpt he specifies what constitutes an international experience. His list of elements contains, first and foremost, displaying the school's multilingualism on the walls and in communication, and introducing

references to multiple nations through flags, country names, maps and ascribed languages. They also launch a number of special events that celebrate other national cultural facets such as cuisine, folklore or traditions. A final set of measures is preparing a hospitality infrastructure for the reception of foreign families. The following sections will follow Mr. Ermengol's road map to internationalisation.

5.4.1. Making internationality visible: Drawing the semiotics of the new school

At FIS, the main foyer became a stage on which to display the new school culture:

Picture 5.1. Wall decorations at FIS, main hall, April 2015

Wall decorations, such as that in Figure 5.1, show the prominence of the international project, as well as the desire to make it visible and to involve all actors in it, as expressed by the headteacher in Extract 5.1. The school plans slogans, pedagogic activities as well as putting the students' drawings up in such spaces. Students, teachers and visitors are interpellated by the idea of internationality. The poster, 'international minds', shows students' 'free' interpretations of the topic. Most drawings contain flags, the earth

and boys and girls from different ethnic backgrounds representing diversity. It becomes apparent that there has been a curation of the exhibited images and that they all reflect quite a unified vision of how an 'international mind' should be represented, and what it means. The images show an iconicisation of the globe. It appears at the centre of most of the compositions, and many of them show it surrounded by people holding hands, conveying a sense of community, or by flags —representing internationality as summative nationalisms. In some cases, the globe is held by two worshipping hands, evoking something precious.

Wall decorations in the foyer were periodically replaced by new ones, always made by students, and portraying the global aspirations of the school. They featured flags and maps, but also the globe, representations of diversity and the schools' affiliations to international organisations such as the IBO, or the Comenius programmes of the EU, as credentials certifying the school's internationality. In the following sections I will further explore the iconicisation of flags and maps.

FIS had developed a taste for replacing and converting its spaces, physical and virtual, and the semiotic palettes with which they were made to portray the school identity. Their liquid discourses (Baumann, 2000) show how internationality is an ongoing process. Rather than allowing cracks in the new corporate identity, the very essence of the new school is one of constant mutation. Their promotional materials, the products they sell, and their corporate images have short expiry dates. Their webpage is in constant evolution: they launch new versions with new content, slogans and general aesthetics every few weeks. Schools' discourses need to evolve to survive in ever more saturated markets. The school becomes a test arena, a rehearsal for imagined future lives in a rapidly changing globalised society.

The strategy of introducing international-themed wall decorations to create an atmosphere of the celebration of diversity, or redefining the school identity, is not the only way to tailor the school experience. Multiple modes of communication, voices, bodies and the material world are part of the semiotic apparatus that makes up internationality. All these discursive elements need to become attuned to the new regime.

5.4.2. Designing new language policies, widening the target population

Internationalising appeals to a variety of social groups for different reasons. The slow but steady incorporation of globally mobile families into the school communities both at FIS and BCN-IS is not the only social change brought about by internationality. At FIS, it is very evident how becoming global, and the specific language and curricular policies implemented, have been a call to a new type of local family. I have pointed out the hesitation in defining the school as Catalan or Catalan-Spanish during the interview with the head-teacher. The identification of FIS with the Catalan school model was an obstacle when addressing anti-catalanists, neutrals or moderate catalanists from the local communities. Some of the internationalising strategies have contributed to changing the profile of the local families who have been choosing the school since 2008. Pere, in common with most of the veteran teachers and older students, cannot claim that the school is the same as some years ago:

Extract 5.2

1	P:	parents who want their children to learn English\ which at this moment is con-
2		sidered a language of great importance\ also want to preserve this identity\ this
3		nationalism\ and want their children to be educated in Catalan\ and take their
4		children to other schools because in here this essence has been lost\

<div align="right">INTERVIEW DATA, 01/03/2017</div>

Establishing a trilingual policy, which, in the context of Catalonia, entailed spreading Catalan, Spanish and English equally across the curriculum, can be interpreted as a sign of political neutrality. In fact, the school presents the policy as an emblem of such neutrality. The school's language policies attracted a new generation of parents with more cosmopolitan trajectories than the traditional target families of FIS, who mostly came from and worked in the immediate vicinity. What made this new generation of parents different is that they probably had —or aspired to having— work experiences abroad, which lead them to find jobs in multinational companies in the area. Some even had foreign partners and imagined more mobile life trajectories for themselves and their children. These parents, local or non-local, had very contrasting perspec-

tives on the Catalan educational model. They preferred what they perceived as less politicised schools:

Extract 5.3

Participants: Jos (Josep, parent); Dav (David, parent); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1	JOS:	no anàvem a la **\ (.) e:/ llavons la ** no ens no ens agradava/ precisament per
2		això\ (.) perquè feien MO:LT poc anglès\ (.) allà bueno\ (.) és una escola molt
3		catalana/ e: (.) però fan molt molt poc anglès\ (.) molt poc anglès\ (.) llavons
4		clar\ (.) e:: el seu anglès / (.) no l'aprenien a l'escola/ (.) l'aprenien amb a: casa\
5		amb la: (.) amb la seva mare principalment/ (.) i amb les pel·lícules i bueno\ (.)
6		també parlo/ més xungerament/ (.) perquè jo sóc d'acadèmia Pérez/ (.) però::
7		però també el parlo/
8		(…)
9	JOS:	=sí sí\ estem contents\ (.) sobretot per això e:/ (.) ((de)) tenir una mentalitat pot-
10		ser més oberta/ (.) la ** és molt/ molt catalana\ no/ (.) i nos- jo sóc molt català/
11		però::/ (.) quan algú/ és més català que jo penso ui/
12	DAV:	((laughs))
13	JOS:	=que ja és massa català\ no/ (.) perquè:/ són molt molt catalans\
14	AND:	i tu creus que FIS/ no té aquest perfil/ [de
15	JOS:	[no\ no té aquest bias el bias/ (.) perquè té potser seguramente/ (.) una una pobla-
16		ció tant d'alumnes/ com de professors/ (.) mé:s/ (.) internacional i també de fora
17		de:/ Catalunya\ (.) i jo crec [que no les ( )
18	DAV:	[la línia po-/ (.) entre cometes la línia política/ no és/ (.) per res política\
19	JOS:	=sí sí\ és molt agnòstica\ sí/
20	DAV:	=és molt [agnòstica
21	AND:	=sí\
22	DAV:	=probablement [fins i tot més
23	JOS:	[molt apolítica\
24	DAV:	=més catalanò::fila:/ (.) que:/ (.) perdona castellanòfila que catalanòfila/ (.) no ho
25		sé/ (.) o sigui és molt neutra\
26	JOS:	sí \ [jo la veig molt neutra
27	DAV:	[molt neutra/ (.) molt bastant neutra/ sí\
28	JOS:	=una de les coses que em va agradar d'això/ és que era [bastant neutra
29	DAV:	[molt neutra\ (.) estic d'acord

(English translation)

1	JOS:	no\ we used to be in **\ (.) er: / then we didn't like **/ precisely because of that/
2		(.) because they did VE::RY little English\ (.) there well\ (.) it is a very Catalan
3		school eh:/ (.) but they do very very little English\ (.) very little English\ and then
4		well\(.) er::/ their English/ (.) they didn't learn it in school/ (.) they learned it at::
5		home\ with their::: (.) with their mother mostly/ (.) and through films and well/
6		(.) I also speak more\ *dodgily*/ (.) because I am an *Academia Pérez* guy/ (.) but/
7		(…)
8	JOS:	=yes yes\ we are happy\ (.) mostly because of that eh:/ (.) of having a more open
9		mentality/ (.) ** is very/ very Catalan\ right/ (.) and we- I am very Catalan\ but::
10		(.) when somebody/ is more Catalan than me I think ow/
11	DAV:	((laughs))
12	JOS:	=it is already too Catalan\ right/ (.) because:/ they are very very Catalan\
13	AND:	and do you think that FIS/ does not have this profile/ [of
14	JOS:	[no\ it doesn't have this bias the bias/ (.) it maybe has/ (.) a student/ and teacher
15		population/ (.) more::/ (.) international and also from outside:: Catalonia\ and I
16		think [that they don't ( )
17	DAV:	[the political li–/ (.) quote unquote the political line/ is not/ (.) political at all\
18	JOS:	=yes yes\ it is very agnostic\ yes/
19	DAV:	=it is very [agnostic
20	AND:	=yes\
21	DAV:	=probably [even more
22	JOS:	[very apoltical\
23	DAV:	=more catalano::phile:/ (.) than:/ (.) sorry hispanophile than catalanophile/ (.) I
24		don't know/ (.) I mean it is very neutral\
25	JOS:	yes \ [I think it is very neutral
26	DAV:	[ver neutral/ (.) really quite neutral/ yes\
27	JOS:	=one of the things that I liked the most about this/ is that it was [quite neutral
28	DAV:	[very neutral\ (.) I agree

Josep and David in this extract make the link between language learning, school language policies and political attitudes very explicit, but also quite convoluted. Josep changed his daughters to FIS after a period abroad, in Israel, where they attended an international school. English is the family lan-

guage of his wife, a member of the Mexican upper-class, educated in the USA. Upon returning from Israel, he wanted a school with more English, and he perceives that learning English cannot happen to the same extent in a *very, very Catalan school* —their previous school. He attaches negative values like narrow-mindedness to the concept of Catalan schooling, which they no longer associate with FIS, a school that comes from that very same tradition. According to Josep, showing strong Catalan nationalist affiliations is suspicious. He defines himself as 'very Catalan', but one can be *too* Catalan. This is incompatible with the cosmopolitan project he has for his daughters: he has imagined mobile futures for them, and English cannot sit alongside strong Catalanist views, according to him. He likes FIS, it does not have this nationalistic 'bias'. To him, this is because it has more *international* students and teachers. Being *biased* or being too politicised is compared to a religion. This 'worshipping' is only suspicious, or to be avoided if it refers to 'catalanophilia'. Their definition of neutrality shows this: being neutral is not 'worshipping' Catalanness. Neutrality is what they both like about the school. Moving away from 'catalanophilia' means, in practice, the inclusion of more global languages —i.e. English and Spanish—, and seeking a better equilibrium between the local languages —i.e. Catalan and Spanish. The ambivalent role of Spanish as both a local and global language has been key, at FIS and BCN-IS, to the justification of its greater presence, and the fact that —unlike Catalan— it is an obligatory language for all students. This is one of the aspects that in recent years has attracted more families from the rest of Spain, or with anti-Catalan ideologies. This is only logical, since increasing the exposure to English and Spanish comes at the expense of Catalan, which might be considered of primary importance given the schools' geographical locations.

These changes in school language policy have also impacted the communication of the school with families. The number of messages addressed to parents in Spanish is far greater at the primary building, where internationalisation was first implemented, than at the secondary building. The traditional FIS family that one finds in the later years, differs from the families of the younger children. Language practices among baccalaureate students are mostly in Catalan. Few students speak Spanish among themselves, and they tend to be newcomers. In the lower years, particularly in primary, this is not the case. A similar change can be observed between veteran and newly hired teachers. Most of the new teachers are L1 Spanish speakers; they have Spanish as their language of iden-

tification and they use it during class, but also in the corridors or in the staff rooms. Teachers who have been with the school longer can teach in Spanish when needed, but their language of identification and use outside class with students and other teachers is Catalan.

It struck me throughout this interview how these parents praise the trilingual policies of the school, repeating almost the exact same words found in the headteacher's discourses. They draw on his lexicon to justify the precise equality between Catalan, Spanish and English throughout the curriculum and in communication. Even though the obsessive equilibrium between the three languages that the school uses to ensure neutrality is perceived as 'unnatural', as Josep and David affirm, they buy into this discourse that associates supposedly balanced language use to political neutrality. What they truly want is a school that is not ideologically 'Catalan nationalist'. These ideas both support and exist in tension with nationalist and 'romantic' views of language, as the following section shows.

5.4.3. Fostering an international culture through language

I have said earlier how the schools pursue internationality through different strategies, with varying degrees of overtness. The ways in which they use languages to 'do' internationality reflect their distinct styles. While at FIS spaces have become 'languaged', BCN-IS has 'delanguaged' its spaces in order to be *truly* international, as I will show.

5.4.3.1 Languaged landscapes

Language, and more specifically English, is a key element in the construction of internationality. It is an essential part of the schools' landscapes —visual and 'soundscapes'. Both schools talk about language when defining their *international* educational project, but the uses they make of it are different. At FIS, as Extract 5.3 shows, language is very prominent. It is the most important element in the internationalisation project. As programmes are reorganised, new words, such as *trilingual* or *multilingual* become part of the school's *international* vocabulary. Becoming international means praising and fostering multilingua-

lism. For this reason, the school consolidates and advertises foreign language programmes (see Chapter 7) and the school's walls become showcases for their new language repertoires. The new 'languaged' spaces reflect, on the one hand, the new trilingual character of the school. All signposts are now written in Catalan, Spanish, and, as a novelty, English, as the signposting on the wall in the top-left corner of Figure 4 shows: '*Sala de professors*; Staff room; *Sala de Profesores*'. English has an ambivalent role as an official language of the school, and as a foreign language. On the wall of this busy corridor are posters issued by publishers of foreign language textbooks, and the names of the relevant languages added by the school in English, French and German. The tags show how each poster stands for or is intended to represent each of the languages. More space is devoted to English-related content. English is associated with British culture, with the map and flags showing romantic ideologies around national languages. Among all the foreign languages taught at FIS (English, French, German and Mandarin Chinese), English is the more prominent in the curriculum, as Chapter 7 shows, in landscapes and in practices.

Picture 5.2. Wall outside the Staff Room

In recent years, artworks on the walls have been used as an opportunity to display the aspiring identity of the school. Not only are borrowed messages from other institutions on display, but texts produced by the students in other languages have also become frequent features. The outcome of an art project on Toulouse-Lautrec with a text written in Catalan, Spanish, English, French and German decorates the ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education) corridors. These aim to portray the language repertoires of students and construct the school as a multilingual space.
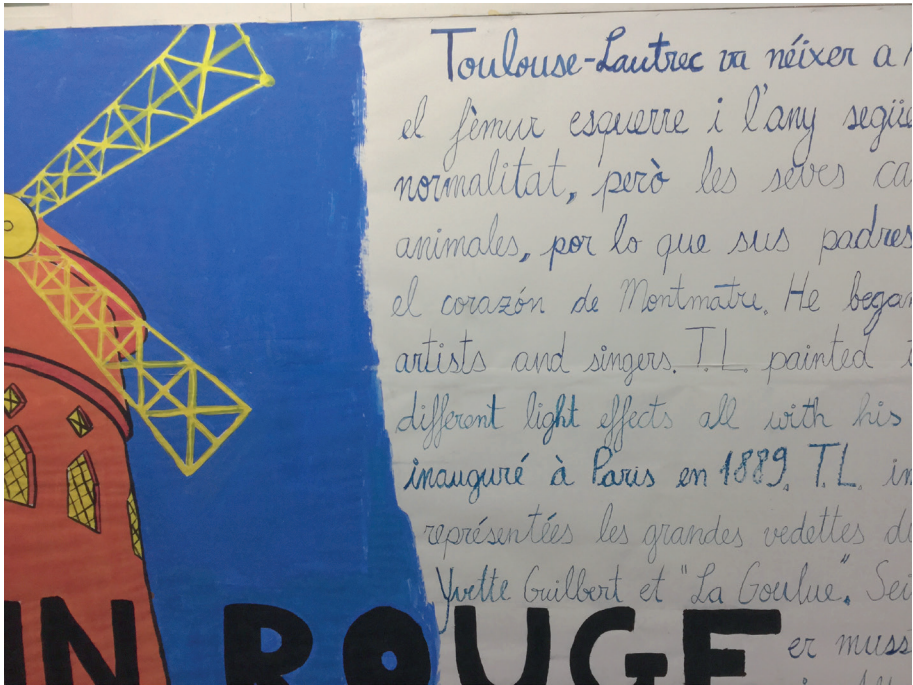
Picture 5.3. Moulin-Rouge themed wall decorations in FIS corridors

An interesting feature of all these expressions is how they maintain relative proportions in the use of each language. In the interviews with students and teachers where this aspect was noted, they all drew on discourses of equality among languages. Equality was based on quantity, that is, on the equal proportion of text in each of the languages, rather than the order in which they appear. All the illustrations showing multilingual fragments are headed by Catalan, and are followed by Spanish and English, usually in this order. Such discourses tend to make reference to the three official lan-

guages of the school, Catalan, Spanish and English, and tend to leave out other foreign languages taught. French or German —Mandarin Chinese is a special case— are not present to the same degree in the landscape, except for spaces for the display of multilingualism, such as those shown above, or the number tags on the steps of the staircases in the primary and secondary school buildings.

Mandarin Chinese, the star of the multilingual programme, tends to occupy its own distinctive spaces (Codó & Sunyol, 2019). Many of the instances of Mandarin in landscapes are found in the primary building, as this is where the programme is mostly implemented. Apart from exhibiting classwork from students, there are relatively large decorative items occupying very visible spaces in the building. On the glass doors of the entrance, Mandarin Chinese welcomes parents and students every day:

Picture 5.4. Chinese-themed decorations at the main entrance to the FIS Primary building

The Chinese New Year decorations became permanent, and they remained in the entrance hall until the end of the school year. At the receptionist's office, a panda bear made of ironed plastic beads greeted visitors in Chinese, and displays of Chinese poetry made by the Chinese teacher also decorated the walls.

In this case, the iconic use of language is even clearer. Chinese characters are graphic representations of the school's linguistic diversity. In fact, most of the teachers, parents and students who walk through the doors are unable to read these texts. The function of these signs is purely symbolic, rather like the 'language' tags and the number labels attached to the steps on the staircases.

The prominent positioning of these Chinese elements is no coincidence. As Pere, a Catalan teacher, put it, Chinese is by now an incidental phenomenon, a trend that has more value symbolically than for its actual language learning benefits (interview data, 01/03/2017). The Chinese programme appears as the face of the school's elite multilingualism (see Chapter 3). On their website, for example, Mandarin Chinese is used to illustrate the school's language school, as Figure 7 shows.

Picture 5.5. Bingo with Mandarin Chinese characters illustrating the language school section of the FIS website

Exhibiting Mandarin Chinese in key strategic places is a way for the school to advertise their trendsetting multilingual programmes, which are used as an mark of distinction vis-à-vis other international schools in the area (see Codó & Sunyol, 2019).

Teachers also open up spaces of multilingual expression in classrooms. On the cupboard door in Figure 8, an ESO tutor has made a space in the classroom for students to post important aspects they have to take into account in the classroom, values they have to consider in their relationships with their classmates and generally as students. This corner is a reminder of the behaviour expected of them, it is not related to any language subject and the teacher sets it up as a multilingual space:
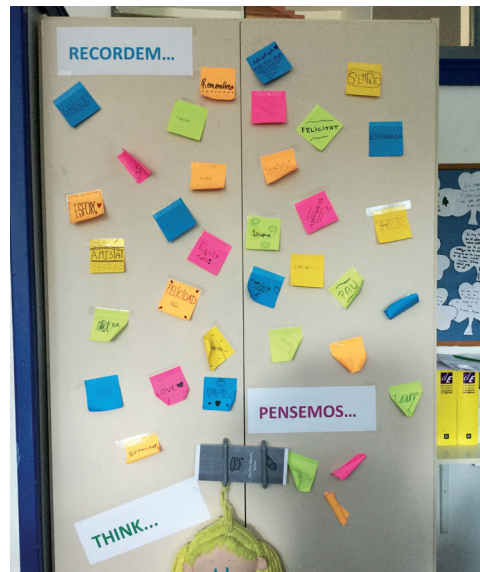
Picture 5.6. Cupboard with multilingual post-it messages in an ESO classroom

The cupboard is one of several instances of corners displaying language diversity. In these spaces, language use is staged, scripted, stylised. The teacher generates some etiquette expectations, she shapes and at the same time portrays the expected multilingual practices of students in the class.

The three (or at most five) languages that the board of directors and the students use are the school's official languages, or the foreign languages taught, but many other family languages are left out of the multilingual repertoires portrayed. The only trace of these was found on an unfinished poster hidden on the wall of one of the basement corridors, which welcomed visitors in Catalan, French, Russian, Greek and Romanian. This attempt to portray the wider language repertoires of the international community that composes the school has been abandoned, showing at the same time the intention of graphically representing diversity in the school whilst emphasising the specific designated languages that are constructed as elite varieties (Barakos & Sellek, 2019; Codó & Sunyol, 2019).

In all these spaces language diversity occurs as the sum of languages that exist in parallel streams and that never overlap. There are appropriate languages

Picture 5.7. Birthday messages to a classmate on an ESO 1 blackboard

for specific spaces, which are clearly delimited. We see how multilingualism is built as the sum of the two local languages, the three most commonly taught foreign languages in Catalonia and Mandarin Chinese. The portrayed messages are never hybrid practices, and often messages are displayed as a translation of a Catalan —or less frequently, Spanish— headline. Linking with the theoretical debates on language fixity and fluidity explored in Chapter 3, these practices reflect the fact that making the school tri- or multilingual is a styling project. Such practices depart from the more naturalised bilingual practices among students. This blackboard messages from the class to a student called Paula show how, when they greet her for her 13th birthday, they use both Catalan and Spanish, and they come up with hybrid forms, such as '*cumpañera*', which is a transliteration of the Catalan pronunciation of a Spanish word.

The same class has a huge display that occupies the entire back wall of the class. On it, a large headline reads 'la familia', and has labels for each of the members —students and tutor— of the class. They write post-it messages of encouragement to each other. Even though the addressee's preferred language or language of identification prevails in these messages, we see how these informal texts are a reflection of their hybrid, fluid, oral practices, with some references to English words widely used in adolescent language such as 'loser' or 'forever'.
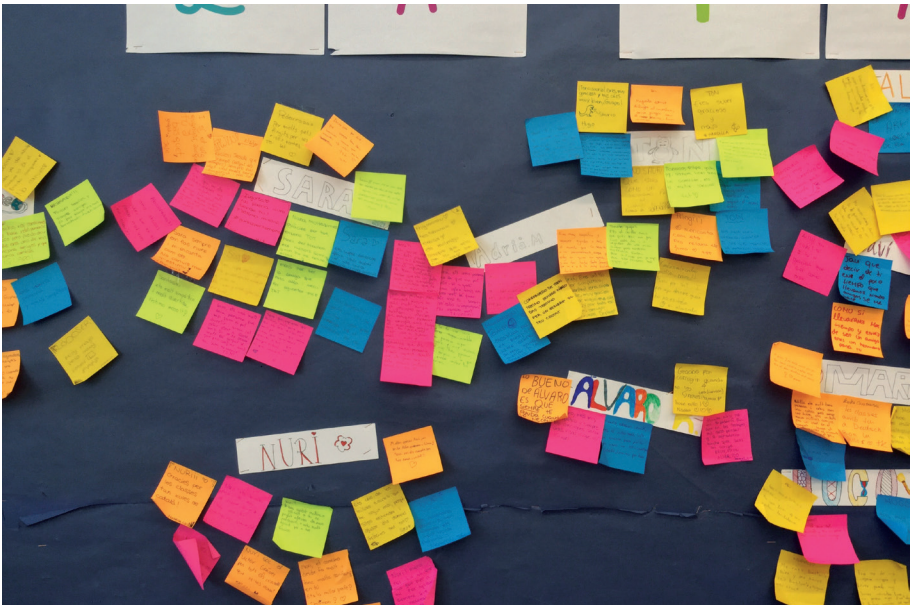
Picture 5.8. Post-it messages to classmates on ESO 1 wall decorations

Formality, permanence and authorship shape the linguistic landscapes greatly. We have seen how the school's walls emerge as spaces of implicit language policy, and they sometimes become spaces for policy contestation when they are taken over by students. What is common in all these spaces, however, is the desire to portray the school as a 'languaged' space, that is, a space where many languages are used on different platforms and in different practices, and where foreign languages are specifically foregrounded as they become icons, markers of internationality, a reflection of a sought-for diversity in the student community. However, this diversity is only displayed when it encompasses resources deemed valuable, i.e. resources that are constructed as eligible for inclusion in an elite multilingual repertoire.

5.4.3.2. Delanguaged spaces: The monolingual norm and authenticity

On entering BCN-IS, one does not notice language unless one does not speak a word of English, because here the ethos is monolingual (De Mejía, 2013). Mariona, a Year 10 student, remembers thinking 'Wow! I don't understand anything' when she first started as a 6 year old. The school runs entirely in English. Its landscapes, virtual and physical, are almost monolingual. Mariona's reaction is not surprising: the norm in most Catalan schools is to have a greater presence of the local languages. The only instances of Catalan and Spanish to be found in BCN-IS are in the canteen menus —which a local company provides in Catalan— and an important information sheet posted on a large board in the entrance, with details of office hours, payment methods and emergency procedures, in which the school addresses parents in English, Spanish and Catalan —in that order. This is the important information that the school needs to ensure all parents receive. The school's website is almost exclusively in English. The few messages in Catalan are in the news and events section, to report on things related to municipal events or that the school organises in collaboration with local institutions.

Wandering along its corridors, one can lose any sense of being in a rather small Catalan town. Only when entering the primary Catalan-, Spanish- or French-language classrooms do you learn about local geography, and see texts, proverbs, sayings and orthographic rules. Some decorations make the Catalan and Spanish classroom look like a foreign language lab: a large alphabet with the names of letters in Catalan presides on one of the main walls. By the board,

there are some names of colours, the days of the week in Spanish and tricky comparative spellings in Catalan and Spanish that students have to learn to avoid interference from one language to the other. There are also colourful name tags for some of the elements in the class, such as the windows ('Finestra', 'Ventana'), unlike in the rest of the school, where there does not seem to be any need to attach labels with the English words for items of furniture and areas of the classroom. These are elements typically found in foreign language classrooms or immersion programmes. At BCN-IS they seem to be directed to all students, even though local and non-local students study the local languages at different levels. The classroom has a corner specifically for beginners. In their space there is a computer that non-local students take turns to use for basic vocabulary activities in Spanish, while locals are doing their regular, more advanced, Catalan class. When they are not doing exercises on the computer, non-locals complete worksheets on a separate table.

In this small school students travel from one class to another to take lessons in specific subjects, except for the subjects they do with their tutor: topic, literacy and, in Primary, maths. We see a difference in the type of vocabulary and landscapes in each of the classrooms. In the Catalan and Spanish classroom special emphasis is placed on orthography and basic vocabulary. The classroom corners for other subjects, such as that shown below, focus on subject-related content, they are not merely vocabulary lists for each specific unit.
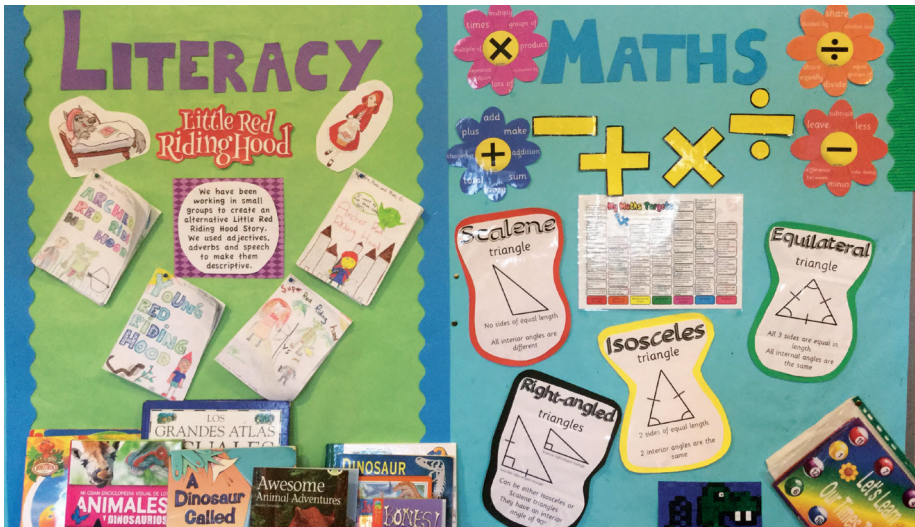
Picture 5.9. Literacy and Maths wall decorations in a Primary Classroom at BCN-IS

On the classroom walls we can observe traces of pedagogies. The curricular content presented in each of the language subjects reveals the language ideologies informing the design of these curricula. It is in foreign language classrooms that the erased sociolinguistic background of teachers and students surfaces. Classroom decorations indicate that local languages are treated pedagogically as foreign languages. These languages are for writing about local realities (geography, history, culture). During Catalan, Spanish and French lessons students learn about purely philological aspects of the language (spelling and grammar) but they do not have a thorough literacy programme, as is the case in the English lessons, where emphasis is put on oral and written expression.

Beyond the doors of the two language classrooms in the school, Catalan, Spanish and French are practically erased. Unlike FIS, the school does not wish to display or use the language diversity existing in its educational community discursively. The signs in English are informative and functional; they do not seek any metapragmatic ends by indicating that the school is an 'English' school. By contrast with FIS, language is erased from the BCN-IS landscape. Making language invisible, as we shall see, serves a clear purpose.

BCN-IS is constructed as a tiny British enclave. The few uniformed kids that walk through its silent corridors while classes are taking place murmur, should they feel the urge to speak, in English. Fiona, the school's founder and headteacher, explains, at a promotional interview in an international school fair, that her recently founded school —BCN-IS is only 9 years old— was set up as a 'small school in concept', and they are one of the only British schools in the Barcelona area. The teacher-student ratio is 1:7. Their British curriculum and their size are the flagships of their sales line. In fact, as Mariona, a BCN-IS student, confirms, many of the students choose BCN-IS because it is in English, and because it is a small school, in that order. Despite the centrality of the school's language of instruction in parental school choices, the headteacher decentralises language in her discourses. It is students, both local and international, who relocate English language learning or English-medium instruction at the centre of their choices, despite the school not advertising this.

The focus of the school's sales pitch has always been their curriculum. It is only very recently that the school has begun to use cultural diversity in the school community as sources of richness and as part of the international experience. At an international school fair the school attended, the director stressed the composition of the student body: 40% international, 60% local, stressing

that an increasing number of international families are settling in the town in which BCN-IS is located, creating a welcoming and diverse international community. During the time in which I conducted fieldwork, however, this was never stressed. English, or languages, were never put forward or mentioned as a selling point or made explicitly salient in discourses or landscapes. In my meetings with the headteacher, in her presentations for parents and promotional videos for the school, she underscored the academic programme, with a special focus on emotional education and an individualised curriculum that could challenge each and every one of the students to 'maximise their future opportunities'. When the director speaks of the skills that the school offers its students, skills which aim to capitalise them and equip them for changing times —i.e. living and working in a globalised world—, English is not mentioned. Team-working skills, creativity and emotional intelligence are the assets she refers to. This is rather unusual, given that most of the newly established international schools in Catalonia foreground their ambitious English language programmes in their advertising campaigns.

Only at the end of one of the very few promotional videos that BCN-IS has produced, does a *local* student appear saying, in English and with a marked British accent, that 'English is the official language at BCN-IS, apart from Catalan, Spanish and French'. He conveys factual information, which is followed by further practical information on the school, given by a few of his fellow students. This is the only instance of an 'official' discourse encompassing the school's language policy that I have encountered. On the whole, language policy is erased. What the student probably refers to in this instance is that *things* at the school happen in English. His disjunctive proposition sets the two groups of languages *apart*. English is the default vehicular language, and the remaining languages are *learned* as curricular subjects —despite some being local languages.

The 'English only' policy is the logical corollary of the school's British curriculum. The only discourses on language apparent at BCN-IS were discourses deproblematising English as the medium of instruction: 'our students, many of whom are not speaking English at home, are following the British national curriculum. Therefore it is very important that you bear in mind that you are educating a heart and a head' (website data, BCN-IS). The headteacher could be implying that it is not difficult for non-native speakers of English to learn the language and follow the curriculum. The second sentence, however, shows how the focus is immediately taken off language. Rather than emphasising the

fact that non-native speakers of English become proficient, which is the discourse one would expect in other internationalising schools, she returns to the importance of feeling emotionally aligned with the learning, embracing it as one's own —thereby reproducing 'romantic' language ideologies.

By making language invisible, the school creates an authentic context of 'English' or 'Englishness'. Language is so deeply embedded in the ecosystem of the school —the curriculum, teachers, content, hearts— that it 'goes without saying'. If language policies remain invisible, they will become naturalised. The school creates this atmosphere of 'authentic', naturalised and widespread English in several ways. One imagines, with the social composition of the community, that there will be languages other than English spoken in the school. However, when asking students and teachers generally about the language practices in the school, everyone agrees that everything takes place in English. It is a school *in English*. Only when you ask them about the specific languages they speak with other students of different linguistic backgrounds do you get a sense of the spaces where Catalan and Spanish are permitted, or where the home languages of international students are spoken. Local students communicate mostly in Catalan, but also in Spanish if it is the preferred language of the interlocutor. When non-locals are around, students converge on English. This happens during breaks, in the playground, but also in their Whatsapp groups, where the local languages are predominantly spoken, proving that the language bubble created in the school is an artifice. On my first days at BCN-IS I was often surprised at how all the students addressed me in English. They viewed me as an adult, and the authority that our age difference conferred on me presumably motivated their language choices. Once they discovered I was Catalan, local students addressed me both in Catalan and/or in Spanish, depending on their family languages. 'Are you Catalan?', they often asked in surprise. And then they wondered whether I spoke English. Their reaction is a reflection of the strict language policing in the school:

Extract 5.4

Participants: And (Andrea, the researcher); Mar (Mariona, student)

1   AND: hi ha alguna cosa que tinguin la banya posada amb allò/
2   MAR: no parlar en castellà o català\

3	AND:	a sí/
4	MAR:	sí:: perquè:: tant diuen tant que som una escola anglesa i per aprendre
5		anglès hem de parlar anglès i perquè els nostres companys pues que hi
6		ha alguns que no entenen el català o el castellà llavors hem (.)
7	AND:	o sigui per no discriminar-los d'alguna manera\ (.) i què us diuen/
8	MAR:	puees:: bueno o bé ens avisen i ens diuen com als tres avisos i als tres
9		avisos ens donen *detention* o ens donen *detention*\ i el Warren té la
10		pissarra i va apuntant coses d'aquestes/
11	AND:	això és a les classes d'anglès o a les altres classes també\
12	MAR:	no a moltes classes no et posen *detention* però t'ho diuen o igual et
13		canvien de lloc o el David dona un nino que si parles en castellà et
14		posa un nino a la taula i al final de la classe el que tingui el nino pues
15		té *detention*\
16	AND:	i què és *detention*\
17	MAR:	és que et quedes en el pati\ els dimecres a la hora de dinar hi ha les
18		*detentions* que vol dir que tothom que no ha portat els deures o s'ha
19		portat malament o qualsevol cosa que això/ ha d'anar i ha de fer un
20		paper:: (.) doncs ha de fer com un paper dient què ha fet i com ho
21		millorarà i ho han de firmar els pares perquè ho vegin\

(English translation)

1	AND:	is there something that they are especially obsessed with/
2	MAR:	not speaking Catalan or Spanish\
3	AND:	ah yes/
4	MAR:	yes:: because:: they are always saying that we are an English school
5		and in order to learn English we need to speak English and so that
6		our classmates- well there are some who do not understand Catalan or
7		Spanish and then we have to (.)
8	AND:	so in order not to discriminate against them in a way\ (.) and what
9		do they say/
10	MAR:	sooo::: well either they warn us and they tell as like after three warn-
11		ings and after three warnings they give us a detention or they give us
12		a detention and Warren has the blackboard and keeps taking down
13		these things/
14	AND:	is this in the English lessons or in other lessons as well\
15	MAR:	no in many classes they do not give detentions but they tell you or

16		maybe they make you sit somewhere else or David gives you a doll
17		which when you speak Spanish he puts a doll on your table and the
18		one who has the doll at the end of the class gets a detention\
19	AND:	and what is *detention*\
20	MAR:	it is that you stay in during play time\ on Wednesdays during lunch
21		time there are detentions\ which means that the people who have not
22		done their homework or have misbehaved or something like that/
23		have to go and write a paper:: (.) well they have to write like a paper
24		saying what they have done and how they will improve and their pa-
25		rents have to sign it for them to see\

The English monolingual atmosphere is achieved, as we have pointed out, by a strong policing of language spaces —walls, web and also student practices— in order to create a monolingual environment in which language saliency becomes erased and language practices become natural and unquestioned. The policing happens *sotto voce.* Only students mention these practices. Students repeatedly complained about the strict discipline in the school. During an interview, I asked Mariona about specific aspects upon which teachers insisted when they were keeping order, and she knew the answer straight away. Not speaking Spanish or Catalan in the school, outside playground times, was one of the teachers' biggest obsessions. Mariona reveals the boundaries of the English-only space. In order to maintain the delanguaged space as monolingual, strict practices are required. A failure to enforce such practices would result in students not learning the language thoroughly, and would also be discriminatory towards non-local students who do not speak Catalan or Spanish well. This is important because, as mentioned earlier, the school is chosen by many non-local families as a means to avoid studying the local languages, primarily Catalan (Sunyol, 2019). The moralising character of the punishment and detention, acknowledging individually and publicly that you have done something *bad,* places language practices at the centre of what is considered acceptable or unacceptable behaviour. Multilingualism is only valid, like at FIS, if it happens in prescribed spaces and following purist monolingual ideologies. In this case, these practices are even located in specific rooms, which have their own distinct language norms.

The process taking place at BCN-IS is an unusual one. Their distinction in the market is closely associated with the curriculum and the national language central to that specific curriculum: English. These assumptions are based on

nationalist ideologies, and value English inasmuch as it is a language of authenticity within this setting. In the making up of internationality, ironically, English is not valued as a language of authority, as a global linguistic resource. The rhetorical apparatus of the school constructs English as a valuable asset of the school through making it an 'authentic' language, an authentic resource of the site. Such authenticity lends greater value to the type of English students are taught in and learn. This 'authentic' type of linguistic —and educational— capital makes the school different from other international schools. Britishness, and nativeness, makes it truly international. In line with this thinking, British English is iconicised as a valuable and desired resource. However, rather than rendering it banal through an extensive symbolic use, the school builds its value by discursively constructing a space of 'authentic' use of the language, making it so entrenched in this reality that it becomes invisible, natural.

5.4.4. Diversity: Styling the faces of internationality

One of the key tropes of internationality that has continued to surface throughout this chapter is diversity in the social composition of the school communities. The international atmosphere is created through the aesthetic planning of the school —buildings, facilities and linguistic landscape— but also through the styling of the social community, the bodies of internationality. Internationality is portrayed as the sum of people from multiple nationalities in the newly created visual imagery and discourses circulated by the whole school community. Key to the transformation of 'third way' international schools — such as FIS— is achieving a diverse community that, as Chapter 2 explains, was common in international schools at the beginning of the 20th century. The discursive shift from *nationalist* to *internationalist* perspectives on education needs to be accompanied by structural changes in the social composition of the community. The insistence on social diversity shows how, even though newly created international schools have departed from the original international school model in many ways, those early schools have remained the imagined ideal for what internationality means. Rebranding their educational products as *international* is part of the project of preparing the elite youth for globalisation (Shaw, 2014; Prosser, 2014; Park, 2016). Having a nationally diverse student body is seen by both schools as the way to offer families cosmopolitan capital

(Weenink, 2008) as a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) but also a dis-position that should become embedded in the international students' habitus (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2015). Styling the spaces and styling the faces that create an international enclave ends up being transformative for the individual.

Schools tend to manifest the existence of an international community to attract more globally mobile families. The desire to style the faces of the school, the educational community, in this way is seen very clearly at FIS. On my very first tour of the school, I was accompanied by Roser, one of the most long-es-tablished teachers. With time she had become a key member of the board of di-rectors, she was the primary school director, and she was fully onboard with the new headteacher's internationalisation plan. She repeatedly made reference to the international students in the school, and their numerous efforts to welcome the international community. They wanted to make the school a comfortable place for newcomers. Thus, national emblems became icons used to construct visually an idea of nationality reminiscent of Billig's idea of 'banal nationalism' (1995). One of the spaces Roser was prouder of was the dining room. It was one of the spaces that had been redecorated to embrace internationality. It was a very big room with high walls and windows all around. At the top of the walls, all around the room, were the flags of all the countries being represented in the school. Each of the big flags had a tag with the name of the country, in 'the language of the country'. Representing the locals were the Catalan and the Spanish flags, according to her, a statement on the 'neutrality' of the school. Roser explicitly commented on their desire to avoid political conflict. If every-one was represented, they made everyone feel at home. The school had to avoid any political positioning. Flags had become a recurrent theme at FIS since internationalisation, as we have seen in previous sections. The wall decorations in Figure 5.1 show this, but flags, tags with country names, and maps mush-roomed in halls, classrooms, along the corridors but also as decoration props in events or on the website.

