

## EXPLORING CHINESE BILINGUAL TEACHERS' LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: A BERNSTEIN'S RECONTEXTUALIZATION PERSPECTIVE

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### *Abstract*

This study explores the language ideologies of Chinese Bilingual Teachers (CBTs) in educational contexts, conceptualizing language ideology as a representation of beliefs about educational practices that result from the interactive construction of teachers' discourse and language scheme during the recontextualization of language policy. The authors conduct a qualitative approach, analyzing reflective narratives from 12 participants in China to examine their adherence to three types of distinct language ideologies: Standardization Centripetality (SCP) versus Standardization Centrifugality (SCF), Meritocracy Centripetality (MCP) versus Meritocracy Centrifugality (MCF), as well as Employment-incentive Centripetality (EICP) versus Employment-incentive Centrifugality (EICF). The findings across these six dimensions underscore the nuanced and multifaceted nature of CBTs' language ideologies, indicating that the presence of multiple language ideologies can be accommodated within the educational system. The contribution of this study is to facilitate the professional growth of CBTs by assisting them in addressing the discrepancies between the ideologies they strive to maintain and implement, and the ideologies they literally carry out in their own teaching practice.

**Keywords:** Chinese bilingual teacher (CBT), language ideologies, Bernstein's recontextualization

### **Introduction**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, education is assuming a paramount role in human life, serving as a bridge between nations and cultures. School education not only imparts knowledge and skills, but also transmits a set of norms and values that reflect the prevailing ideology of a given society. As globalization continues to unfold, countries around the world, including China, are closely monitoring the evolution of the ideological sphere in education [Zajda 2015; Spring 2014]. Bilingual teaching has been the focal point in China since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century [Xia 2018: 001]. Chinese bilingual teachers possess significant social, moral, and intellectual authority and prestige. In this context, CBTs play a central role as authorities of knowledge and experts who propose policies. The language ideology of CBTs is an unavoidable topic in the global education landscape and a challenging issue regarding ideology. As Mike Metz [Metz, Knight 2021: 240] points out, "The multiplicity of teachers' language ideologies presents perhaps the biggest challenge in implementing change in teaching practices".

The paper centers on the potentially beneficial and problematic aspects of the varying degrees of the three main language ideologies we have identified. We do not assert that one category is superior to another, nor do we view these ideologies as mutually exclusive. This study aligns with an important perspective that there are numerous ways of narrative that serve distinct purposes, and none of them are inherently right or wrong [Weber, Horner 2013]. It is worth noting that our study does not seek to impose a singular language ideology or promote a particular approach to bilingual education. Rather, our goal is to provide a nuanced understanding of the complex and varied language ideologies adopted by bilingual teachers in their practice. By embracing the variety of language ideologies existing in the educational setting and facilitating the adoption of more equitable educational practices, this understanding can inform the development of more effective language policies and teaching practices in China.

### **Language Ideology in the Context of Education**

Educational linguists increasingly recognize that teachers' language instruction is more influenced by ideology than knowledge, as evident from the exploration of teachers' language ideologies in educational linguistics research [Metz, Knight 2021; Athanases, et al. 2019]. As Michael Apple [Apple 2003: 272] notes, "Education is a site of ideological struggle and compromise", highlighting that education is a field that is permeated with ideology and that all types of education entail ideological instructional implications or are embedded in particular ideologies. In this context, bilingual teachers are key mediators, not only in their own ideological struggles surrounding institutional goals, group interests, and final decisions in the educational field, but also in their responsibility to foster their students' social consciousness and value judgments that align with the demands of a given society, secure an ideological advantage in global cultural competition, and promote social stability.