The school takes every opportunity to celebrate national diversity. The school's board at FIS seemed eager to point out that classes were named after the students' countries of origin. This was repeatedly mentioned to me. When possible, the class took the name of the country of origin of one of its students. One day, I was observing a primary Year 5 class. We were walking from the art classroom back to their classroom in quite a messy line, and Rui came over to tell me he was 'the Portuguese one'. I was a bit confused, and I asked him what

he meant by that. In a very homogeneous class, where most of the students were locals, he stood out as an international student. But he was not just *any* international student. He was the Portuguese one. His country of birth matched his class name, and he was proud of that. This anecdote is quite revealing of how diversity was presented at FIS. During my visit with Roser, I understood that the school was striving to increase the percentage of non-local students. This would contribute to creating a more genuine international environment, it would legitimise their new international identity and, of course, lend success to the business project. International identities were coveted and iconicised. They stood out. Rui's comment shows how he has internalised his category and the role that the school imagines for him.

As Rizvi (2014) found to be the case in his work on elite schools in India, old elite schools are aware of their need to work within a logic of competition, and recognise the need to reposition themselves within a market, and 'put on display those aspects of their institutional identity which they regard as distinctive' (2014: 291). In one of the updates, the home page gave the following graphical information:

Picture 5.10. Screenshot of the school's homepage

The school is defined by its historical trajectory, which is reworded as experience and used as a marker of educational quality. They also specify the number of teachers —without explicitly giving the student-teacher ratio-, the number of *international* teachers, their IB experience and the nationalities being represented in the school. In interviews, I sought to establish the meaning of the label *international*, both in relation to teachers and students (Sunyol, 2017).

The international teachers being advertised were those who were either born abroad or had *international trajectories* —trajectories of mobility motivated by work or other personal circumstances. English had to be in their linguistic repertoires (FIS Headteacher, interview data, 17/07/17). Becoming international has changed the profile of teacherthat the school hires, and what counts as a 'good' teacher. The way in which *international teachers* are displayed in the screenshot shows how they have become the desired profile of teacher, suited to the new school identity. By making *internationality* or national diversity appear twice in this condensed identity statement, the school is seeking to attract a type of family and/or worker who buys into this idea of 'cosmopolitanism' or 'multiculturalism'. This device of social styling parallels BCN-IS's emphasis on how the school has brought many international families to settle in the area, implying that the place will be one where more mobile families can potentially feel comfortable, legitimate members of the community.

In the same way that national diversity is displayed and celebrated, so is cultural diversity. The international day, one of the biggest events at FIS, is a good example of that. In the 2017 edition of the celebration, the hit of the ceremony was a display of Ecuadorian dance, performed by two of the school's students who, in the traditional costumes of Ecuador, showed parents and students a few of the traditional dances of their country of origin. Their dance was presented as an Ecuadorian rarity that belonged only to them and was only for them. Even though they were part of the celebrations, their show was not framed by the dignifying rituals other events had at FIS. Nobody explained the meaning of their dances, or their costumes. It was a small sideshow, a testimonial of the school's diversity. This was a live portrayal of folklore that had been decontextualised and lost its meaning, to the point of becoming tokenistic, somewhat ridiculous. The kids were being objectified and made to portray and embody a very specific idea of what it means to be Ecuadorean, and how Ecuadoreanness is enacted. The scheduling of this dance was an affirmative action. There was a public recognition of their identity, and the whole community showed respect and celebrated their *difference* (Fraser, 1995). Their *Ecuadoreannes* was useful and valid as part of the sum, but there was no transformative action taking place. Group differentiation was never effaced.

Both this vignette and the image in Figure 12 are examples of how specific social categories, and people who fit into the school's idea of (international) diversity, are 'iconicised' to advertise diversity. Diversity is understood primarily

as a sum of national identities, but racial diversity is also an important motif. Both schools foreground pictures on their websites and in advertising campaigns that deliberately portray race difference in the school in a way that does not represent the proportions actually found in the school. In the same way that Roser magnified the presence of children from other countries, these portraits forge a social imaginary (Taylor, 2003) of how the school is, and above all, of how the school should be. They both describe and prescribe —by drawing attention to these as *good, desirable, model* identities. Other types of diversity, most notably class —as we shall see in Chapter 8— are erased.

5.4.4.1. 'The saddest Christmas ever'

At FIS only 15% of students come from outside Spain. Diversity, however, seems to be fetishised, commodified. Discourses of diversity are made to operate at a symbolic level, and from a very tokenistic perspective. The human landscapes, the faces of internationality are part of the stylistic design. Diversity is used as window dressing, but it does not trigger any structural changes in the social community, as also discussed in the previous section. There is recognition of difference, that is, there is an affirmation of mainstream multiculturalism, which consists in showing respect to existing identities of existing groups and supporting group differentiation (Fraser, 1995). Not only is the difference of 'others' respected, accepted and welcome, it is actively sought out, because even though it is existing in the bodies of others (see 4.3), such difference becomes the property of the school. As Ahmed puts it, 'if difference is something 'they are', then it is something we 'can have' (2007: 235). However, there is no transformation and no restructuring of relationships or recognition, and group differentiation is not blurred (Fraser, 1995: 87). The subjects of diversity always remain othered.

Judit, an IB teacher who has previous experience of working in international schools presented her class to me, on my first day of observations with her, as 'a very interesting international class'. She was teaching Spanish B (Spanish as a foreign language) to a group of 3 *international* students. She meant, by *international*, that they were born in China, Japan and Mexico respectively. 'Interesting' has positive connotations. Marta, another IB student who was new to the school also highlighted diversity in her class in a tokenistic way. One of the

things that surprised her the most was that in her class not everyone was Spanish. In her list, she also counted as *internationals* a boy who spent two years in California, and a girl who did the same in Panama. These 5 people were singled out as the *internationals* in a class of 25. They made her class *truly* international. Foregrounding the *difference* in this way makes them beneficiaries of the forms of cultural capital the school packages for them when they try to create a diverse student community. They become cosmopolitan individuals, who are used to being around people from different national and cultural backgrounds, and this is valued as a positive asset by both local and non-local students, for different reasons. Local students obtain distinctive capitals without having to go abroad. Non-local students become legitimate members of such spaces, because they fit into the ideal of *international student*.

Some students and teachers felt a bit misled by the school's advertising campaigns, and differed in their characterisation of the school's internationality, as this class extract shows:

Extract 5.5

Participants: And (Andrea, the researcher); Ter (Teresa, student), Jud (Judit, teacher)

1	AND:	what do you mean when you say real international schools\
2	TER:	like (.) it's- it was like- err- it wasn't like here or like in China where it was like
3		only locals/ like all Spanish or Chinese/
4	AND:	mhm/
5	TER:	it was like from everywhere you had
6	JUD:	[the student body\
7	TER:	=yeah it was like from Europe:: from Latin America:: from America from Asia::
8		it was completely- it was a variety and: uhm:: all teachers were from different
9		countries/ like they all spoke English perfectly/ they all spoke different languages/
10		like more than one/ uhm and usually was the IB like all the schools I've been/ they
11		had the IB programmes like PYP the MYP and now the-
12	JUD:	all- all three programmes in one school/
13	TER:	well- yes cause in Shanghai I did the PYP/ the primary years programme/ so also
14		in the Chinese international\
15	JUD:	but the classes were in English/
16	TER:	yes they were all in English\ it was the primary years programme and then in

17		the German international school/ well German school/ it was the middle years
18		programme\
19	JUD:	in Singapore
20	TER:	yes\ in Singapore\ I went into two schools in Singapore
21	AND:	okay/
22	JUD:	so to you what makes an international school is the student body being interna-
23		tional/ and the teachers as well\
24	TER:	yeah\ like for me when I came here I was like eerrr this is not really international\

Spanish B students, the 3 *internationals* of the Year 1 of the IBDP discussed their arrival at the school as Judit, their teacher, was introducing them to me. The students who were generally disappointed with their experiences at FIS are those who had had past educational experiences in international schools abroad. The school transformation, designed to host and welcome students with highly mobile trajectories globally, failed to accommodate them, firstly, because the teachers and students did not speak English perfectly and secondly, because of the curriculum —FIS did not offer all the international programmes of the IBO. The third reason was because it was not as diverse as they had been led to believe. These tensions, that culminate in a general sense of disappointment with the school —something shared by the teacher and these students— helped me get to the core of what it means, at FIS, to be *international*, and where the boundaries of internationality lay. The hesitant 'eeerrr' by Teresa shows discomfort with the question. She describes her previous school experiences and constructs, by contrast, how FIS is not a *real* international school: it has a homogeneous student and teacher body, mostly consisting of locals; people do not speak English *perfectly*, and monolingualism is the norm; it does not implement all IBO programmes. To her there is not enough diversity, local languages predominate —interestingly she does not perceive language practices as multilingual— and programmes are too localised. Her lived experience of FIS refutes the school's advertising discourses. Teresa reflects what the 'internationals' take to be the core of an international education. Because she has the 'know-how', she is a legitimate participant in international education, and she can establish category boundaries.

One day I was sitting on a student desk during one of my observations of a Spanish class in the first year of the Baccalaureate, with the IB group. Students were enjoying some down time. Their conversations were about their insurmountable workload, and they shared 'IB survivor' internet resources (see

Chapter 8). In the meantime, Teresa was sitting by herself on a desk behind me. She was not speaking to anybody, and I established a conversation with her. I had been told she was from Mexico, and she had been in 'real international schools' (observational data, 28/11/16) but I hadn't had a chance to talk to her yet. She told me she had lived in Shanghai and Singapore, and was born in the DF, Mexico. She had always travelled because her family always goes where her father is needed. He works for a textile company. The student sitting next to me was eavesdropping on our conversation and he asked what her father did. Teresa said she had no idea. It gave me the impression that they hadn't shared much personal information during the two months they had sat one behind the other.

Teresa had hopped from one international school to another throughout her life. 'In other schools there were people from many places, and now everyone is Spanish', she said (fieldnotes, 28/11/16). She had arrived at FIS the previous year, and she couldn't join the IB strand because there weren't any places left. Throughout the school year she felt very lonely: 'Last year's was the saddest Christmas ever. Everyone has their family in here, and they spend the holidays with their grandparents. And we didn't.' In the other places she had lived, her classmates used to travel for Christmas, and her family travelled too. Nobody spent Christmas with their families, because they were all a long way away. 'I had never felt that emptiness, the sadness of being far away', she said. The following year the family resolved to go to Mexico to spend Christmas with their family. Teresa was not sure about that plan either, though: 'I haven't seen them in years, and I am not used to spending Christmas with family.' Teresa's story reflects the differences in lifestyles between her new classmates and herself. Despite the school advertising a very international atmosphere, she felt out of place. The school's 'international' label, and the fact that they offer the IB, was misleading to her. She did not remember having feelings of emplacement in Mexico. The only constant feature in her life has been the IB:

Extract 5.6

Participants: Ter (Teresa, student); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1   TER: y todo lo que me acuerdo es a partir de la- de cuando me mudé\ entonces digamos

2   que esa es mi historia: esa es como que\ mi:- mi fami:lia\ en términos\ porque es

3   todo lo que he conocido\ y es todo lo que conozco\

4	AND:	o sea\ [stands up to close window] hablas de familia\ no/ hay como- una::- una
5		colectivida:d/ entorno de::
6	TER:	sí\ a parte también\ toda la ge:nte que está haciendo e:l Bachillerato Internacional
7		contigo/ digamos que::: ha pasado por lo mismo\ se ha tenido que mudar de
8		casa::\ em:: está en una escuela nueva:\ está aprendiendo lo mismo que tú:\ por las
9		mismas razones de que se tuvo que mudar\ entonces\ en cierto modo nos ayuda: a
10		vincularnos/ como: amigo:s/ y familia:/ y:: no se\ se hace muy bien\

(English translation)

1	TER:	and all I can remember is ever since I moved\ so this is my story: this is like my-
2		my family\ in terms, because it is all I have ever known\ it is all I know\
3	AND:	so [stands up to close window] you are talking about family\ right/ is there like-
4		a::- a commu::nity/ around::
5	TER:	yes\ apart from that also\ all the people doing the IB with you/ let's say:::\ they
6		have gone through the same thing\ they have had to move house::\ ehm:: are in a
7		new:: school\ are learning the same things as you::\ for the same reason that they
8		had to move somewhere else\ then\ in a way this helps us to bond/ as friends::/
9		and fa::mily/ and:: I don't know\ it is easy\

In this extract Teresa talks about the IB as her family. IBO programmes and her family have been the only continuities in her life, and she talks of the IB as 'her story', 'her family', 'the only thing she has known'. IB students can be a family because they have shared experiences, similar life trajectories. They all know what it is like to leave everything behind and start from scratch in a new place, having to adapt to a new home, school, friends, teachers. They have experience in building new social relationships that become tight, 'like family' (line 2), very quickly. This is probably because their extended families are far away. The process Teresa is describing raises the core question behind discourses celebrating difference in these schools. What she says is both in praise of diversity and homogeneity. She appreciates diversity when it is normative to the extent that it blurs social boundaries (Fraser, 1995). The diversity she seeks is one that is transformative and that helps to foster social relationships as equals. The type of diversity she longs for has faces of different colours, but people with very similar core experiences, lifestyles. It is composed of individuals who are all members of the mobile (upper-)middle classes and elites, who have been socialised in westernised educational institutions, and who share a common habitus. She says:

1	T:	I remember my friends\ and we shared the same ideas\ but let's say from different
2		perspectives\ we were more open to new peo::ple\ and new cultures\ and in here
3		I have seen that there's people who don't- in Spain they don't- they don't like
4		opening too much\ and thinking beyond\

Her discourses on open-mindedness, forms of socialisation and networking clearly reflect the habitus she has acquired in International schools, as it is core in IB discourses. Teresa underscores the importance of transformative diversity, she praises an atmosphere where everyone can transcend their national origins and become a new family. To the school, she is a transformative agent that has to help to make these values present in the community. According to Teresa, however, transcending surface multiculturalism has been possible in the past because there were other homogeneities associated with class and dispositions. At FIS this is not possible. She has the perception that locals are not welcoming to new people and new cultures. The internationals become objectified, and subjugated to dominant social categories. Racial and cultural diversity are perceived as 'fake', an outward appearance, and this, which she associates with narrow-mindedness, hinders the creation of a *truly* international community. We see how beyond the surface of diversity, equality is being challenged.

5.5. Concluding remarks: Language(s), diversity and an international community in the making

Styling a space entails the choosing, packaging and dissemination of multiple resources —linguistic and non-linguistic (Eckert, 1996). Internationalising schools have undergone processes of stylisation in order to meet their projected 'social imaginary', in order to go from being a 'national' school to becoming an *international* one. To achieve this, they have had to design strategies that have shaped and been shaped by what they understand internationality to mean. Language(s) and diversity are the two central axes around which the process of resemiotisation of spaces and circulation of new discourses have revolved. The process of stylisation is an integral one. It not only transforms physical spaces, the general image of the school, it also transforms its physical and social structures, and its actors. This

chapter has shown how there is, in both sites, an operation of stylistic hygiene in practice similar to Cameron's verbal hygiene practices (1995). There is top-down implementation of an aspirational identity in progress, and this causes a chain of transformations, with alignments, misalignments and contestation. It creates tensions, disappointments, interested appropriations or acts of detachment. The excerpts show how a new ecosystem is created. As Cameron observes, corporate style designers, the styling agents, design their plan with an imagined audience in mind. The whole school community tries to adapt, survive, fail or advance in the new prescribed style. Their modes of engagement with the new discourses are conditioned by surveillance, as we have seen both at BCN-IS and FIS, and they can contribute to or hinder the implementation of internationality.

The new *styles* of speaking about the school, the discursive package of the new school identity has an effect on the addressees. Once the new 'imaginary' is put into circulation, it triggers changes in the audience. Inasmuch as it involves diversity, and language use, becoming international is, too, a project of social design: it modifies the general make-up and outlook of the educational community. The type of family that chooses FIS to educate their children has broadened: there are more students from abroad, and there are more parents from the rest of Spain. It also changes the way students and teachers see and imagine themselves (see Chapter 8 for an in-depth account of individual processes of becoming international). In styling the atmosphere, the space, there has been a styling of the audience.

The definition of the space as international brings with it a redefinition of the expected and desired language repertoires and language etiquette. The data analysed show how the new 'social imaginary' in both schools is an aspirational one. Styling a school is a strategic repositioning in the market, which is closely linked to the desire for the accumulation of distinct capitals —by the school, and by its students and parents. The construction of BCN-IS as a British enclave is a good example of this. Internationality confers social status. The excerpts show an emerging sense of pride and social belonging in the school, especially in reference to social standing and political worldviews. Ultimately, they are interested in accumulating the types of capital, the distinction that speaking this new language will bring to them. They tacitly agree to being styled, since they understand that it is in their best interests.

The operation of styling, then, is not only a shift in verbal and non-verbal aesthetics and a transformation in the social composition of the school com-

munity, it has also changed the product they sell, the educational content they offer. Curricular programmes, skills and dispositions have to match the new imaginary of the school, they have to prepare the student for global modernity (Rizvi, 2014) but also to maintain the social positions that those in charge of their education (parents, families, teachers, etc.) have imagined for them (Hayden, 2011; Kenway & Fahey, 2014; Maxwell, 2015). The next chapter explores how the process of internationalising is a practice of 'distinction' aimed at building educational privilege.

6. Internationality as desired capital

6.1. Introduction: International education as an elite form of education

I n discussing the styling of an international *atmosphere,* in the previous chapter, numerous instances of distinction work surfaced. These were moments when it was clear that, to stakeholders, being or becoming international was a positioning strategy to gain competitive advantage. When we explore the phenomenon of the internationalisation of education —both internationalising schools, and the internationalisation of the education systems— it becomes evident that this phenomenon is inextricable from distinction mechanisms operating at many levels —market, institution, family, individual. In this chapter I zoom in on the nexus between internationalisation and elitism, to argue that internationalising is an elite practice. This chapter explores issues of social class in asking questions such as: Who benefits from international education? How are international educational resources distributed? Who has access to internationality, and who wants to have access to it, for what reasons? What does internationality do for them? It shows how internationality gets to signify 'privilege', 'excellence', 'higher-quality', 'better'.

The theoretical framework of this thesis pays attention to how leading research in the sociology of education has recently turned its gaze to the study of international education as a new form of elite education, or a new orientation that many elite schools globally are embracing (Deppe et al., 2018a). Becoming international responds to a desire for capital accrual to compete in the market with *better,* or *more* assets. Chapter 3 has dwelled on how internationalising has become a distinction mechanism from which organisations, teachers, families, students and systems *desire* to benefit. International education not only means an updating (see Chapter 5) of curricula to meet the needs of an intensely globalised world, it also represents an upscaling, doing 'something more', as one of the FIS teachers put it. It is packaged not only as a modernised but also as an improved form of education. International curricula are often taken as an index of superior quality, as a way to attain academic excellence by systems, organisations and students alike.

Education systems throughout the world are increasingly incorporating a global dimension to the type of education they offer, in all types of provision. The Catalan education system is not alien to this. Deppe et al. (2018a), in their study of the German education system, identify inclusive and exclusive forms of internationality. The type of internationality explored in this thesis is

not aimed at the social inclusion of diverse groups from multiple backgrounds in the school. It is imagined as a form of capital that will 'positively privilege' those who are at the higher end of the social continuum (Weber, 1978: 305). International education is styled as a luxury good, or service, as an object of desire. Consuming this type of education is regarded as a symbolic expression of economic capital which renders distinctive status to those who pay to become educated through it (see Weber, 1978 and Veblen, 1967 for a more detailed account of consumption habits, wealth and social status). In the continuum of educational capitals, buying international education constitutes, thus, a further symbolic demarcation from others who do not, or who cannot. It is seen by the upper and (upper-)middle classes as a worthy strategy of capital accrual to access privileged positions in society.

Chapter 3 explores the multiple dimensions of elitism, or elite status, beyond economic capital, even though this is an important component of elite status inasmuch as it gives access to other forms of capital that are quintessential in the formation and access to privilege. The analysis of the present chapter will show how elitism is done. Thurlow and Jaworski (2006: 103) make a clear distinction between the status of *elite* and the process of *elitism*. The first, a more stable concept, can be interpreted in terms of power relationships as 'a structural, social category describing those who rule or lead through instrumental, political power', whilst, elitism is a process of social positioning, it is an enactment of identity and is thus achieved through discourse, 'talked into existence'. Following Thurlow & Jaworski,

> Elitism entails a person's orienting (or being oriented) to some ideological reality and/or its discursive representation in order to claim exclusivity and/or superiority on the grounds of knowledge, authenticity, taste, erudition, experience, insight, access to resources, wealth, group membership or any other quality which warrants the individual to take a higher moral, aesthetic, intellectual, material, etc., ground against 'the masses' or 'the people' (2006: 102).

'Doing elitism', then, is essentially an exercise in the creation of distinction. It is aligning oneself with something as well as 'othering' those who do not share that 'something'. 'Elitism' is performative. Understanding elitism as a 'process of symbolic representation and a performance of class identity' (Rampton 2003:

68) implies that everyone can engage in 'doing elitism'. This all-encompassing view includes the middle classes within the scope of elitism, who are typically targets of and embrace the rhetoric of luxury, exclusivity and prestige that underpin elite status/spaces (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017). Taking a sociolinguistic perspective on elitism allows us to explore it as an interactional enactment, and to analyse and understand how social positioning is achieved in and through discourse. It is from this perspective that I want to address how in internationalising, educational institutions contribute, discursively, to the construction of their students' elite habitus and lifestyles.

As we will see, mystifying elite status is in and of itself a way of 'doing elitism'. Few such institutions would define themselves as elite, or would want to be associated with elitism,

> There are direct or indirect attempts to distinguish oneself from those in a particular geographical, ideological or social context, in ways that are suggestive of superiority, excellence and/or being facilitative of significantly beneficial outcomes for their constituents —this signals engagement with the process of elite claiming or elite making (Maxwell, 2018: 348).

In recent years, internationalising has been one of the main ways in which elite institutions and social groups have attempted to revalidate or gain power and distinction in educational markets. This chapter shows how internationality is packaged as an exclusive identity or commodity that schools sell. It then moves on to explore how participants negotiate their elite status, how they navigate desire and guilt, and how they engage in capitalising strategies to negotiate their positions of privilege in social hierarchies.

6.2. International education: In the guise of a luxury good?

Being an international school, in the Catalan education market, is an index of privilege, of elitism. Both BCN-IS and FIS are locally regarded as elite. This is mostly because they are private schools, and only private schools are named *international*. If we pay close attention, we can observe that many of their practices are common traits amongst elite schools (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2009: 1100-1111), and offering international curricula is one of these. The design of

the international school experience is closely connected with the production of social distinction. The international space is made or redesigned using a number of semiotic resources that are shared with a rhetoric of social status, power and privilege in a way that makes them desirable.

During fieldwork, I talked to students and their families about their school choices. Invariably, they saw their opting for a private international school as the best of the available options. Stories of school choice are sometimes presented as a matter of love at first sight, and indeed there are many elements of this first impression that are controlled, styled and carefully curated, as we saw in the previous chapter. In the evaluation of the school, the sets of semiotic indexicalities that perspire from the school walls and its social setting are evaluated and operationalised together with the multiple layers of situated discourses that are circulated about each specific school.

I was not surprised when, during one of the focus groups with IB students who had previous trajectories in public and semi-private schools, they repeatedly noted how they were called *pijos* (posh) by their former classmates in other schools. Inés noted how some of her friends were amazed that she had not changed despite going to such a posh school, a lay observation of how institutional culture tends to transform individuals. This transformational mechanism is essential in understanding what social groups are looking for when they enrol in these institutions. Students will adopt class and status dispositions, they will become familiarised with lifestyles which will be key to their social standing in a stratified society (Paalgrard Flemen et al., 2018). Being comfortable and having a sense of belonging in specific social settings, accessing the right universities, getting the right jobs, meeting the right partners and having the right friends will greatly shape one's social and economic trajectories. Elite schools operate as wormholes into the systems of privilege by familiarising their students with specific ways of doing, talking, acting.

The bases for this perceived 'poshness' are varied. It is true that international schools are exclusive spaces. They accept a select group of students based on how much they can pay, how well they perform in admission procedures, or how they fit in with the school's notion of the ideal student, as chapter 3 shows. Not everyone has access to these schools. In the case of BCN-IS and FIS, basic monthly fees are around 800€, lunch not included —four times the cost of most semi-private schools, which cost on average between 75–120€, excluding lunch— and close to the Catalan interprofessional minimum wage. Students

have to take exams to enrol or go through personal interviews and trial periods to see if they fit in, if they meet the school's academic or other standards. They both offer features that distance them from other local schools, especially the state schools, and bring them close to globally acknowledged forms of elite education, such as the British public-school model. Bespoke curricula, uniforms, their insistent push for creating a 'diverse' community, substantial fees or the opening up of boarding options are clear examples of how they set up what they call a 'unique' project —unique inasmuch as it is not widely available in the immediate context.

Another aspect they emphasise, which is also a theme amongst elite institutions, is the advertising of records of success in public exams and outstanding ranking positionings —elaborated by private organisations, such as right-wing oriented newspapers. FIS makes a point of advertising their excellent PISA test results on their website, stating their own results in comparison to other countries' rankings, and BCN-IS announces their GCSE results in comparison to the general British averages. These do not take into account the unequal material conditions in which learning happens in these contexts —something analysed further in the following sections. They too project successful future career paths for students. Their socialisation in international environments allows them to imagine themselves as future holders of positions of power in institutions and corporations and become members of the transnational ruling classes. The following sections will to show the different ways in which these schools and their students engage in diverse sorts of distinction practices that involve space design, etiquette, and the marketing and accumulation of capitals as ways of 'doing elitism'.

6.2.1. Upscaling: International schools as spaces of privilege

Geographic location is a key element of elite schools' product packaging. Both schools visited for this study are situated within 30 minutes of the Catalan capital, Barcelona, in or near areas of concentration of expatriate families and multinational companies. They present their location as privileged, and convenient to very specific types of parents: those who want to integrate into the local community, those who want to establish connections with other mobile families, and those who hold positions in big corporations, or who need easy

access to the metropolis. Many families want to benefit from the family-friendly layout and enjoy the better quality of life smaller towns/cities offer, and yet they desire to lead cosmopolitan lives and be within reach of Barcelona.

Schools draw on the nearby luxury services such as hotels, restaurants, golf clubs and spas to sell their location as a privileged one. Their purpose-built premises have well equipped classrooms with state-of-the-art technology devices, such as electronic whiteboards, advanced lab and art materials, air-conditioning and natural light. BCN-IS takes pride on the *Art nouveau* villa that hosts its offices, and their playground, located in the gardens of modernist summer houses. The historical and artistic value of the place is conveyed to their business project. Both schools present their proximity to nature as an asset that contributes to the well-being of students.

The way these elements are interwoven, more or less explicitly, in the schools' selling lines makes it clear that this type of education is or has become upmarket. The schools are wealthy, better resourced than other types of provision, and they are addressed towards the more affluent sector of the market, the more powerful and privileged social groups. BCN-IS was born as an international school, and in its few years of history, it has worked towards upscaling their educational offer. It has grown in student numbers, and it has become ambitious in its growth and acquisition of facilities, expanding to two campuses and building boarding accommodation. FIS, by contrast, has moved to becoming international. This transformation has motivated spatial changes that illuminate new layers of what it means, for the various actors, to be *international* in terms of aesthetics and prestige. The new drive has meant building new facilities and premises, in order to host new services. Internationalising has required a new, matching infrastructure. Students speak nostalgically of the old, family-like school that FIS once was:

Extract 6.1

Hec (Hector, student, 16); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1   HEC: (…) i d'alguna manera el director- [lowers voice tone and looks around] e::l direc-
2   tor- ehm que no estigui per aquí\ el director:: no sé\ jo crec que ha acabat mirant
3   més pels diners que per com estan els alumnes en el cole\
4   AND: i això és algu que a casa teva es parla/ o no\

5	HEC:	no\ la veritat és que no perquè ehm:: amb directors que hi havia abans::: tampoc
6		ha influenciat en els pares perquè molts pares paguen i ja està\ de tant en tant
7		venen a alguna reunió i ja està\ no s'enteren massa\ però quan tu estas el dia a dia
8		del cole t'enteres de coses que bueno\ t'expliquen els professors i això\
9	AND:	o sigui que creus que és una escola que s'ha tornat més empresarial d'alguna
10		manera\
11	HEC:	sí perquè amb tot això del grup NFG\ que és:: ehm:: bueno una organitz- crec
12		que és un fons d'inversió i una organització o algu així\ que Bueno que tenen
13		diferents coles per Europa\ volen estandarditzar la seva educació i volen fer una
14		marca\ marca NFG o així\ no sé si el director té tota la culpa o el grup NFG en
15		sí\ però Bueno\ ni idea\
16	AND:	i tu sents que tens un sentiment de nostàlgia o així cap al cole d'abans/
17	HEC:	sí\ sí\ perquè mira- abans era- el cole de dalt era la meitat del què és ara\ ara està
18		molt més gran\ ara han fet l'auditori\ van fer aquest camp\ han fet moltes coses\
19		abans era tot molt més familiar\ hi havia quatre herbes aquí al bosc\ hi havia
20		aquesta pista\ aquí mig trencada que no sé com- a mi m'agradava més com era
21		abans que com és ara\
22	AND:	potser més romàntic no abans/ quantes línies hi havia/
23	HEC:	sí\ bueno n'hi havia quatre\ o sigui hi havia molta gent igualment però saps/ no
24		ho sé\ al no ser internacional no es preocupaven tant per perquè ara venen molts
25		col·legis de fora que potser tenen infraestructures molt més grans i més cuidades
26		i llavors doncs no ho sé\ volen donar una imatge- tot i que el cole no sigui tan
27		antic jo crec que haurien de remodelar una mica el cole\ jo crec que s'ha creat un
28		ambient una mica més elitista que el que era abans\

(English translation)

1	HEC:	(...) and in a way the director- [lowers voice tone and looks around] the:: direc-
2		tor- e::r let's check he is not around\ the director:: I don't know\ I think he has
3		ended up looking more after money than how students are doing in the school\
4	AND:	and is this something you talk about at home/ or not\
5	HEC:	no\ the truth is we don't because er:: with previous directors::: it didn't influence
6		parents either because many parents pay and that's it\ they come to meetings from
7		time to time and that's it\ they don't really know\ but when you are day to day in
8		the school you find out about things that well\ teachers tell you about and all that\
9	AND:	so you believe that it is a school that has become more business-like in a way\
10	HEC:	yes because with all this NFG thing\ which is:: er::: well an organis- I think it is an

11		investment fund and an organisation or something like that\ that well they have a
12		number of schools in Europe\ they want to standardise their education and they
13		want to create a brand\ the NFG brand or something like that\ I don't know if only
14		the director is to be blamed for this or the NFG group itself\ but well\ no idea\
15	AND:	and do you feel nostalgic or whatever for the former school/
16	HEC:	yes\ yes\ because see- before it was- the school up there was half what it is now\
17		now it is way bigger\ they have built the auditorium\ they did this pitch\ they
18		have done many things\ it used to have more of a family feel\ there were a couple
19		of clumps of grass in the woods, and the playground was all cracked and I don't
20		know what- I liked it better before\
21	AND:	maybe it was more romantic right/ how many forms were there/
22	HEC:	yes\ well there were four\ I mean there was a lot of people anyway but you know/
23		I don't know\ because it wasn't international they were less worried because now
24		lots of schools from outside are coming that maybe have bigger and better faci-
25		lities and then well I don't know\ they want to make an impression- even if the
26		school is not that old I think they should refurbish the school a bit\ I think they've
27		created an atmosphere that is a bit more elitist than it used to be\

INTERVIEW DATA, 6/4/17

Both Hector and his classmate Guillem are IB students who have been at the school since kindergarten. They acknowledge the big transformations in the managerial style of the school, which is now run more like a business than a school. They both attribute these changes to the takeover of the new board. They are well aware that the property of the school has been absorbed by an investment fund, and they look back fondly on the days when their school was a more relaxed, casual place. When saying this, Hector refers to facilities: 'there were a couple of clumps of grass in the forest, and the playground was all cracked'. He associates the upgrading of spaces with the necessity for the school to live up to the standards of the new brand and to impress foreign visitors; they are creating a more *elitist* space. Guillem agrees with Hector that a little bit more effort should be put into rebuilding some of the strictly educational facili-ties —such as classrooms. They could do, according to Guillem, with better in-sulation: some classrooms get very warm in summer or too cold in winter, and 'walls are so thin you can follow the class next door' (interview data, 21/07/17). Only students notice the poor conditions of some parts of the school. Accord-

ing to him, all the money is splashed out on 'display' spaces, such as the new auditorium or sports courts, where all the visitors go, and which the school hires out, one of their chief additional sources of income.

Marta, another FIS IBDP student, is scornful of the elitisation policy: 'they want to draw a lot of attention as a super elite school, to having the best students, and it's not like that. They will always accept you because they need more students'. In line with Hector, she complains about the fees. Marta has the perception that they have to pay for everything, and she wonders where all this money goes. Her deeper understanding of the school's business made Jessica, the research assistant who was at the time working with the APINGLO project team, ask her whether or why her parents accepted what she was presenting as an abusive situation. She replied that her parents were not necessarily happy with her going, and the only reason she was at FIS was because of the international programmes. 'If it wasn't for the IB, I wouldn't be here', she said. Marta thought too that the opportunity of taking the IBDP was worth the financial sacrifice. She describes all the strategies of the construction of prestige that we have mentioned, including internationality as a marketing strategy for selling 'the FIS name'.

6.2.2. Punk is not in order: The international school etiquette

This gravitation towards corporate culture that students perceive has also changed the appearance of staff. Teachers and administrative staff wear formal clothes —such as suits, shirts, blouses and blazers— and they have started to wear badges with their names and roles. This also happens at BCN-IS, and in other international schools I explored when I was selecting my sites. At FIS, such formality is expected of the students as well as the teachers. According to Guillem, since the school became part of NFG, etiquette has changed. Teachers are stricter now with uniforms: 'they didn't use to pay so much attention to girls' skirts, boys' belts… you weren't allowed to wear jumpers from outside the school, which you still can't, but they became quite a lot more fussy with norms'. Skirt length and keeping trousers pulled up properly or, in other words, being tidy, is important to Guillem because it is a reflection of the school's image. In his own words, his school is not a 'slum school'. 'People here can afford the school and the school wants to project the image of being a good school,

the idea that people in here are tidy. I guess you cannot wear a torn polo shirt', he adds. He thinks, however, that they should allow students to wear thicker jumpers than the those of the regulation uniform, provided that they don't have political messages —which might engender conflict. The school's jumper is not warm enough, and there would be no harm in this.

Both students show a degree of misalignment with the new rules, and with how these are policed. The school has implemented a rigorous system of detentions for misconduct and offences. One of the most uncomfortable situations I encountered during my fieldwork was caused by an infringement of school etiquette. In one of the international events the school organises, the FMUN (Forum Model United Nations), an IB student who was participating in the event showed up at 8am wearing a black leather jacket of a well-known haute-couture brand with an embroidered skull on one of the sleeves. At the sight of this, a teacher quietly reported on this breach to the English teacher and organiser of the event. From where I stood, I saw both teachers take the student away from the entrance hall, where none of the guests could see them, scolding him for his bad behaviour. The student tried to draw attention to the fact that the piece of clothing in question was a luxury item. It was made of high-quality materials and it certainly looked prohibitively expensive. The organiser was visibly very offended. They had made very clear what the dress code for the occasion was, and punk outfits were not in order. She lost her temper and yelled at him to go home. I observed this from a relatively short distance, and I became worried about my own breach of etiquette, since I was wearing jeans myself. I was not asked to leave, and the student got away with it when one of his classmates who was running late brought him a spare outfit, and he was readmitted to the event. Attention to dress code was more important than punctuality.

The changes in the appearance of spaces and in the rules of etiquette for those who inhabit them that we have seen in this section were initiated after 2008. Students' accounts report how the new management board has created the architectural conditions necessary to host an international school as part and parcel of the integral project of upgrading the status of the school. They also report on how other conventions, such as clothing, have adapted to the increasingly elite nature of the space. This process happens hand in hand with the internationalisation of such a space. There is a recognition of who the agents of the styling are, and whom it benefits. Hector only speaks because the headteacher is not around. Nobody really likes the headteacher because of his

plan, and the distance and authority he is perceived to maintain, but nobody is willing to speak up against him. Guillem's complaint on jumper policies is ambivalent. There is an implicit recognition that he too benefits from —and thus is willing to contribute to— the school's good image. The good reputation of the school will ultimately position him socially. Policing and safeguarding the good name of the school preserves the value of the capitals he is trying to accumulate. Everyone is being 'styled'.

When the management board discusses their international drive, however, they elude these details of the everyday management of the school that are noted by most students. The discourse of the headteacher, for instance, foregrounds other aspects of the project, such as the multilingual programmes, the IBO curriculum and exchanges. When I asked him about the changes in the school, he sidestepped the question of the business-inspired strategies to spread the corporate culture that goes with the newly adopted brand, and the branding efforts that most students criticised, e.g. in the accounts of Marta, Hector and Guillem.

6.2.3. 'Well, elitist, I… dammit!… it's a…': Class disavowal

It is impossible to talk about the upscaling efforts of the school and etiquette, without dealing with questions of class and privilege. One of the questions that made me feel most uncomfortable during my interviews, with both teachers and students, was that of elitism. Often, in the interview transcripts, I read myself going round in circles when I want to bring up how they evaluate their class practices as privileged, luxurious. The word 'elite' made everyone feel uncomfortable. In fact, it was the only element in the title of my project that I was made to clarify by school headteachers, because they disagreed. 'Elite' brings with itself connotations of class superiority, arrogance, snobbism. Asking about the schools' elite status was a face-threatening moment in which I perceived myself as inflicting a moral judgement on my participants, and I could sense that they often felt caught off-guard. They did not have an answer to this one. In fact, their answers often fluctuated from denying elitism to accepting it was present to some degree, or saying 'yes, it is an elite school' and then regretting having said it and having to deploy huge discursive manoeuvrings to repair their face. Nevertheless, I felt these questions had to be asked. Although they were not a deliberate methodological strategy, these questions, as we shall see,

were very revealing. At FIS, in my interview with IB teachers and coordinators, especially those who had worked at the school for a long period, I always wanted to know how they perceived the changes in the school. Some, like Hector and Guillem, mentioned shifts in the social setting and the types of families sending their children to the school, noting how luxury cars and stay-at-home mums had become the order of the day.