Adnan Ajsic and Mary McGroarty [Ajsic, McGroarty 2015] contend that the connection between language ideology and language policy is a potent research domain, and they highlight the close association between teachers' language ideologies and conflicts and concessions in language policy. Bernard Spolsky proposes a significant framework that distinguishes three components of language policy: language practices, language beliefs and ideologies, and specific efforts to modify or influence language practices through intervention, planning, or management. He defines language ideology as "what people think should be done, ignoring the language policies of managers" [Spolsky 2004: 14]. In other words, a policy can be perceived and implemented in a manner that is contingent on the underlying multiple language ideologies of the individuals. The multiplicity of language ideologies refers to the coexistence of diverse and potentially contradictory ideologies among language users. According to Ryuko Kubota [Kubota 2018], and Mike Metz [Metz, Knight 2021], language users can hold varied, even conflicting, ideologies simultaneously.

In the context of education, teachers' ideologies about language and teaching are co-constructed through their interactions in various contexts such as schools, districts, and national policies. Not all multilingual teachers align with the same language ideology, as their personal beliefs are intricately linked to the actions they take as bilingual educators, such as implementing policies communicated by governments or schools [Palmer 2011]. According to Michelle Buehl and Jori Beck [Buehl, Beck 2014: 72], "Assuming that beliefs exist in clusters in a way that incompatible beliefs can coexist simultaneously, conflicting beliefs may exist within teachers and have different links to their practices depending on

the context". Language ideologies are formed and manifested in the daily teaching practices of educators within the framework of classroom instruction. Teachers' language ideologies are reflected not only in their stated beliefs but also in their implicit assumptions and self-reported practices [Palmer 2010; Varghese, Stritikus 2005]. Historically, educators have been viewed as policy beneficiaries or facilitators, occupying subservient roles [Fullan 1999]. However, contemporary research regards educators as engaged agents, emphasizing their active participation in the process [Kitson 2020; Gu, et al. 2017; Penney, et al. 2015].

This study views the school as an educational field that serves as a "site of exposure" for ideological competition and struggles among different groups [Heller 1999: 337] and we understand the language ideology of CBTs in educational contexts as a representation of beliefs about educational practices that result from the interactive construction of teachers' discourse and language scheme during the recontextualization of language policy. Other studies also support the interactive co-construction of teacher ideology and language policy implementation [De La Cruz Albizu 2020; Mathou 2018; Shay 2013; Olson 2009], providing valuable insight for this study. These previous studies serve as a valuable point of reference for this research.

#### **Bernstein's Recontextualization and Framing**

The concept of recontextualization introduced by Basil Bernstein [Bernstein 1990] is increasingly being applied to the study of language instruction. Bernstein posits that the recontextualizing principle generates recontextualizing fields in which agents recontextualize discourses to create a pedagogical discourse, which is inevitably influenced by ideologies [Bernstein 2000: 33]. There is a notable distinction between the pedagogic discourses advanced by authoritative and dominant groups and the ones that are mediated and interpreted by individuals who collaborate with and assist teachers. Different groups prioritize distinct areas in creating pedagogic discourses guided by their ideological frameworks. To explain this process, Bernstein refers to an "Official Recontextualizing Field" (ORF) and a "Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field" (PRF) [Bernstein 2000: 115].

The ORF is comprised of specialized departments and sub-agencies of state and municipal authorities, along with their respective networks of investigators and advisers. It is responsible for producing policy documents, legislative and regulatory texts that control the functioning of schools, the official curriculum, teaching instructions, and other supporting documents directed toward educators. These texts then move to local sites, within schools and classrooms, where they are transformed into a set of pedagogic activities [Singh, et al. 2013: 466]. The PRF is another crucial field, encompassing institutions and their institutes of education, publication companies, foundations, and pedagogic organizations. It is responsible for creating the non-official pedagogic discourse. In other words, PRF comprises agents and institutions that are directly involved in the teaching and learning process, such as teachers, schools, and other educational organizations. These agents actively interpret and adapt the official pedagogic discourse, as defined by the ORF, to their specific contexts and needs. Basil Bernstein [Bernstein 2000] emphasizes the power dynamics and struggles that are inherent within the PRF, as different agents and institutions compete to define and control the recontextualization of knowledge. Moreover, he argues that the PRF is influenced by broader social, economic, and cultural factors, which can result in the reproduction of social inequalities and the perpetuation of ideologies.