When I asked Mercè, the FIS IB coordinator, who has worked at the school for over 15 years, whether she thought that internationality had brought with it a more opulent family profile in the school, she disagreed. She had indeed observed that after the economic crisis of 2008, parents' occupations had changed. She mentioned there being fewer architects, because architects were no longer making money in the Barcelona region. The type of person who was making money had changed, but the socioeconomic profile of the school had stayed the same. She was implying that families taking their children to FIS still had to be relatively well-off. When I finally asked whether she thought the school was an elite school, she swiftly replied that 'to a large extent, yes' and immediately, she added: 'but I believe that there are schools which are even more elitist'. This pointing at the greater *harm* of others is a classic reaction to feeling 'attacked'. In comparison to other schools, theirs were not the socially highest, even within NFG. She added:

Extract 6.2

Mer (Mercè, IB coordinator); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1	MER:	(…) e::/ bueno (.) jo crec que és una escola/ (.) d'alumnes seleccionats però que
2		un:: treballador/ jo què sé/ (.) de banc/ vull dir jo he tingut pares d'alumnes que:/
3		muntaven cuines\ (1.5) però fan molts diners\ (1.0) clar\ clar és que això és molt
4		relatiu/ si tu tens molts diners/ i no és lo mateix tenir un fill que tenir-ne quatre\
5	AND:	=clar\
6	MER:	=i la majoria de famílies nostres no són famílies nombroses\ (.) són de un dos i
7		excepcionalment tindran tres o quatre fills\ (1.5) bueno jo elitista osti/ és una:/
8		(2.0) no tant eh\ jo crec que no tant\

(English translation)

| 1 | MER: | (…) er::/ well (.) I believe it is a school / (.) of selected students but that a:: work- |

2		er/ I don't know/ (.) a bank officer/ I mean I have had parents who:::/ installed
3		kitchens\ (1.5) but they make lots of money\ (1.0) of course\ of course this is
4		very relative/ if you have a lot of money/ and it is not the same having one child
5		as having four\
6	AND:	=of course\
7	MER:	=and most of our families aren't large families\ (.) they have one two and excep-
8		tionally three or four children\ (1.5) well- elitist- I- dammit it's a:::/ (2.0) not that
9		much eh\ I think it's not that much\

Her account of elitism is clearly linked to class and status. She first dismisses the elitist argument drawing on the relative cost of the school, placing it somewhere in the middle of the elite continuum. Families who do not have top jobs in terms of prestige —who are not architects or lawyers— can also afford it. She mentions bank officers, and jobs associated with construction that had been highly lucrative before 2008, but were no longer so, which is in some contradiction to her first economic argument. Bank officers and contractors can still have relatively comfortable income levels in Catalonia, and would fall into the accommodated middle class. These are the aspirational local clients who buy international education as a positioning good. She also draws attention to the fact that there are not many families that have three or four children. Still, FIS fees are unaffordable for many of the average families that have one or two children, the most common family structure in Catalonia. The last line of the excerpt shows the tension when confronting the word 'elite'. Her expressive *osti* [dammit!] reveals that I have put her into a difficult situation, as she does not know how to handle either the word, or the answer to my question. Proof of this are all the long pauses she makes, revealing puzzle, reflection and perhaps a certain degree of insecurity and discomfort.

Kenway and Lazarus (2017) observe how currently elites and elitism attract increasing disapproval, and people are less keen to accept being categorised as such (see Chapter 3). Mercè's account, with contradictions, evasions, equivocations and ambiguity is proof of the cul-de-sac elite schools are in. As Kenway and Lazarus observe, they are trapped in a game of class avowal and disavowal. On the one hand, they need to 'hold on to their wealthy clientele' (2017: 272) and so protect their high status and the value of the commodity they are selling

as a luxury product. At the same time, 'they must appear to accommodate the moral codes of liberal, progressive, multicultural and anti-elitist social sentiments' (2017: 265). Therefore, they mystify economic power and privilege.

Narrowing down elitism to academic elitism, that is, only accepting high performing students, is another tool through which schools seek to negate claims of being elitist. In my conversations on elitism at BCN-IS, school fees were never mentioned. The school was not elitist, according to them, because they did not test students' academic abilities upon entrance. Eva, one of the longest serving BCN-IS teachers, is very aware of the student profile. 'We only have one student profile', she says, meaning there is no real class diversity in the school. All students are wealthy, and often have absent parents who spend most of their time at work. They talk about their children's studentship as forging future members of privileged spheres in society, and they see themselves as responsible for educating them with an awareness of their social position, and to make them act responsibly when facing social inequalities within the spaces they will go on to control. Thus, they organise countless philanthropic acts, supporting a wide range of causes, mostly involving the Global South. However, she does not perceive the school as an elitist space, because they do not select students based on their academic abilities. There are no entry. There is, however, a selection process based on attitude, maturity, and disposition. Both the headteacher and Eva explain how they ensure homogeneity in their classes by observing students on their trial day. They want, literally, 'normal' students who will not bring attitudinal problems to the class. If what counts as elitism is academic-based exclusivity, then the school is not an elite school.

6.2.4. Redeeming class-guilt: Understanding, recognising and embracing the bubble

Guillem, in the following excerpt, also engages with the idea of privilege. In Section 6.4 the degree of ease with which he performs his classed persona is further explored. He is not ashamed of showing aspects of his personality and lifestyle that are clearly associated with high status. His Instagram account reveals the extravagance of his life in glorious technicolour. He travels frequently, and to luxury or far away destinations, either alone or with his family. And he declares 'feeling like a fish in the water' (social network data, 11/07/2017) in

the most sumptuous and elegant hotels. Of all the participants, he is the one who is more ready to accept that they are in a privileged environment:

Extract 6.3

And (Andrea, the researcher); Gui (Guillem, student, 16)

1	AND:	i abans has dit això de poder venir a aquesta escola que és una sort i que n'eres
2		conscient/ ehm::: d'alguna manera tu creus que els que veniu aquí sou privilegiats/
3	GUI:	sí\
4	AND:	per què\
5	GUI:	aquesta escola no és barata\ i potser sí que no- o sigui sí que les escoles privades
6		tenen la visió que l'educació és millor\ de que s'ensenya millor\ i sobretot aquesta
7		possibilitat de poder viatjar amb l'escola fora o veure altres coses o també aquí ens
8		ensenyen història no només d'Espanya sinó que de tot arreu vas profunditzant en
9		diferents països anglès també doncs no et centres només en Gran Bretanya sinó
10		que veus altres països altres cultures no sé\ crec que és un privilegi poder estar
11		aquí i poder permetre't tot això i poder sobretot viure amb gent que no és d'aquí\
12	AND:	i creus que el fet que siguis conscient que potser això és una bombolla no/ com
13		tu has dit abans/ i que viviu en unes condicions molt bones ehm d'alguna manera
14		està relacionat amb el fet que feu per exemple voluntariat i coses d'aquestes\ per
15		què creus que entre els nens d'aquesta escola això és una cosa tan extesa\
16	GUI:	no sé\ perquè des de petit els valors han sigut molt importants i ens han ensenyat
17		a no només estar centrats en aquesta bombolla que jo dic no/ i en veure que això
18		no és lo normal perquè tots podem viure en unes condicions molt bones en què
19		no ens hem de preocupar de res\ aleshores jo crec que això és important adonar-te
20		de que no és la normalitat on estàs\ que tampoc és l'elit màxim però és que allò ja
21		no és normal tampoc\ lu normal és sortir a fora el carrer i veure tot tipus de gent\
22	AND:	i el voluntariat per què- per què ho fas o què t'aporta\
23	GUI:	perquè m'agrada això no/ sortir d'aquesta atmosfera:: de::: no sé de- hi ha gent
24		que és més altiva\ hi ha- tot té ventatges i inconvenients no/ i veure que hi ha
25		gent que ho està passant malament\ que no- que s'ha de preocupar perquè no pot
26		arribar a final de mes\ a lo millor no pot menjar\ no sé\ això em fa donar compte
27		que::- sobretot m'agrada donar-me compte de que és un privilegi\ no donar-ho
28		per suposat i així valoro més les coses\

(English translation)

1	AND:	and you said before that you were lucky to be able to attend this school and that
2		you were aware of this/ ehm::: do you think that in a way as FIS students you are
3		privileged/
4	GUI:	yes\
5	AND:	why\
6	GUI:	this school is not cheap\ and it is maybe true that- that is- it is true that private
7		schools have the image that education is better\ that teaching is better\ and more
8		than anything this possibility of travelling abroad with the school or seeing other
9		things or also here they teach us history not only of Spain but also from every-
10		where and you keep deepening in different countries also English so you are not
11		only focused on Great Britain but you also see other countries other cultures I
12		don't know\ I think it is a privilege being able to be here and being able to afford
13		all this and more than anything living with people who are not from here\
14	AND:	and do you think that the fact that you are aware that this is maybe a bubble
15		right/ as you said before/ and that you live in very good conditions\ ehm:: in a
16		way is related to the fact that you do for example voluntary work and things like
17		that\ why do you think that among the children in this school this is such an
18		extended thing\
19	GUI:	I don't know\ because since we were very young values have been very important
20		and they have taught us not only to be centred in this bubble that I say right/ and
21		in seeing that this is not normal because we can all live in really good conditions
22		in which we do not have to worry about anything\ then I think it is important to
23		realise that where you are is not normality\ neither is it the maximum elite but
24		that is not normal either\ what is normal is going out on the street and seeing all
25		kinds of people\
26	AND:	and why do you do voluntary work- or what does it provide you with\
27	GUI:	because I like this thing right/ of getting out of this atmosphere::: of::: I don't
28		know of- there are people who are more haughty\ there are- everything has advan-
29		tages and disadvantages right/ and seeing that there are people who are suffering\
30		who don't- who have to worry because they can't make ends meet\ maybe they
31		can't eat\ I don't know\ this makes me realise that::- I mostly like realising that
32		it is a privilege\ and not taking it for granted and this way I value things more\

In common with most of the participants, Guillem readily associates privilege with money. He has interiorised the circulating discourses in order to value the commodity the school is selling: private schooling is expensive, and it offers a better education. And FIS even more so. What makes him privileged for attending this school, and more importantly, more privileged than if he went to other private schools in the area, are the international features of the school. He mentions them as 'opportunities', or 'possibilities': travelling, global content in subjects, and being around people who are not local. Instead of dismissing his elite status, his privilege, or presenting it as a burden or something uncomfortable, in this act of reflexivity Guillem embraces it. Any sign of class-guilt is redeemed by recognition. He involves in his discourse sets of moral values and judgements —being elite is, for some, being haughty (line 24, 28 in the English version), which he is not. His principles allow him to recognise and be thankful for his privilege. There are, then, correct and incorrect ways of being privileged, but privilege is not bad in itself. Because he does not break this moral order, he does not have to be stigmatised for his social positioning (Pedersen et al., 2018). Being aware of the bubble, looking beyond the bubble and engaging philanthropically with what is outside the bubble make him 'normal'. His appraisal of normality seems to indicate that acknowledging social differences and being faced with all sorts of realities is ultimately a personal psychological exercise of knowing where he stands, recognising and valuing what he has, and feeling okay about it. He is a version of what Peterson & Kern (1996) call the 'cultural omnivore'. He is a 'social omnivore', open to appreciating everything. The opportunities of engaging with lesser privileged social groups that the IB offers, however, do not transform social structures. Their ability to transition these spaces is a new form of distinction —as Bennet et al., 2009; Friedman et al., 2015; Pedersen et al., 2018, among other sociology scholars, observe in the development of taste for different forms of cultural expression. This fragment allows us to see the interwoven nature of discourses on morality, class, privilege and internationality.

In the above excerpt, Guillem begins to answer one of the most significant questions of this chapter: what internationality does for students. The capitals that the school makes available for them and the contexts in which it familiarises students prepare them for prestigious careers. 'They acquire high levels of cultural capital, including symbolic mastery and an embodied ability to perform well in demanding social settings. (…) skills that will be useful at the top levels of a rapidly changing labour market' (Pedersen et al., 2018). The

following sections will further explore this aspect, i.e. the construction of inter-nationality as distinct capital.

6.3. Unparalleled learning opportunities: Doing the exclusivity of international education

Guillem, Hector and Marta all consider their education to be worth its cost. They consider it a very good type of education, if not the best. Among their reasons are, in the case of BCN-IS, school size and low student-teacher ratios, and in both cases, international programmes and pastoral care. The programmes these schools offer are not widely available; not everyone has access to them. Thus, what they implement is seen as an 'unparalleled learning opportunity' (BCN-IS interview and web data). These schools are not just offering an educational service, they are offering *the best* service (web data, BCN-IS). All the curricular add-ons make their 'all-inclusive' offer very attractive to parents. Students can acquire all sorts of valuable capitals during their school-day: '*quan arriben a casa ja ho tenen tot fet*' [when they get home, it's all done] (BCN-IS interview data). Parents do not have to worry about extra-curricular language, music or sporting activities. In the previous chapter, we saw how FIS explicitly sets itself apart from other schools.

WHAT OTHER SCHOOLS IN THE AREA SAY,
WE DO:

Us:
We offer a truly international curriculum ✓
Our pupils play at least 1 instrument ✓
We offer multilingual learning which will consolidate their status as citizens of the world ✓
Our pupils spend time abroad, which benefits them throughout the rest of their lives ✓

VS

Others:
✗ Simply offer a national curriculum
✗ Study music through books
✗ Begin to learn English
✗ Learn about other countries using maps

Picture 6.1. FIS Homepage screenshot

This text popped out when entering the school's homepage over a period of months. It is, in essence, a message of distinction: 'what other schools in the area say, we do'. This message shows a clear understanding of the market logic that governs private schools. Without specifying whether these caricature 'other schools' are state schools or semi-private, by the juxtaposition of *saying* and *do-*

ing they are establishing two classes. Those who *say* convey their intentions but they fall short in their concrete achievements. Those, such as FIS, who *do*, turn their words into ambitious actions. The ticks and the crosses operate as their moral evaluation and judgement, and the big 'vs' circle reinforces the competitive nature of the image.

If we pay attention to content, the first element of distinction from others is their *truly* international curriculum. It is interesting, first, to note the importance of internationality in their sales line. Three of the four elements in the list are related to it. Let us explore exactly how they position themselves as *the most* international in the market place. Schools of all types have been incorporating, to varying degrees, what count as international features —examples include more extensive language programmes, exchanges, or international curricula. What FIS offers is 'truly' international, validated and certified by the numerous international school associations they belong to. Their legitimate internationality stands in opposition to 'simply' national.

Languages are put at the core of the school's distinction practices. A *truly* international education, gives students distinctive linguistic capitals. Speaking multiple languages, and to higher standards, is something achieved in 'the best' schools. Exclusive school trips abroad are decisive for this, as Guillem mentioned in Extract 6.3, and provide the key to lifelong benefits. This argument is used to ridicule other types of schools further, schools where students only 'begin to learn English' and 'learn through maps', implying students will enjoy less distinguished futures. Other elements in the list are all resonant of an elite education. Playing a musical instrument, for example, is an index of high-brow culture and refinement. Students in public and semi-private schools are typically taught to play the recorder in group lessons. At FIS, students can choose their instrument and they have individual lessons and chamber music sessions in reduced groups.

6.3.1. The 'nice' atmosphere of an international school: The importance of pastoral care

In this subsection I turn to the unique social conditions in which learning happens in these spaces. I have mentioned earlier how one of the bases for school choice at BCN-IS was school size, which speaks of its exclusivity. The school

recently incorporated the following infograph on its website with the following four logos:

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

1:7 TEACHERS : STUDENTS   2 CAMPUSES   30 MINUTES DRIVE FROM BARCELONA   1 PIONEERING DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOL

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ is a coeducational British Day and Boarding School located in ▓▓▓▓ Barcelona. Through our personalised and authentic learning programmes, we provide students aged 3-18, from Nursery to Year 13, with a formal British education. We follow the British National Curriculum, the portal to study across the UK, USA, Spain and the rest of the world.

FIND OUT MORE

Picture 6.2. BCN-IS homepage extract

We will ignore for now the 2 campuses and the 'pioneering' day and boarding school, since these were tropes that were never used during my stay there, the boarding school being a recent development. What they have always foregrounded, together with their programmes, is their very low teacher-student ratio and the family-like atmosphere that students supposedly imbibe in this small school. The very atmosphere for which Hector and Guillem were feeling nostalgic at FIS. Eva, the PSHE education teacher at BCN-IS, knows that this is a fundamental characteristic of the school. Not only students, but also teachers, feel fortunate to learn and work in such an environment —not without certain reservations. Ester, the Catalan teacher, applied for the job because she felt she lacked the energy to face state secondary school teaching again, after a series of bad experiences related to disciplining classrooms of 30 students in other schools. BCN-IS was a comfortable space where she could teach in a relaxed, unthreatened way. As we see, their small-group policy is foregrounded in the making of what they call 'the big difference'.

Small groups and the learning curve all refer to a more personal or individualised learning environment, which take into account and bends to the needs, rhythms and desires of each student. These two figures show how internationality is inextricable from other distinction-making practices that contribute to the packaging of education as a luxury good.
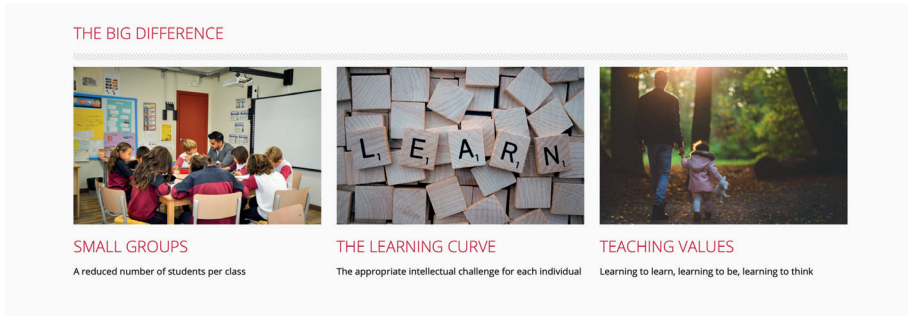
Picture 6.3. Fragment of BCN-IS website: The big difference

BCN-IS does not have optional strands or multiple curricula on offer. They only implement the British model, and their ratios are roughly the same throughout the educational stages. There are rarely more than 12 students per form. At FIS, by contrast, despite it being an international school, there are hierarchies among programmes. Indeed, the material conditions in which 'national' and 'international' curricula are implemented are fairly distinct. The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, the emblem of the school's internationality, is perceived by teachers and students as 'the best' strand to teach or to study in. It is an optional curriculum that is made available to some of those considered 'the best' students. There is a progression of exclusivity in the educational capitals available for them to accumulate, international capital being the most distinctive form. And this exclusivity does not only respond to the curricular content itself, but to the circumstances in which learning happens. Class sizes are very reduced, and students tend to develop close relationships with their teachers.

Martí, Alèxia, Laura, Irene and Roger have been classmates for at least 3 consecutive years, since they enrolled in the pre-IB class. They are half of the 2C form, the smallest of all the IB groups. Their form room is in a tiny classroom where I spent most of my observation hours in the IB. 2C was a welcoming, bonded group of students who were highly engaged and active in class. They had decorated their classroom themselves, and they kept some objects that the class considered important, because they reminded them of moments in class that they had enjoyed and had become a legend. Some of these were craft objects skilfully made by individual students at home. They brought them into class partly in tongue-in-cheek way, but also with a touch of pride, and

this nurtured their class dynamic. These students looked after each other, and they felt comfortable asking questions, posing challenges, sharing reflections, or voluntarily reading aloud in class. Being a committed and motivated student was not penalised in that small world.

I experienced these dispositions myself when they extended this same courteous willingness to help towards me. Whenever I went to their class, they welcomed me and made me feel appreciated, not only by showing curiosity about my work, and asking me questions, but also, during observations, they would fill me in with details of what had happened in my absence, or give me any information I might not know. They made me feel part of the group, sharing their universe with me. They trusted me and developed quite a refined idea of what sort of information I was eager to collect. Often, they would come to me and say 'Oh, we think you will be interested in this', or 'You will want to know that'. They generously made their notes available to me, or let me see their marks, and they showed a general interest in my progress by asking me questions about my work. They were also eager to participate in my investigation when I proposed the idea of putting together a focus group, and I felt uncomfortable about having to select only some of the students for it. I would know if someone had a problem, or if it was somebody's birthday, or if there were any romantic affairs going on in the class. They would explain their career dreams and ask me for advice. Because I had spent quite a long time at FIS I knew some of these students' family connections within the school, and was quite aware of their personal lives. Therefore, I also knew or had additional information on their siblings, parents, close friends and boyfriends and girlfriends through my observations. The setting of the IBDP class allowed for the development of stronger affective bonds, and there was a caring dynamic between most of the actors involved, including teachers or other participants, such as myself.

The students in this group were markedly academically oriented. At FIS, taking the IBDP means doing a double baccalaureate: the Catalan national one, and the IBO one. By the end of their second year they are awarded two certificates, unlike their peers in the LOMCE section, who receive just one. During the focus group, which I conducted with Jessica, we asked the students to introduce themselves. We specifically asked them about their school trajectories. Only Roger had attended FIS since kindergarten. The others had taken primary education in state (Martí, Alèxia, Laura) or semi-private (Irene) schools either in Sant Medir or in a nearby town, and describe '*l'ambient*' (the

atmosphere) of FIS as better, there is 'a nice atmosphere' [*un bon ambient, un ambient maco*], as Alèxia says.

An essential part of the 'nice atmosphere' is pastoral care. This is an important element in the design of the material and affective conditions in which education will take place in elite institutions (Gardner-McTaggart, 2014). This key element of elite education is perceived by their less privileged peers, in and outside the school, to make these elite students' schooling experiences unfair and anti-meritocratic. Because they pay higher fees, they are 'helped', they are offered more, and better, opportunities. Students in both the schools in our study have closer relationships with their teachers, and receive more academic guidance. Alèxia has friends in state schools who have hardly spoken to their final project supervisors, whereas she is constantly sending emails to her Extended Essay teacher, who replies to her and meets her whenever required. She has become a client with the educational services she pays for at her disposal, under the guise of care and protection. This is what the schools sell as personalised learning environments and bespoke trajectories. BCN-IS explicitly states that the *best* way to learn is in small groups. 'Optimised student relationships, bonds with fellow students and personalised learning is at the heart of what [they] do' (web data). Nicolai, a BCN-IS student, began to imagine he would actually be able to go to university as a result of his experience at BCN-IS. Having teachers who believed in him and his ability to progress expanded his academic horizons. In his state school in Russia, he had no sense of being good at anything, nor any expectations of going to university. At the core of this personalised learning is, as we have discussed, the offer of unique curricular and educational initiatives that are not widely available in other schools, along with the possibility of receiving tailor-made programmes to satisfy the desires of each family. This luxurious form of education brings ultimate flexibility to the customer (Gardner-McTaggart, 2014). An example of this is the suppression of Catalan from the weekly schedules of 'international' students. These are 'unparalleled authentic learning opportunities' that are only available to the few students who enjoy the privilege to attend these schools.

6.4. 'I want to be the Chair': Maximum capital, maximum opportunity

This section illustrates and analyses specifically how the process of capital accumulation is achieved, and what consequences it has for participants in terms of

social positioning. In the course of this chapter we have met Guillem on a number of occasions. He is one of the best players of the distinction game I have encountered during fieldwork. He is a prototypical privileged student. He concentrates sufficient symbolic, as well as economic, social and cultural capital, and his (upper-)middle class habitus and lifestyle reveal that. I first paid close attention to Guillem during a 1st IBDP English B class. His teacher, Lluïsa, was handing out Iberian and BCN Model United Nations (MUN) participation certificates to the class. Students were as happy about the extra five minutes of procrastination they had just gained as about their certificates —they were all making a big fuss. 'Clapping is not in order', said Lluïsa, and they all laughed at the ironic *finesse* of her use of MUN mannerisms[1] to maintain discipline. While she was distributing the certificates, students were supposed to be reading a text on cosmopolitan identities. Unfortunately, the certificate excitement made concentration difficult. Amidst all the shouting and chatter, Pedro, one of the students, raised his voice to ask: '*Lluïsa, això què ens conta pel curriculum? Amb això entres a Harvard directe, eh? Amb això entres a Harvard directe*?'. [Lluïsa, how much does this add to our CV? With this do you get straight into Harvard, eh? Do you get straight into Harvard with this?] Lluïsa did not answer, she only turned to Pedro and gave him a sarcastic smile.

Guillem was the only student in the class to have attended both the IMUN and the BCNMUN. Clara, a friend of his, loudly made everyone notice: 'check it out, a double certificate, huh? a double certificate!' As Guillem examined his certificates, he was amazed by how beautiful they looked: he kept asking 'Wow! Whose is this cool handwriting? How cool', noticing the elaborate handwriting in which his name was written on it. He seemed to pay attention to every detail, and suddenly a signature reminded him of something. 'Diana!', he tried: 'ah, you weren't there'. He thought for a while, and turned to Clara to gossip out loud about how the MUN chair spoke. She was a student from an American School in Barcelona. The teacher urged him to stop shouting in the middle of the class. He was attracting lots of attention by making fun of how the girl spoke very *nostalgically*, and imitating her. In a lower voice, he and Clara called her 'the chairda', apparently a newly coined

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1. During MUN sessions, Chairs have to moderate the debate following a script. One of the most recurrent phrases, which has become incorporated in the banter lexicon of the IBDP community at FIS is 'clapping is not in order', which is the set phrase to suppress clapping or indicate that delegates are not supposed to applaud.

blend of the words 'chair' and *cerda,* the Spanish for 'pig'. Both put great effort into showing that they attended it.

As he put his certificates away in his drawer, some of his onlooking classmates wanted to know how it was that he had attended events. They seemed to think it was unnecessary, but he confidently replied that he liked MUN conferences. 'I don't mind paying', he said, tongue-in-cheek, 'for the reasonable sum of 700 euros you get a certificate'. Some thought it was not worth the money, one was more than enough, and maybe he was trying too hard. Guillem's look may have momentarily revealed a certain degree of insecurity, but he replied, reassured: 'What's wrong?! I just like them, and I go. I gain experience'. Meanwhile, Lluïsa hadn't started the class. She wanted to sort out some organisational tasks, as she was going to be missing a few classes the following week. Several MUN Conferences were taking place, and she was the school's proud MUN coordinator. She placed a good deal of emphasis on how much travelling this involved her in. Guillem raised his voice again to note how great the last FIS MUN was: 'It was not just the best, it was unrepeatable. It was so cool'. Picking up on the teacher's absence, he took the opportunity to add that he, like the teacher, was not going to be in class either on the following Friday. A curious classmate started asking why, to which he finally replied he'd be abroad. His classmates insisted on knowing where he was going, but he wouldn't say: 'abroad' was his only answer. His attempt to make himself look interesting caught Lluïsa's attention too. Trying to conceal her curiosity, she pointed out that 'abroad' was very unspecific: 'She [the classmate] wants to know where abroad you are going to be'. From the front of the class a voice shouted 'Panama', and Lluïsa added: 'Abroad in France, in [sic] the Maldive islands [sic]?'. Guillem replied 'it's not [sic] of their business', refraining from all the attention he had finally gained. The teacher used this as a pretext to reassert her role, and teach him some manners: 'It's none of your business is not a nice way to put [sic]. You want to be reserved but polite: I'd rather not say. It's much politer. It's none of your business is like kicking somebody in their mouth'. She then asked him to calm down and stop shouting out random comments in the middle of the class. After a lot of indistinct chatter, his voice was raised again to say, to a classmate: I want to be the chair of FIS-MUN. Lluïsa, who was engaged in something else, picked up on his comment, making him the protagonist again. She reminded him of how hard it would be: if you want to be the chair, you have to be 'the perfect student. I shouldn't have to tell you *you should do this*, *you should do that*, *don't shout*, … if that happens, I *might* think about it'.

When I first paid attention to this interaction I was mostly interested in the affective dimension of elitism. Guillem seemed a happy boy. He was always smiling, and there was an innocent look in his eyes, which glowed with a hue of optimism, or innocence. He was very positive. Nothing seemed to be problematic, or impossible for him, and that security was to me a true index of class comfort, a privilege not everyone could afford. At the end of that class, I approached him to ask whether I could take a picture of his certificates. I couldn't help asking about his trip abroad, he had also aroused my curiosity. He was going to the Basque country, and he had just been to Japan. He told me he liked travelling. His parents travelled frequently for work and because of their air miles it was very easy —and cheap— for them to travel. MUN conferences were a travel opportunity for him, too. 'My dad should live in London, but he doesn't want to, he said. So, he lives here, and he travels. And it's great. I haven't had to change schools, I have never had to adapt to new things. I don't know. I feel great.' I told him he looked very smiley, and happy, and he said 'Yes, I always find things very funny', and smiled.

The vignette that opens this section encapsulates many of the strategic, performative and affective dimensions of privilege. The social setting might appear similar to classroom interactions taking place in other kinds of schools. But there are small details, the blurred roles of participants and the texture of the interaction, that illuminate the workings of elite educational settings. To begin with, not all schools offer their students the possibility of attending MUN conferences, let alone organising their own, or having MUN coordinators. These certificates are positional goods.

 Guillem is constantly engaging in a symbolic self-demarcation from others. In her interactions with him, Lluïsa is trying to renegotiate her role as the teacher, a role that Guillem effaces through the relaxed way in which he is speaking to her as his equal. He is not intimidated by her presence when he unapologetically calls the girl *Chairda.* He also tells everyone, including Lluïsa, that his private life is none of their business. He would then gracefully refrain from the strong language with a series of heartfelt 'I'm sorry', and the credible excuse 'I didn't know how to say it', which the fact that he made a grammar mistake —it's *not* for *none* of your business— reinforces. Guillem becomes the protagonist of the vignette at the beginning of 6.4. After Lluïsa, he is the one who speaks the most, and he repeatedly places himself at the centre of the interaction, or is placed there by others: he is congratulated, he

contributes to, and involves his classmates in the general conversation, and he is asked questions.

At the key moment —around disclosure of information about his trip abroad— Lluïsa too seems to be seduced by the aura of privilege that surrounds Guillem. As she tries to display her own distinct teacher role —being in charge of the MUN programmes entails a great deal of travelling— she is outdone by Guillem. She travels for work, he travels for pleasure. She is relegated to the role of onlooker, the 'other' who ascribes symbolic value to his practices. This may seem a natural consequence of Guillem's efforts. He is one of the students in the class who makes more frequent symbolic display of economic capital. His accumulation of MUN Certificates —with the implicit cost involved in the MUN trips— is *distinctive;* he is the one with *more.* But his school credentials and mobile lifestyle are not the only examples of his display. His expensive but remarkably elegant and discreet clothes, his natural look and distinguished air convey the impression that his expressions of class are effortless. He appears younger than his classmates, he has no facial hair and his voice is still high-pitched, despite being 16. Seemingly, he does not try hard to appear attractive to his female classmates, pursue romantic affairs, or wish to appear overly 'cool'. He is just friendly with everyone. He is a born member of the wealthy elite. His easy relaxed manner throughout the interaction shows how successfully he is able to display his social superiority.

Jarness et al. (2018) observe how cases such as Guillem's, in which he draws boundaries and demarcates himself symbolically from others, represent common behaviour among adolescents from wealthy elite backgrounds. All these students use forms of material consumption to distinguish themselves from their class-mates, their fellow students in non-international itineraries or students receiving other types of educational provision. As Jarness et al. found, within the student body of the Oslo Commerce School, the most salient dividing line was between those who manage to master a 'natural' style, where expensive clothes and the desired bodily attributes are displayed discreetly, and those who are 'trying too hard' and thus marked out by the stigma of effort (2018: 14).

Naturalness and lack of pretension is not accessible to everyone, only to those with the economic means to maintain a certain lifestyle. In the interaction we see different actors trying to achieve different things. What is displayed, who displays it and how they display it is what makes the difference. The attempts of social distinction do not work equally for Lluïsa as for Guillem, or

some of his classmates. She makes an effort where he does not. His collection of certificates may make sense and be accessible to Guillem, but not to his other classmates. He can afford to break the in-group boundaries, which most of his classmates stick to, in order to play his game. In the same way as he misses school to travel, or he decides to go to all the conferences he can, he also ignores the homogenising outfits of hoodies, jeans and trainers. Instead he dresses in a minimal style, wearing more formal designer trousers, jumpers and shoes that give him a smarter look. In the same way, Clara or Marta can do without the customary teenage long wavy locks and wear bold bobs or sophisticated *garçon* haircuts. In this class, one could observe how economic capital gave a selected few students —such Guillem, Clara and Berta— an air of freedom and ease in their aesthetics and lifestyles that the majority of their classmates did not have. The two groups are playing different games.

At the end of the interaction, we see the true reason for his display. Guillem has been accumulating MUN capital because he eagerly engages in competiton. Disguised in this effortless attitude —which is founded on the money he supposedly doesn't care about— is a hunger for capital. He travels to MUN conferences, he travels for pleasure, he accumulates certificates and he tries harder than his classmates to speak only English during the English class, even if this means that he makes mistakes. We see how value is assigned to those resources and activities that count as international (see Chapter 4). This is a perfect example of a process of capital conversion. Economic relations are turned into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Accumulating more certificates equates to a greater economic investment than others. Guillem's apparent merit legitimises unequal relationships, both within and outside the classroom. His attending MUN conferences make him a legitimate holder of power. By paying a sum of money for each of the trials he may get to be a MUN chair, sitting at the centre of a committee, and passing for 'the perfect student', a position that is widely accepted as the most prestigious at these events. Or he may not. The chair not only has to be a good student, he/she has to possess the right linguistic capitals —mastery of English in a suitable register and with the appropriate vocabulary for the ceremony— along with the correct disposition —he or she has to be polite, and be a master of MUN etiquette. In spite of having made the investment, Guillem's is a risky transaction since Lluïsa holds the key to his success. This hints at the multiple forms of hierarchisation within the elites, something that will be further explored in Chapter 9.

6.5. International education a form of elite education: Concluding considerations

International education is a form of elite education. This chapter has argued that, in late modernity, the label 'international' is being used by elite institutions as a source of production and reproduction of privilege, that is, to maintain their elite status in a changing context. I have shown how, together with being international come a number of expectations in terms of infrastructure and etiquette that represent an upscaling, expansion or refinement of previous forms. We have also observed the hierarchical categorisation of curricula, within and across schools, based on the ascribed internationality of programmes, itineraries and practices. International itineraries are normally provided with the best resources, and happen under the best material conditions, making them a more privileged space to study in. Often this requires restricting access to such programmes, through academic or economic selection, and they thus become exclusive spaces.

International education, then, is for those who can afford it, and for those who show the appropriate disposition to *do well* in the *international* school, or the international class. International programmes will help such students develop other attitudinal orientations, which match most of the aspirational personal traits of the IB learner profile, further explored in the following chapters. At least, they are promised a greater refinement of each of these characteristics than their *non-international* peers. This is what international programmes *do* to them.

We have seen, in the corpus extracts of this chapter, how this transformation happens with these students' eager desires to accumulate distinctive capitals. The capitals these schools offer them help them to legitimise their social positioning. We have observed several mechanisms of capital conversion in which the economic relationships of families and the school are converted into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1996) that grants access to the most coveted spaces, such as becoming a MUN Chair. Symbolically, this role is only accessible to the most privileged person, the one who is *the best student*, the most experience in this type of event, the best socialised into these spaces, and who can ensure that the social norms and rituals are strictly perpetuated. Guillem has consciously paid more in order to attend more of them. This is the culmination of capital accrual. The consumption of international capitals makes one *distinct, unique,* when accompanied with the right attitude and behaviour.

Internationalisation in late-modern education systems in many countries is, then, a force for further stratification. It adds hierarchical layers among programmes, schools, organisations and ultimately, families and students. It creates differences between types of knowledge, and the people who consume them (Martín Rojo, 2010, 2013a, 2015; Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). International education has become the ultimate elite educational commodity (Kenway & Lazarus, 2017).

These curricula and the social practices associated with them have become forms of legitimising elite belonging or a way to grant access to privileged spheres of society. Students have 'earned' these positions, and have adopted the habitus and, more importantly, the moral dispositions that give them right to be there. Pastoral care is one of the strategies for helping students to believe that they are important, unique, and therefore deserving of their privilege. As Deppe et al. observe, 'internationalisation is intimately linked to the construction of elite identities of institutions and students, and how these might be cultivated through and across the trajectories of students, and across different places and spaces'. (Deppe et al., 2018b: 8). The promise of internationality and of elite institutions, is that of a brilliant future. Internationality is regarded as a source of distinction, and a way for organisations, social groups and individuals to regain legitimacy by accumulating such distinction (Waldow, 2018). Independent schools have become international in order to remain attractive to elites. And international education and, more specifically, the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) have become the ultimate strategy for the national elites to opt out of national education systems, as these are not perceived as preparing students sufficiently for global competition (Brown, 2000).

Globally, there is still a strong correlation between elite schooling and recruitment to top corporate positions (Reeves, Friedman, Rahal & Flemmen, 2017). Specific cultural styles and practices, dispositions and beliefs to which students are exposed in this type of school become the essential resources required to be hired for top positions in the labour market (Rivera, 2012; Sølvberg & Jarness, 2018). As Fiona, the BCN-IS director maintains, International school students are prepared to become members of the 'transnational capitalist class' (Sklair, 2000). Some of the practices we have hinted at are oriented towards familiarising students with legitimate social and cultural attitudes (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2014), and making them winners in global

competitive job markets. The following chapter will further explore which curricular contents count as *international knowledge* and therefore feed into the education of future global elites.

7. Internationalising knowledge

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapters of this thesis have explored how space and social activity contribute to establishing schools as international spaces, and how they do this essentially to remain objects of desire in quasi-saturated education marketplaces. I now turn to the educational programmes they implement, the 'knowledge' they 'sell', which defines their identity and is at the core of their business. By knowledge I refer to the curricular contents designed for their students, the syllabus and how these are implemented and experienced by learners (Hayden, 2006). During schooling, in a classroom, students read, write, discuss, experiment, calculate. There is a subject-matter, arguments, evidence and academic learning. However, there are other things happening in classroom practices as social identities, power relations, interpersonal struggles and other non-academic processes are negotiated and established (Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972; Gee, 1989; Wortham, 2006). All these constitute knowledge as well. My understanding of knowledge, therefore, stretches from subject-related content and the pedagogies through which it is transmitted to students, to the socialising practices that take place in the process of co-constructing this knowledge; what Wortham (2006: 1) calls 'the real social business of schooling'.

Knowledge is not only acquired in class. All the activities the school organises, such as school trips, extracurricular workshops, cultural, sports, social events, etc. are also part of a school's curriculum. Bulman and Jenkins (1988) defined curricula as being composed of academic, pastoral and what they called 'hidden' dimensions. These are 'practices and outcomes of schooling which, while not explicit in curriculum guides or school policy, nevertheless seem to be a regular and effective part of the school experience' (Vallance, 1991: 40).

In international schools, students, families, teachers, administrative staff, and school managers all become acculturated to the international nature of the space, be it in the classroom or elsewhere. What are generally accepted as valid dispositions, attitudes, values or beliefs are acquired and breathed throughout every corner of the school. That is why this chapter refers to the styling of knowledge, understood globally, rather than the specific programmes or curriculum content.

In the numerous theorisations of what is, in fact, the curriculum, questions on the purpose of education and schooling are implicit in pedagogical perspec-

tives. Curricula draw from social and cultural environments, in order to transmit to students an edited selection of knowledge to become independent adult members of society (Hayden, 2006; Lawton, 1989). The cultural, social, political and economic contexts of reference for international education differ from nationally-bounded ones. This chapter explores what knowledge international school communities are socialised into, and which socialisation practices, cultural attitudes, dispositions and beliefs are reproduced; which worldviews are transmitted and what knowledge is made to count as international, in schools that prepare students for higher education and future career paths, potentially anywhere in the world.

7.2. The origins and evolution of international programmes

The configuration of programmes, that is, the way schools combine national curricula —foreign or local— with *international* ones, such as IBO programmes, with other add-ons, such as forest school, Unicef rights-respecting programmes, emotional education, foreign language programmes and exchanges, all make up the distinct base of schools' educational offerings. Their curricular options are statements of *how* they want to be international, how they want to 'educate young people to be at home anywhere in the world' (Leach, 1969:10). The headteachers of both FIS and BCN-IS highlight how the schools needed to react to the 'demands' of a changing world, and their response was internationality. In order to give an 'international outlook' to the educational project of the school, they had to implement foreign curricula, which are taken at face-value as encapsulating international values.

Foreign curricula are prestigious for a number of reasons. British or American programmes are the national curricula of two of the leading world economies, which not accidentally host a great proportion of high-ranking universities. These programmes are also understood to be a means of acquiring high proficiency in English. They stand for modern, academically challenging, pedagogically-advanced models of education that give an educated, cosmopolitan outlook to the individual. Other international curricula, such as the IBO have similar indexicalities. The IBDP, for example, was developed in the mid-20th Century to cover the need for a unified system of evaluation for the children of European diplomat elites. This curriculum was never an education for the 1% plutocrats, but it was indeed inspired by the education of the European aristo-

cracy of the 19th and 20th centuries, which was aimed at creating knowledgeable, 'worldly' and well-rounded individuals (see Sunyol & Codó, 2019). Developing a unified international credential was part of a strategy of western states —European and American, first, which were later joined by Japan— to create a league of nations, which Tarc (2017) links with a power-maintaining strategy in the transformation and adaptation of their colonial projects to a new era.