In recent years, numerous studies investigating policy implementation by teachers and schools have successfully incorporated Bernstein's concept of recontextualization [De La

Cruz Albizu 2020; Mathou 2018; Wodak, Fairclough 2010]. According to Sophia Stavrou [Stavrou 2010], the current era is one of the most significant periods in the history of higher education, as institutions are undergoing a process of change. The reform sphere and its actors are diverse, each operating within its unique normative frame of action. Within the field of recontextualization, the localization of knowledge occurs through a process of negotiation and settlement, as explained by Basil Bernstein [Bernstein 1996: 33], who states that “we move from a recontextualizing principle to a recontextualizing field with agents with practicing ideologies”. Basil Bernstein [Bernstein 2000] further contends that ideology and prejudice become embedded in educational dissemination when instructional concepts such as global competence are transferred from one context and field to another. This change imbues educational ideas with new significance, as the underlying doctrine recontextualizes these ideas, subverting them from their original purpose [Couch 2018]. Teachers play a pivotal role as agents in this process. They are at the metaphorical heart of language policy implementation, and their interpretation, comprehension, and implementation of language policy are intimately connected to the local construction of classroom-level language policy [Hornberger, Johnson 2011; Menken, García 2010; Ricento, Hornberger 1996].

This study defines PRF as a bottom-up reality of real-life teacher narratives that characterize the language policy implementation of bilingual teachers, while ORF is conceptualized as an idealized, top-down concept, with the official syllabus serving as a typical instantiation. The transition from ORF to PRF involves a recontextualizing process that operates from the top down. Discourse is recontextualized when it is extracted from its original setting and then transformed to facilitate reproduction. Different language ideologies emerged in a new context, altering the characteristics of the identical language policy.

Through the lens of recontextualization, this study examines the reflective narratives of CBTs and explores their language ideologies in recontextualization. Using a qualitative approach, the study reveals the underlying assumptions and beliefs entailed in teachers’ language ideologies and investigates the extent to which these ideologies reflect centripetal or centrifugal tendencies. The study aims to underscore the complexity and intricacy of the language ideologies of CBTs and to explore it in sufficient depth. Specifically, the study proposes two guiding questions for further research: 1) In the recontextualization shifting from ORF to PRF, what types of heterogeneous language ideologies do CBTs hold? and 2) What are the main characteristics of heterogeneous language ideologies with respect to centripetality or centrifugality?

### **Method**

This study employs a qualitative methodology, specifically Narrative Inquiry as a research method, which has gained popularity in the field of education [Mertova, Webster 2019]. Paula Golombek and Karen Johnson [Golombek, Johnson 2004] propose that teacher narrative inquiry can be a valuable instrument for gaining insights into the experiences and perspectives of language teachers. This method entails teachers reflecting on their practices and experiences by sharing personal stories and language. Through externalizing and interpreting their knowledge and beliefs about teaching, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of teachers’ teaching practices and the underlying factors that influence them.

In educational settings, narrative inquiry serves as a means to uncover truths that may otherwise be difficult to express, as stories provide a way for individuals to share their experiences and perspectives [Bach 1998; Clough 2002]. In this study, the employing of narrative inquiry as a research method can help to generate rich and detailed data that

allow for a deep exploration of teachers' stories, experiences, and perspectives, providing a comprehensive understanding of their language ideologies. Additionally, it can provide valuable insight into the broader cultural and societal factors that shape these ideologies. The use of narrative inquiry in this study can facilitate the identification of the challenges and barriers that Chinese bilingual teachers face in implementing language policies and teaching practices, providing valuable information for teacher training.

### Context of the Study and Participants

This study is conducted at a public university in China, specifically at the School of Western Studies which offers bilingual courses taught in collaboration with foreign institutions of higher learning such as the University of Illinois in the United States, the University of Swansea in the United Kingdom, the Göte Institute in Germany, and the University of Santiago Compostela in Spain. The study recruited 12 CBT participants, who were selected through the Provincial Education Science Planning Key Project team. Of the 12 participants, 10 had further study abroad experiences in countries such as the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, France, and Spain. The participants had an average of more than 6 years of bilingual teaching experience and were between the ages of 30 and 50, as shown in Table 1.

*Table №1*

**Demographic characteristics of CBT participants**

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Professional title	Bilingual teaching age	The country where participant has studied abroad
Dong Wei	33	Male	Lecturer	2	--
Dong Yue	35	Female	Lecturer	5	--
Du Shuang	37	Female	Lecturer	2	the U.S.A.
Han Wen	38	Male	Associate professor	3	the U.K.
Huang Jing	38	Male	Associate professor	3	German
Jia Lin	41	Female	Associate professor	5	Spain
Liu Dan	42	Female	Associate professor	4	France
Ma Hui	41	Female	Professor	6	the U.S.A.
Wang Hua	50	Female	Professor	12	the U.K.
Wu Lili	49	Female	Professor	12	the U.S.A.
Zheng Kun	43	Male	Professor	8	France
Zhou Lei	46	Male	Professor	10	Canada

The participants were asked to anonymously submit Teaching Reflection Reports (TRRs) for the courses they taught at the end of the first and second semesters as part of a year-long (two semesters) pre-data collection process for the project. A total of 24 TRRs were collected for this study. Participants provided informed consent, and all names were replaced with pseudonyms to protect their privacy. Some potentially identifying details have also been modified. The study received approval from the host faculty. Overall, this study provides valuable insights into the experiences and perspectives of CBTs in a bilingual education setting. The use of TRRs as a data collection method allows for a more nuanced and personal understanding of the experiences of these teachers and has important ramifications for teacher education and professional growth.

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

To enhance the readability and analytical potential of the data, the Chinese reports submitted by the study participants were transcribed into English format. The participants were requested to provide descriptions of their educational and teaching philosophy, goals, methods, and effectiveness, as well as reflections on the relationship between their teaching practices and the course syllabus. They were also asked to indicate what they considered particularly important, their thoughts and feelings about the teaching process, the difficulties encountered, and the lessons learned from the process. This approach enables the researchers to obtain rich and detailed data, which provides valuable insights into the experiences and perspectives of the participants. In total, 24 TRRs were collected and analyzed as part of the study. Overall, the use of reflection reports permits a more comprehensive understanding of the intricacies and diversity of language teaching practices and has substantial implications for teacher education and professional development.

### **Findings**

The analysis we conducted corroborates the assertion made by scholars such as Ryuko Kubota [Kubota 2018], and Mike Metz [Metz, Knight 2021], among others, that language teachers hold heterogeneous ideologies. This diversity stems from the fact that language users may concurrently hold different and even conflicting ideologies. The use of a recontextualized observational perspective is valuable in comprehending the language ideologies of CBTs. This perspective enables a more nuanced and contextual understanding of the intricate and often contradictory nature of language ideologies. Our findings offer an initial response to our research questions by demonstrating that CBTs' language policy is underpinned by three main types of heterogeneous language ideologies. Specifically, we identify three groups and six main language ideologies that underpin CBTs' language policy. These ideologies encompass the centripetality and centrifugality of standardization, meritocracy, and employment-incentive.

The identification of these types provides insight into the heterogeneous and often conflicting language ideologies held by CBTs. It deserves to mention that the three groups of language ideologies identified by the authors are not entirely exclusive or dichotomous. Rather, each type is expressed to varying degrees within the linguistic ideology system of CBTs. This highlights the complex and multi-faceted nature of language ideologies and the need for language teachers to be aware of and critically reflect upon their language ideologies and those of their students. By recognizing the heterogeneous and complex characteristics of language ideologies, language teachers can better understand and address the needs of their students. This has important implications for language teacher education, curriculum development, and language policy, as it emphasizes the need for a more critical and reflexive approach to language teaching that takes into consideration the diversity and complexity of language ideologies, which can promote effective and equitable language teaching practices.