International programmes in the packaged form we know them today, started to spread in the 1970s, at a moment of democratisation of education and massification of schools, and universities, as they began to be sold and used as mechanisms of educational distinction by the elites and upper-middle classes globally. In their expansion, however, these programmes have not traditionally emphasised their internationalist ethos, but rather their exclusive nature and strong academic orientation. They index high academic standards, and a comprehensive education, as well as global recognition. At FIS and BCN-IS, offering the IBDP or the British International Curriculum are as much emblems of educational excellence and distinction as of the schools' internationality.

The IBO curriculum, for example, retains the essence of an elite education. It has a complex system of subjects, taken at high or low levels, which are designed to familiarise students in different areas of knowledge, including social sciences, experimental sciences, mathematics and technology, languages and the arts. The programme also values sports, and social service as integral parts of the development of the individual. This multifaceted programme is designed to provide 'breadth and depth' to the education of the individual. Such goals are also paralleled in schools such as BCN-IS, where departing from the British international curriculum, the school adds programmes of emotional education, forest school education, sports, arts, and languages, with the aim of nurturing all facets of the individual. Only since the 1990s, as Tarc (2017) identifies, have a whole set of areas that are developed in these curricula become the basis for internationalist discourses. These are fundamentally languages, international experiences, exchanges, and events. Access to the accumulation of multilingual capital, and credentials that index 'cosmopolitanism' or 'global-mindedness', have become value added for students (Tarc, 2017; Rizvi, 2007). All these elements have made international education highly desirable by upper-middle class parents (Breidenstein et al., 2018) who imagine their children pursuing a university education, whether at home or abroad, and who opt for models that allow a cross-national comparison of such standards.

The essence of their internationality, however, is not as straightforward. These programmes are readily construed as legitimate sources of 'international knowledge' because of their foreignness, and because internationalist discourses appear deeply embedded in broader educational discourses. Figure 7.1 is a good example to explore how internationality is negotiated within the curriculum, and how the classic internationalism of earlier forms of international education has changed in neoliberalised societies. The poster, which one encounters on several of FIS walls, is an advertisement for the type of personas produced at NFG schools. It is a portrait of the resulting citizens.

Picture 7.1. Wall poster on NFG's educational principles

As the title announces, these four areas need to be developed in order to 'live successfully in a globalised world'. To their students, simply living is not enough. They have to 'live successfully' as global citizens, which aligns them with Yemini's idea of added global dimensions. The semiotics of the poster are interesting to analyse, as it is a graphic representation of their curriculum, too, and it provides a frame for the understanding of this chapter. The title highlights, on the one hand, the individualisation of the schooling experience, an essential trait of an elite education. It sets a frame which might be seen to imply that each student-client receives unique treatment from the school. In fact, this curricular flexibility and adapting to the needs of each family is one of the reasons why many parents choose private international schools today in Catalonia, and is a further face of the commodification of education services in neoliberal economies.

As stated, the goal of the school goes beyond academic training. They prepare students to 'live', not to achieve academic goals. They receive training to develop the multiple sides of their personhood: not only their child but their adult selves; not only their student persona but their worker, employer, partner, relative, friend or citizen personas. These lives will be lived in a 'globalised world' and living successfully in a globalised world requires special preparation. This seems to be presented as a mission of the international school. What happens at NFG schools is that these four dimensions come together. Students are taught the skills to become successful adults in globalised, tertiarised economies. The drawings present them as high-ranking knowledge economy workers —note the presenter, invoking power positions in corporate jobs, and travelling —for work and for pleasure in an interconnected world made up of major western cities. These pictures contrast with those towards the bottom. The 'beyond academic' activities are illustrated with children, infantilising the arts and sports as something only possible to understand as leisure, but yet done compulsorily and 'with rigour', characterising the school's ethos.

The tree is an ecology of the individual. A naive claim to happiness at NFG accompanies values such as 'social commitment', 'respect and tolerance', 'self-improvement' and 'responsibility' —the two latter sharing a branch, in a synthesised mixture of humanist, Christian and neoliberal attitudes and values promoted by these schools. We see a vision of a person who projects towards the world from a fairly individualistic perspective. The omissions, in this case, are highly relevant. In this version of the successful individual in the globalised world, for example,

there are no instances of cooperation, or sharing, or jointly creating something. There is the vision of self-improving individual, who capitalises to maximise her/his individual success. A 'competitor' who has to be ready, and willing, to mobilise his/her capitals in the wider world. In this chapter I will only develop the two first areas, educational excellence and global readiness. I have further explored the role of values and educational 'extras' in the development of neoliberal subjectivities in IB programmes in Sunyol & Codó (2019).

In this declaration of intentions, which is ultimately a synthesis of the 'knowledge' that will 'globeducate' their students, internationalist discourses are left fairly vague. The effort is put, rather, into constructing this globalising education as 'the best education' for 'the individual' who has to 'succeed'. This is a pragmatic view of international education rather than an idealist one, which would perhaps put more discursive emphasis on the global citizenship angle. The world is not a place to inhabit and in which to construct, collaboratively, a better world, but a space to transit while attaining one's own goals. It is worth noting, too, that there is no similar marketisation of national curricula, or any equivalent advertising of 'first' languages —in this case, Catalan and Spanish. The effort of constructing international programmes discursively as the best creates a situation of stratification of the resources being offered in the schools. This is key to understanding how access to such resources works, and how the processes of capitalisation and distinction operate in elite international schools, but also in the broader school market in Catalonia, and in the specific areas where the schools are located. The construction of value in such programmes transcends the school and situates it in a more advantageous position in the local education market.

7.3. From 'parochial traditionalism' to 'worldliness'

In the everyday life of an international school, there are numerous decisions that contribute to shaping what counts as international, and what does not. Teachers design the programmes of their subjects within the general framework of the chosen curricula. Topic selection and their approach to the subject-matter is, however, ultimately their choice. Processes such as the internationalisation of curricula entail rethinking inclusions, but also omissions. When the frame of reference of the school changes, and is no longer exclusively national,

the perspectives on knowledge are also rescaled. Suddenly, the students *produced* by the school are imagined to be set to circulate in global networks as well as national and local ones (Maxwell, 2018). They need to be well-versed in new phenomena, possess new skills, and be familiar with a multiplicity of cultural dispositions and behaviours.

What counts as *international* knowledge is established at varying speeds. Some of the decisions and transformations are fast. Others happen at a slower pace. The school, as a total institution, provides 'a strong secondary socialisation model for students that will decisively influence their public and private adult life' (Faguer, 1991; in van Zanten, 2009: 329). It will shape what they know, how they behave, who they are. The following vignette encapsulates many of the sustained changes that have taken place at FIS since 2008, showing how the school has been responding to the changes in the expectations of the social groups that were being educated in this sort of school, as to what profile of student the school needed to form.

7.3.1. A Christmas Carol, a universal classic

The beginning of the Christmas break, at FIS as in many schools in Catalonia, is marked by the Christmas show. On the last week before Christmas, it is common for schools to stage student shows —often, a student-lead theatre production. In December 2015 Alèxia, then a first year IBDP student, almost had a breakdown. In addition to the sudden workload of doing two baccalaureate programmes, the IBDP and the national *batxillerat,* Alèxia strained herself to take a role in the Christmas play, *Els pastorets.* She had to think of activities to complete her CAS (Creativity, Action and Service) programme. Her ballet lessons, which she took every day, counted as Action, and she thought the school-organised theatre workshop would be a good option to tick her Creativity activity off the long list of pending academic tasks for the coming two years. Tackling the IB was a stressful endeavour. 'I had a terrible time', Alèxia said. By December, rehearsals had intensified. The theatre group met every afternoon after school, and she remembered being 'under a lot of pressure'. During that period, she used to get home at 10pm. She was tired after a long day's work —the IBDP classes start at 8am— and her homework was still not done. 'I died', she confessed to us in the focus group, 'I remember crying from the

stress'. This experience made her realise that this was too much for her to take on, and she needed a strategy to manage her workload better. After Christmas, Alèxia started having study time every single afternoon.

Before FIS was an international school, students were not required to take two baccalaureate programmes at a time. The IBDP, however, was established as 'complementary' education, that is, students cannot take it alone. They have to obtain their international qualifications together with the national baccalaureate. Taking the IBDP becomes, therefore, both a quantitative and a qualitative means of distinctive capital accumulation. The following sections illustrate ways in which these programmes are perceived to prepare students better to become holders of the hard and soft skills required in neoliberal labour markets. Alèxia narrates how, through her experience of high pressure and stress, she learned and acquired skills that are highly valued in the workplace. After her traumatic experience, she gained the ability to react to adversity and change one's strategy to *win*. She has become a self-responsible, hard-working and resilient individual (Sunyol & Codó, 2019), all skills that are fostered through the IB curriculum, as defined in the IB Learner Profile, a compendium of desirable attributes for the IB student to develop. Her case, then, is not an isolated example but one of the established practice of producing self-governing selves (Foucault, 1991).

I was able corroborate this when, a few months later, I interviewed Clara. Listening to her story, I had a feeling of *dejà-vu*. Her experience of the first IBDP months was almost identical to that of her older fellow IB student. In her case, December came with an added source of stress. Clara loved acting to the point of wanting to turn her passion into a career. On finishing FIS she was set to go to drama school in the US. She dreamt of Julliard, 'of course', but aware of how hard it is to get into, NYU or UCLA also seemed like sound options to her. This may be why she got the starring role at the Christmas show. On a rainy and cold December evening, I rushed towards the FIS auditorium. I was late, and my feet were getting wet under the chicest shoes I could find in my wardrobe. The show was a big event, and I assumed the combination of nocturnality and Christmas time would make the dress code a bit more glittery than usual. The hall was deserted. A lonely lit panel was proudly displaying the bill for the night: '*Scrooge, el conte de nadal*', by Dickens.

The school had produced a high-end poster with a picture of the two main characters, the title of the play, and the dates: '*20 y 21 de diciembre*', in Spanish. For the first time in its almost 30 years of history, the school had changed the

representation of a Catalan Christmas classic, the Folch i Torres 1916 version of the nativity play '*Els Pastorets*,' which only a few years ago one could see in almost every school in Catalonia around these dates. To me this was a significant change. Staging a British Christmas classic had intentionally been a shift towards being more 'international', regardless of how *local* and *folkloric* the story of old Scrooge might be. Additionally, the school had created what looked like an expensive and professional marketing campaign. The exoticism of anything foreign, and the prestige and internationally-sounding nature of anything 'British', seemed to be common sense changes in the move toward a more global school, as Hector, one of the students observed:

Extract 7.1

Hec (Hector, student, 16); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1	HEC:	el director va posar l'excusa aquesta\ no sé si era veritat o no\ va dir que volia fer
2		una obra més internacional\ i van posar la de *Scrooge el cuento de navidad* que és
3		com més internacional\ o sigui perquè ara com hi ha molt alumne de fora/ o sigui
4		totes aquestes banderes són les diferents nacionalitats que hi ha al cole/ llavors
5		una història que se sap molt més que Els Pastorets que és més d'aquí de Catalunya
6		i de:: Espanya en general\ jo crec que d'alguna manera estan intentant enxufar
7		molt més l'anglès i treure una mica el català i el castellà\
8	AND:	i tu creus que hi ha molta diversitat en l'alumnat/
9	HEC:	al cole de dalt no\ tots som d'aquí més o menys\ però al cole de baix sí\ perquè ara
10		que s'han fet internacionals atrauen més gent de fora\

(English translation)

1	HEC:	the director gave this excuse\ I don't know if it was true or not\ he said he wanted
2		to do a play which was more international\ and they put Scrooge a Christmas
3		tale which is like more international\ I mean because now because there are a
4		lot of international students/ I mean all these flags are the different nationalities
5		there are in the school/ then a story that is more widely known than *Els Pastorets*
6		which is more from here from Catalonia and from:: Spain in general\ I think that
7		in a way they are trying to sneak English much more into the school and taking
8		Catalan and Spanish out a little\
9	AND:	and do you believe that there is a lot of diversity among students/

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10	HEC:	in the school up here there isn't\ we are all from here more or less\ but in the
11		school down there yes\ because now that they are international they attract more
12		people from outside\

Hector, one of Clara's classmates, used the Christmas play as an example of how the school was internationalising 'everything'. It was part of making the school a more welcoming place for *international* students, and also a way of making local students more *international,* or more *Englishised.* Hector articulates it with clear and simple precision. *Els Pastorets* is 'more from here', therefore not international enough. '*Scrooge, el cuento de navidad*', which he cites in Spanish, is 'like more' international, he indicates, with an adverbial hedge that expresses doubts on it actually falling into the category. He insists on the top-down nature of becoming international at FIS. Readjusting the cultural framework is presented as an imposed styling process. It is a process of invoking new sets of semiotic resources, to reconfigure relationships and social identities, and establishing a new regime of value.

According to him, the reason why this happens is that there are more students 'from abroad'. Being from one of the multiple 'foreign' nationalities of the school inherently makes one more familiar with Dickens than with Catalan Folklore. In describing the process he uses several distancing strategies: the '*l'excusa aquesta*', '*com més* internacional' and '*intentant enxufar*' are all cracks that he reveals in the schools' attempt to establish a new regime of value. It is interesting to observe how the agents are always presented as 'they'. His distancing from the omni-present banalising discourses on diversity from the school's management board enabled me to ask him to unpack and denaturalise them, and he provided the portrait of the not-so-diverse school setting discussed in Chapter 5 (see 5.4.4) This vignette shows the ongoing process of substitution and careful selection of the symbolic and non-symbolic elements that feature in the product that international schools sell to families. What these students *know* is an important factor in their individual distinction.

7.4 The IBDP and the British Curriculum as emblems of educational excellence

7.4.1. Risk and safety in educational investment

As globalisation intensifies and becomes ontologically fixed, it is interesting to look at the continuities and changes in the curricula offered by elite schools at this specific moment in time, in the specific context of Catalonia. Course content, the ways in which it is taught and acquired in class, and the accepted and expected social practices, dispositions and behaviours encountered in the context of schools have to be made special, distinctive and desirable capital. They have to prepare students for new realities; in many cases, this has implied turning towards a 'skillification' of education where subjects like Science, Technology, Maths and Languages have become essential.

Some of the aspects that both students and teachers advertise as *international*, such as studying global historical phenomena, are also found in non-international forms of educational provision. Hector is very happy about learning in depth about Nazi Germany, something he doesn't think he would do if it were not for the IBO. Mariona thinks that BCN-IS 'is not only a Spanish school where they learn only Spanish things, but they learn about other countries. They learn British history, and local history, and history of other countries'. The relationship between national and international programmes, between old and new forms, is often obscure and parents are stepping on unexplored ground. That is why flashy and fancy innovations are not always readily taken as magic formulas. In Catalonia, for example, internationalisation processes in elite education have not erased national programmes from the picture. The role of national curricula within internationalised education is crucial to understanding how processes of internationalisation are taking place at this specific latitude. FIS combines the local curriculum with IBO programmes. BCN-IS points out, in their web and promotional material, how their curriculum is compatible with the 'Pla de la Generalitat', that is, with the local educational planning policies. Local models remain important in the development of international(ised) education.

The only default way to access higher education in Catalonia is the local university entrance exam, the *Selectivitat.* Students coming from other systems, including the IBDP need to validate their credentials through the Spanish Ministry of Education if they want to study at a Spanish university. They need to apply for recognition of their foreign baccalaureate —or equivalent— average

grade, and in Catalonia, they can take specific *Selectivitat* exams for the subjects that are directly related to the university degree they want to pursue. This helps them to improve their average. Around 50% of Spanish universities recognise the IBDP as fulfilling entry requirements, but none of the Catalan universities do so straight away. All this helps maintain the value of the national baccalaureate and national programmes, which are considered as a secure option. Moreover, in order to provide officially recognised educational services in Catalonia, schools need to be authorised by the Catalan government. This effectively means students meeting the requirements regarding the learning of local languages —Spanish and Catalan. Chapter 4 showed the complex multi-scalar insertion of international education. When exploring matters of curriculum design this becomes clearer. In this new model of the international school, global and the national or local embeddedness are all essential. The global dimension of the curriculum provides 'distinction', but the national dimension remains a low-risk educational option.

I interviewed Mari because she is the mother of two twin sisters who are taking the national *batxillerat* (LOMCE) at FIS. During our conversation, she explained how even though the family had 'always raised their hand' to participate in exchanges, stays abroad and other internationally orientated initiatives, they did not opt for the IBDP:

Extract 7.2

Participants: Ma (Mari, mother); And (Andrea, the researcher)

1	MA:	cosas que son reales que antes no estaban y se han puesto era el proyecto de
2		bachillerato internacional/ lo que pasa que nosotros decidimos no coger este
3		camino\ sabes/
4	AND:	por qué?
5	MA:	pues porque al final lo que pensamos es que iban a estudiar aquí entonces para
6		estudiar aquí tenias que pasar la selectividad y el camino del LOE era un camino
7		conocido\ además son dos años que los chicos son muy fáciles de distraer enton-
8		ces hay que estudiar mucho hay que enfocarse mucho\ entonces es un proyecto
9		como más completo pero no sabíamos no/ entonces pensamos que no:: no era el
10		momento de distraer\ sí que me parece un buen proyecto pero yo lo empezaría
11		antes\ sabes/ lo traería a la ESO\ en el momento de bachillerato a nosotros nos

12		pareció un:: un riesgo extra\ un camino que no conocíamos tanto\ pero bueno de
13		mis hijas no lo han hecho pero tienen amigos que sí y al final les ha ido a todos
14		igual de bien\ o sea que bueno eran si quieres una preocupación:: no se\ pero si
15		volviera otra vez atrás yo creo que decidiría lo mismo\

(English translation)

1	MA:	things that are real that weren't there before and have been established were the
2		project of the international baccalaureate/ what happened was we decided not to
3		take this path\ you know/
4	AND:	why?
5	MA:	well because in the end we thought they were going to study here and in order to
6		study here you had to pass the *selectividad* and the LOE path was a known path\
7		moreover it is two years in which the guys are very easy to distract and so it re-
8		quires studying hard and focusing a lot\ then we thought it is a project like more
9		comprehensive but we did not know right/ and then we thought that it wasn't::: it
10		wasn't the moment for distracting\ it does seem to me a good project but I would
11		start it earlier\ you know/ I would bring it to ESO\ at this moment of baccalau-
12		reate it seemed to us an:: extra risk\ a path that we did not know that well\ but
13		well my daughters haven't done it but they have friends who have and in the end
14		all of them have done equally well\ so well these were if you like worries:: I don't
15		know\ but if I had to go back there again I think I would make the same choice\

INTERVIEW DATA, 16/06/17

Her highlighting of *real* changes versus not-so-real ones (line 1) might indicate her understanding of the internationalising process as a marketing operation. Her husband and herself see the clear importance of their daughters' learning a good English and developing a certain 'global readiness', which will help them, according to her, in their professional careers. They have used some of the opportunities that the school has made available to them to develop their daughters' cosmopolitan capital (Weenink, 2009). They can tick exchanges, hosting incoming students, and other internationalising events off their list. The IBDP, however, was seen as a bit of an 'experiment' at an inconvenient moment. With university entry tests around the corner, the end of secondary is when students have to maximise their effort to ensure they score highly enough to pursue the degree of their choice. The family opted for the conservative solution of taking

the 'familiar path' even though it might be perceived as being less 'complete' than the IBDP.

Her words reveal a negotiation between safety and risk discourses in tension. Mari knows that the national *batxillerat* gives students a safer way into local universities. However, she buys into the *better*, *more complete* and *modern* selling discourses of the IBDP. International schools draw on the prestige of such foreign curricula to maintain that they 'encourage the highest standards of academic achievement' (FIS, web data). An international education should grant students easy access to higher education institutions abroad —mostly in the UK and the US, but also throughout Europe. FIS announces that IB students access higher education in greater proportion than non-IB students. The exclusivity and the way the IBDP is marketed leads students who are high-achieving, hard-working and highly motivated to enter the programme, regardless of whether or not they want to pursue a degree abroad. Whether or not they need high averages to enter very competitive degree programmes, or they only want to invest in distinctive capital, they are the selected few to have been granted the opportunity to be IB students. This prestige-building operation, which sets the two programmes in competition, deliberately obscures the unequal material circumstances in which learning takes place in the two programmes at FIS —reduced student-teacher ratios, more hours of instruction, best performing teachers and students, etc. make the IBDP a luxury (see section 6.2 in the previous chapter).

7.4.2. Global recognition as a marker of quality

Being British, or International, becomes naturalised as making programmes 'better'. They are popular and have prestige worldwide. BCN-IS sells itself as offering 'the British National Curriculum' through English and encourages the highest standards of academic achievement. Their Britishness is constantly highlighted as a guarantee of quality, as the following extract shows:

Extract 7.3

Participants: Aad (Aadesh, Primary teacher);

1	AND:	same values\ life skills are used in this school (.) same learning objectives\ the
2		learning in state schools is very high\ very intense (.) the British Curriculum is
3		harder\ it gets harder\ so we there's no way we would sacrifice that\ that's why
4		our teachers come from the UK are trained in the UK so they can deliver the
5		curriculum in the best way in the most up-to-date\ we have new people coming
6		in every year to keep us updated and so- no- my lessons here are probably better
7		now because I'm a better teacher every year I grow\ but if you look at some of the
8		writing in the outcomes I know that they could match or better anyone in
9		the UK in year 5 I'm happy to compare their books with the books here\ (.) and
10		that comes from experience, from being trained in the UK, knowing the group
11		very well\ knowing teaching methods and making sure that- for me one of the
12		most important things is that there is some progress in every lesson\ whether it's
13		big or small\ but that there is some progress\ some lessons you have there's ama-
14		zing progress\ some a little bit but never none\

INTERVIEW DATA, 14/6/17

Aadesh, a primary tutor, was recently made partner at BCN-IS, together with his fiancée, Christina. Throughout our conversation he insisted on highlighting the fact that BCN-IS offered 'the same' experience as state schools in the UK. BCN-IS relies on and builds the alleged prestige of the British curriculum, which is 'harder', 'better'. Aadesh is backed by the power and prestige of English-speaking models —not only educational, but also cultural, economic, etc.— in neoliberal-globalised societies. He places a great deal of discursive emphasis in how they import the latest UK *know-how* through teachers. Only UK-based teacher training ensures delivering the curriculum in 'the best way' (line 5). Implicit in his words is the higher value of the 'British' curriculum, just for the fact of being British. The only argument he gives to support this is that the content is 'harder', and their methodology is progress rather than deficiency-focused, something that is also highlighted about the IBO models, and which is not exam-based. Through this rhetoric of intense praise, Aadesh constructs value for their model.

In evaluating foreign curricula, there seems implicit in all the actors' judgements an exoticisation that gives them value, makes them more desirable. This phenomenon cannot be detached from other processes that have been examined elsewhere in this thesis, such as the devaluing of local national curricula, the boom in English-medium education and the worldwide globalisation of education markets, led by American and British schools and universities.

Nicolai started school in Russia, where he is originally from. His parents, he says, 'had a really bad opinion of Russian education'. They preferred BCN-IS, or 'an English education, the English system, like Cambridge and stuff' because unlike the Russian model, or the Catalan model they found in other schools they visited in the area, 'if you get the paper here you can go to any university in the world. So that's the thing my parents were thinking about' (interview data, 8/6/17). Some of his classmates had started school in England, or in other systems, and they wanted an education that, besides being in English, gave them some continuity with their previous and/or future educational experiences:

Extract 7.4

Participants: F (Filip, student)

1	F:	yes- it's like- everything is not new cause like the system is the same as the Eng-
2		lish system and I've got used to that and the Spanish system is totally different
3		like the tests are different everything is different\ so- if I started one system
4		I want to finish that\ I don't want to like- start the English then go to the Spanish
5		and then maybe go to the whatever I just want to do one and then I want to fin-
6		ish that and then I don't have like I finished the SATS'S test and then I went to
7		** [another international school in the area] and they were we don't care about
8		this because we don't do this it doesn't mean anything but here in BCN-IS they
9		were yeah the sats test good okay that's really good you can use this here\ but
10		there in ** [another international school in the area] you couldn't\ because that
11		wo- yeah\ yeah\

INTERVIEW DATA, 8/6/17

This discourses fetishising British credentials show how a British education is constructed by these students as the best available for several reasons. Local models are totally 'different', and geographically restricted. They stand for parochialism, and less advanced forms of education. Plus, they imply adapting to yet another change. International programmes, however, bring familiarity and stability to the lives of these kids, who already have to settle in a completely new context (Kong, 2013; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008). Emma, another BCN-IS student, prefers small international schools because in big international schools, with more local students and less policing of language norms, 'a lot of the time people will just speak Spanish'. In her school 'there's just more English', and she feels it is truly international, and it makes her feel more at home. A British school becomes an anonymous space where all students can feel comfortable, and in which they do not need to engage too much with the local culture. Filip highlights the adaptability of the school to the specific needs of each family, which makes it attractive to both international and local students, all with different desires and needs, especially regarding language learning. Local students' views mirror those of the international students, and they choose the school mostly for its 'authentic' English (see Chapter 4, and Sunyol, 2019).

7.4.3. Globally transferrable credentials as required symbolic capital

Both schools draw on the number of countries and schools that offer IBO programmes (FIS) and IGCSE (BCN-IS) as markers of educational quality, and of being secure educational investments. Offering such programmes is seen in both sites as a strategy to maximise students' academic and personal opportunities in the future, showing how the pragmatic view of internationality tends to prevail over idealistic objective of making the world a better place (see section 7.2. above). These programmes place our two schools as part of a broader network of schools, which is one of the grounds for claiming 'educational excellence':

Extract 7.5

1   An important element in a truly global education is a credential which incor-
2   porates international values. The international baccalaureate is an extraordinary
3   example of this. Many of our schools, known as IB World Schools, have been

4	accredited to teach this highly-respected qualification. (…) Like NFG Schools,
5	IB World Schools are devoted to the provision of international education that is
6	so vital for our pupils.
7	Educational excellence is a core focus of each NFG private school. The Interna-
8	tional Baccalaureate, for example, can pave way to higher education at one of the
9	world's leading universities; evidence shows that higher numbers of IB students
10	progress to university than non-IB students. The IB Diploma Programme offers
11	an academically challenging and balanced curriculum with final examinations
12	that incorporate the three core modules of Theory of knowledge, the Extended
13	Essay and Creativity, Action, Service as well as subjects chosen by students de-
14	signed to ensure a breadth and depth of experience in languages, social studies,
15	the experimental sciences and mathematics.

NFG Schools webpage: International Values

The first line of this extract makes it clear that it is a model of education that is highly credential-driven. The school or, in this case the NFG education group, draws on the widespread recognition of such programmes, and uses elements such as being part of a larger network of institutions, accreditation processes and examinations, as markers of rigor, excellence and prestige. They also construe the necessity of such an education by naturalising it as 'so vital' for their students, as mandatory for inclusion in elite circles, since IB credentials can ease entry into the world's leading universities (again, and perhaps unsurprisingly, foreign ones).

7.4.4. 'Leading-edge education': International education as pedagogical renovation

International education is presented as a cutting-edge model. Both at FIS and BCN-IS the classes in the international sections not only offer very good pupil/teacher ratios (see section 6.3), but students are highly participative and engaged. One of my first lesson observations was a philosophy class with a group of 12 second year IBDP students. Mercè, the teacher, asked one of the students to refresh their memory of Nietzchean theories on the possibility of knowledge and the limits of language, which they had looked at in their previous session. Pol led the way and gave a comprehensive summary. When he was about to

finish, Àlex raised his hand. He had a question. Tongue-in-cheek, he shared how he had not been able to sleep the previous night. He did not understand 'that arbitrariness of language thing'. Once he had reformulated his question in what Mercè considered to be an acceptable form, his classmates helped him out. They saw how Nietzsche's metaphors in the text they had read explained that words are a mental image of the stimuli we perceive. This happened on a Wednesday morning, while beyond the walls of that privileged class, the buzz of everyday school life gave the impression of having little time to stop and think about such matters. Àlex had the teacher and all of his classmates at his service to attend to his needs. The class did not start until everyone made sure Àlex would be able get a good night's sleep that night.

Small groups and selected students allow for a higher dedication, and a rhythm that caters for the needs of each individual student. This example shows an instance of co-constructing knowledge, in which the teacher is only a facilitator, which stands in stark contrast with the rowdy dynamics of a 35-student class in non-international sections of FIS. As Chapter 6 has shown (see 6.3.1), international sections have the material conditions to implement student-centered pedagogies and new programmes.

International programmes are regularly taken to be pedagogically innovative models, or more advanced than those of national curricula, because of their ability to implement student centred pedagogies. Aaddesh, at BCN-IS, knows that parents are initially drawn the school because of the idea that their children will learn in English, 'which is true', but the 'British curriculum is very well developed and although it has its difficulties it is competitive, it is up to date compared to the Spanish one'. 'Oh my child is going to have to speak English all day', he says imitating them, 'but the most important thing once they get past all these things [is] the way of teaching. That's why a lot of Catalan and Spanish parents come in, because the way of teaching is a lot based on concepts, not on *work, work, sheets, sheets*. And critical thinking, collaboration, these are key aspects of learning'. Parents tell Aadesh how they wish they had had his lessons. Aadesh understands them, as, he says, 'they had the old way' (interview data, 14/06/17).

FIS and BCN-IS nurture these programmes with the best teachers, and restrict access to a selected number of highly motivated students. That is why international tracks are elite, as Chapter 6 illustrates. The previous vignette shows how these conditions, aided by extra material resources, make international classes

the perfect space to implement pedagogical innovation. Pere, a Catalan language and literature teacher, explains that teaching in the IBDP has 'given him life'. He went from being very sceptical about it, because he was 'ignorant', to being an IB enthusiast. 'Once you have started, once you get to know it, you realise that it is much more rigorous, much more pragmatic, open, and that students can end up loving literature, which would be unthinkable if we kept the horrible Spanish system'. After his IB experience, Pere changed the whole pedagogical orientation of his national curriculum subjects. He refrained from taking chronological approach to the history of literature, to implement a text-based syllabus. For his LOMCE students, he designed a course that would not 'kill them of boredom', and yet would still stick to the compulsory syllabus dictated by national educational policies. Shakespeare plays were a pretext to talk about drama as a genre, and to introduce students to rhyme, rhythm, and other textual characteristics. Pere asked me if I could see the difference between this approach, and other LOMCE language classes I had observed, such as a phonetics lesson that aimed to prepare students for the *Selectivitat*, in which he dictated the articulatory traits to describe sounds. Pere's attitude shows that it is only the circumstances in which international education is implemented that favour pedagogical innovation, but not the structure of international systems themselves. This experience triggers changes in his teaching persona, and his new dispositions push him to transfer these new attitudes into his LOMCE classes.

Language teachers have the perception that their subjects are the ones that best show the contrast between an international and a non-international system, pedagogically, as these are the only subjects that have not been merged with LOMCE subjects at FIS. Mathematics, Social and Experimental Sciences have been unified in order to guarantee that students can take both the IB and LOMCE as a double degree in two years. Pere says, however, that this was not possible in the language subjects since the programmes of the two curricula were too different. National curricula reflect a long tradition of extremely formal language education in Catalonia and in Spain generally, mostly being based on memorising forms and concepts, and in which the situated use of language —written or oral— is very marginal.

Albert, the Spanish teacher, is a long-serving FIS teacher. In a time when the school was smaller, with only one form entry, he used to be the head of Catalan and Spanish in secondary education. Back then, both languages shared a single department. Now he is head of Spanish only, and teaches and is respon-

sible for programming the area of Spanish language for the IB and National baccalaureate. By observing the classic teaching style of this man in his mid-50s, I would never have considered him an agent of pedagogic innovation, and neither did his students. He was always brought up as an example of a 'non-IB' teacher in interviews, as opposed to Pere, or Judit, who were 'very IB', 'so IB'. By this, students meant that his lessons were teacher centred, using traditional methods such as reading out theories from his faded notes that the students were expected to copy into their books, remember by heart and reproduce in exams. This counted as 'very LOE', that is, the pedagogical norm in the national baccalaureate (LOMCE) —which, as we saw in Chapter 6, was commonly referred to as LOE by both teachers and students, this being an acronym taken from previous Education legislation. However he was perceived as a teacher, Albert had clear ideas as to how he needed to change his hat to teach in the different programmes. In the following extract he highlights some of the differences he perceives between the IBDP and the national baccalaureate:

Extract 7.6

Participants: A (Andrea, the researcher); Al (Albert, teacher)

1	AND:	i què els ofereix a aquests alumnes el batxillerat internacional/
2	AL:	ofereix més oportunitats de posar en pràctica l'autocrítica\ el treball en equip\
3		ofereix més el tema de poder acabar de perfilar fins les últimes conseqüències una
4		problemàtica o qualsevol aspecte que es pugui investigar\ ofereix la possibiltat de
5		saber exactament fins on poden arribar totes les meves possibilitats\ no només
6		memorístiques/ sinó de comunicació\ perquè hi ha moltes pràctiques orals\ hi
7		ha maneres d'interactuar professor alumne eh/ i entre els mateixos companys/
8		s'obren fronts i reptes acadèmics que potser el nacional no obre eh/ metodolò-
9		gicament potser és una cosa més rica en eines i aleshores ofereix enriquir-se amb
10		aquestes particularitats sempre i quant estiguis disposat a dedicar-hi temps\ per-
11		què és temps el que necessites per fer-ho\
12	AND:	les diferències principals són metodològiques/ o pedagògiques\
13	AL:	no\ n'hi ha de totes dues\ però metodològicament el BI fa que el protagonista de
14		l'ensenyament sigui l'alumne\ i això tots els batxillerats o totes les escoles ho vo-
15		len\ sí\ però jo en principi els poso l'exemple als d'internacional perquè ho enten-
16		guin\ el professor en el batxillerat internacional és exactament el de l'entrenador

17		de futbol\ que ha de deixar molt clar l'estratègia que vol en el joc del partit/ però
18		no puc saltar al camp i no puc doncs posar-me a distribuir el joc al mig del camp i
19		la pilota perquè no és aquesta la meva finalitat\ els he de fer que ells siguin els que
20		suin\ i han de suar\ han de tenir clar que venen a suar\ jo he d'establir estratègies\
21		camins\ portes\ he de veure doncs que no funciona o no circula bé la pilota
22	AND:	i tu notes que fas servir estratègies diferents/ quan estàs en una classe o una altra/
23	AL:	clar\ perquè a mida que la participació de l'alumne és més important a la classe
24		s'engresquen per un costat/ per l'altre costat quan situes- si han de ser prota-
25		gonistas/ ho han de ser amb rigor\ per tant en aquest rigor hi ha d'haver ganes
26		de millorar\ llavors s'ha de ser bastant rígid i bastant estricte a l'hora de marcar
27		objectius que l'alumne ha d'assolir\

(English translation)

1	AND:	and what does the International Baccalaureate offer these students/
2	AL:	it offers greater opportunities to put self-criticism into practice\ teamwork\ it
3		offers more possibility of following any issues or topic you might wish to research
4		through to its logical conclusion\ it offers the possibility of knowing exactly what
5		they can lead to\ all the possibilities\ not just for rote-learning/ but also for com-
6		munication\ because they involve a good deal of oral practice/ there are specific
7		methods of teacher-student interaction right/ and between classmates/ it opens
8		up fronts and academic challenges that maybe the national [curriculum] does not
9		open right/ methodologically it is perhaps richer in tools and then it offers the
10		possibility of enriching with these characteristics providing that you are willing to
11		devote time to it\ because it is time that you need to do it\
12	AND:	the main differences are methodological/ or pedagogical\
13	AL:	no\ both exist\ but methodologically the IB makes the student the protagonist of
14		their own learning\ and this is something all baccalaureates or all schools want\
15		yes\ but I give the example to students of the international so that they under-
16		stand\ the teacher in the international baccalaureate is exactly like a football mana-
17		ger\ who has to make the strategy he wants in the game very clear\ but I cannot
18		jump into the field and I cannot well start distributing the game in the midfield
19		and the ball because this is not my function\ I have to make them sweat\ and
20		they have to sweat\ they have to be clear that they come here to sweat\ I have to
21		establish strategies\ paths\ doors\ I have to see/ well\ if something does not work
22		or the ball does not roll properly\
23	AND:	and do you perceive that you use different strategies/ when you are in diffe-

24		rent classrooms/
25	AL:	of course\ because as student participation becomes more important in class/ they
26		get excited on the one hand\ on the other/ when you situate- if they have to be
27		protagonists they have to do it with rigour\ and so in this rigour there has to
28		be willingness to improve\ then it takes being quite strict when it comes to setting
29		goals for students\

<div align="right">

INTERVIEW DATA, 1/3/17

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Albert's discourse underscores the contrasts between the IBDP and national programmes. In the IB, students get the chance to engage in personal reflexivity, to know themselves better, and more precisely, to explore their individual intellectual limits and attitudinal capacities. They have the chance and tools available to work in teams, and to explore issues in depth, to develop their potential and talent fully. IBDP students, that is, students who take international programmes at FIS, have 'more opportunities'. This discourse is almost identical to that of BCN-IS. Mercè, in the philosophy class, was eliciting from students rather than lecturing. Albert voices the generalised view that, hand in hand with the IB have come new, more advanced ways of teaching and learning which have also made them better professionals.

From these experiences one gets the sense that international students seem to work on different skill sets. The better material conditions in which education takes place in this environment result in students being better equipped to make the most of their learning opportunities. Marta, an IB student, constantly juxtaposes 'remembering' to 'understanding', implying that what happens in the IB constitutes a further step beyond what FIS labels 'simply national' programmes. She is convinced that the difference between her and her 'LOE' counterparts is that 'in the IB you have to think'. IB students reproduce the same simplifying dichotomies, which hierarchise programmes and, by extension, the students and teachers involved in them. *Batxillerat* is constructed, as we have seen, as less rich, more teacher-centred and less demanding. The IB is presented as a more desirable *product* since students end up being more challenged, learning more, and being evaluated according to more rigorous standards than their LOE peers. Such IB selling discourses are widely circulated and they even permeate actors who are not readily convinced, as Mari's illustrates in the excerpt (7.2) above.

Marta explains how she would not be at all interested in going to a school like FIS, which is private and considerably more expensive than the other options available nearby, if it were not for the IB and the distinct educational opportunity it offers her. As we have seen earlier, what is better about the IB methodology or the British curriculum is that it is more similar to models of higher education. Hector chose to do the IB because her sister did it, and because he wants to be 'successful' in his studies abroad. His sister, he recounts, did the IB because she liked the methodology, 'but she is not using the IB much now because she is studying journalism and humanities'. Hector's sister is doing a joint BA in Barcelona, and to him, the IB is targeted at studying abroad. What she is using now, though, is the IB methodology. 'She says that now she is at uni she does everything as she used to in the IB and at school' (Hector, interview data, 6/4/2017). The construction of the programme, as more academically challenging, more demanding and more innovative, transfers qualities to its students. Because they take 'better programmes', they are 'better prepared', they are perceived as being harder-working, more resilient, better educated or more advanced, and sharing sets of dispositions that make them perfect 'global citizens'. The processes of construction of new regimes of value share a reliance on the transferability of credentials. Both the British and the IBDP curricula are exportable capital. But the processes of constructing value for them differ.

7.5. The global dimension of international curricula

Global readiness is one of the four areas to which the learning outcomes of international, or globalised education are orientated, as the NFG poster analysed at the beginning of this chapter showed. This is one of the areas which receives greater discursive emphasis. NFG schools define global readiness as 'mastery of a second language', and the 'understanding of different cultures to feel at ease abroad' (web data). This section will focus on how curricula give students the kinds of knowledge that will make them familiar with globally valued and exportable knowledge, that will boost their *international competence*. These are centred around two areas: multilingual education —and English— and what is referred to as the global dimension of curricula, that is, the steering of subject matter towards what are constructed as globally relevant phenomena.

Students at FIS and at BCN-IS insist that internationality is not 'being a school in English' (FIS and BCN-IS interview data); it is, rather, the curricula they offer, what and how students learn in the school. FIS does not even teach their international tracks in English: the IBDP is implemented, theoretically, in Spanish —but 'teachers and students speak Catalan most of the time' (FIS Interview data with Astrid, and observational data). 'Learning about global issues', and their open-mindedness, are what defines them as international students, and what they believe to be the basis of 'global readiness' (FIS, web data). Previous chapters have explored how internationality is constructed as a school identity, and previous sections have shown how value is constructed for international curricula. It is now time to disambiguate what the essence of such internationality is in terms of curricular knowledge.

Foreign language courses are a fertile ground to instil global readiness in students, not only because they are conceptualised as a core skill to achieve transcultural competency, but because of the lightness of metalinguistic reflection and topic-based content contained in the syllabi. This became very evident during many of my observations with Judit, an English teacher at FIS. She was an experienced IBO teacher, who had taught IB programmes in several schools in Catalonia and also had experience teaching and working abroad. She had lived in the UK and in the US for long periods of her life. Judit was hired because of the mobility in her personal background and her expertise as an IB teacher and examiner. She was also the most eager advocate of IBO programmes in the school. To her, what made the IB different were the programme's perspectives on evaluation and the focus of the curricular content.

The IB textbook for Language B: English, that is, English as a foreign language, is topic-based and has a strong cultural focus. To her, the general philosophy of the IB is to pick topics and texts that contribute to moulding 'citizens of the world'. Topics, texts, questions and examples are oriented towards making students reflect on language and cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as issues on language and social identities. In terms of linguistic content, the book is more oriented towards building students' general linguistic competence —their oral and written production— rather than being exclusively focused on expanding their knowledge of English grammar or vocabulary-building activities. It has a communicative orientation. The topics through which these learning outcomes are worked towards in class are what encapsulate the transmission of 'global mindedness'. Students read about English as a global language, World

Englishes, transnational identities, multilingualism and different topics related to cultural, social and linguistic diversity. The activities promote the adoption and defence of critical perspectives in debating such topics, once they have been presented through texts. Among the titles of the texts discussed are the following: 'Mad about English: A fascinating tour of the English madness engulfing China', or 'Singlish: Broken English or Badge of Identity'. The framing of such texts seems to be oriented towards fostering 'global mindedness' and creating international student identities. Many of the texts are set in international school contexts, and they discuss topics such as traditional foods in international food festivals, third culture children, the maintainance of heritage cultures, or being 'lost in translation'. In addition to these, there are also lifestyle precepts, discussing issues such as 'workplace dress codes and tattooing', which help students think about cross-cultural social norms in workplace contexts, and promote sets of dispositions oriented towards corporate life.

These topics make the language curricula a space in which the personal dispositions involved in being an international student are more explicitly debated and, probably, transmitted within the IBDP. It may not be accidental that Judit was perceived, by many students as well as myself, as the person most clearly embodying the IBDP ethos at FIS. Being acquainted with the cultural and literary traditions of multiple nations equips students with a type of knowledge that makes them more 'world-wise'. At BCN-IS, students also believe that an international education, a good command of English and having experienced life in a culturally or racially diverse classroom will prepare them for multinational jobs (BCN-IS interview data). To Judit, FIS IB students have to have 'a global idea of all the problems there are in the world, analyse them and know them, in order to be able to work anywhere, and undertake any challenge'. International students need to understand and interpret multiple cultural perspectives and ways of constructing meaning (IBDP Language and Literature guide). This is aligned with the general goal of preparing students for mobile lifestyles that has been echoed in most of the fragments analysed throughout this thesis.

Apart from teaching English as a foreign language, as of 2016-17 Judit also taught English as a first language to international students, that is 'students who have experience of using the language of the course in an academic context' (IBDP materials). On that first year of offering it, at FIS there were only three students in her class, but only one of them had a solid background of English-medium instruction.

Tahiko, Jenny and Teresa came from Japan, China and Mexico respectively, and each had a very different personal trajectory. Teresa identified as a 'third culture kid' (Grimshaw & Sears 2008). She had travelled from one country to another, from one international school to another, all her life. Tahiko came to Barcelona straight from the US, after spending a schoolyear there, but had spent the rest of his school life in Japan and was not very keen on moving around, as he found getting used to new environments very hard. He did not speak any Spanish, and for that reason he was not very good at making friends at FIS. He missed his American life and friends, and it was in 'English A' lessons that he felt more comfortable interacting with other people. He was otherwise very shy. The third student, Jenny, had very recently moved from China, where she had attended a private non-international school. Jenny was on a special programme at FIS, which consisted in taking a slow track in order to become familiar with the IBDP. Her parents were looking for a system in which her discipline problems would not be as stigmatising as in China, and a place where she would gain a western education.

'English A' also had a strong cultural perspective. Language was studied 'in its cultural context'. The focus of the subject was 'the study of texts, both literary and non-literary, [to provide] a focus for developing an understanding of how language works to create meaning in a culture, as well as in particular texts' (IBDP Language A: Language and Literature teaching guide). The textbook used in class, also developed by the IB, helped students understand texts in terms of 'form, content, purpose and audience, and through their social, historical, cultural and workplace contexts that produce and value them'. The class materials were said to fully encapsulate the 'IB spirit'. They were designed to 'build international mindedness in a linguistic context' (IB English Language A textbook). The course guide leaflet defines this objective as follows:

Extract 7.7

1   In view of the international nature of the IB and its commitment to intercultural
2   understanding, the Language A: Language and Literature course does not limit
3   the study of texts to the products of one culture or of the cultures covered by
4   any one language. The study of literature in translation from other cultures is
5   especially important to IB Diploma Programme students because it contributes
6   to a global perspective, thereby promoting an insight into, and understanding of,

7   the different ways in which cultures influence and shape the experiences of life

8   common to all humanity.

<div style="text-align: right">IBO, Language A: Language and literature guide, p. 5</div>

With that objective in mind, and also with the practical purpose of matching the reading list for the national baccalaureate, which had universal literature as one of the elective subjects, 'English A' students were asked to read Ibsen's 'A doll's house'. International students are expected to be well-versed, as the Christmas play vignette shows, in the western literary canon, and it was hoped that they would develop a life-long 'enjoyment of' and 'interest' in literature through their language subjects.

Because Judit perceived that many teachers at FIS were not implementing the programmes optimally —either because they had not been properly trained, or because they did not have the motivation to do so— she usually made an extra effort to spread IB values and the IB mentality among her students and colleagues. It was common, in her classes, to witness moments when she mentored the class on being better 'IB' students. 'You are IB students', she would say, and following that she would illuminate some attitudinal or behavioural traits that were expected of them, and on which they should keep working. (For the individual appropriation of the IB learner profile, see Chapter 7). 'The Geography episode', in the extract that follows, was a crucial moment of policing of IB personhood, which illuminates what is expected of international students:

<div style="text-align: center">Extract 7.8</div>

Participants: Jud (Judit, Teacher); Tah (Tahiko, Student); Ter (Teresa, Student); Jen (Jenny, Student); And (Andrea, the researcher); Jes (Jessica, researcher)

1   JUD: remember where are we\ which country are we in (.)

2   TAH: cold country/

3   TER: what/

4   JEN: [laughs] he said cold country [emphatic]

5   JUD: yes cold/ there are many cold countries aren't there\ big one\ come on\

6   JEN: I look up the country

7	JUD:	is it a European country/ Tahiko/ no/ come on we did all this research on Ibsen\
8		where is he from\ where was he from\(.) do you remember/ look at your notes\
9		don't you have your notes/ help yourself with your notes\ that's fine\ (.) ladies do
10		you know/
11	TER:	yes
12	JUD:	do you know where the country is/
13	JEN:	[laughs]
14	TER:	Jenny you can point it there [she refers to a world map hanging on the wall]
15	JUD:	[to Jessica and Andrea] Jenny has a slight problem with maps\ [laughs]
16	JEN:	[laughs]
17	JUD:	and geography in general (.) but she is changing\ yes/
18	AND:	[really/
19	JEN:	yes
20	JUD:	are you enjoying more in geography/
21	JEN:	not really\
22	JUD:	no (.) not really/ [to Jessica and Andrea] she has this mental block against geography\
23	AND:	really\
24	JUD:	and I said you are an IB student\ okay\ we started studying all the places in the
25		world where you speak English with different accents\ you know\ different dia-
26		lects:: etcetera and- and- she needs to KNOW\
27	TER:	she didn't even know where the Caribbean was
28	JEN:	[nervous laughs]
29	JUD:	me neither
30	TER:	me neither
31		[long pause of 5 seconds, Jenny stands and goes towards the map, laughing]
32	JUD:	can you point with your finger the country that Ibsen was from in your map/
33	TAH:	[laughs out loud]
34	JEN:	[nervous laughs]
35	JUD:	can you show me/ come on Jenny\
36	JEN:	[nervous laughs]
37	TAH:	she does not know what she is doing
38	JUD:	can you point at Europe\show me Europe in the map\
39	TAH:	[yeah [as if supporting the teacher]
40	JEN:	[moves her finger around the whole map, and finally points at the southern region
41		of Africa] here/ or\ where/
42		[all laugh]

43	JUD:	sorry/
44	TER:	she said ( ) but that's South Africa
45	JUD:	that's South Africa\ okay show me Europe come on Jenny\ can you see Spain/
46	TER:	Spain
47	JEN:	[laughing] this one is Europe/ [makes big circles around the Middle East, South-
48		West Asia and East of Europe]
49	JUD:	which one/
50	TER:	you- you-that's three continents\ it's three continents
51	JUD:	[well\ that's kind of general yeah/ (goes towards her, but from the other side of the
52		tables, from the front side of the class) Alright Jenny I know this is funny to you
53		but it'S REALLY kind of worrying that you don't remember this
54	JEN:	I think it's this part but [laughs and points at the area of the caspian sea]
55	JUD:	no\ that's not Europe
56	JEN:	then here\
57	TAH:	that's Russia
58	TER:	that's Asia and Russia and China
59	JUD:	that is mostly Russia and China\ can you see Spain/
60	JEN:	it's right here but I don't know [nervous laughs]
61	JUD:	Spain/ is right here/ (.)
62	JEN:	no [nervous laughs]
63	JUD:	Jenny\ this is it\ you need to::::: get your ehm together and:: learn geography\
64		I told you there are apps with which you can practise with your phone or with
65		your ipad
66	TAH:	[learn
67	JEN:	( ) for me (.) you know
68	JUD:	no\ the world is the same
69	JEN:	I just don't get it
70	JUD:	listen (.) Jenny (.) no\ (.) you really need to make an effort\ we're not here to learn
71		geography\ you should know geography\ fine if you don't/ because you had a men-
72		tal block for years and years and years and you couldn't be bothered to study at
73		school/ okay it's time to change\ for your own good\ you cannot walk out into the
74		world and not know where Europe is\ or confuse Europe with Africa\ come on\
75		do you know where china is/ you're from China\ you don't know where China is\
76	JEN:	I hate maps
77	JUD:	I'm sorry\ I hate maths and I still had to learn it\ (.) Tahiko
78	TAH:	[Tahiko stands and walks towards Jenny] China [points at China]

79   JUD: sorry/

80   TAH: China

81   JUD: ah phew\ where's Spain [Tah quickly points at Spain] where's Europe\ [Tahiko points

82   at Europe] yeah more or less/ can you remember which country Ibsen is from/

83   TAH: Norway

84   JUD: good\ where is Norway\ in which part of Europe

85   TAH: yeah\

86   JUD: ehm:: not quite

87   TER: I know I know I know [stands and goes toward the map] here\ no- it's this one

88   cause this is Sweden

89   JUD: northern Europe\ okay/ [all go back to their seats] (   ) and you get into the

90   north pole if you get going\ basically\ Jenny this is very serious (.) you need to

91   make a serious effort to learn geography (.) for many reasons\ are you travelling

92   this vacation/ this holiday/

93   JEN: no/

94   TAH: [***

95   TER: [you're going to China [with emphasis]

96   JEN: to China yes

97   JUD: okay so do you know which way you are going/ are you going east or west/ north

98   south/

99   JEN: that way [and makes gestures with her hand]

100 JUD: which is/

101 TAH: East

102 JEN: (nervous laughs)

103 JUD: yeah you gotta laugh\ it's not funny though

104 TER: phew [with emphasis] that was tough

Judit asks the class, and specifically Jenny, to locate the country 'they are in', that is, to frame what they are reading within the national cultural framework of the country where it was produced. Jenny does not remember, and even going through her notes, she is unable to find the 'cold country' where Ibsen was from. In the interaction that follows, Jenny is constructed by the teacher as having a 'slight problem with maps', 'and geography in general', but 'she is changing, yes?'. In this moralising evaluation, the teacher constructs not being literate in map-reading, or in geography, as a personal difficulty that needs to be overcome. Her genuine interest in the student's development, when she asks

Jenny whether she is enjoying her geography classes more, could be read as a message of encouragement to the self-bettering individual. But Jenny replies that she isn't.

Judit describes her 'problem' as 'a mental block against geography' (line 22), as if it were a condition, or as if Jenny were ideologically opposed to geography. In the lines that follow, Jenny is put in a completely disempowered position. Her face is being threatened both by the teacher, and by her fellow students. As an IB student, she cannot afford to have such a mental block. Jenny 'needs to know', the teacher emphasises. Geography, which seems to be understood as identifying countries of the wold and maps, is a must for IB students. For that specific class, geography becomes important since students need to know 'the' English-speaking countries, places where English is spoken in different accents. These are, one assumes, former British colonies.

Her classmates, in this interaction, negotiate their student roles. We see Tahiko repeatedly helping the teacher, and Teresa trying to give Jenny a helping hand or possible ways out of the trap (line 2, 14). Teresa and Tahiko, however, also help the teacher in ridiculing Jenny (lines 27, 37). The students are negotiating their roles as 'good' IB students, and avoiding being categorised as 'bad, irresponsible' students according to the judgement of their moralising teacher judgement. Jenny is visibly uncomfortable with the role that has been assigned to her. She resists it when she decides to take up the dare and face up to her 'limitation'. The long pause, and her giggles after she stands up and walks to the map indicate her insecurity. She genuinely does not know where Norway is on the map, or what shape it is. Judith asks her to point to the country, which has not been named yet, with her finger. The situation gets embarrassingly tense for Jenny, who joins in with her classmates' laughter, and also for Jessica and myself, who look at each other and share our feeling of awkwardness.

Jenny is paralysed. When she finally moves her finger, she describes large tentative circles around the wrong areas. In this spiral of embarrassment, it becomes evident that not only does she not know where Norway is, but her compass is also imperfect (lines 47–62). She cannot tell which countries are northern, or southern, which are cold and hot areas, or even identify continents. Jenny is interpreted as lacking interest, effort and motivation in something that should be of great importance to her, something she should already know, and the teacher makes her feel guilty about her lack of knowledge in this area for which she is severely admonished.

At the crucial moment when she is asked to locate her country in a map, Jenny answers that she hates maps. This situation is used by the teacher to outline the kinds of attitude sanctioned and encouraged by the school. She should be resilient and willing to do things, even if she does not like them (line 77). At this point, Tahiko stands up and locates China on the map, thereby alleviating the situation. He shows Jenny where Spain, Europe, and finally Norway are on the map. Tahiko and Teresa are the 'good' international students, they know all the answers and relieve the teacher's anguish. Teresa can even locate Sweden in the map. Before moving on, the teacher adds a last disciplinary note, which is highly illustrative of some of the main tensions within the IB: Jenny is told that her 'condition' is very serious and she needs to take remedial action 'for many reasons', which Judit, however, fails to elucidate. The ultimate value of geography remains vague when, in yet another inquiry, Judit wants to know whether Jenny is going somewhere on her next holiday. This might seem to reduce familiarity with maps to something merely if you wish to travel. However it is further used to evaluate Jenny's knowledge of the points of the compass, which had already been made clear. Jenny does not know whether she would go north, south east or west. What becomes evident at this point is that Jenny is characterised as having lost her bearings, although she does in fact know the direction. What seems to be happening is that she does not understand the question she is being asked, because of her limited English proficiency[1] or the stress of the situation. Tahiko has to help her solve the problem, and after being snapped at again, Teresa closes the episode by contributing a patronising metacommentary: 'Phew, that was tough', by which she reinforces her distancing from the category in which Jenny has been placed.

This episode is particularly illuminating of several things. It clarifies well what knowledge is expected of IB students. On other occasions, I saw Judit do something similar to students who did not read newspapers in English or watch international news channels. She urged them to do so, because they would turn 18 very soon, and they would be going to university, or abroad. Their status as

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1. Our observations of the 'English A: Language and Literature' class revealed that the three students in this group were among those categorised as international and who were more competent in English than in Spanish –or Catalan–, although this did not necessarily mean that their English competence was very high. Only Teresa had a very proficient level of English. Despite being born to a Spanish-speaking family, her having been fully educated at American and international schools made her be more confident in English than in Spanish. Her classmates, however, did not seem to have a very high command of the English language, as we observe from their overall lack of fluency and accuracy, their limited vocabulary and hesitant speech.

adult members of society would not allow them to remain 'oblivious to what is happening in the world anymore'. 'You guys are IB students. You have to know what's happening, be smart, because you will be able to vote'. Judit was telling her students to be responsible citizens. In order to know about global affairs, her students needed to do two things. First, read the news, and second, 'see the world'. Again, as in the geography episode, we see her glorifying mobility 'there is no better learning experience than travelling on your own'. Backpackers get to know the locals, and 'learn about everything' (FIS, class recordings, 29/03/17). This 'everything' they need to learn about is: 'geography, history, politics, religion, gastronomy'. All students have the possibility of knowing about these things, but what makes IB students different is that they 'have to force themselves'. From what starts as a language learning strategy, the teacher turns to acculturating her students into what skills are relevant and how the educational programme they are taking makes them different from the rest.

These precepts, that she repeats as a mantra, and her focus on tourism, or travelling, both as a goal and as a means of learning, seem like a banalisation of the curriculum and a departure from the philosophical trends of education that the school shares with the IBDP, i.e. Piaget's ideal of an education that creates critical, independent individuals who can bring social progress.

Another aspect that this episode illuminates is how, in the English class, nobody considers the fact that Jenny may be having some comprehension difficulties. Interestingly, the teacher does not pay attention to the possible language barriers that may exist between Jenny and herself, or the rest of the class. These could be especially relevant when she has to indicate the directions on the map. She clearly knows the way, but she cannot produce 'east'. Jenny's English level is not very high, but still, because she is assigned the category 'international', and because her competence in Spanish and Catalan is even worse, she is assigned to the 'English A' class, which comes with certain expectations, as we see. It is assumed that the internationals are experienced English users, or at least more experienced than their 'English B' classmates. But this may not be the case.

It is also surprising how her peers assume the role of a superior in order to distance themselves from her 'bad student' identity. Seemingly, in her truly international class of people, only those with previous experiences of international schooling seem to succeed. Jenny's dispositions are different from those of her classmates, and the teacher feels she needs to take disciplinary action to correct this difference. Regardless of how widely accepted it is that geography,

or that understanding of geography, is needed for an individual's education, the teacher never asks about Jenny's educational background, nor does she leave room to acknowledge any possibility other than her lack of effort or interest, the symptoms of her 'condition'. All these are unacceptable behaviours and construct Jenny's knowledge as deficient.

The instances analysed in this sub-section show how what is constructed as valuable educational capitals, globalist rhetoric and languages are, most of the time, inextricably linked. Globalising contents are often associated with, or conveyed through, English, be it in foreign language classes or as part of the mainstream foreign curriculum (at BCN-IS). The two schools differ in how they value 'locality' and in the role and space it occupies. For example, while local languages, curricula and locally-relevant phenomena still retain some value at FIS, at BCN-IS they are restricted to the Catalan and Spanish classroom (see Chapter 5). I will now turn to explore the linguistic capitals that count as international knowledge.

7.6. 'Impressive language skills': Elite multilingualism and international curricula

Multilingualism, or rather English proficiency, is the ultimate skill of international students. It is presented as a *sine qua non* for global readiness. To Mariona, a BCN-IS student, there are people from all over the world in the school, and they learn to speak 'a language which is, to the world, the most widely spoken language in the world, which is English. We are connected to other places in the world' (BCN-IS, interview data, 13/6/2017). Mariona, in common with many of the voices that I have presented in this chapter, has conflicting views over what counts as an international education. We see how participants reproduce empty rhetoric glorifying globalism, mobility and cosmopolitanism, but the only concrete aspect reappearing in their discourses is language. And it features in their discourses as the 'indispensable tool'. The logic behind Mariona's argument is one that connects diversity with English and with mobile or cosmopolitan dispositions, something that often appears under the label 'global mindsets'. English connects international school students to the world. And the type of English to achieve this, as we shall see, is not just *any* English. Languages have become established as the blue-ribbon skill of self-governed privileged individuals (Martín Rojo, 2018). This section is exclusively devoted to language

curricula, the accrual of distinctive linguistic capital, and to which language curricula make up internationality in schools, and how.

When I first met Aadesh, he quickly asked me where I was from. My unexciting answer shocked him. 'Wow. I thought you were a foreigner, your English is very good. Where did you learn English?'. His innocent reaction to my being from a nearby town reveals several assumptions. Firstly, that a good level of English, in the context of Catalonia, is only possible in foreigners. Secondly, that such skills cannot be learned locally. These are the basis to understand the success of international schools, and why foreign language skills have become the flagship of their sales pitch. Some of these schools market their multilingual programmes very overtly. Others, such as BCN-IS, do not (see Chapter 5). In all cases, however, foreign languages are central to their educational offer.

7.6.1. English in a multilingual context

Language, or multilingualism, is central in the definition of what counts as internationality. At FIS, establishing a trilingual language policy has, in practice, meant increasing their students' exposure to English, and also to Spanish. Both FIS and BCN-IS sell foreign language skills, and more specifically, unique English learning programmes as a key source of both individual and institutional distinction. They sell English-medium instruction—albeit in different ways, as 5.4.3 has shown—, and an intensified presence of the English language in the school environment. English is now present in the schools' landscapes, official events and communications with parents, apart from being the language of instruction in 33% of the subjects at FIS, and of all the non-language subjects at BCN-IS. It is, in both cases, an 'official' language of the school,[2] and the schools know that this is highly attractive to both local and 'international' families. Aadesh knows that students choose BCN-IS because of English, as we saw in section 7.4.1.

Even though English has a distinct role, it exists within a multilingual context. These specific multilingual environments, with more presence of English than in other schools, and with singular foreign language learning programmes, are supposed to consolidate students' status as citizens of the world (FIS, interview with the headteacher, 17/07/2017).

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2. BCN-IS does not have explicitly declared official languages.

At FIS, foreign language curricula have become part of the school's DNA since internationalisation. One of the recently established school events is the language award ceremony. School life stops for this pompous event, and students and teachers head to the auditorium for half a morning to receive their language awards in what is defined as 'a celebration of the academic success of more than two hundred students' (FIS, observational data). The school invites members from the delegations of institutions that issue official language certificates like Cambridge Assessment in English, the French CIEP —which organises DELF certificates— the Goethe Institute and the Confucius Institute in Barcelona. Their delegates hand over their language certificates to FIS students. They are publicly congratulated for their achievement rather than receiving the certificates by post, or through their teacher, which are the usual practices in other schools. Throughout this chapter (see section 7.4.4) and in previous chapters (see Chapter 5) we have seen how credentials are a very important part of the capitalising process, to the point of being almost fetishised. This ceremony organised around language credentials shows how they are the most coveted, although similar processes happen with MUN certificates, or the IBDP certificate itself.

The ending of the headteacher's speech, in which effort, hard-work and self-sacrifice become synonyms for academic and personal success, is a motivational note in a neoliberal key:

Extract 7.9

1   i a tots vosaltres/ us animo/ (.) a que no escatimeu esforços per superar-vos dia a
2   dia en l'aprenentatge de l'anglès/ i de la resta de llengües estrangeres perquè sens
3   dubte seran la clau que us obrirà moltes portes en la vostra vida independentment
4   del que vulgueu estudiar\ del que vulgueu fer\

(English translation)
1   and I encourage/ all of you/ (.) to spare no effort in bettering yourselves day by
2   day in the learning of English/ and the other foreign languages because they will
3   be without a doubt the key that will open many doors in your life independently
4   of what you want to study\ what you want to do\

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Foreign language learning is a key instrument of neoliberal governmentality (Martín Rojo, 2018). It is in this area that the neoliberal drive to be self-sacrificing, and focus on self-improvement is most visible (Allan, 2013; Foucault, 1991; Fraser, 2003). Languages 'will be the key that will open many doors in your lives'. They are conceptualised as a transversal skill.

By selecting French, German, English, and also Mandarin Chinese, the school designs elite multilingual repertoires for their students that contribute decisively to the accumulation of *distinctive,* unique material and symbolic capitals, that make students more competitive and more flexible (Martín Rojo, 2018). These languages, and especially the Mandarin programme, are constructed as the most valuable linguistic capitals, and are key factors in 'elite making' in and by the schools (Codó & Sunyol, 2019). In the event of a readjustment of power between Mandarin and English as dominant global languages, FIS students 'will be prepared' (FIS, website data).The language award ceremony organised by the school contributes to creating a sense of entitlement and reward. In his speech, Ivan, the Mandarin teacher, says he is 'glad because it is not easy' and '8 people have made a great effort and they already have their certificates'. These certificates will contribute to directing students' trajectories towards elite spaces and networks, making them feel entitled to occupy spheres of privilege (Gaztambide-fernández, Cairns, & Desay, 2013; Maxwell, 2015). For reasons of space and focus, this chapter will pivot on the construction of an elite English. I have explored the construction of Mandarin Chinese as an elite language in internationalising schools in Codó and Sunyol (2019).

7.6.2. Doing English 'molt bé[3]': International education and distinctive language skills

At FIS, the IB coordinator mentions that as part of their multilingual programme, one of the most important things is that they have to do English very well. Mercè reiterates the importance of language programmes in redesigning the school's identity to make it attractive, and in shaping students' aspirations:

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3. 'very well'

Extract 7.10

1	MER:	perquè es lo que- els pares volen això\ és a dir quan els pares matriculen als seus fills

1 MER: perquè es lo que- els pares volen això\ és a dir quan els pares matriculen als seus fills
2 aquí/ (.) clar tu et dius Forum International School\ (.) vale ja costa explicar que
3 international school no vol dir que sigui una escola americana o anglesa\ (.) per això
4 hem triat fer el PYP i no fer un altre model\ per exemple a primària no/ perquè ens
5 permet continuar sent trilingües\ què això és molt interessant\ per tant els hi has de
6 fer entendre això\ (.) però clar/ e:h si tú/ (.) vens que ets una escola internacional/
7 HAS (.) has de complir amb un programa internacional\ vale / que això ja ho esta-
8 rem fent no/ amb el PYP a més a més\ però a més a més has de donar competència
9 no només amb les llengües pròpies del país/ vull dir has de donar-ne més/ per això
10 has de fer anglès molt bé i has de fer francès alemany o xinès\ clar internacionalitat
11 hi ha més/ la formació/ la titulació/ que els alumnes tenen no/ que tingui un cur-
12 rículum que va més enllà del propi/ que això està bé\ però es que a més a més clar/
13 internacional vol dir/ que tu has de tenir eines/(.) per poder marxar/ clar quan/ i- i-
14 l'eina principal és l'idioma\ (.) clar els pares ja ho esperen això\

(English translation)

1 MER: because it is what- parents want this\ that is when parents register their children
2 here/ (.) of course you are called Forum International School\ (.) okay it is already
3 difficult to explain that international school does not mean an American or Eng-
4 lish school\ (.) that is why we chose to follow the PYP and not another model\
5 for example in primary right/ because this allows us to continue being trilingual\
6 which is very important\ so you have to make them understand this\ (.) but then/
7 er:: if you/ (.) sell yourself as an international school/ YOU HAVE TO (.) you
8 have to stick to an international programme\ ok/ and we are doing this right/
9 with the PYP as well\ but you also have to make students competent not only
10 in the local languages/ I mean you have to give more/ that is why you have to
11 do English very well and you have to do French German or Chinese\ of course
12 internationality is more/ the education/ the title/ which students have right/ it has
13 to have a curriculum that goes beyond your own one/ which is good\ but apart
14 from that/ international means/ that you have to have the tools/ (.) to be able to
15 leave/ I mean when/ and- and- the main tool for that is language\ (.) of course
16 parents already expect this\

There are many issues in this extract that could be discussed, but I will zoom in on English here. We see how, as I mentioned earlier, core to being an international school is preparing students with many languages. The two local languages are taken for granted; they are not distinctive capital. But in an international school English has to be done '*molt bé*', according to Mercè. 'Parents expect that'. It is not 'simply English' (FIS, web data), and this is what the school is recognised and chosen for by parents. Running such programmes is what ultimately legitimises the school as international. Being international is only possible after accumulating the right kinds of capital, those that allow students to be mobile, 'to be able to leave' (line 13, 15 in the English version). Only with these capitals can they experience and successfully navigate all that comes with a mobile lifestyle.

The English that international schools offer is not just any English. Mariona thinks that what will benefit her most from having undergone a British education at BCN-IS, is English. 'Having a good English level is more impressive than having the basic English that everyone has'. These schools present themselves as sites, enclaves, of authentic experiences of language learning, as Chapter 5 shows, in the international school environment. Language immersion programmes, foreign curricula and activities designed to boost mobility and exposure to English position them beyond other types of schools, which in this case means state or semi-private schools (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018). When FIS present their language programmes, they always create their identity in opposition to an 'other' (FIS, web data). They are the ones who earn the ticks for being international, offering multilingual learning and sending their students abroad. This stands in opposition to 'a simply national curriculum, only beginning to learn English', and old-fashioned classroom bound models of language learning. We see how their model is presented as 'more'. They offer an experiential learning. They 'live and breathe English' (FIS, web data). Alison, the multilingual coordinator, once told me how she was an agent for the promotion of English in the school. By talking to students and colleagues in English, by being an embodiment of the English language, she contributes to an 'English-rich' atmosphere. Including English in the landscapes, along with the presence of what are called 'international' students and teachers, contribute to the construction of this experiential learning environment where English is lived and breathed. The plus FIS offers is not merely more languages, but languages learned in what they present as more optimal conditions. These conditions go hand in hand with specific cosmopolitan dispositions. This imaginary

reinforces the image of a hierarchised education system where there are clearly two sides: those who thrive, who can have dreams, and those who receive the minimum, who are lagging behind —and English is a precondition for belonging to the advantaged group.

The school walls at FIS are full of messages reiterating how English language skills are a precondition to embarking upon brilliant educational, lifestyle or job opportunities. This is part of a policing strategy to justify students' —and family— efforts. It reminds students of a specific discourse that justifies what they are doing, why they are at that school. It is also used to foster specific educational and attitudinal practices. These discourses keep students motivated in their learning, they help them find purpose in their studies, and they reinforce regimes of value. One example is a poster with the acronym 'English Nowadays Guarantees a Lot of International Social and study Horizons' (ENGLISH). These discourses evoke vague but glittering future trajectories which are to be desired, sought after. Students are prepared to leave school. And 'good English' is the key to access such trajectories. The uncertainty of what is to be found in this future stage leaves room for the reader to imagine and interpret whatever they wish.
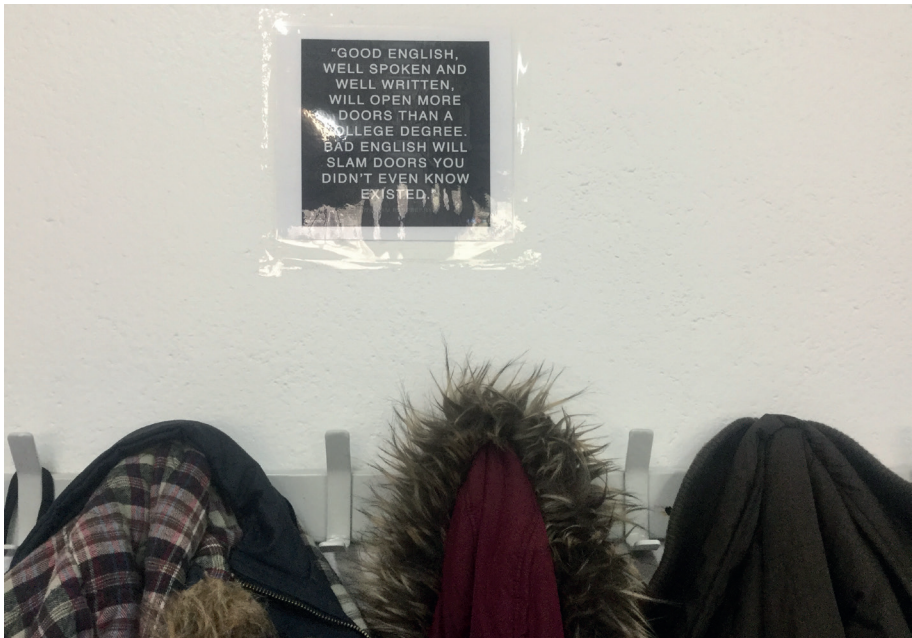
Picture 7.2. Wall sign in an IB classroom

Picture 7.2 is another example of the intense exposure to such messages. English is further valorised as opening more doors, being more useful 'than a college degree'. We have seen how not just any English will do, in previous excerpts. 'Good English, well spoken and well written' —and by this they probably mean, primarily, English spoken with a light accent and with fluency and general levels of accuracy— is the only valid currency to maintain or advance students' social positions. But this picture adds a new layer: the consequences of 'bad English' are strongly warned against. Without good English language skills one is left futureless. It has devastating consequences for the individual. In a time where access to English is becoming more and more democratised, possessing English skills is no longer a source of distinction. What matters now is what kind of English you possess: good or bad. Only specific forms of linguistic capital are being valued. The English language skills that are taught in spaces like FIS emerge as elite/valued forms of English. We see, however, that they are not too specific as to what a good English is, or what counts as 'well spoken' and 'well written'. In the school, native speaker ideologies coexist in tension. We have seen how Mercè herself claimed that international did not mean American or English (line 3 extract 7.10). By not defining what it means, and leaving room for the reader to imagine what it means, the school seeks to navigate these tensions. While parents still hold in high value the native speaker model, the school needs to find their space aside from that and sell their alternative model, which cannot always rely on native speakers or romantic authenticity.

If not having English is penalising, having it is presented as rewarding at a number of levels. Apart from granting access to future jobs and academic opportunities, locally and abroad, English has transformative power. English language skills are presented as something fun to have, something students should be proud of. Possessing these skills is presented in association with a number of personal dispositions and moral attitudes, which are pre-conditions for membership of the privileged classes. The good-English-speaking individual, in order to be able to convert her/his distinct capitals, needs to be able to adopt values and dispositions which are highly corporately oriented, and deeply resonant of the IB learner profile (Sunyol & Codó, 2019). English, together with all these attitudinal traits, should make students ready for the transnational corporate market.

7.7. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate that despite the fact that the international essence of the knowledge transmitted in international schools is often vague, international education is uncritically accepted and celebrated. The prevailing model of international education is designed to address the individual accumulation of valuable capitals. Internationalising is understood as embracing the possibility of participating in competitive markets with greater chances of success. The different actors portrayed in this chapter —including schools, companies but also individuals— engage with internationality mostly as an investment, as they foresee it will bring economic, social or symbolic revenue (Tarc, 2017). These pragmatic reasons overshadow the idealist discourses of intercultural communication, cultural exchanges or mutual understanding across cultures, which were, historically, the foundational values of an international education. These values become instrumentalised as they are transformed into multicultural capital, or 'cosmopolitan capital' (Weenink, 2008), a required skill in the global labour market (Rizvi, 2007). Such a strategy of capital accrual is the agentive response of committed parents and education providers in preparing children for global contexts, which are perceived as being beyond anyone's control, and inevitably spreading.

The excerpts show that discourses on the international shift in education are generally celebratory, with very little space for critique, despite the existence of reservations or uncertainties, as Mari's and Hector's accounts show. This celebration of international education as modern, high-quality, comprehensive and, essentially, 'better' remains uncontested, as well as vaguely defined. The actual content of international syllabuses, how they differ from non-international ones —or how they can be shockingly similar to them, is unexplored. Similarly neglected is the question of the actual relevance of such globalised curricula to the places students are located. As seen at BCN-IS, while removing location specific content is claimed to be necessary to avoid confusing or stressing international students (see 6.13), in trying to universalise course contents, education providers risk abstracting the curriculum from real-world contexts (Ziguras, 2007: 108). There is no critical reflection on such aspects, or on the consequences for national education systems and individuals of delocalising or resituating education. These debates are key in the creation of the 21st Century school. Education systems are faced with the tension between reproducing the

national community, and producing a new type of citizen, a globally competent workforce.

In this chapter I have also illustrated how cosmopolitan ideologies often present linguistic capital as an important part of staying competitive worldwide (English, 2009). In preparing students to be successful adults in globalised neoliberal societies, language is conceptualised as a transversal skill that the (upper-)middle class, self-governed individual needs in order to top up his or her profile and remain competitive (Martín Rojo, 2018; Tarc, 2017). Rather than an academic discipline, language represents a cross-cultural competence which can be activated in international arenas in the same way as other soft skills, such as adaptability, open-mindedness, or other cross-cultural competences contained within what is understood as 'global readiness' (Mangset, Maxwell, & van Zanten, 2017; Urciuoli & La Dousa, 2013). The language skills promised in international education programmes are, therefore, positional goods. Singularising the forms of language skills they sell by dubbing them 'better English' is part of an ideological project of social differentiation and hierarchisation (Gal, 2012). In this new regime of value, only 'good' English, one that is not localised, is valid for social and geographical mobility, locally and globally (Codó, forthcoming). Adopting such a view on education supports Rizvi & Lingard's (2009: 81) observation that 'learning for learning's sake is no longer sufficient, and that education does not have any intrinsic ends as such, but must be linked to the instrumental purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximisation'.

8. Being dealt a bad hand. Performing and enduring student identities in the IBDP

8.1. Introduction

This chapter tells the story of Marta, a new student at FIS and in the IB. In trying to understand the different ways in which the idea of internationality works, and travels around institutional spaces, Marta's is the story of how one becomes an international student at FIS and, more specifically, within the Diploma Programme of the IB, and of what consequences this has. Her story shows how internationality is embodied and enacted.

Unlike many of her classmates, whose educational choices are decided by their parents, Marta had to persuade her parents to enrol her on the IBDP at FIS. She wished to invest in a type of education that would distinguish her and allow her to access specific higher education tracks. Thus, she needed to change schools, and social environments, but was willing to make the effort. Her plan was ultimately directed towards capital accumulation. In a neoliberal 'affective economy' (Ahmed, 2004), Marta's high expectations regarding her future, coupled with the fears and anxiety triggered by the increasingly insecure and precarious nature of lives (Anderson, 2016) led her to move away from the beaten track. On diverging from the path that had been laid out for her —finishing secondary education at the school she had been attending since she was 3, then going to university— she needed to readjust to her new situation.

Becoming an IBDP student involves a gradual transformation of Marta's social identity, which happens in social interaction. The moments of Marta's first year in the IBDP that I reproduce in this chapter show a series of attempts at new selves, as Marta tries to define who she is in relation to her surroundings. She does so in a very experimental way, reorienting her goals at each unexpected turn. In becoming an IB student she constantly stumbles upon the limits of the social spaces she is allowed to transit, and is forced to change directions as she feels the structural constraints that do not allow her to walk straight to her initial aim: excelling academically in the IB and going to university abroad. Marta's is the seldom told story of those who run their fastest but do not win, and it unfolds with the quandaries of not fitting into the prototypical student-model of FIS.

8.2 Navigating 'structures of feeling'

This chapter follows Marta's navigation across 'structures of feeling' (Williams,

1977), her ongoing process of reading, experiencing and co-creating the social world around her. Marta's process of habituation to the school and the IB is composed of a series of acts that construct her social reality. Her subjective experiences of the present —which are fluid and changing— become the building blocks of the social world around her in the site. The joining of nodes of all the personal experiences of the here and now of Marta and her classmates and teachers, each individual's personal feelings, is what forms *her* social structure. Following Williams, 'structures of feeling' are 'meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt' (1977: 132). Marta establishes a series of relations between how she feels and her own judgements and evaluation of situations, and more formal and systematic beliefs and meanings that she receives from already circulating discourses, and which she and incorporates, resists, or negotiates Structures of feeling are ongoing; they are processes. 'Structures of feeling' are ongoing, not based on already fixed world-views or ideologies (Williams, 1977: 132). Throughout the space of nine months, Marta is actively negotiating and re-interpreting these meanings and values in her experiences, altering her social positioning as she is affected by evolving structures and feelings. In the series of presentations of the self analysed in this chapter, we witness the nuanced interactions between Marta and the discursive world around her.