### **Standardization Centripetality (SCP) Versus Standardization Centrifugality (SCF)**

In the present study, the terms SCP and SCF refer to the extent to which participants prioritize the use of a standardized language form in their bilingual teaching practices. Noteworthy is the fact that the notion of standardized language is not an empirical reality, but rather an abstraction that reflects what is considered as the ideal implementation of the "best" language practices. Thus, SCP and SCF serve as proxies for the degree to which participants adhere to these presumed best practices in their bilingual teaching. These constructs are essential to comprehend how bilingual teachers navigate the complex terrain of language



use in educational settings and the extent to which they seek to conform to or challenge established linguistic norms.

The SCP ideology emphasizes the importance of adhering to standardized rules and norms in language usage, suggesting that the use of standard language forms is essential in educational settings. This ideology presupposes the existence of a correct or standard version of a language that should be taught and utilized in formal education contexts. For example, Professor Huang explicitly expressed:

Language itself is a science, and science is rigorous, and the language teachers use in the teaching process must be rigorous and scientific. Accurate use of language is the basic requirement for learning a language, and is also the first, not only to be accurate and strict, but also to be in line with the norms, use standardized language, and educate students to form good language habits. By standard, I mean not only the standard of speech, but also the standard of wording and phrasing, so that it is in accordance with the rules of grammar. Incomplete speech, incoherent speech, crude speech, arbitrary speech, dialect, abuse of colloquial language, and language disorders are all taboos in classroom language.

In his teaching reflection, Professor Huang's language ideology is presented as being strongly aligned with SCP. This ideology is frequently associated with the notion of linguistic correctness, and may regard non-standard language forms as incorrect, uneducated, or inferior. It may also be connected to ideas of social status and power, as the ability to use standard language is often associated with education and access to opportunities. CBTs who subscribe to this language ideology believe that students' language should conform to the standardized form, not only for the purpose of communication effectiveness but also for economic and social benefits. Consequently, they tend to correct the language and grammar of students who do not adhere to the standard. These teachers are motivated to cultivate students who can meet the linguistic standards demanded by society, which are frequently linked to power and status.

SCF, in contrast to SCP, acknowledges the diversity and malleability of language. This ideology posits that language is in a constant state of flux and transformation, and that there is not necessarily a correct or standardized version of a language. Instead, different varieties of a language, including regional dialects, slang, and non-standard forms, are all valid and should be acknowledged and appreciated. CBTs who subscribe to this language ideology challenge dominant language ideologies by incorporating non-standard dialects or languages into their curriculum. These teachers may frame their narrative around the concept that all languages and dialects possess inherent value and should be celebrated and respected, rather than stigmatized or suppressed. For instance, Professor Liu stated:

I believe that language is a tool for communication, rather than a set of rules to be followed blindly. Languages are constantly evolving and changing, and there is not necessarily a correct or standard version of a language. On the contrary, different variants of a language, including local dialects, slang and non-standard forms, are valid and should be recognized and respected. Language learning should not emphasize only on knowledge from books. As a bilingual teacher, I want to expose my students to the richness of different dialects and accents of other languages, rather than focusing solely on standard version. I believe it's vital to educate my students how to communicate effectively in a variety of settings, rather than just in the formal context of written language. For this reason, I like to introduce my students to a wide variety of literature and media, including non-standard forms of spoken language. By exposing them to different styles and registers of language, I hope to help them develop a flexible and adaptable approach to communication.

CBTs who subscribe to SCF, such as Professor Liu, display a recognition and appreciation of the value and legitimacy of regional and non-standard language varieties. These teachers recognize that standardized language forms are merely one of many possible varieties and may use non-standard forms themselves in certain contexts. They view language as a dynamic and ever-changing phenomenon that reflects the diversity and complexity of the human experience. Consequently, they encourage students to develop fluency in multiple language varieties, depending on the audience and situation. CBTs with an SCF language ideology are comparatively more receptive and accepting of different language varieties. They prioritize the development of communicative competence over strict adherence to standardized rules and forms, thereby promoting a more inclusive and equitable approach to language education.