Human feelings, following McElhinny (2010), can be understood as a theoretical backbone when approaching the expression and formation of social identities and cultures. Throughout this school year Marta sets on an emotional journey coping with complex, diverse and contradictory feelings, such as excitement, desire, friendship, anxiety and frustration. She establishes relationships with sets of emotions that are already present in her environment, as they travel through signs and bodies. She engages with them, or disengages from them, and she uses these feelings to *do things:*

> In affective economies, emotions *do things,* and they align individuals with communities —or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments. Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, between the individual and the collective (Ahmed, 2004: 119).

Emotions create adherence. Human feelings are used here as a theory for understanding the expression and formation of social identities and cultures. In fact, as McElhinny (2010) gathers, there has been a growing interest in affect among social science researchers that situate emotion as a defining feature of late capitalism in the west (Rose, 1999). To tell Marta's story we will approach emotions from the perspective of the political economies of these feelings.

The following sections present a sequence of moments in Marta's first school year at FIS, which, taken together, form a chronology of her moods, what she calls *#ibmoods*. It draws on multiple sources of ethnographic data, including diary entries, diary-based interviews, class observations and social media data (Instagram and Whatsapp), that give a multifaceted view of her trajectories of socialisation within the programme throughout a school year.

8.3 Marta's student trajectory

I met Marta 10 years ago. I used to be her English tutor when she was only 8. I used to meet Marta and Júlia, a school-friend of hers, every Thursday, at Marta's house. After three years of lessons, Marta moved to London with her mother, an academic and translator, who went on a research stay. When they came back from the UK I lost contact with them. She did not resume the lessons because, I was told, she needed to catch up on all the subjects in the Catalan curriculum that differed from what she had been doing at school in the UK. In 2016, when I started doing fieldwork for my PhD, I heard from Júlia that Marta was about to enrol in the Diploma Programme at FIS. I immediately thought it would be a good idea to ask her whether she would like to participate in my ethnography in a more intensive way than her classmates. I had in mind that throughout the school-year she might write her student experiences in a digital diary, and that we might hold diary-based interviews after each diary entry. After discussing it with her parents, she generously agreed to share her thoughts and reflections with me.

8.3.1. Self-presentation on Instagram

As I was trying to construct a narrative for Marta's story, I realised that the way I came to understand her trajectory was heavily influenced, not just by the

diary writing but, essentially, by our side-communications on Whatsapp and, particularly, her Instagram posts and stories. This chapter is articulated around Marta's way of telling her own story, of presenting herself, on Instagram. Instagram served as a way for her to narrate small stories. She posted pictures of what she was doing, or thinking, for others to see. It was a window into her everyday life, where she created and projected her self-identity. In a way, Instagram resembled a personal diary too.

As readers probably know, Instagram is a photograph-sharing and social media mobile application for smartphones and tablets launched in October 2010, in which users take photos or videos and share them with their followers, or on other social media, as Facebook or Twitter. With 1 billion active monthly users, Instagram is one of the most popular social networking sites. It is presented as a storytelling platform, where people engage in 'self-representation'. As with any social-network, it is a space where people express themselves, their identities, and where they connect with others. These networks cultivate belonging, they are sites for enacting being in relation to others. Users build (coherent) narratives of the self that remain suspended in time, available and retraceable. Participation is an iteration of self-identities which are presented and performed to the audience (Castells, 2001) and that exist in network with each individual's attempts at self-presentation, and with the wider network of followers or audience (Papacharissi, 2012).

Marta's Instagram account is an 'authentic' (Giddens, 1991) narrative of herself; she puts together a coherent biographical narrative that allows her to fulfil her ultimate purpose: to connect and interact with her friends and a wider social network, to present a self-image, and finally, to obtain information on others.

Instagram has very rich multimodal inputs. Posts contain images, captions, and reactions: the number of likes they receive, who likes them and the comments and interactions a picture triggers. Posts tend to be more curated, and contain memorable events. After being bought by Facebook, one of the 2016 novelties of Instagram are 'stories'. These are still or moving images and short videos that disappear after 24 hours, and show on a constantly updating feed. People can decorate them with letters, emojis, gifs, special filters or, since recently, music. Instagram stories are ephemeral, and they tend to contain more frivolous accounts of immediate mundane life. These have, according to Bayer, Ellison, Schoenebeck, & Falk, (2016) reduced self-presentational concerns. In

fact, when they first appeared, the platform only allowed the use of pictures that had been taken within the last 24 hours. The generic convention for stories, then, was constructed as showing and telling *nowness*. The content and quality of the image is less important in stories than in posts, which remain in your picture archive and are a reflection of your Insta-persona. Stories have become increasingly popular. In a very few months they became the main activity within the social network, casting a shadow over the very similar Snapchat, which used to be the most popular social network among teenagers.

Marta and most of her classmates are avid Instagram users. During that school year they posted reports of their lives on a daily basis, which mirrored what primarily occupied their time: their school life. They enacted their student selves. Having access to these spaces added another angle to my ethnographic observations, a *virtual* ethnographic perspective. I found myself trapped in these comments, trying to understand what she posted, and why, and who reacted to it, why, and how all this related to other events happening in Marta's life, and in class. I felt my voyeuristic role was helping me to fill in the gaps in her trajectory and to understand better the processes Marta underwent throughout the year. After realising that this could be a very rich source of data, I suggested to Marta the possibility of using these as data for my project, and she gave me her consent. I have used her Instagram posts from the beginning of September 2016 until June-July 2017, along with some Whatsapp conversations we had during this period. These data sets complement one another, and together with the observational and diary data, they have allowed me to put together a chronology of her IB experience. This timeline comprises instances of diary entries, interviews, Instagram posts and Whatsapp conversations, which illustrate her trajectories of identification and how she navigates structures of feeling throughout an entire school year.

The following sections do not analyse social media use as big data, but as small data (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017). Marta's participation is explored from a digital ethnographic perspective, as located, situated practices. It is understood as embedded in the offline world: it is governed by the same social norms and constraints (Sveningsson Elm 2009: 243-44), and it exists in dialogue with popular culture(s), from which it is sourced and to which it contributes, generating a complex net of intertextualities (De Ridder & Van Bauwel 2015: 334). The following sections examine Marta's activity on Instagram together with and as part of her social practices.

8.4 Marta, the new student

When I met Marta again after these 9 years I immediately recognised her. As she was walking towards me I realised that there was nothing left of the cheeky girl I once knew. Marta was tall now, with long wavy hair like most teenage girls at that time, and she took greatly after her mother. She was wearing maroon skinny jeans and a sparkly grey jumper with two ribbons hanging from the collar, and trainers. Even though her casual outfit was in fashion, she transmitted a careless air, as if she had not put too much effort into her look. She did not appear too fancy, or too posh. Our affectionate greeting showed we had both been genuinely looking forward to seeing each other. As we sat in the coffee shop right below her apartment, she told me she had just come back from the Conservatoire. It was 7pm. Marta is taking a music degree. She also plays the piano and does ballet. Music school takes up a considerable amount of her time, but she does not want to drop it after so many years, especially as it now brings her some extra income: she gives piano lessons to a boy and his mother. This is a relief for her because she does not have to ask her parents for as much money. They are, she explains, already spending a lot on her.

Marta comes from a middle-class family setting. She is an only child and has always lived with her family —since her parents divorced, only with her mother— in quite an affluent town near Barcelona. Her mother is an associate professor at a university near this town, and her father owns a small artificial stone craft business. Marta used to go to a semi-private school that is known in the area for having a strong Catalanist ethos, which her family does not share, and for being academically demanding. It is near her mother's university and it is a common school choice among academics living in the area.

There are two turning points in Marta's life, that are crucial to her understanding of who she is today. She had a near-death experience when she was a child, which she believes shaped her into a more cautious, responsible person. The bigger one, however, was living abroad with her mother. Being in a new environment, having to make new friends and speaking a foreign language, but also, as she reports, having to help her mother do her shopping and deal with the pragmatic realities of everyday life, bucked up her ideas. She came back as a more mature person. She narrates that since her experience in London she had wanted to study for a university degree in the UK. What

to her parents seemed like a girl's daydreams became a solid determination when, as she explains, at the age of 15 she realised that she wanted to study biochemistry, and that she wanted to do it in Bristol. With her mother's help, she started researching the best educational choices to make her dream come true. They incidentally heard about the IB, and they both agreed it would be the best choice for her because of the transnational validity of the credentials of this curriculum. They found out that this course was on offer of FIS, which was also very conveniently located quite close to her house, at a 15-minute commute by train. After an interview with the headteacher and the IB co-ordinator at FIS, the family 'really liked the idea' of doing the IB because they thought it would help her gain access to higher education abroad, as she wanted, and they were also seduced by what they regarded as a very ambitious and academically-oriented program. They also liked the fact that class sizes were small and the working environment, which, they were told, was one of focussed, highly demanding students. Marta thought that would help her to make the most of her time, to optimise her investment.

8.5 From #IBsuaj to #teamnosleep

The following sections show, through a selection of data excerpts, how we can navigate what Marta tags as #IBmoods, the moments that take her from her initial #IBsuaj to #teamnosleep. Marta's #IBmood, together with her classmates', evolved throughout the year. Her accounts show how the value of doing the IB —of being an international student—changes, and is presented differently at different stages. This has implications for who she is and how she positions herself, as a student and as an individual, in relation to this socio-educational space. At the beginning of the schoolyear it gets interpreted as something 'cool', 'stylish', worth bragging about: being an IB student equals having '#ibsuaj', the equivalent of 'swagger' in Catalan adolescent talk. By January, being an IB student was no longer about bragging, but about having rings around the eyes: IB students became '#teamnosleep'. By the 3rd term, survival in the IB seemed only possible for the 'superhuman'.

8.5.1. The full-time queen

Taking the IB implied, for Marta, adapting to a new school, and one that she recognised as socially quite different from her old school. She says that when she decided to go to FIS she was expecting this, based on FIS's reputation of being 'expensive, another level'. From the first interview Marta acknowledges class differences between her and her classmates, and she feels that there is a real basis for the posh reputation of her new school among local teenagers. The first time she went to a new classmate's house for a group project she was shocked by her house, especially her new friend's bedroom: 'it was twice the size of mine, her wardrobe as big as my whole bedroom. No wonder she never wears the same clothes, she hasn't repeated an outfit yet', she says, 'you can't compare with them. They are the kind of people who have indoor swimming pools, you know? When I tell them that I live in a flat they look at me with pity'. On the whole, though, Marta considers FIS to be the least elitist option of the ones she had. She maintains that other schools in the area are 'bubbles' standing further apart from society. She defines them as being elitist academically —for students with high abilities. According to her, FIS is not as elitist but she does feel as if she is living in a light version of *Gossip Girl*[1] sometimes.

Social class surfaced in all our conversations. In her class, as we have seen in previous chapters, image mattered, and some students had free-flowing resources to spend in their attire and gadgets of all kinds. Marta admits to paying attention to the way she dressed, especially during the initial weeks, in order to fit in. Marta's Instagram posts show her attempts to integrate and are a reflection of the new persona she is taking on. From October 2016, Marta has a wider audience. She is talking to both her friends from her old school and her new IB classmates. The first school-related content she posts is a picture of herself while doing stand-up paddle surfing, taken from the water with a go-pro camera:

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1. *Gossip girl* is an American teen drama which portrays the opulent lives of a group of privileged upper-class teenagers who live in the Upper East Side of Manhattan and attend an elite school there.
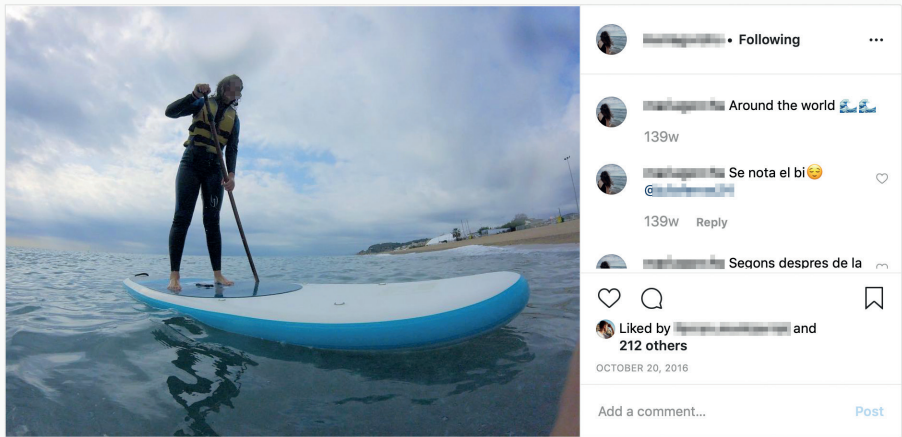
Picture 8.1. Instagram post: 'Around the world'

She appears wet in her neoprene suit, standing on the board and holding the paddle. She seems to have fallen in the water, but she is standing again, smiling and looking at the camera. 'Around the world', in English, is her chosen caption. Her older captions were already highly multilingual; she had used English, Spanish, Catalan and French before, but this is the first instance of her projecting a cosmopolitan look by drawing on a globalist rhetoric. She is on a new board to set off on a journey 'around the world'. One of her old classmates writes: 'how pro 😎 #champion'. Marta gets back to her saying that you can tell the IB ('*es nota el BI')*, and a proud face emoji: '😌'. She is the first participant in the comment thread to relate this reaction to her studies, and she does so as a response to being called 'pro' and '#champion'. The three way association of this sport, which has become highly fashionable recently among the elites, being regarded as a 'pro' or #champion, and Marta's proud link to the IB resonates of competition and striving for distinction, which she drags from the sports arena to her studies. Being a 'professional', an expert student, as we shall see, implies taking her academic affairs seriously, studying diligently, deserving it and being engaged. These are all values that Marta and her classmates attribute to themselves, drawing a boundary between IB and non-IB students. In the schooling competition, she has surpassed her old school student-rivals.

When another of her old friends tells her 'when you try to smile but you are really freezing', by drawing on the mismatch between how one presents oneself in posts and how real life truly is, Marta replies ironically that *her* life

is quite tough. The friend breaks the boundaries between the literal and metaphoric senses, but Marta answers metaphorically. She throws into the conversation for the first time, the themes of effort and pain. The personal pronoun could be implying that *hers* is tougher than *theirs*. Another of her old classmates takes up Marta's comment and ironically says: 'how serious, the international' and hashtags #IB, pointing out the fact that they are not really working in class but paddle surfing, thus challenging, and redefining the image of the IB created by Marta. Many of the comments she gets are praising. Others make fun of her self-presentation as a sportsperson, suggesting that she has often fallen into the water, to which Marta says that the experience was worth it even though she has swallowed most of the sea. She does not hide, and she laughs at herself too when she picks up on some of the premonitory ironies and even the ridicule that her post triggers.

She responds to most of her friends' comments, showing her intention to retain control over the reactions to her picture, redefining how it is to be interpreted. Some of her replies are self-praising, or even with a slight bragging undertone. She tells one of her old friends that she likes the way she appreciates what she is doing. The amount of reactions she gets causes her to claim, in her final comment, that she has so many likes because she is cool. This is the image she truly wants to project: someone cool, doing a fancy sport, being engaged in what she does—she participates actively, to the point of getting soaked. She is enduring *hardship* to get better, and enjoying the challenge. She is also being friendly to her followers by posting back, showing an effort to be part of the group. She wants to project an image of an active, happy and engaged self, who is eager to participate—even if it takes getting wet through.

In just two weeks later, she uploads a picture of herself that is geolocated in Portugal.

She is on another school trip—this time to Sintra, where a Model United Nations (MUN) conference took place. Marta is standing in front of a doorway, wearing black skinny trousers and a blazer, a white shirt and high platform boots. Her curly hair is left down, her body is leaning slightly forwards, projecting a natural look as she smiles and looks at the camera. The caption reads 'full time queen'. Both the picture and the text are clear statements of feeling privileged and wanting to present herself as such.

The picture, caption and the interactions these generate between Marta and her old and new friends show a recognition of there being a before and after

Picture 8.2. Instagram post: 'Full time queen'

of Marta in the IB. Her investment in a specific type of educational capital gives her distinct status. Her old friends this time explicitly identify a change in her, a 'new look', noting that a change in her is very evident. Most comment on her pose: some hashtags, such as '#thequeenofposing' pick up on the queen imagery Marta introduced, and redefine the way Marta tries to present herself from 'queen' to 'poser'. Some make observations on her outfit. The posh indexicality of the school and of the activity gets transferred to Marta's social persona, and the school seems to be identified as the trigger for her supposed change. In her answers, she keeps 'posing' and shows pride and self-confidence in her new self. She projects a reassured, happy image of herself.

It is not a coincidence that Marta uses such an occasion for this post. These once exclusive mock-political parliamentary sessions have become popular among private school students in the Catalan context in recent years, as the episode in 6.4 shows. Many schools have started attending and organising them, and students, as we see in the picture, treat them as an academically-oriented activity as much as something undertaken as a fun, social event. They find in them an opportunity to dress up, to make new contacts and to travel with their

friends. It is an occasion to *do elite.* Participation in these events forges ideas on potential future careers in these students' mindsets, and creates the illusion of future participation in spheres of power, nationally and globally. In Chapter 6 we see how students like Guillem or Carla, in Marta's class, take this kind of activities very seriously and voluntarily attend several MUN conferences per year in order to obtain as many credentials as they can. This requires a large family investment, since such trips usually cost up to 1000€. They are expensive because, in addition to the conference fees, the school books luxury hotels and fine restaurants, in Marta's words, 'to satisfy parents' high standards'.

MUN Conferences, GYLC or Youth European Parliament, have extended the more restricted and more genuinely influential debating societies being held in some very exclusive schools, which do exist in Catalonia but are modelled on UK public schools, to a wider range of schools. They have thus become accessible to the aspiring middle-class students attending these schools. The forms of participation in these activities are highly scripted, as Marta's example below shows. Sessions rely greatly on formulaic language. In these meetings students typically have between 1 and 3 days to lobby, formulate resolutions and present them in formal debates to be voted on, and passed if they get enough support from delegates. Students' resolutions have to be 'realistic' and conform to current geopolitics. Once they have attended some, students can become 'MUN experts' and they can help to organise and host the school's own MUN meeting, which comes with great honour, since all the schools owned by NFG attend. English is the official language of MUN meetings, and students have to master both formal English and the rules of procedure.

Marta herself, after attending her first Iberian MUN conference in Sintra, was appointed chair of FIS-MUN —it was agreed that she was the best at English in her class. She narrates with passion how frustrating the experience was for her. She was given no instructions, and she did not possess the 'know-how'. Despite having access to the linguistic capital, she ignored both the procedural and the linguistic etiquette of the situation: she had not learned her lines. She did not possess the MUN habitus and during the formal debate, Lluïsa, Marta's English teacher and organiser of the event, was disappointed with her performance. She let her know this publicly, by shouting at her 'what the hell are you doing, Marta?' from the audience at times when she lost track of the script. Marta complained about the fact that it was the teacher who put her forward, although she knew that she had never been to an FIS-MUN before. She had

only attended an International MUN. She became very nervous because, with the little instruction she received, she did not know how to lead the session. This anecdote reveals the importance formally attributed to English-language skills, which in this case prevailed over other skills to get her elected to be chair. By contrast, the expected habitus of MUN conferences were not formally taught. Judit, the other English teacher complained (interview data, 12/7/2017) about the lack of instruction on these events by her colleagues. These skills are only acquired through the lived experience of attending MUN sessions. Family income ends up deciding which spaces students are able to access and engage with successfully, who is in, and who is out. This was the first of Marta's clashes with a structure in which she did not fit.

8.5.2. A 'normal' friend

Marta's next post shows her persona as a friend. She is outside the school — tagged in the location, where baccalaureate students hang out during their playground time, and she hugs one of her new friends, Paula, a 'normal' friend. It took her a while, she says, to find 'normal friends', friends who, as we shall see, 'understand her' and have similar worldviews. The picture intends to show how she has made new friends, and how she fits in to the new setting. They are both showing affection and laughing. Both the picture and the tongue-in-cheek caption 'Unloveable' next to a playful demon face, help Marta to project how she is having a good time, and that she is part of the banter.

On this occasion, the number of comments is considerably smaller: there are only 7 responses by 6 friends, and she does not feel prompted to respond. She does not need to try hard to fit in. Her FIS classmates praise the girls, and the photographer claims his authorship. Two of her old school friends still consider that Marta is bragging about her new school, one restating how she is 'FIS-posing', and another telling her to be careful not to stain her white trousers, a common index of chi-chi aesthetics. From the beginning, as all her references to clothing, money and class indexing show, Marta draws class boundaries between her classmates and herself. As class differences became evident to her, she chose people like her, who she considered 'normal', as friends. Marta's idea of normality means from a similar socioeconomic background. Her strategic social networking shows her awareness of the social differences among students.

Picture 8.3. Instagram post: 'Unloveable'

There are some aspirational middle-class families, like hers, Paula's or Pedro's. And there are those whose aspirations have already been fulfilled. The following post, from early December, shows a group of 13 students (6 boys, including the photographer and 8 girls), partying in bathing costumes at the indoor pool at Clara's, one of Marta's classmates. Clara, Guillem, Hector and the other Marta, can throw parties in their private pools, generously inviting Marta and Paula to expensive restaurants, or organising fun transatlantic trips. Their FIS and IB credentials are another complement to their attire. It is a group picture, quite kinetic, showing the party atmosphere. Their facial expressions and body positions indicate that they are having a wild time. And Marta is right at the centre, with her arms around her new friend's shoulders and with an expression of excitement. She wears a dark bikini and maroon shorts, just like the girl next to her. She fits in. She uses cracker emojis and hearts, and some of the comments describe the group as a family. Marta has become one of them.

   The emotional dimension of these pictures, of bodily proximity and reciprocal affection, expressed as well on the comments, is one of connection, acceptance. In picture 8.3 Marta closes her eyes. She trusts her friend, she feels

safe, protected, comfortable in their company. As we mentioned earlier, the feeling of being scrutinised of the early days has disappeared as she has opened herself to acceptance of the others, and to being accepted by them. Her feeling of being 'the new student', which she had at the beginning of the school year, has disappeared.

In our April interview, I ask Marta again about her integration into the class, taking up on her initial self-presentation. She says she does not feel a 'newbie' any longer, which she then rephrases as 'I don't feel *very* new'. The reason why she feels comfortable in this school, with her new classmates, is that she considers them to be her equals:

Extract 8.1

Participants: *Mar (Marta, student); Jes (Jessica, researcher); And (Andrea, the researcher)*

1	AND:	tens la sensació que ets la nova/
2	MAR:	(...) jo ja no em sento nova\
3	AND:	jo vull dir socialment eh/
4	MAR:	ah\ socialment\
5	AND:	o sigui és una cosa que jo no he vist eh/ jo t'he vist com súper integrada en el grup\
6	MAR:	no\ no em sento MOLT nova\
7	AND:	i perquè creus que és així\ creus que en un altre tipus d'escola hauria set diferent/
8	MAR:	perquè el principal canvi de l'escola anterior a aquesta és que no he de com si
9		digués baixar el nivell intel·lectual per estar amb els meus amics\
10	AND:	com/
11	MAR:	o sigui\ aquí és com que hi ha un nivell/ o sigui socialment intel·lectualm- no sé\
12		que són persones que realment són ment obertes són intel·ligents:: que no és que
13		els altres no siguin intel·ligents però és com que hi ha coses que no puc parlar amb
14		ells perquè no ho entenen\ en canvi amb aquests sí\ és com que amb aquests em
15		sento molt més identificada amb aquests que amb els altres\ o sigui- amb els altres
16		m'ho passo molt bé i també em porto molt bé però és com que no (.) m'entenen
17		completament\ (.) [haig de com baixar
18	AND:	[no hi pots compartir tantes coses\
19	MAR:	no sé com dir-ho
20	AND:	sí sí\ has d'adaptar el tipus de converses que teniu:: el tipus de bromes que fas
21	MAR:	sí\ és això\

(English translation)

1   AND: do you have the feeling of being the newbie/

2   MAR: (...) no I no longer feel like a newbie\

3   AND: I mean socially eh/

4   MAR: ah\ socially\

5   AND: I mean it is not something I have seen eh/ I have seen that you are like super
6   integrated in the group\

7   MAR: no\ I don't feel very newbie\

8   AND: and why do you think this is\ do you believe that in another type of school this
9   would have been different/

10 MAR: because the main change from my old school to this one is that I dont' have to in
11   a way lower down my intellectual level to be with my friends\

12 AND: what/

13 MAR: I mean\ there is like a level here/ I mean socially intellectual- I don't know\ they
14   are people who really are open-minded intelligent:: it's not that the others aren't
15   intelligent but there are things that I cannot discuss with them because they do
16   not understand\ instead with them I can\ it is like I can identify much more with
17   these people than with the others [from her former school]\ that is- with the
18   others I have fun and I also get on very well with them but it's like they don't (.)
19   understand me completely\ (.) [I have to like downgrade

20 AND: [you cannot share so many things\

21 MAR: I don't know how to say this

22 AND: yes yes\ you have to adapt the kind of conversations you have:: the kind of jokes
23   you make

24 MAR: yes\ that's it\

The fragment shows how Marta, as of April, has shifted her understanding of 'normality'. From looking for friends who were class equals, who dressed like her, thought like her, and engaged in leisure practices they all could afford, to framing things in terms of intellectual merit. Marta's strategy to fit in the broader group has been renegotiated. Line 11 (13 in the English version) encapsulates this shift. Hesitating, she replaces the term socially, introduced by myself, for intellectually. She is no longer trying to compete in the class league, but in the student/intellec-

tual league. We have seen how her abilities and skills allowed her to make it to the coveted position of FIS-MUN Chair, for which Guillem also fought very hard, without having made a comparable investment (see Chapter 6). Buying into the meritocratic discourse is her only way to fit in. In line 11 (13 in the English version) she self-interrupts, and says 'I don't know', showing some doubt at classifying herself as belonging to the same social level, which she conceptualises as higher than that of her previous circle (line 17, 19 in the English version). At this stage, she situates cognitive capacity as the boundary of group membership. She feels close to her classmates, because they are 'open-minded and intelligent'. Others may be too, but she feels truly understood and not judged by her new friends. She feels she can have fun with them, but also share her curiosities, worries and her passions without being mocked. Enjoying intellectual challenges is not something to laugh at for them. In addition, she does not need to accommodate her intellectual level in her conversations with her new friends, which she appreciates. Marta is becoming a member of this privileged student *club,* of this *elite*. The 'not *very* new' may indicate some uncertainty or insecurity, which could be the reason why she wants to show that she belongs socially, but also intellectually.

8.5.3. A 'pro' student

Doing the IB takes great academic effort; it requires being a *pro* student. Marta readjusts her definition of IB students at FIS. She had noted, previously, how their mental capacity made it easier for her to relate to them, implying that her classmates appeared intelligent to her. When I ask her about the category IB, 'being IB' seems to be dispositional, about sharing a work ethos: 'IB students', she says, 'are the hardest-working students (…) and as we work harder we are the ones getting better grades. We are more focussed in our studies, we take it more seriously, we work hard, and this is what makes us different' (interview data, 16/12/2016). Getting good grades is not a result of any natural advantage, as suggested in the extract above, but conduct-related. By implying that they work harder because they take their studies seriously and, as a result, they achieve more highly, and are more deserving, Marta is buying into the meritocratic discourses circulated by the institutions —FIS, but also the IBO. In this way, she can become an international student. Marta explains how category boundaries are established in the following fragment:

Extract 8.2

*Participants**: Mar (Marta, student); Jes (Jessica, researcher); And (Andrea, the researcher)*

1	AND:	(.) per a tu què/ (.) què vol dir\ o què/ què::\ (.) QUI és un estudiant del BI\ (.)
2		quan us diuen/ (.) vosaltres sou\ [estudiants/ del BI::\ què\ què vol di:r/ (.) [què
3		és/ per vosa:ltres/
4	MAR:	[be i::/ ((laughs)) [a veure és que/
5		=nosaltres fem/ molta broma\ amb això:\ e:h/ o sigui\ estem amb els ami:cs/ (.) i
6		se'ns acudeix una ide:a/ i diuen/ vale\ això és BI\ ((laughs))
7	JES:	[((laughs))
8	AND:	[i què vol dir/ això és BI:\
9	MAR:	=e::m\
10	AND:	=què/
11	JES:	=curiós\
12	AND:	=bueno/ [és interessant\
13	MAR:	[és més\ com/
14		=crea/ o sigui:\ (.) crea:tiu::/ (1) e::m\ (2.5) m::\ que/ relacionar molt les co:ses\ o
15		sigui::\ (.) és com relaciona::r/ (.) no sé\ relacionar\ és més:/ no és que siguis més
16		intel·lige::nt/ (.) és que és com/ que ets més\ imaginatiu::/ més::\ (2.5) no sé/ que
17		et diuen una cosa/ i la relaciones\ amb una altra::/
18	JES:	un te:xt\ o::/
19	MAR:	=sí::\ (.) o sigui::/ (.) bueno\ és que no sé\ no sé cap exe:mple\ però::/ (1.5) no sé::\
20	AND:	=bueno:\ quan:/ (.) qua::n:::/ (.) quan ets despe::rt/ i estàs al cas de les co::ses\ i
21		les [relacio:nes/
22	MAR:	[sí\
23		(1)
24	MAR:	és com re-/ o sigui\ que et diuen una cosa::/ (.) és que no sé\ no sé com dir-t'ho\
25		però::/ (.) per exemple\ tu estudies una cosa:/ a histò::ria/ (.) vale/ llavors\ a físi-
26		ca:/ (2) o::\ estudies una cosa a ma:tes/ llavors\ a física/ fas algo\ jo que sé\ el tir
27		parabò::lic\ (.) llavors diuen\ llavors/ (.) clar tothom s'està queixant\ però de què
28		serve:ix/ gir parabò:lic\ no sé què no sé quantos\ (.) llavors dius/ no: sé::\ (.) ima-
29		gina't/ que::\ estàs fent medicina:/ i:\ se't/ jo que sé\ qualsevol/ o sigui és com que/
30		(.) e:m:::\ (1.8) bueno\ a veure\ els del be i/ som els estudiants més treballadors\
31		(.) perquè sinó ets treballado:r/ no et fiques allà:\ (.) bàsicament\ llavors:/ (.) clar\
32		s'ajunta:/ que els més treballadors\ som els que/ traiem millors no::tes\ (.) llavors

33		és com que estem molt més centrats/ en l'\ (.) en l'estu::di\ saps/ que ens ho pre-
34		nem molt més en serio:\ (.) i que::\ o sigui\ ens ho currem\ (2) bàsicament això és
35		la di-/ és la principal diferència\ (.) perquè els al/ o sigui\ (.) per exemple::\ jo he
36		sentit al passadís/ profes de::\ la ESO\ dient/ TU seràs LOE\

		(English translation)
1	AND:	(.) what does it/ (.) mean for you\ or what/ what::\ (.) WHO is an IB student\
2		(.) when they tell you/ (.) you are\ [IB:: students/ what\ what does it mean: / (.)
3		[what is it/ to you/
4	MAR:	[I:: B/ ((laughs)) [let's see/
5		=we joke/ a lot\ about that:\ e:h/ I mean\ we are with friends:/ (.) and we think of
6		an idea::/ and they say/ ok\ this is IB\ ((laughs))
7	JES:	[((laughs))
8	AND:	[and what does it mean/ this is I:B\
9	MAR:	=er::\
10	AND:	=what/
11	JES:	=curious\
12	AND:	=well/ [it is interesting\
13	MAR:	[it is more\ like/
14		=crea/ that is:\ (.) crea:tive::/ (1) e::r\ (2.5) m::\ relating things:: a lot\ that is::\ (.)
15		it is like relating::/ (.) I don't know\ relating\ it's more:/ it's not that you are more
16		intelligent:/ (.) it is like/ you are more\ imaginative::/ more::\ (.2.5) I don't know/
17		they tell you something/ and you relate it/ to something else::/
18	JES:	a te:xt\ or::/
19	MAR:	=yes::\ (.) that is::/ (.) well\ I don't know\ I don't know any exa:mple\ but::/ (1.5)
20		I don't know::\
21	AND:	=well:\ when:/ (.) whe::n:::/ (.) when you are swi::tched on/ and you pay attention
22		to things::\ and [rela::te them/
23	MAR:	[yes\
24		(1)
25	MAR:	it's like re-/ that is\ they tell you something::/ (.) I don't know\ I don't know how
26		to tell you\ but::/ (.) for exemple\ you study something:/ in History::\ (.) ok/
27		then\ in Physics:/ or::\ you study something in ma:ths/ then\ in Physics/ you do
28		something\ I don't know\ parabolas\ this and that\ (.) then you say/ I:: do::n't
29		know\ (.) imagine/ that::\ you are doing medicine:/ and:\ it-/ whatever\ any/
30		that is it's like/ (.) e:r:::\ (.1.8) well\ let's see\ IB students/ we are the most hard

31   working\ (.) because if you are not hard working::/ you do not get in there:\ (.)
32   basically\ then:/ (.) of course\ it comes together/ that the more hard working\ are
33   he ones who/ get better marks::\ (.) then it's like we are much more focussed/ on
34   the-\ (.) on our studies::\ you know/ we take things more seriously:\ (.) and::\
35   that is\ we make more effort\ (2) basically this is the di- it's the main difference\
36   (.) because the oth-/ that is:\ for exemple::\ I have heard in the corridor/ teachers
37   in::\ ESO\ saying/ YOU will be LOE\

<div align="right">INTERVIEW DATA, DECEMBER 2016</div>

The extract shows how Marta and her classmates use the category ironically, with their friends, as a marker of group belonging. Their jokes on what is and what is not IB show some preoccupation for defining their group identity. They can intuitively identify *IBness*, but when it comes to defining it Marta finds it hard to be precise. Being creative, and relating concepts or ideas easily, is her first answer, but she needs to find an example to illustrate her words, which may seem too vague for her. She is not able to unpack the discourse that she has internalised, probably from the school and from the programme. She repeats vague words, such as 'thing', 'something' and 'I don't know', and she gets tangled up in the example, which she cannot express concisely. After quite a long pause, Marta collects herself and continues: to be IB you have to be hard-working. Earlier she had mentioned how her new IB friends generally had stronger intellectual abilities than her old friends. Her reframing group belonging as 'effort' or 'work' allows her to justify their privileged student status by merit. This is a widely circulated discourse among 1st and 2nd year IB students, and they even post these in the form of IB drawings on their classroom walls. Gerard drew on a post-it that remained stuck to the wall for a year, 'work hard or go home'.

The meritocratic discourse is also used for class disavowal, or to blur the idea that socio-economic background might operate as a gatekeeper in the IB, which would most probably make her feel excluded. She repeatedly underscores that she is not like them. She cannot afford most of her classmates' pastimes. From the very beginning, as we have seen, Marta is worried and complains about school expenses. Parents pay a basic monthly fee of almost 800€, on top of which there are numerous extras. In her second diary entry Marta writes the following:

Extract 8.3

1   Quan la gent es queixa de que el batxillerat internacional només existeix a escoles
2   privades (excepte un lloc a Barcelona) em fa riure perquè, econòmicament, no
3   és un batxillerat 'normal'. Has de pagar moltes coses que molta gent no podria
4   pagar. Per exemple, tant la matrícula pels els exàmens oficials com els exàmens, els
5   quals son el 70% de la nota del BI, s'han de pagar a part ja que els han d'enviar
6   a examinadors externs d'altres països perquè ho corregeixin. A part dels exàmens,
7   per l'assignatura de CAS, necessites fer extraescolars durant tot el curs, les quals,
8   òbviament, hauràs de pagar.
9   I, a part dels diners que tu has de pagar, l'escola també ha de destinar diners per
10 formar als professors que vulguin ensenyar aquest batxillerat. Han de fer uns
11 cursos per saber com avaluar correctament, ja que el 30% de la nota son treballs
12 que vas fent durant el curs.
13 A aquest 30 % li diuen avaluació interna perquè ho corregeix el teu mestre, però
14 en realitat d'interna no en té res ja que, de tots els treballs que fem que contin com
15 a nota per al BI, tant si son redaccions com si son exposicions orals, un examina-
16 dor extern agafarà x treballs al atzar i observarà com els ha corregit el professor. Si
17 troba que aquest ha puntuat molt alt, agafarà tots els treballs, els que s'ha mirat i
18 els que no s'ha mirat, i els hi baixarà la nota tant com ell cregui necessari. També
19 pot passar al contrari, però no sol passar.
20 Això crec que està bé perquè així saps que a totes les escoles del món tenen el
21 mateix nivell d'exigència però és una novetat que m'és molt estranya.

(English translation)
1   When people complain that the international baccalaureate only exists in private
2   schools (except for one place in Barcelona) it makes me laugh because, econom-
3   ically, it is not a 'normal' baccalaureate. You have to pay for a lot of things that
4   many people would not be able to pay for. For example, enrolment, official exam
5   fees and other exam fees, which are 70% of the IB mark, have to be paid for sep-
6   arately because they have to be sent to external examiners in other countries to
7   be marked. Apart from exams, for CAS, you need to do extracurricular activities
8   throughout the school year, which, obviously, you have to pay for.
9   And, apart from the money you have to pay, the school also has to earmark funds
10 to train teachers who want to teach in this baccalaureate. They have to do courses
11 to learn to assess correctly, given that 30% of the marks are on assignments that

9	you do throughout the course.
10	This 30% is called internal evaluation because your teacher is the one who marks
11	it, but it is not really internal because, of all the assignments we have done that
12	count towards our final IB grade, whether they are written assignments or oral
13	presentations, an external examiner selects random assignments and will observe
14	how the teacher has marked them. If they find that the teacher is awarding too
15	high marks, from the ones the observer has checked and has not checked, they
16	will deduct marks as they consider necessary. The contrary can also happen, but
17	it does not usually happen.
18	I think this is good because this way you know that all the schools in the world
19	are equally demanding but this is a strange novelty for me.

Student diary, October 2016

Marta knows the IB is not for everyone. It is not a 'normal' baccalaureate, for 'normal' people. By explaining how it is almost exclusively offered by private schools, and by drawing on the extras that 'not everyone could afford' she is recognising that it is a restricted programme, and that only those who can bear the expense can access it. Marta explains and justifies the logic of the cost. Her tone can sometimes resemble a complaint, her words implying that she finds it too costly. They have to pay to be evaluated, and she also takes into account the 'extras', extracurricular activities that you need to do as part of the Creativity, Action and Service (CAS) subject, which contribute to the creation of a rounded person (Sunyol & Codó, 2019). When she rationalises the cost of the IBDP she is also giving grounds for, legitimising their privilege. The infrastructure of academic merit is what makes it expensive. Her use of percentages gives the impression that she is in control of the information on assessment procedures. Marta quantifies the degree of objectivity of the system through which students earn their elite belonging. What seemed like a gentle complaint at the beginning ends up as an endorsement of the system. Apart from agreeing to pay for the 70% supposedly fair, equal and objective grading, she is also happy to payfor the 30% of her grade to be objective: if teachers are not trained, they are not able to grade according to the IB standards, seems to be her reasoning. Somebody needs to fund their training, and also the auditing of these teachers' criteria.

8.5.4. Losing faith

During one of my class observations, in December 2016, I was told by 2ⁿᵈ year IB students that I would love to see what happened in the school after Christmas. They were referring to a general change in everybody's mood, especially among the 1ˢᵗ year students. Their own experiences after the holidays, and as IB and LOE exams approached, had been of trauma, anxiety, even depression. 'There is someone crying in every nook and cranny of the school in late January'. Towards the end of January, Marta posted the following picture:

Picture 8.4. Instagram post: 'I guess if I knew tomorrow...'

It is the first picture she posts that shows her in class. The caption reads 'I guess if I knew tomorrow I guess I wouldn't need faith #ibmood'. Marta is looking through a microscope, focussing on what she is doing. All the attention of the picture goes to the lens of the microscope. Even though she is not wearing her lab apron, something for which she is called 'a rebel' in the comment thread, she wears gloves, maintaining a professional look and also a certain scholarly status. The microscopes and the lab environment index the availability of mate-

rial resources. The caption she chooses is tagged as an IB mood, and it probably indicates the feeling of uncertainty regarding the future, which is reinforced by the repetition of 'I guess'. Because she cannot read the future, studying is an act of faith. Marta's projection of education as a financialised investment shows the cracks in her initial discourse, where she was presenting her choice as a secure investment, she was reassured that she had found a programme that matched her needs.

The uncertainty regarding the future comes together with some contextual facts. At that time Marta realises that Britain's vote for Brexit challenges her chances of doing a BA in the UK. Also, after the divorce of her parents over Christmas, her family will not be able to take on the expense. This forcefully opens the door to more options. At this stage she considers moving to Denmark to study biochemistry. She also becomes aware of the fact that she is competing with a multitude of others, in her class, and in the wider world, and that she may not be that well positioned. She is not getting great IB grades. She is doing a double degree, like her peers, but in addition to this, she strives to acquire other capitals in extracurricular activities, such as piano and ballet, she teaches, and she does her CAS activities. Moreover, she sees with anxiety how she is not being thoroughly trained for the *selectivitat* tests, as the school puts more emphasis on the IB. All these cast a shadow over her '#ibmood'. She no longer shows the fun and privileged lifestyle of the FIS student she showed in the initial pictures. She now shows how she approaches uncertainty and difficulties - a more anxious mood: by studying, by being prepared. She does not know what tomorrow will bring, she needs faith, and she works towards the future.

Her attitude shows Marta as an individual who has internalised responsibility and looks after her future self (Sunyol & Codó, 2019); she has become a self-governing neoliberal subject (Foucault, 1991; Fraser, 2003). Interestingly, her post continues to provoke reactions such as '#ibsuaj', pointing out that Marta is showing her IB student swagger. Her old school friends still identify her projections of her new student self as posing. They ask her whether she is pretending to be intelligent, or call her a swot. One of them says, 'I'm sure there is nothing even under the microscope', denoting the representation of the self as an empty façade, which seems to be how her old friends interpret Marta's new student identity and, by extension, the Diploma Programme of the IB. Marta does not reply to any of the comments. Her silence might indicate a lack of engagement with the comments, which do not seem to be in line with the

message she was trying to convey with the picture, which is unlike her reaction to comments on her earlier picture.

8.5.5. #teamnosleep

As the year progresses and the workload is becoming increasingly difficult to bear, Marta and her classmates struggle to cope with their new feelings:

Picture 8.5. Instagram post: 'Let's go to the shower then'

In this picture, Marta and her friend, also called Marta, are pretending to be sleeping in the shower. Marta portrays a dialogue in which they look for a place where they can sleep. With exams around the corner and several essay deadlines, it is becoming hard for them to find time to rest. In the picture, they perform being shattered, and they are both laughing at the situation. Their friends, on the comment feed, do not pick up on the fact that they are tired, but make random comments such as the empathising 'hug of the day' or '#whenweweremarried', 'look at the Martas'. Only one of the classmates, with whom

Marta is very good friends, makes a moralising remark: 'you should be writing your essay', she tells her, —instead of posting on Instagram. She reminds her and reinforces the idea that these sleepless, busy student identities cannot *waste* their time. Both Martas have chat conversations with an underlying irony on how 'being sleepy' or 'sleep' does not exist in their dictionaries, on how many coffees they have had, how tired they are and how they cannot cope with the workload of their double degree. They are #teamnosleep.

In this case, the humour and laughter that come with the staged situation that Marta chooses to show are a recontextualisation of tiredness, tension, frustration and anxiety. In other situations Marta's accounts start conveying a sense of unfairness, and this tone of complaint is reinterpreted and being used to create their distinct identity. This is something we also see in the following extract:

Extract 8.4

*Participants***:** *Mar (Marta, student); And (Andrea, the researcher)*

1	MAR:	doncs això és com un diferent sistema que està molt bé perquè a la teoria és com
2		vale et fa raonar i a mi també m'agrada que em faci raonar però clar el fet de que et
3		faci raonar a totes les assignatures que venim molts de no haver raonat a la nostra
4		vida i que a sobre se'ns sumin les assignatures del LOE/ és com una mica uau::\
5	AND:	tu hi veus diferencia realment entre les assignatures del LOE i les del BI\
6	MAR:	molta\ jo crec que el BI sincerament s'hauria de fer en tres anys\ es pot eh/ és
7		legal\ o sigui\ t'ho pots treure en tres anys\ però no et preparen per això perquè o
8		sigui\ jo crec que és possible en dos anys:: si ja vens d'una educació que ja t'han
9		com enfocat a aquesta manera d'ensenyar però si vens des de nou i el primer any
10		t'has d'examinar ni més ni menys de filosofia que és una:: una:: (.) no de les més
11		difícils però de les que més canvia perquè jo em comparo amb la gent que està fent
12		LOE i ells empollen bàsicament\ és empollar i ja està\
13	AND:	amb la gent que està fent LOE a Fòrum o amb la gent de la teva escola d'abans:: o::
14	MAR:	sí\ de l'Ausiàs March [her former school]\ clar és totalment diferent:: a mi em
15		parlen del què estan fent i a mi no em sona\ i a mi això m'entra a la selectivitat
16		també\ (.) saps/ llavors jo crec [que-
17	AND:	[i tu què en penses d'això\
18	MAR:	jo penso que ens preparen molt bé pel BI/ perquè és el que l'escola vol::/ si t'has
19		fixat::/ sinó fixa't-hi\ tots els cartells tots els fulls que et donen TOT/ hi ha el símbol

20		d'IB\ tot\ quan dic tot:/ és inclús el lloc on hi ha els cascos/ de la classe/ de moto/
21		hi ha el símbol de l'IB\ o sigui de veritat fixa-t'hi és molt fort jo ho vaig trobar
22		al·lucinant\ [és com
23	AND:	[i això per què és\
24	MAR:	perquè l'escola es diu Forum International School\ el seu nom és aquest\ llavors
25		és com que vol posar molt èmfasi-/ molt èmfasi en internacionalitat i clar quan
26		tu vas a l'escola i dius per què sou internacionals què feu de diferent\ batxillerat
27		internacional\ llavors és com que necessiten que tinguem bons resultats a inter-
28		nacional\ llavors es centren molt en internacional/ però llavors al LOE a segon
29		mors:: o sigui t'has d'estudiar filosofia en dos mesos- dos mesos- és com que tenim
30		exàmens de BI/ i selectivitat\ o sigui vale que hi ha coses de matèria que son més
31		o menys igual però no- no- no estàs 100% preparat\ i hi ha molts d'aquí que es
32		volen quedar aquí a estudiar\ llavors clar necessiten bona nota a selectivitat\ jo
33		crec que està com mal enfocat fer-ho en dos anys\ jo crec que és molt difícil treure
34		bona nota\ i pot ser que hi hagi assignatures que no es necessiti molt bona nota
35		però les del científic/ totes les carreres que volem entrar son molt altes/ i:: i clar
36		estem molt preocupats perquè clar ens estan fent exàmens només del BI llavors
37		clar arribarem i estarem dos exàmens de selectivitat i ens diran això és el tipus\
38		quan els altres porten dos anys fent exàmens d'aquest tipus\ llavors és com que
39		estem en inferioritat de condicions\ però clar això ja t'ho diuen\ si estàs fent dos
40		batxillerats alhora és lo que hay\

(English translation)

1	MAR:	so this is like a different system which is very good because in theory it's like ok it
2		makes you reason and I like it too that it makes you reason but of course the fact that
3		it makes you reason in all subjects when many of us come from not having reasoned
4		in our lives and on top of that we have our LOE subjects/ it's a bit like woow::\
5	AND:	do you see a real difference between LOE and IB subjects then\
6	MAR:	a lot\ I think the IB honestly should be done in three years\ it is possible huh/
7		it is legal\ that is\ you can do it in three years\ but they do not prepare you for
8		that because\ that is\ I think it is possible in two years::: if you come from an
9		education that has sort of directed you to that way of teaching but if you are new
10		and on your first year you have to take exams no more no less than Philosophy
11		which is one::: one::: (.) not one of the most difficult but which changes the most
12		because I compare myself with the people who do LOE and they cram basically\
13		it's cramming and that's it\

14	AND:	with the people who are doing LOE at FIS/ or with people from your previous
15		school::/ or:::
16	MAR:	yes\ from Ausiàs March [her former school]\ of course it is totally different::: they
17		talk to me about what they are doing and it doesn't ring a bell\ and I also have to
18		take this for my *selectivitat*\ (.) you know/ then I think [that-
19	AND:	[what do you think about it/
20	MAR:	I think they prepare us very well for the IB/ because it is what the school wants:::/
21		if you have noticed::/ otherwise pay attention to it\ all the posters\ all the leaflets
22		or letters they give you ALL of them/ have the IB logo\ ALL of them\ when I
23		say all of them/ I mean even the place where the helmets are/ in class/ motorbike
24		helmets/ there is the IB symbol\ it's true\ pay attention to it- it is shocking\ I
25		found it unbelievable\ [it's like-
26	AND:	[and why is that/
27	MAR:	because the school is called Forum International School\ that is its name\ and then they
28		want to put a lot of emphasis on-/ a lot of emphasis on internationality and of course
29		when you go to the school and you say why you are international what you do differ-
30		ently\ international baccalaureate\ then it is like they need us to get good results in the
31		international\ then they focus a lot on international/ and on your second year you die
32		in LOE\ that is you need to study philosophy in two months- two months- it's like we
33		have IB exams/ and *selectivitat*\ that is- ok- there are certain topics that are more or less
34		the same but not- you are not- 100% prepared\ there are many people here who want
35		to stay and study here\ then of course they need a good grade at *selectivitat*\ I think it is
36		wrong to do it in two years\ I think it is very difficult to get a good grade\ and perhaps
37		in some subjects they do not need a really high mark but for science subjects/ all the de-
38		grees we want to study have really high entry rates\ and::: and we are really worried be-
39		cause of course we are doing only IB exams and then we will get there and we will have
40		two *selectivitat* exams and they will tell us this is the model\ when the others have been
41		doing this type of exams for two years\ then it's like we are at a disadvantage\ but they
42		already tell you this\ if you are doing two programmes at a time that's just how it is\

INTERVIEW DATA, 19/04/2017

Marta constructs the IB as the only curriculum that makes students engage in critical thinking. She recognises this is something good, but she underscores the difficulties of having to learn and implement argumentation skills from scratch at this stage: it is more demanding. She introduces the idea of the excessive

workload, anticipating the possibility of failure for the first time by suggesting that time limitations may be detrimental to achieving her academic goals. She would have wanted more time to do the IB in order to get better grades. To her, it is only possible to do the programme in two years if you are used to the programme, if you have previous experience of the IBO curriculum, but this is something she does not have.

She turns her distinction practice into a source of anxiety and complaint, as she positions herself as disadvantaged compared to her fellow LOE students. Marta points out that getting good grades in this double degree is difficult, and notes the contradictions that this poses for those who do the IB merely as a distinction practice, but not because they want to access other university systems. Doing a double degree hampers their possibilities of achieving higher grades in the local system. She shows an in depth understanding of the game, but she does not think this is affecting her yet: she talks about her classmates who want to go to universities in Catalonia in the 3rd person: *'they* need a good grade in *selectivitat'*.

In fact, because she is doing a double degree she will also need to take the Spanish university entrance exams, the *selectivitat,* and she feels she is not receiving enough preparation for that. She makes evident that the school's interests in implementing the Diploma Programme may not be benefiting students in some cases. She feels the school offers the programme to flag their internationality, because the IB is, crucially, what makes the new school identity legitimate and credible. Her initial unconditional defence of the programme has evolved, and she now reveals her doubts and uncertainties, she is aware of how it may potentially disadvantage her.

8.5.6. The burnout

When spring comes, the stress of being snowed under with work and the anxiety of getting lower grades than she is used to, persist. The atmosphere in class has changed completely, and from being a highly participatory and engaged class they have turned into less committed and less demanding students. They can no longer see the humour in parroting the schools' discourses on the ideal IB student. Marta's aim of being an efficient student —doing two programmes at the same time, being in an academically-oriented class environment— slips to the back of her mind. Now, more than ever, she needs to maximise the use of

her time. Marta explains how students in class only pay attention to the teacher if something is really going to be tested in an exam. Otherwise they use class-time to advance their due assignments, or to sleep. Students seem to be unable to cope with all the extras that FIS introduces to 'educate people who are ready to achieve their dreams' (see 7.5.2):

Extract 8.5

1	MAR:	el perfil és de nois intel·ligents\ o sigui jo- no hi ha ningú que no tingui capacitats a
2		internacional\ no hi ha ningú que diguis no arribarà\ però clar és molt difícil\ i veus
3		això que estem tots híper cansats\ a final de setmana santa tu venies a la classe i era
4		molt fort\ estàvem tots amb 'ojeras' ja no podíem més i clar és com que ens canvia
5		molt el caràcter perquè amb les amigues a Setmana Santa quedem i estem super
6		felices\ però és que a cole estem amargades\ totes\ bueno\ especialment jo i la Paula\
7	AND:	esteu amargades\
8	MAR:	sí\ perquè és com que arribes a una classe i no entens res\ res\ surts de la classe i
9		dius tiu és que no sóc tonta saps/ no sé per què no ho entenc\ llavors entre que els
10		professors s'enfaden\ perquè no estudiem\ perquè clar avui ja s'han enfadat tres pro-
11		fessors perquè no hem estudiat per l'examen\ de veritat/ o sigui som Setmana Santa\

(English translation)

1	MAR:	the profile is intelligent boys and girls\ that is I- there is nobody without abilities
2		at the International\ there is nobody who you say they won't get there\ but of
3		course it is very difficult\ and you see that we are all hyper tired\ after Easter you
4		came to class and it was so shocking\ we all had rings under our eyes and we were
5		exhausted and of course it's like- we have mood swings because with my friends
6		we met over Easter and we were super happy\ but at school we are resentful\ all of
7		us\ well\ especially Paula and I\
8	AND:	you feel resentful\
9	MAR:	yes\ because it's like you get to a class and you do not understand a thing\
10		nothing\ you get out of the class and you say\ man I am not stupid you know/ I
11		don't know why I don't understand\ then teachers get angry\ because we do not
12		study\ because see today three teachers got cross because we hadn't studied for
13		the exam\ really\ I mean it is Easter\

This fragment shows a growing tension among students and teachers that is reflected in class. Marta points out that the situation is especially difficult to handle for her and Paula, the friend she categorises as her social equal, that is, with a similar socioeconomic background. On a later interview she adds how her friend Marta goes to class in the clothes she sleeps in. She does not change them since, she claims, she does not actually *sleep* in them. She spends the night studying. Some students sleep only 20 minutes. Sometimes when the teacher arrives in the morning the lights are off and people are sleeping on their desks. Teachers complain about students being 'out'. Students in turn say how they need to sleep to be mentally alert, switched on. They keep going to class because they cannot afford to miss a day of schooling, because they would easily become side-tracked, but as days go by the situation only gets worse. In the fragment above, Marta observes how being in school, or having to go there, affects her mood. She is generally happy when she is on holidays or with her friends, but upset and restless when they are back in school. She feels frustrated, anxious, and emotionally blocked and, as with her classmates, this is having an impact on her health. Marta has had several serious stress-related health problems, but she continues to go to school to avoid missing classes. The thought of skipping content terrifies her. Marta would wake up in the middle of the night with thoughts of her deadlines, and her sleep is so light that, most days, when her alarm-clock rings she is already awake.

In mid-April, Marta posts her first school-related picture in a while, and she will not post again until the school-year is over.

Marta appears in an unmade bed, in her tracksuit, with her socks on. She seems to have fallen asleep, and there are some objects on her bed. The prepared scene is that of an 'accidental nap', showing her general tiredness. Her questions in the caption 'where'd you wanna go? How much you wanna risk?' are taken from the lyrics of a song. They invite us to reflect on our own direction in life. Marta might have been evaluating her future prospects, and also the costs and benefits of her present situation, whether her effort is worth it. She feels that in order to survive her current situation she would need to be superhuman, and she quotes 'I'm not looking for somebody with some superhuman gifts'. As she abandons herself to sleep, perhaps she also wants to give up trying to be superhuman.

Most days, she says, when she wakes up at 5am, she would like to give up, but she feels she has to keep going, or it would all have been pointless. She feels trapped in a loop of not being able to study because she cannot meet her project deadlines, which results in her getting bad grades too. She cannot do

Picture 8.6. Instagram post: 'Where'd you wanna go'

her homework either, because she does not have time. She attributes this to the poor planning skills of all parties. Marta is concerned about her 'not super good' average, which in April was 8,4/10, and this was not a good reflection of the effort she had put in, she thinks. A 9,5 is what she considers a good grade, showing she would usually be a more demanding student. She tells how her old school teachers saw her as 'an excellent student, very well-rounded and complete', who would get good grades in every subject. She realises, and she mentions having discussed this with her mother too, that her grades have sunk over the past year—and they will continue to do so until the end of the school year. This is problematic for her future career paths since, at this point, she is well aware that she may well not have the required average to get into university.

She finds comfort in the fact that people around her, whom she considers intelligent, are getting similarly 'low' grades. 'If everyone else does badly then you don't have to worry that much', she says, 'we are all under a huge pressure, be it from our parents, teachers or ourselves, to get good grades and this affects us a lot'. She feels companionship in class is vital to counter self-deprecating thoughts: 'we discussed it in class one day that man we are not stupid because

they give you a grade, and you have studied like five hours, and they give you a 2 —out of 10— and- I mean it had never happened to me before in my life'. People cry, but she says, 'it is good to see people who are smart and didn't do well and of course it is really good to see this because otherwise you think you really are stupid'. (Interview data, April 2017). Marta expresses feeling under great pressure, from outside and within, since her new situation is disappointing others, but mostly herself. There seems to be, in her view, a strong correlation between grades and being intelligent. She feels bad about getting twos, but she is also aware that she is doing as much as she can. Resorting to the group, to friends, in this difficult situation, helps her through this student-identity crisis. She needs to redefine who she is, in relation to others but also within herself. She is testing whether she is bright or not, she is assessing herself in this new situation. Marta is readjusting her expectations, given that the initial reasons why she was doing the IB may no longer be valid.

Before our final interview, I asked Marta to reflect on whether the IB experience was changing her image of herself, as a student. 'It doesn't seem so this year, but I am a good, responsible student', she said. It doesn't seem so, because she has become highly demotivated now: 'I don't enjoy anything, I just do things to tick them off the to-do list'. She is no longer interested in any of the subjects she is taking. Changing schools seemed to have had the opposite effect to what she was expecting. Curious to know the answer, Marta had asked her mother the same question: 'How did *she* see her as a student now?' In our interview, Marta read me the message her mum had written to her: 'very responsible, too self-demanding, very intelligent. You are doing a great job of self-exploration and self-knowledge, and in learning how to manage stress'. 'She says I am doing a great job in learning how to treat myself, that is, how to make the most of my time and my capacities'. I told her those were nice things of her mum to say, showing how she was evolving as a person beyond her student self, in reference to her self-development and general maturity. After a long pause, Marta asked me to clarify what I meant. She did not know what I was talking about. I told her that I had the impression that her mum was proud of how she was managing this very stressful situation. Marta interrupted me to say: 'to be honest with you, what all this is doing is burning me out. Completely'. She had had enough, she wanted to be done with it, but it was only getting worse. She confessed she would never choose to take the IB if she could start again. She would have rather stayed at her old school, Ausiàs March, doing 'what she was expected to do'.

By the end of the school-year, she is not satisfied with her life. All of her three pillars in life, social life, sleep, and grades, are completely imbalanced. She is unhappy and exhausted. She has considered giving up, and her family encourages her to leave the programme. But she feels it will have been a waste of time, money and effort. The only thing she gets if she carries on, however, is 'having finished it, and being able to say that I've done the two baccalaureate programmes'. The outcome of wanting to become a 'full time queen', a 'professional student', the outcome of wanting to distinguish herself academically and socially from her other competitors is far from what she expected.

After a year of IBDP, Marta has had enough. In a follow-up interview early into her second year of IBDP (in early November 2017), she tells me she will not be starting university next year. She lacks the energy and motivation. She is terrified at the sight of a book, she has given up her music studies and all the other extra-curricular activities to focus solely on her baccalaureate. And yet, she says, she would not even be able to get into 'psychology', one of the degrees with lower entry requirements in Catalonia. She says, 'if they do not help me out with my grades next year, we have a problem'. After her 2nd year of baccalaureate she will go on a sabbatical. She wants to unwind, work, get her driving license and travel. She does not feel like studying any longer, she no longer wants to go to university. She hopes next year she will feel like studying again. Only then will she be able to figure out what she wants to do next. She blames the school for allowing this situation to occur, for demotivating brilliant students. She is happy, at least, because she knows herself a bit better now. She has discovered what her limits are.

8.6. Concluding remarks

This chapter is a detailed analysis of the personal trajectory of Marta, a new IB student at FIS. Marta has appeared throughout the analytical chapters, but this chapter has historicised her trajectory. Her story illustrates well the different moments, from desire to despair, on the path to becoming an international student. This chapter shows, through Marta's experiences, how students who cannot afford to pursue an education abroad, or a private education locally, those who do not have futures mapped out in their family businesses, are highly dependent on academic merit. They feel a moral weight upon their shoulders to

deliver, to pay back with good marks the efforts made by their families. Their grades will act as gatekeepers. The distinction logic of doing the IB becomes a disadvantage for them because they are competing under unequal conditions with those who only do the national baccalaureate, and also with those who do not need academic success, or are capitalising through many extracurricular activities to achieve 'cultural distinction'.

Before enrolling at FIS, internationality was a coveted identity for Marta, one that would give her access to the future trajectories to which she aspired. We see, throughout the instances of her self-presentations, her diaries, posts, her discourses in interviews and her ways of being and acting in the classroom, how the significance of being an international student becomes redefined, or narrowed down. The promised dreams that she borrowed discourses meet reality, the boundaries of social structures. We see her redefining, first, 'normality', and understanding what 'normalities' she can be included in. She fits in intellectually, probably, but she is a 'classed Other' in the school. She is a member of the aspirational middle-class who are constructed as not being the norm in her classroom. We have seen, however, in Chapter 7, how in other classes, such as Alexia's and Martí's, similar trajectories can be observed.

Through Marta's enactment of specific social personas throughout the school year, we see how being international becomes redefined as being IB. It does not get defined by her in terms of diversity or mobility, but in terms of being a specific kind of student. Being IB is narrowly defined by what the IBO and the school agree on. We have seen, throughout the analytical chapters of this thesis, how the student model pursued by these institutions is shaped in the image of perfect neoliberal subjectivities (see Sunyol and Codó, 2019). Students are moulded into being self-governed, into integrating the values and dispositions that will make them perfect neoliberal student-workers for the global era. We see how she identifies the keys to belonging and tries to react strategically in order to avoid failing. And this comes with high pressure and an extra cost.

This chapter has navigated through the sequences of affect that emerge at different moments, and explored how Marta's feelings travel across structures. We have seen her initial excitement and playful engagement with the construction of a new self-identity. As the year progresses, and as she encounters the constraints of institutional and social structures, her attempts at becoming new selves come up against barriers to the development of new student personas.

Marta's story helps us to capture the complexities of performing identity, through the many and multidirectional factors intervening in this process of becoming. It reveals the intricacies of aspirational nature of the middle classes in the contemporary economy, their playing conditions and their possibilities of upward mobility. It also shows her struggles and her desire to be or become different, her desire to distinguish herself. Marta's story reveals who the winners and who the losers are in the IB game. Through her case we see how middle-class aspirations of participation on elite tracks are conditioned by the amount of economic capital they have at their disposal, which on many occasions acts as a gatekeeper. The micro-ethnographic perspective of Marta's story reveals that not everyone participates under equal circumstances in these spaces. The economic background of students determines their chances of success. That may be why she and Paula are the ones who suffer more: they have been dealt a worse hand and the anxieties and frenzy for accumulating distinctive capitals that they will necessarily have to convert in order to succeed end up penalising them. For others, the game is easier. Their backpacks are well-equipped with capitals that already set them apart. They have been dealt such a good hand that they can play in another league.

9. Conclusions

Changing everything so that everything stays the same: Internationalising elite schools in late modern Catalonia

I n the introduction to this thesis I explained my interest in understanding why internationality has become a coveted identity for elite educational institutions in Catalonia at this moment in history. The analytical chapters have explored the connections between language, or rather multilingualism, elitism and ideologies of globalism, which are found at the core of the processes of internationalisation and are crucial to understanding what internationality means today in the two school settings of this ethnography and beyond. I have sought to show how doing, enacting, embodying 'internationality' is a process that entails the establishment of a new semiotic order. We have observed how processes of semiotic stylisation transform or construct spaces, status, perspectives, bodies and identities. Becoming international, then, goes way beyond exploring the ways in which English is being used in marketing discourses for the purpose of 'rebranding'. It is true that English is the flagship of these discourses. However, the stories of how internationality is being constructed on a daily basis at FIS and BCN-IS resonate with other processes taking place in Catalonia in recent decades, beyond education.

The stories of FIS and BCN-IS are not idiosyncratic, nor is it accidental that both schools began their internationalising paths around 2008. Through an understanding of their trajectories we can trace the singular story of Catalonia —and of Spain— over the last 40 years. The creation and/or transformation of these schools is a reflection of the rapid social, political and economic transformations of a city and of a country that has accomplished the transition from the *ancien régime* of a fascist dictatorship to late modernity in an exceptionally compressed period of time.

When I was thinking of the ways in which I could bring together the many threads of this thesis, a very short interview fragment came to mind. It stood out because it perfectly encapsulates the process I have attempted to portray in these pages. The reader may remember Hector from previous chapters. What I did not mention then was how he, unlike the rest, volunteered for my study. He approached me one day after class to tell me he was very interested in the topic of my thesis because he often thought about the transformations in his school. He wanted me to interview him.

The reason Hector wanted to talk to me, I believe, was his desire to think

aloud and try to find a narrative that helped him understand the changes he was experiencing around him. Hector's family had long-standing links with the school. His grandfather was the contractor who helped build it in 1988, and his family had been tied to the school ever since. His siblings and cousins had all attended the school, an institution that had become unrecognisable to him in recent years. 'Why did they [the school] choose this path', I asked. 'Why has the school become international?':

1	HEC:	per tindre:: jo crec que per innovar una mica i d'alguna manera ehm pues ehm no
2		sé tornar a tindre jo què sé- els diners que tenia potser abans\ perquè va arribar
3		un punt que veien que potser hi havia moltes escoles internacionals i ells potser
4		s'havien quedat enrere i van dir doncs nosaltres també internacionals\ no ho sé\

(English translation)

1	HEC:	to have:: I think to innovate a little and in a way ehm::: well ehm::: I don't know
2		to have again- I don't know- the money they used to have before\ because it got
3		to a point that maybe they saw there were lots of International schools and maybe
4		they were a bit behind and they said well then we will also be international\ I
5		don't know\

<div align="right">INTERVIEW DATA, 6/4/17</div>

The educational choices of Hector's family illustrate a series of generational shifts that have taken place in Catalonia since the late 1970s. His grandparents were born and raised, worked, got married and had children under the Francoist dictatorship. They were part of a middle-class who did not trust the institutions of the regime to cater for services like health or education. This generation sought private or semi-private options, in some cases to ensure educational quality, in others to avoid the old-fashioned, authoritarian, national-catholic education of state schools, which were poorly-equipped and poorly-funded. It was not until the 1980s that the bases for a modern and democratic education system were established in Spain. In Catalonia, that meant re-introducing Catalan as a language of instruction (see Chapter 2). FIS was created in the 1980s following in the footsteps of leading Catalan-medium private schools established in the 1960s, under the dictatorship, to cater for the needs of middle-class Catalan-speaking families looking for progressive forms of education. In this context, Catalan-me-

dium instruction was seen as an emblem of modernity. By the mid-1990s the state schooling system had been functioning for roughly a decade. It had consolidated, and it had prestige. For many middle-class parents of this generation, opting for state schooling was also a way of supporting the public institutions of the country in a moment of regeneration of democratic institutions. The 1980s and early 1990s had been a time of nurturing industry and the public sector to develop a thriving economy. In fact, the estate where FIS is located, created in the 1970s by the Catalan government at the initiative of a private entrepreneur, took off in the 1980s when flagship multinational companies established themselves in the area. That was also the time when FIS was founded.

After the 1992 Olympics, which brought investment to Barcelona, modernised the city and projected it and its metropolitan area to the world, the late-1990s and early-2000s were years of prosperity. Hector's family shares the story of many families who became protagonists of the 'Spanish miracle' (Buendía & Molero-Simarro, 2018). They built a fortune that made them upwardly mobile during the expansion of the economy in the 1990s, in the construction sector. Hector's parents continued to choose FIS, probably because of family tradition, but also as an upper-middle class strategy of distinction. But not all the parents of their generation did. During these years, schools such as FIS remained attractive to a profile of (upper-)middle class parents for whom the school was the 'right' choice, the 'correct' thing to do, since it conferred upon them all the sets of indexicalities that the school stood for in the market of Sant Medir: good-quality education, high-status, *poshness.* Families like Hector's, Guillem's, or Roger's would seek this distinction, but the project would become less attractive to families who were less anxious to show off.

And then the dream was shattered. The growing pressure hidden behind the construction bubble that burst in 2007-2008, as part of a global financial crisis, which was especially harsh in southern Europe, also affected schools like FIS. They had to overcome the shortage of students, who had been leaving for the state system. The lack of a clearly distinctive offer made it hard to justify such hefty school fees for many families. They also had to surmount the stagnant birth rates that came in the following years. 2008 was a crucial moment of awakening, of realising that the 'Spanish miracle' had become a 'mirage' (Buendía & Molero-Simarro, 2018). Most of the tensions, obsessions and anxieties that this thesis portrays were engendered around 2007-2008. Catalan society woke up to a globalised world of competition, in which their institutions

had made them very poor players. The financial crisis brought with it a devaluing of public services —and education— and, again, a profound lack of confidence in state or national institutions, along with an impoverishment of most families, who saw their purchasing power severely decline. It is at this moment that international education emerges as the cure to all problems. At this crucial moment, the education markets readjust.

Hector, in his hesitant answer, points to key aspects that have been raised in this thesis. At the core of his answer is competition, trends, business strategies and the reproduction of the status quo (line 2). Internationalising is, in essence, changing everything so that everything stays the same, a strategy of the schools to remain competitive, or to jump into a market because they see new opportunities. FIS and BCN-IS (re)establish themselves in the market as 'international' to cater for the anxieties of the local population who have the economic means to fight hard to maintain their social position. But they also become international because they realise that their potential clientele lies somewhere else. Since 1992, Barcelona has gone from being a provincial capital to being branded as the hip cosmopolitan hub of the Mediterranean. In recent years, the city has boomed in the global economy, and it has become a pole of attraction for young workers/lifestylers from all over the world (Codó, 2018). The clientele of schools such as FIS and BCN-IS has radically changed and widened over the last 40 years, from local (upper-)middle-class parents looking for a Catalan education, to both to local and transnationally mobile transient (upper-)middle class families who are looking for exportable educational capitals.

Hector's answer shows well how internationalising is a product of the ongoing neoliberalisation of Catalan society, which has only intensified in recent years. This may well be just another educational trend, but it is one highly symptomatic of how education, in recent years, has been evolving through rapidly arising 'trends', 'waves', internalising its new commodified nature. As Hector puts it, internationality is a way of marketing, of incorporating *trendy* attributes that make the educational products sold more attractive. After 2008, internationalising became a sensible move to reorientate their businesses and stand more chance of being sound competitors in a game that is increasingly being imagined as played on a global scale. Hector does not explicitly mention the crisis as a turning point, but his words make it clear that 2008 was a wake-up call for elite schools to remedy their shortage of students, to adapt to a transformed environment.

From this moment on, the 'mission' and 'vision' of these schools is to provide the local clientele, like Hector's family, with a distinctive positional product, with an instrument of class reproduction or —depending on the family— upward social mobility, but also the global middle classes with a tool for their children to be able to circulate globally in educational and corporate spheres. We have seen how being or becoming international is a process of elitisation. Updating the educational programmes to include forms of knowledge that are perceived, at this moment in time, as more innovative and up-to-date, offering secure capitals with clear convertibility, is a reaction to the uncertainty of the times by. An international education not only brings with it educational or cultural capital, it is also accompanied by social and symbolic capitals. These speculative operations of capital accrual are an attempt by (upper-)middle class parents to design and shape more 'stable' lives for their children. This thesis has presented a nuanced portrait of the strategies of capital accrual by members of the (upper-)middle classes of different circumstances, that sheds light on processes of social stratification at a micro level.

Internationalising is a discursive shift, a transformation in regimes of value. In this rescaling of value, certain practices, languages, identities or individuals are included, while others are excluded. Internationality coexists in tension with older discursive orders that still retain value. Internationality in the 21st century, as Maxwell (2018) observes, is about the interconnectedness of the global, national, regional and local. Languages are a key arena in which to illustrate this, and yet they remain a relatively unexplored angle in studies that take the perspective of sociology of education. One of the key contributions of this thesis, therefore, is that it puts language at the focus of the processes of internationalisation and elitisation of education taking place currently. This thesis unpacks the adoption of English as the star of the distinctive capitals an international education sells. It shows how, with these transformations, the values of Catalan, Spanish and English, but also of non-European languages such as Mandarin Chinese, become readjusted, rescaled, creating a more nuanced picture than that which commercial discourses of the schools may seem to paint. It also shows how value for specific languages becomes rescaled in this processes of elitisation, and specific language capitals, for example, English, are only valued inasmuch as they are 'possessed' in conditions of excellence. That is, merely learning English is not enough. International school students, and the English offered by these schools, have to be of a specific standard, as we have seen.

The stylised, or 'hygienised', language practices explored herein illustrate the ways in which languages and language practices are highly hierarchised and regimented, and language etiquettes, strictly policed. English-medium instruction, immersion and premium language skills are at the core of the commodification of the education these schools sell. There is a prevailing view of language as an economic resource, which collides with discourses on language learning and multilingualism that are highly influenced by romantic ideas of ownership of the language. English belongs to its native speakers, who preferably have to be British —in Catalonia, the best English is the one spoken by them, and this is the variety elite international schools should provide for their students. These ideologies are the basis upon which discourses of added value are built.

Despite trying to construct international atmospheres as spaces of (linguistic) diversity, the soundscapes of international schools are not very colourful, although neither are they exclusively in English. FIS and BCN-IS are far from being monolingual arenas. Speakers have very varied language repertoires, and their practices in different spaces are diametrically opposed. While their informal backstage interactions or their presentations of the self in social networking sites are highly fluid, the only linguistic capitals that are valued and fostered in the schools are curated and stylised by their teachers so that they can be part of their displayable elite multilingual repertoires. The etiquette of front-stage interactions is highly monolingual. All students have to be able to speak English, and Spanish, for sure: French, German and Catalan are reserved only for some. These languages are learned, imagined and ideally used as separate, self-contained entities in order for them to be truly valuable, convertible. This is especially true of English, and of Spanish and Catalan. Students have to speak unadulterated English, with no interferences. In the case of English, this means speaking without a local accent, and in the case of BCN-IS, *passing* as a native (Piller, 2002). Having a 'good' oral English will be the key to their success, it will maximise their opportunities.

Elite multilingual repertoires are an essential part of the toolkit with which international schools equip their students to become global citizens. We have seen how internationalising has required a stylisation of spaces, demographics, curricula and individuals. The knowledge being produced and reproduced in international schools has been curated and aimed at producing a different type of individual. International school students have to become global citizens and neoliberal workers. Schools are spaces where the value of specific capitals, types

of knowledge and skills, gets decided, and access to them, distributed. This is key in the production of specific types of subjectivities, and also in regulating access to social groups.

The analytical chapters of this thesis show how, in specific spaces of education, social groups and institutions engage in distinction practices to claim membership of an elite class. The discursive practices of these institutions, but also of the individuals that comprise them, are packed with expressions of difference and superlatives (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009). They are discursively shaping how they are perceived and made sense of by others, by presenting themselves as superior, excellent, as being the key to success or to achieving one's dreams, one's desired futures. Internationalising, and the discursive apparatus to construct this supposed internationality, is one of the ways in which, as observed by Maxwell et al. (2018), elite educational institutions are attempting at remaining elite in the rapidly changing social, economic and political contexts of the beginning of the 21st century. This change of paradigm is being accepted as an ideology, adopted and naturalised as something good, and it is seldom challenged or contested. This thesis has shown dissident voices who air their suspicions but, ultimately, join the party because they do not want to risk losing 'competitiveness'. Even those who decide they do not want to jump on the bandwagon of internationality glorify the new curricula, assenting and contributing to their constructed superiority.

This thesis has also shown how international education no longer has at its core the ideological precepts of its original conception. International students and international schools are not imagined as part of a peaceful world fraternalism. Internationality is a mechanism through which to engage in the fierce global competition imposed by neoliberal rationalities. As the ultimate educational capital, internationality is being used by dominant social groups, and those who aspire to power, as a technology of the self. This co-opting of the original idea haunts the potential opportunities that international education could have in order to establish more collaborative and horizontal forms of relationship between individuals, social groups and states.

The analysis of situated communication practices in these schools is essential to gain a deep understanding of processes that are at the core of the construction of social difference and social inequality. Looking up in the social hierarchy gives insights into how and where power is produced and reproduced. The ways in which resources, capitals, are ascribed value and are distributed in

the sites, have specific consequences for participants, as we see clearly in the case of Marta at FIS (Chapter 8).

Over almost three years I have collected sufficient data to allow me, in the near future, to explore many more issues that for reasons of time, space and cohesion I have not fully addressed in this thesis. Having explored and analysed how processes of class formation emerge in the interaction of students within the IB, I would like to expand the interviews with parents. Of all the participants, this group was the hardest to gain access to. Even though I spoke to a few parents, having the perspectives of more BCN-IS parents and FIS parents, both local and transnationally mobile, would allow me to gain a deeper understanding of their school choices. Their discourses may reveal differences in strategies of social positioning of which I have only an intuition from the data I have been able to collect. I sense that the motivations and circumstances surrounding the desire to capitalise through an international education, and an English-medium education, are different for different parents. Understanding these discourses in more depth, and the complementary strategies of capitalisation that families increasingly invest in, such as immersion or year-abroad programmes for the (upper-) middle classes, would illuminate a more nuanced picture of processes of class formation taking place in late-modern Catalonia. The data gathered from these families could make an important contribution to current studies on immersion education (Codó et al., 2019; Manterola, 2019; Petit, 2019; Relaño-Pastor, 2019; Zimmerman, 2019). It would also facilitate a better understanding of the evolution of the educational trends that the Catalan elites are following.

Almost a year and a half after finishing fieldwork, I have been following these students' trajectories from a distance. It is interesting to observe their trajectories in higher education, how they become self-entrepreneurs, or how they re-collect themselves after the burnout and imagine new and healthier paths. This thesis has explained how institutions, management boards, teachers and students attempt to become international. How they do it, why they do it, what it means to them. This practice, which has distinction at its core, shows how they all attempt, from their individual positions, to occupy positions they long for. This story of how a generation of millennial students —post-crisis adults— move from a national to an international paradigm, opens up questions on how they will be received by ever-changing, unstable and insecure job markets when 'the time of truth', 'real life', this future they have all spent years observing from a distance, finally arrives.

Further research on these transitional moments, and more specifically on the connections between elite schools, universities and the job market in Catalonia, would contribute to understanding how the workings of educational privilege are articulated in this context, something that, at the moment, remains underexplored. Unlike countries such as France, the UK, Australia, Germany or Israel, there is no tradition of studies on elite education in Catalonia. Research on education in Catalonia has traditionally tended to focus on forms of social segregation and the marketisation of education taking place in public-funded institutions. We lack a sociological analysis of how power emanating from the private education system travels through institutional wormholes, creating a seemingly unequal and socially stratified society. I believe that, in this context, language has always been, and continues to be, a decisive element in the articulation of educational privilege. That is why collaboration with sociologists of education working in the Catalan context, and with sociolinguists exploring language and work, will be of vital importance in adding new dimensions to the analysis I have presented in this thesis. Exploring these lines of research will complete the picture of the specific ways in which language, education and privilege are crucial to an understanding social inequality in late modern societies.

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Appendices

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Par:	participant name
a::	lengthening of vowel or consonant sound
AA	loud talking
-	self interruption
=	continuation of utterance after overlapping
\	falling intonation
/	rising intonation
(.)	short pause (0.5 seconds)
(:)	long pause (0.5 – 1.5 seconds)
(n)	n seconds pause
(…)	omitted fragment
( )	incomprehensible fragment
(( ))	slowly
[	turn overlapping with similarly marked turn
[ ]	additional explanations, gloss
**	anonymised fragment

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17 de marzo de 2015

Estimado Señor,

Me dirijo a usted para presentarme y exponerle brevemente el objeto de mi estancia de investigación en ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. Soy estudiante del Master en Estudios Ingleses Avanzados en la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, y docente de dicha universidad. Actualmente formo parte del CIEN, un grupo de investigación consolidado de la UAB que estudia los usos bilingües y multilingües desde la perspectiva de la sociolingüística crítica. También soy miembro del equipo de investigadores de MUEDGE, un proyecto interdisciplinario e innovador coordinado por la UAB y la UCLM (Universidad de Castilla y la Mancha), que tiene como finalidad estudiar la educación multilingüe en la era global. El proyecto recientemente ha recibido financiación del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, en la categoría de proyecto I+D de excelencia y retos de investigación, por la vigencia y centralidad del tema en el ámbito global.

Mi trabajo de fin de master es un análisis del multilingüismo y el globalismo en una institución internacional. Las reuniones con la dirección y miembros del equipo educativo de vuestra escuela me han permitido conocer con más profundidad la interesante trayectoria de ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮. Pienso que el proceso hacia la internacionalización que habéis emprendido hace de la escuela un sitio excelente, que encaja a la perfección con mi línea de trabajo.

Durante mi estancia de investigación en la escuela quiero averiguar cómo se organizan las prácticas multilingües, y qué valores se atribuyen a las distintas lenguas que se imparten y se hablan en el centro, y que la constituyen como escuela internacional. Para ello llevaré a cabo una observación etnográfica de la actividad académica, de los eventos de carácter *internacional* organizados por la escuela, y del paisaje lingüístico del centro. Los datos que obtenga de mi observación me permitirán comprender y explicar cómo a través del multilingüismo se puede construir la internacionalidad e identidad global de la escuela.

Mediante la presente carta quiero comunicarle que he adquirido un compromiso con el comité ético de la universidad para asegurar que se cumplen los requisitos éticos y de protección de datos de los participantes.

No quiero despedirme sin expresarle mi gratitud hacia la dirección de ▮▮▮▮▮▮ y su equipo por el interés que han mostrado en mi proyecto y su cálida bienvenida.

Atentamente,

Andrea Sunyol.

Benvolguts,

Sóc l'Andrea Sunyol, estudiant del màster d'Estudis Anglesos Avançats a la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Formo part del CIEN, un grup de recerca consolidat de la UAB, i sóc membre de l'equip d'investigadors d'un projecte interdisciplinari i innovador, el MUEDGE (UAB i UCLM), que recentment ha rebut finançament del Ministeri d'Econonia i Competitivitat per estudiar l'educació multilingüe a l'era global. Ens han atorgat la categoria de projecte I+D d'excelència i reptes d'investigació per la vigència i centralitat del tema en l'àmbit global.

El meu treball final de màster vol analitzar el multilingüisme i les ideologies de globalisme en una escola Internacional. Després de reunir-me amb la direcció i diversos membres de l'equip educatiu de la vostra escola, he conegut la interessant trajectòria de ███. Penso que el procés d'internacionalització que heu endagat la fa un lloc excel·lent, que encaixa perfectament amb la meva línia de recerca.

Durant la meva estada a l'escola vull esbrinar com s'hi organitzen les pràctiques multilingües i quins valors s'atribueixen a les diverses llengües que s'ensenyen i es parlen a l'escola, que la construeixen com a escola internacional. Per arribar a obtenir aquesta informació durant els propers mesos vull dur a terme una recerca etnogràfica, d'observació de les vostres rutines lingüístiques i de l'activitat acadèmica, però també dels paisatges lingüístics i semiòtics de l'escola. Com a complement a la meva observació faré entrevistes a alguns membres de la comunitat educativa i recolliré documents o fotografies de les parets i senyalètica del centre.

Volia comunicar-vos que intentaré que la meva tasca interfereixi mínimament en la complexa organització diària de la vostra feina. Per conformitat amb els compromisos de confidencialitat que he adquirit amb el comitè ètic de la meva universitat, garantiré l'anonimat de les persones que hi participeu. Com a participants en el projecte teniu dret a demanar-me que deteminades dades no aparexin en el treball, i podreu expressar el vostre consentiment per ser gravats en cada activitat o entrevista. Així mateix, teniu dret a rescindir la col·laboració en qualsevol moment lliurement, sense haver-me'n de donar explicacions.

No em vull despedir sense donar les gràcies a l'equip directiu per l'interès en el meu projecte i per l'excel·lent acollida que he tingut a l'escola.

Ben cordialment,

Andrea Sunyol.

Dear teachers,

My name is Andrea Sunyol, and I am a PhD candidate at the English Department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I am part of the APINGLO R+D project, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, which explores the appropriation of English as a global language in secondary schools. We have been collecting ethnographic data in multilingual programs in public, semi-private and private schools in Catalonia, in order to understand what models of multilingual education exist in the Catalan education system. Within this project, my PhD aims to study multilingualism in international education, in order to understand the role of language within the processes of internationalization of education that are taking place at a global scale.

After having held a meeting with the director of the school, I have become more acquainted with the interesting trajectory of ▮▮▮▮▮. The unique conditions in which education takes place in your school make it an excellent site for my project. That is why I will become part of the school's landscape for several months, and I will be observing and audiorecording classes. In order to complement my observations, I will eventually interview some members of the educational community and take pictures of the school's walls. I would like to put forward that I will try to interfere the least possible with the complex organization of your daily work. In accordance to the Ethics Committee of the UAB, from which I have obtained ethical clearance, participation in this research is anonymous and voluntary. As participants in the project, you have the right to ask me not to use specific information, and you will be able to freely express your consent to be audiorecorded in each activity or interview. You can freely choose to stop your collaboration without this having any consequences for you.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Director board for their interest in my project and for the excellent welcome that I have received in your school.

Best,
Andrea Sunyol.

Correu famílies

Benvolguts,

Em dic Andrea Sunyol, i sóc estudiant de doctorat al Departament de Filologia Anglesa de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Formo part d'APINGLO-CAT, un projecte de recerca finançat pel Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació i dirigit per la Dra. Eva Codó (http://blogs.uab.cat/apinglocat/), que té com a objectiu principal estudiar l'educació multilingüe en l'era global. Actualment estem recollint dades empíriques en tres escoles catalanes, una de pública, una de concertada i una de privada. La vostra escola, ███████████████████████, participa en el projecte en qualitat d'escola privada internacional, per l'atractiu del seu projecte lingüístic. En els darrers anys hem observat classes i entrevistat professors, alumnes i administradors per estudiar el paper de les llengües en el procés d'internacionalització de l'escola. Per complementar aquesta visió multidimensional, ens agradaria recollir el punt de vista dels pares.

La participació en aquesta investigació és totalment confidencial. El projecte ha obtingut l'aprovació del Comitè d'Ètica de la UAB. Així doncs, en cap cas s'identificarà l'escola pel seu nom i ni tan sols la localitat on es troba, i tots els participants (professors, alumnes i pares) rebran un pseudònim que fa impossible la seva identificació. Voldríem remarcar que la informació que decidiu compartir amb nosaltres no serà facilitada a terceres parts.

Ens agradaria convidar-vos a participar en l'estudi, per conversar sobre la vostra tria educativa. L'entrevista tindrà una durada aproximada de 30 minuts. Pot ser individual o bé per parelles i en la llengua que preferiu (català, castellà o anglès). Per la vostra comoditat ens podem reunir en el lloc i horari que us sigui més convenient.

En cas que decidiu participar-hi, podeu comunicar-nos-ho responent a aquest missatge. Us volem donar les gràcies a l'avançada pel temps, i per la bona disposició. Estem convençudes que les vostres opinions seran de gran rellevància i molt profitoses per la nostra investigació.

Atentament,

Andrea Sunyol
Equip APINGLO-CAT

Vicerectorat d'Investigació

Comisión de Ética en la Experimentación Animal y Humana (CEEAH)

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)

La Comisión de Ética en la Experimentación Animal y Humana (CEEAH) de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, reunida el día **24-02-2017**, acuerda informar favorablemente el proyecto titulado **"Projecte de recerca APINGLO-Cat: L'apropiació de l'anglès com a llengua global a l'escola secundària catalana: un acostament multilingüe, situat i comparatiu"** presentado por **Eva Codó Olsina**

Elaborado:	Aprovado:
Nombre: Nuria Perez Pastor Cargo: Secretària de la CEEA de la UAB Fecha: NURIA PEREZ PASTOR *Firmado digitalmente por NURIA PEREZ PASTOR Nombre de reconocimiento (DN): c=ES, ou=Vegeu https://www.aoc.cat/CATCert/Regulacio, sn=PEREZ PASTOR, givenName=NURIA, serialNumber=35109638T, cn=NURIA PEREZ PASTOR Fecha: 2017.02.28 15:29:38 +01'00'*	Nombre: José Luis Molina González Cargo: President de la CEEAH de la UAB Fecha: MOLINA GONZALEZ, JOSE LUIS (FIRMA) *Firmado digitalmente por MOLINA GONZALEZ, JOSE LUIS (FIRMA) Fecha: 2017.02.28 10:59:07 +01'00'*

Edifici A - Campus de la UAB - 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès) - Barcelona Spain
Tel.: 34 - 93 581 35 78 - Fax: 34 - 93 581 20 23
www.uab.cat / ceeah@uab.cat

A l'atenció de la Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:

L'escola ████████████████████████, amb N.I.F.   , AUTORITZA la investigadora en formació Andrea Sunyol Garcia-Moreno, amb N.I.F. ████████, a realitzar la seva recerca doctoral en la nostra entitat. Hem rebut informació sobre l'estudi a través d'una carta informativa i de diverses reunions amb la investigadora. Aquest estudi, que és part del projecte de recerca APINGLO-CAT, finançat pel Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació i dirigit per la Dra. Eva Codó, professora agregada/titular laboral del Departament de Filologia Anglesa i de Germanística de la UAB, té com a objectiu principal entendre els models i les pràctiques d'educació plurilingüe a Catalunya en l'actualitat.

La tesi doctoral de la investigadora Andrea Sunyol Garcia-Moreno pretén entendre com s'organitzen i es gestionen les pràctiques multilingües en una institució privada internacional a través de l'anàlisi dels processos comunicatius i discursius, i quines connexions s'estableixen entre les pràctiques comunicatives del dia a dia a l'escola amb processos socials, polítics i culturals que tenen lloc a escala global. L'estudi és de tipus qualitatiu. Inclou diferents procediments de recerca i la recollida de diversos tipus de dades, com ara entrevistes individuals i grupals, l'observació i enregistrament en àudio de classes de diferents assignatures o d'activitats puntuals, fotografies i l'anàlisi de diferents tipus de documents, com ara material didàctic o textos institucionals.

La tasca de recerca de la investigadora consisteix en estar present en les interaccions entre professors i alumnes a l'aula i en altres espais sociocomunicatius de l'escola. ████████████████████████ AUTORITZA Andrea Sunyol Garcia-Moreno a enregistrar en àudio les classes a les que assisteix com a investigadora des de febrer de 2015, sempre que la investigadora demani permís individual als professors que imparteixen aquestes classes per poder enregistrar aquestes activitats i poder fer servir les dades interaccionals recollides per a finalitats acadèmiques.

1

Se li permetrà, també, de fer fotografies dels espais físics en què no apareguin o no s'identifiquin les persones que participen en l'estudi. A més d'observacions etnogràfiques, la investigadora podrà concertar i enregistrar en àudio entrevistes individuals o en grup amb alguns actors clau (alumnes, professors, gestors), que prèviament hagin estat informats de l'estudi i hagin donat el seu consentiment formal, mitjançant una carta explicativa i un formulari de consentiment informat. L'escola AUTORITZA la investigadora a realitzar enquestes a alumnes i famílies per conèixer la seva valoració d'experiències i aspectes concrets, sempre i quan faciliti els qüestionaris a l'escola amb anterioritat, informi als participants de l'estudi i els demani consentiment formal.

La participació en aquesta investigació és totalment confidencial. En cap cas s'identificarà el centre amb el seu nom, ni tan sols la localitat on es troba. Tots els participants rebran un pseudònim o rol genèric que fa impossible la seva identificació. ████████████████████████ AUTORITZA que les dades recollides siguin guardades en servidors de la UAB i que es facin servir només per a fins científics (publicacions, congressos, etc.) o acadèmics (formació), sempre amb les màximes garanties de confidencialitat. L'escola ha estat informada que un cop finalitzat el projecte, i si així ho requereix l'organisme finançador, les dades anonimitzades (sense informació personal) es poden posar a disposició d'altres investigadors.

L'escola declara que ha rebut informació sobre l'estudi del projecte APINGLO-CAT i dona el seu consentiment a participar en l'estudi. Amb aquest consentiment declara que la seva col·laboració és totalment voluntària i té dret a retirar-se'n en qualsevol moment sense donar-ne explicacions, tan sols comunicant-ho a la persona de contacte del projecte (███████████; o al tel. ███████████) , sense que això tingui cap conseqüència per l'escola ni per cap dels participants en l'estudi. Per últim, l'escola ha estat informada que es legalitzarà un fitxer de dades a l'APDCAT i que en qualsevol moment podré exercir els meus drets pel mateix procediment.

Atentament,

████████████████,   de febrer del 2017

2

A l'atenció de la Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:

L'escola ████████████████████████, amb N.I.F.   ,
AUTORITZA la investigadora en formació Andrea Sunyol Garcia-Moreno, amb N.I.F. ████████, a realitzar la seva recerca doctoral en la nostra entitat. Hem rebut informació sobre l'estudi a través d'una carta informativa i d'una reunió amb la investigadora. Aquest estudi, que és part del projecte de recerca APINGLO-CAT, finançat pel Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació i dirigit per la Dra. Eva Codó, professora agregada/titular laboral del Departament de Filologia Anglesa i de Germanística de la UAB, té com a objectiu principal entendre els models i les pràctiques d'educació plurilingüe a Catalunya en l'actualitat.

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L'escola declara que ha rebut informació sobre l'estudi del projecte APINGLO-CAT i dona el seu consentiment a participar en l'estudi. Amb aquest consentiment declara que la seva col·laboració és totalment voluntària i té dret a retirar-se'n en qualsevol moment sense donar-ne explicacions, tan sols comunicant-ho a la persona de contacte del projecte (▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮; o al tel. ▮▮▮▮▮▮), sense que això tingui cap conseqüència per l'escola ni per cap dels participants en l'estudi. Per últim, l'escola ha estat informada que es legalitzarà un fitxer de dades a l'APDCAT i que en qualsevol moment podré exercir els meus drets pel mateix procediment.

Atentament,

▮▮▮▮▮▮,   de març del 2017

Information Sheet

Research Project FFI2014-54179-C2-1-P
The Appropriation of English as a Global Language in Catalan Secondary Schools:
A multilingual, situated and comparative approach.

The members of the research project APINGLO-CAT, funded by the Spanish Ministery of Science and Innovation and directed by Dr. Eva Codó, Senior Lecturer at the English and German Department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, are conducting a study that aims to understand the current models and practices of plurilingual education in Catalonia. We are collecting empirical data in public, semi-private and private schools. We are also interviewing other social agents and policy makers who are involved in language policies in Education.

This qualitative study includes a number of research procedures and the collection of multiple data types, such as individual interviews and focus groups; class observations and audio/video recordings of lessons of a number of subjects or events in the schools; pictures and the analysis of several types of documents such as teaching materials or institutional texts.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and confidential. Institutions will not be identified by their original name, and their location will not be mentioned in the study. All participants will receive a nickname or general role which will make their identification impossible. All data will be stored in UAB servers and will be exclusively used for scientific (publications, conferences, etc.) or academic (teaching) purposes, always with the maximum confidentiality guarantee. Once the project is over, only by request of the funding entity, codified data (without personal information) can be made available to other researchers.

To resolve any question regarding research procedures of the APINGLO-CAT Project you can contact Dr. Eva Codó at eva.codo@uab.cat or 93 581 2302 (UAB). Additional information on the project, its members and activities can also be found at http://blogs.uab.cat/apinglocat/. Research protocols for this project have been approved by the *Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana* (CEEAH) of the UAB, with ref. 3631. This commission can be contacted via email: ceeah@uab.cat.

Your data will be incorporated to the file "Plurilingüisme en contextos educatius-Projecte APINGLO-CAT", of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, domiciled in Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès), 08193, created with the aim of hosting the empirical data collected within the project APINGLO-CAT. Your personal details will not be passed on to any third party, except for the cases in which it were legally permitted or binding by law. According to the Organic Law 15/1999, of December 13th, of Protection of personal details, you are on your own right to revoke, at any time, the consent given, and you can exercise your right to access, modify or cancellation and opposition at the Secretaria General of the UAB, at the Rectorat Building on the university campus of Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès) or via email at eva.codo@uab.cat.

Declaration of informed consent

I have received a copy of this consent form and I agree to participate in this study, of which I can withdraw at any time without giving any further explanation and without having any consequences for me, just by informing the contact person of the project or at the email address indicated above.

I accept that extracts of recordings and/or their corresponding transcriptions can be used for publications, presentations or teaching purposes with the maximum confidentiality guarantee.

I have been informed that a data file will be legalised at APDCAT and that I can exercise my rights regarding this file at any time.

Name of the participant   Signature   Date

Name of the researcher   Signature   Date

Information Sheet

Research Project FFI2014-54179-C2-1-P
The Appropriation of English as a Global Language in Catalan Secondary Schools:
A multilingual, situated and comparative approach.

The members of the research project APINGLO-CAT, funded by the Spanish Ministery of Science and Innovation and directed by Dr. Eva Codó, Senior Lecturer at the English and German Department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, are conducting a study that aims to understand the current models and practices of plurilingual education in Catalonia. We are collecting empirical data in public, semi-private and private schools. Your school, ▮▮▮▮▮, has been selected to participate in the project as a private international school for the attractive of the educational project. One of the aspects in which we have focused is the multilingual practices in primary and secondary. The results of our research will be crucial to understand the role of multilingual education within the internationalisation of education that is taking place at a global scale.

The study includes class observations and audio-recordings of several subjects in primary and secondary. We will also conduct individual interviews with students and teachers. We may eventually circulate a survey to families to know their perceptions on the educational experience of their children.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and confidential. Institutions will not be identified by their original name, and their location will not be mentioned in the study. All participants will receive a nickname or general role which will make their identification impossible. All data will be stored in UAB servers and will be exclusively used for scientific (publications, conferences, etc.) or academic (teaching) purposes, always with the maximum confidentiality guarantee. Once the project is over, only by request of the funding entity, codified data (without personal information) can be made available to other researchers.

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Declaration of Informed Consent

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I have been informed that a data file will be legalised at APDCAT and that I can exercise my rights regarding this file at any time.

Name of the student   Signature   Date

Name of the mother / father / tutor   Signature   Date

Name of the investigator   Signature   Date

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Consentiment informat

Projecte de recerca FFI2014-54179-C2-1-P

L'apropiació de l'anglès com a llengua global a l'escola secundària catalana: Un enfocament multilingüe, situat i comparatiu

Benvolguts pares i mares,

Els membres del projecte de recerca APINGLO-CAT, finançat pel Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació i dirigit per la Dra. Eva Codó, professora agregada/titular laboral del Departament de Filologia Anglesa i de Germanística de la UAB, estem duent a terme un estudi que té com a objectiu principal estudiar l'educació multilingüe en l'era global. Actualment estem recollint dades empíriques en tres escoles catalanes, una de pública, una de concertada i una de privada. La vostra escola, ███████████████████████, participa en el projecte en qualitat d'escola privada internacional, per l'atractiu del seu projecte lingüístic. Un dels aspectes en els quals ens hem centrat és el Programa del Diploma (DP) del Batxillerat Internacional® (IB).

L'estudi inclou l'observació de les classes del programa així com el seu enregistrament en àudio, la circulació d'una enquesta per a pares i alumnes i, eventualment, la realització d'entrevistes amb alumnes per conèixer la seva valoració de l'experiència. La participació en aquesta investigació és totalment confidencial. En cap cas s'identificarà l'escola pel seu nom i ni tan sols la localitat on es troba. Tots els participants (tant professors com alumnes) rebran un pseudònim que fa impossible la seva identificació. Les dades seran guardades en servidors de la UAB i només es faran servir per a fins científics (publicacions, congressos, etc.), sempre amb les màximes garanties de confidencialitat.

Els resultats d'aquesta investigació ens serviran per entendre el paper que Batxillerat Internacional ha adquirit recentment en les escoles catalanes, en el marc de la internacionalització educativa i com a part d'un fenomen que està tenint lloc a escala global.

Si alguna família té qualsevol dubte sobre els procediments de recerca del projecte APINGLO-CAT, pot posar-se en contacte amb la Dra. Eva Codó (eva.codo@uab.cat), i als tel. 93 581 2302 (UAB). També es pot obtenir més informació addicional del projecte, els seus membres i les activitats que realitza al web http://blogs.uab.cat/apinglocat/.

Jo, _____ pare/mare/tutor de _____declaro que he rebut informació sobre l'estudi del projecte APINGLO-CAT sobre la implementació del Programa del Diploma (PD) del Batxillerat Internacional® (IB) a l'escola ███████████ ████████████ i dono el meu consentiment per tal que el meu fill/filla hi participi. Amb aquest consentiment declaro que la meva col·laboració és totalment voluntària i tinc dret a retirar la meva col·laboració en l'estudi en qualsevol moment revocant el consentiment atorgat.

████████████, ___de _____ de 2016

Signatura

335

Oral assent for students over 16

Research project FFI2014-54179-C2-1-P

The appropriation of English as a global Language in catalan high-schools: a multilingual, situated and comparative approach.

Breu descripció del projecte i informació sobre la participació a l'estudi

Hello, my name is Andrea Sunyol. I'm currently doing a PhD and I am a member of the project APINGLO-CAT in the English Department at UAB. Can I tell you more about the study?

APINGLO is being carried out in three high-schools in Catalunya. We have observed classes and interviewed teachers and students in a public high-school, a semi-private one, and in your school, an *International* school. Our main objective is to study various models of multilingual education in order to understand the role of languages in education in Catalonia, within the global process of Internationalisation of Education.

Your participation in the project consists in having a conversation with me on your life trajectory and your education, more specifically, the languages you speak and your experience of the International Baccalaureate. This interview will be audio recorded in order to reproduce your words accurately.

The information you give me will be used for scientific and academic purposes only, that is, in articles, conference presentations, classes, etc. during my PhD or in future research. The personal information you will share with me will not be passed on to any third party.

This research is anonymous, which means that your name or any detail that could reveal your identity will not be used.

Participation in this research is voluntary. Even though we have obtained your parents' permission to do this interview, we would like to know if you agree as well. If you do not feel like participating for any reason, you are in your right to refuse to do so, and this will not have any consequences for you.

Do you have any qüestions?

Oral consent

- Do you give your permission for me to interview and audio record you?
- Do you give your permission for me to contact you in the future for any clarifications, if needed?
- Do you agree to participate in this research?

Ok, thanks, in which case, let's start.

Entrevista als professors de llengües del Batxillerat Internacional a FIS.

BLOC 1: PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Primer, m'agradaria conèixer una mica la teva trajectòria personal: quants anys tens, on vius, quant temps fa que treballes a Fòrum, quines assignatures has ensenyat al llarg de la teva trajectòria professional...

BLOC 2: BATXILLERAT INTERNACIONAL

2. Com valores, a trets generals, el programa del Batxillerat Internacional?
3. Per què creus que s'ofereix, en aquesta escola?
4. Per a qui és, el batxillerat internacional? És per a tothom? (bons/mals estudiants; locals/internacionals)
5. Quins creus que són els beneficis del BI per als estudiants? I per l'escola? I per al professorat? (món laboral, universitats...)
6. Quines diferències pedagògiques hi ha, entre el BI i el LOE?
7. Heu tingut molta formació?
8. Quina relació teniu vosaltres amb la IBO?

BLOC 4: LLENGÜES

9. Em podries explicar una mica com funciona el programa de llengües del BI? Què et sembla? T'esperaves que seria diferent?
10. Quin valor tenen les llengües (el multilingüisme) en aquest programa?
11. Quins creus que són els rols del català, el castellà i l'anglès en aquest batxillerat?
12. ANGLÈS: i el rol específic de l'anglès? Qui l'estudia? Com s'estudia? Per a qui és?
CATALÀ: i el rol específic del català? Qui l'estudia? Com s'estudia? Per a qui és?
CASTELLÀ: i el rol específic del castellà? Qui l'estudia? Com s'estudia? Per a qui és?
13. Creus que les llengües són importants per a l'educació? Per què?

BLOC 3: VALORS I INTERNACIONALITAT

14. Què fa que el BI sigui Internacional? I l'escola?
15. Quins són els valors del Batxillerat Internacional? (són exclusius?)
16. Els estudiants fan molta distinció entre estudiants Internacionals, Estudiants BI, estudiants LOE... qui és qui, i en què es basen aquestes categories? També existeixen entre els professors?
17. Què vol dir, per a tu, "internacional"? i "mentalitat global"?
18. Creus que el BI contribueix o té com a missió crear un tipus d'estudiant/ciutadà/persona?

BLOC 5: FUTUR

19. Cap on creus que ha d'anar, el BI? Quines són les línies de futur que hauria de seguir?
20. Creus que el BI t'ha obert fronteres professionals? Has canviat com a professor? Com?

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Entrevista als estudiants de 1r i 2n del Batxillerat Internacional a ▮▮▮▮▮.

BLOC 1: PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Primer, m'agradaria conèixer una mica la teva trajectòria personal: quants anys tens, on vius, quant temps fa que estudies a ▮▮▮▮▮, si fas alguna activitat fora de l'escola...

BLOC 2: BATXILLERAT INTERNACIONAL

2. Com és que has triat fer el Batxillerat Internacional? Què en pensa la teva família?
3. Quin itinerari fas?
4. Quines són les teves assignatures preferides, i per què?
5. Quines assignatures creus que són més importants? (per què és important, CAS?)
6. Què aprens, amb el Batxillerat Internacional?
7. Què et perdries si només fessis el Batx. LOE?
8. Quins penses que són els beneficis de cursar el Programa del Diploma del BI?
9. L'estudiaries com a itinerari únic? és a dir, sol, sense el Batx. LOE?
10. Si haguessis pogut, hauries cursat els altres programes d'educació primària i secundària que ofereix el BI?
11. Quins aspectes del BI creus que caldria repensar?

BLOC 3: LLENGÜES

12. Quines llengües parles? les has estudiat totes a l'escola?
13. T'identifiques més amb alguna de les llengües que parles, o creus que alguna és més important?
14. Creus que les llengües són importants per a l'educació? Per què?
15. Què en penses del programa de llengües del Batxillerat Internacional? N'esperaves alguna altra cosa?
16. Quins creus que són els rols del català, el castellà i l'anglès en aquest batxillerat?

BLOC 4: VALORS I INTERNACIONALITAT

17. Què fa que el BI sigui Internacional? (i l'escola?)
18. Quins són els valors del Batxillerat Internacional? (exclusius?)
19. Què vol dir, per a tu, "internacional"? i "mentalitat global"?

BLOC 5: FUTUR

20. Quins són els teus plans de futur –si en tens... (Què tens ganes d'estudiar? On? Tens algun projecte de mobilitat en ment?)
21. Com t'ajudarà en el futur haver cursat el BI?

BCN-IS - Student interview outline (English)

1. Life narrative

Tell me a little bit about yourself. (…) I am thinking about your personal background, your education, your family…
- Did you go to other schools before BCN-IS?
- Tell me about your family…
- Where are your parents from?
- What is their job?
- Where do you live? Have you always lived here?
- Do you do any extracurricular activities? Do you know other kids from la Ribera or from where you live?

2. Educational background

You say you went to other schools before BCN-IS. How were they? Why did you change?

- Why did you/your parents chose BCN-IS?
- Did you face any difficulties at the beginning?
- Was language a drawback? why? why not?
- Did you expect more Catalan/Spanish? Did you know about Catalan? Do you like it? Do you study it?
- What do you like about the school? What is it that you don't like so much?
- How do you think having been to this school will help you in the future? Do you think it prepares you more than other schools? (How? what do you learn in this school?)
- What do you want to do in the future?

3. Internationality

- Why do you think the school is called international?
- According to you, what does internationality mean?
- Do you think it is reflected in the types of things you study? Do you study the local context as well? (Do you learn about Catalonia, La Ribera, etc.)

4. Languages?

- Which languages do you speak?
- How are languages distributed across the school? and across the curriculum?
- Who do you talk to in which languages?
- Are some languages more important than others in the school? Is there a language hierarchy?

Outline for BCN-IS teachers interviews

1. PERSONAL TRAJECTORY

- Where do you come from / Origins
- Education
- Past work experiences - has he/she been working in other intl schools?
- When did you come to Catalonia? have lived/taught in other countries?
- How did they find out about BCN-IS?
- What do they remember about the recruitment interview? (lang requirements? international profile?)

2. BCN-IS
- How would they explain what BCN-IS is? How would they define the school
- What is it that they like the most about it?
- Why do they implement British curriculum?

3. AFFECT
- Close relationship with students, caring. Why is it important?
- Emotional education. Why is it such a big part of it.

4. SMALL GROUPS, REDUCED CLASSES.
- Is it an important characteristic of the school? why? material conditions in which education is implemented are privileged? how can this help students?
- Bullying, kids with difficult past experiences. Why are there so many, how is this managed.

5. SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL
- Who are BCN-IS students.
- Can everybody be an BCN-IS student?
- Why is the project attractive to local students? and to mobile families students?
- Social categories.

6. INTERNATIONALITY
- What makes this school an international school?
- How is internationality understood here? what is the meaning of internationality?
- How does it show in the curriculum.
- Are there established exchange programmes. What is the international programme of the school?

7. LANGUAGES
- What languages are spoken in this school?
- Who speaks what?
- Are there any specific regulations regarding language practices?
- How does the communication with parents take place?

8. SUBJECT
- What subjects do you teach?
- Would you say the approach you take is different from other schools/past work experiences? what do you like about the approach?
- What do students who attend this school learn that they would not in other schools?

9. FUTURE
- What is the future of the school?
- Would you like to keep working here?

MUEDGE OBSERVATION GUIDE

General:
Name (your name):   Andrea
Email (your email address):
School (School visited): FIS
Class (Class attended):   2nD
Date and meeting time (date of classroom observation and duration of period): 9:40 05/04/2017

Participants (Teacher, students, other participants –age, gender, linguistic background, any other information you can gather):   Judit, 2nd D students (16) Alèxia, Martí, Irene, Marta, Astrid, Roger, Laura, Núria, Josep

Activities:
Language (language spoken with students; among students): eng, cat, sp
Materials (textbook, photocopies, visual, use of technology, other): textbook
Interaction: Turn-taking (who initiate, holds, controls the floor?; length of teacher/students' turns; who talks more? –TTS (teacher's time of speaking) versus STS (student's time of speaking)-: all talk, 50 50
Integration of language and content (balanced; more attention paid to language/content; how it is achieved):
Lesson Plan (is there a clear one? Hidden?): Book.
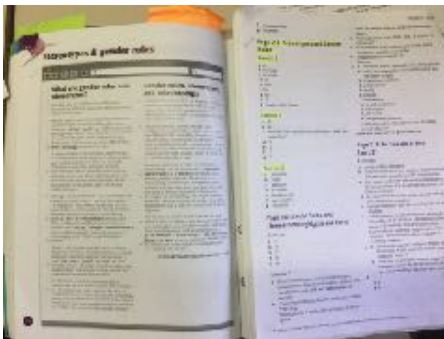
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Classroom layout:

Social Scene: **(Wide Angle View)**

Here you are describing the social scene for those who will read your notes. Describe social dynamics you notice when you come in. Describe the general atmosphere and feelings expressed by others. This section describes the context from a wide-angle view. It should contain lots of details about the class you have visited and how you found your way throughout the day's interactions. You should describe the people, the physical spaces you encounter since you arrive at school, and how you felt before, during and after the classroom observation. This section is usually about one or two paragraphs long.

Estudiants estan excitats, és l'ultim dia i tenen ganes de mirar una peli, no volen fer llibre. Parlen d'estereotips. Quan arribo la ██ li està dirnt a l'██████ que la classe d'anglès és la única on fan xxx, no entenc què vol dir. Surto a buscar una cadira i quan torno critiquen un examen que havia preparat l██. Classe 2nD.

Focused Observations: **(Zoom Lens View)**

Here you are zooming in on the interactions taking place in the classroom between teacher and students, as well as the ones among students (side conversations, for example). Describe your interactions as accurately as you can. Be careful to report behaviors rather than imputing motive. For example, "Carlos ran in, smiling, jumping and waving a paper." vs. "Carlos was happy." HAPPY TELLS US NOTHING REALLY.

This is the longest section of the field note, several paragraphs. It should capture from the beginning to the end of an activity you want to focus on. Things to pay attention to:

Language: Spanish? English? Both? Other languages? English, Spanish, Catalan
Dialogue: Sometimes, special things that really strike you will be said. Try to remember and write as precisely as you can what teacher/students said, if possible.
Roles: What roles did the teacher play? (facilitates, guides, scaffolds, keeps authority; is friendly with students; other)
Strategies: What kind of teaching strategies were used to carry out the activities of the day? problem solving? Were games used? Any other?
Lesson Plan: Can you tell the teacher is following one? How?
Use of materials: whether appropriate to students' need; easing the activity; fun, difficult, etc.

Acting like a girl. Run like a girl. (problemàtic)

Womens (no corregeix).

Roger asks in Catalan. Quina pel·lícula.

Astrid: it's an issue with girls

Demana boys and girls who have boyfriends and girlfriends. **Heteropatriarcat**.

min 4:00
Judit: so hopefully these stereotypes and these gender roles are changing a little bit/ ehmm
ladies would you marry a man or would you- sorry- be with a man that err wouldn't
take care of your kids/ wouldn't change a diaper::: wouldn't feed the baby wouldn't
get up in the middle of the night/ to give the baby a bottle or just pick up the baby/
Alexia: no\
Judit: even if you're on maternity leave\ you're on maternity leave/ for several weeks/ errr
sometimes months/ yeah/ so it's you- your job to get up and feed the baby\
Irene: =no but the baby is also his
Judit: sure\ hopefully\ yeah\ (all laugh)
Roger: sino poor man (.) if not-/
Judit: Roger would you get up/
Roger: of course yes
Judit: of course/
Irene: or for example that the boy doesn't always have to ask the girl out\
Judit: okay/ what else.
Astrid: I think' that's more actually a problem with girls/ than with boys\
[boys talk]
Marta: or housework\ why does the woman always have to do the laundry:: or iron:: or cook
Judit: I have an answer for that\ 'cause men are incapable of doing it\ they just can't
[laughs]
Astrid: women also do stereotypes
Marta: true but for example if you see movies/ in movies actually only the womans are the
          ones who err- take care of the house\ take care of the kids\ cook\ do the laundry:: in a
lot of movies
Roger: a quina pel·lícula
Marta: a quina pel·lícula\ però hi ha moltíssimes
Astrid: but I think that a lot of women also kind of reinforce sterotypes in their ** but the
          problem with girls asking out I think that's an issue more with the girls than with the
boys\ for example proposals I think it's more like women who are afraid to propose   to
their men\ I think that's more an issue with women no/
Judit: do you think they are afraid/ don't you think it's more tradition is that guy gets down
on his knee and pops out the cushion and
Julie: afraid/ well that's ***
Irene: yes- yes. and paying the- paying the for example in a restaurant:: that kinds of:::
          that's really old\

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Judit: the guy pays:: the woman doesn't pay:: they do or they don't/
[all speak at the same time]
Astrid
Alèxia: no because I tink-
Judit: girls here who have boyfriends\ does the boyfriend pay for everything/
Girls: no\ [loudly]
Judit: boyfriends who have girlfriends\ do you pay for everything/ oh you don't have girlfriends/ is that what you mean/ [boys laugh and talk]
Roger: fifty fifty

En Martí i la Irene seuen de costat, son novios. En Roger és nòvio amb la germana de la Maria [surname]. Tots contesten que no ho paguen tot. Riuen i estan relaxats amb aquesta situació de small talk.

Feminist and superrevolutionary.

La Judit fa el bridging (guarderies) en català. Modern family- the wife stays at home. Models familiars molt tradicionals.

min 7:05.
Chapter 6. P. 214. Activitat del llibre. Han d'escollir paraules. Joan isern.

Roger: jo jugava amb les polly pockets així que...

They like also: no hi ha correcció lingüística.

Alèxia: we have a natural gender. Genetic.

Quan l'astrid fa el comentari de playmobil Judit li dmana edat, li diu 3, fa cara rara. (see recording)

Tatiana. Explica que les seves germanes a peru tambe tenien boys toys, cars. I que un cosí seu jugava amb les barbies.

Al meu costat es revolten, diuen: es que aixo no es genètic, en veu baixa. En Martí contradiu la visio de la Alèxia. Respectful. I don't know who said that (avoiding face-threatening her.

And i had my owns. (No correction)

La Tatiana aporta la visió del Perú. No és res cultural specific.

Judit els recomana una exposició al museu d'història de catalunya. La Alexia insisteix que a ella no li agradava jugar amb joguines de nen. I que es simplement que no li agradava. Quan en Martí li diu que "you are taught that" no hi està d'acord.
10:10. Continuen llegint. E dmana a Josep que llegeixi.

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Martí asks: what's steep. High up.

En Josep llegeix. Tots callen. Se sent soroll de la classe del costat.

10:11. Demana qui vol llegir. Roger volunteers.

Em fixo en els rols de la classe. Alèxia, dominant, des de la punta de la classe veu tot el que passa. Seu al costat de la marta, la seva amiga. No estan gaire atentes a la lectura, més pendent del social setting. Al hot corner, roger, núria, itzíar, irene, martí. Martí des del mig de la classe veu tot el que passa, i faces directament al profe. Al cantó on estic avui, les noies (txell i ?), i en josep i en ferran, no diuen res, parlen de tant en tant entre ells, però no participen gaire. La marta i àstrid tampoc.

Have you watched El Becario? Robert de Niro. It's really good. Judit li demana per què. No trtoba una paraual i la mireia li ajuda. (Judit semipro busca incorporar elements de cultura a l'aula, recomanar pel·lícules, fer-los interessar per llibres, etc.)

Family, school or personal issues.

10:17. El text parla de gender roles, parla de estereotips i de relacions. Dona unes pautes clares de què està bé i què no està bé. Marcadament moral. Actituds respecte els rols de gènere a les relacions, sobretot quin ha de ser rel rol de la dona.

Martí says: can we just **argue** about this? (Ningú li diu discuss this).

10:19. Exercici 2, p. 215.

10:26. Corregeixen exercici

Participen molts (i molt), en veu alta. Confiança, bon clima… La judit els encoratja molt, els anima: "Sou uns cracks eh, sou uns cracks". bon ambient, bona sintonia.

Reflection   **(Lens on Self)**

Here you state your thoughts and opinions about what happened at your classroom visit. You should also use this space to reflect on how the project readings inform your observations. This is also a good spot to note questions for further exploration in subsequent sessions.

- reflexionar sobre models familiars, classe social, rols de gènere.
- gairebé no hi ha correccions lingüístiques. Accuracy? Com es promou aquest "good English" a l'aula?

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