The differentiation between SCP and SCF holds considerable significance, as it can have critical implications for language education and the manner in which students are taught and valued in the classroom. SCP may lead to the devaluation of non-standard language forms and contribute to the marginalization of students who speak non-standard dialects or languages. CBTs who subscribe to SCP employ prescriptive approaches to language instruction, prioritizing the teaching of standard forms at the cost of linguistic diversity and cultural identity. This approach may be less beneficial for students with non-standard language backgrounds, as it may disregard their native language and reduce their motivation to learn. In contrast, CBTs who adhere to SCF adopt a more descriptive approach to language instruction, focusing on the different varieties and uses of language in varied social contexts. This approach can promote greater language flexibility and adaptability among students, as well as increase cross-cultural communication, understanding, inclusivity, and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom. Therefore, the choice between SCP and SCF ideologies can have substantial implications for language education, as it can impact the ways in which language is taught and valued, the inclusion and representation of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and the promotion of effective cross-cultural communication and understanding.

### **Meritocracy Centripetality (MCP) Versus Meritocracy Centrifugality (MCF)**

The language meritocracy embraced by CBTs is a belief system that regards certain language forms as superior or more prestigious than others, and associates these forms with higher social status and power. It perceives language proficiency as a measure of intelligence, capability, and potential for success in life. Individuals who are proficient in standardized language forms are regarded as more capable and deserving of success, while those who are not proficient are deemed less capable and less deserving of success. As Kroskrity [2000: 12] explains, “Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership”. The ideological representation of CBTs demonstrates this multiplicity through the division between elite groups and popular groups, which we refer to as MCP and MCF, respectively. This division reflects the various meaningful social divisions within the CBT community that can generate divergent perspectives on language use and its relationship to social status and power.

CBTs who adhere to MCP emphasize the establishment of a pyramid structure within the education system that comprises both elites and masses, serving as a source of social differentiation. They often view education as a means of reproducing social inequalities by



perpetuating the dominance of elite groups and reinforcing existing power structures. They see the education system as a way to identify and select individuals who possess the desired characteristics and values, such as proficiency in standardized language forms, and to exclude those who do not meet these standards. This approach to education is based on the belief that social differentiation is necessary for the functioning of society and that the preservation of elite culture is essential for maintaining social order. These teachers often frame their narratives in a manner that reflects and reinforces elite cultural values, such as individualism, competition, and achievement. In his teaching narrative, Professor Wang stated:

I believe that language proficiency is a significant predictor of success in life, and that it is the responsibility of each individual to work hard and achieve language proficiency levels that will allow them to succeed academically and professionally. In a neo-liberal environment, foreign language teachers are expected to take on a greater responsibility for nurturing, therefore I always encourage my students to work hard and to strive for excellence in their language learning, so that they can achieve success in the real world. I've noticed that some of my students struggle with learning foreign language, and I believe this is because they haven't had as much exposure to the language as other students. It's not their fault, but it puts them at a disadvantage.

In her teaching reflection, Professor Wang showcases the commitment of CBTs who support MCP to fostering language proficiency among their students and expecting them to achieve success based on their individual abilities. According to this perspective, language proficiency is a critical determinant of success in both education and society, and individuals bear responsibility for their language proficiency levels. Students who demonstrate proficiency in the language of instruction are regarded as more intelligent and deserving of success. CBTs who subscribe to MCP prioritize the teaching of elite language forms to their students, with the aim of imparting cultural and linguistic capital that will enable them to succeed in elite social and professional circles. Therefore, MCP emphasizes the importance of language proficiency as a measure of success and the responsibility of individuals to achieve this proficiency, with a focus on teaching the language forms associated with elite cultural values and social status.

MCF is a belief system in which bilingual teachers recognize the importance of language proficiency while simultaneously acknowledging the impact of social and cultural factors on language ability. They view language as a dynamic and complex phenomenon that reflects the diversity and richness of the human experience. CBTs who subscribe to MCF are more attuned to the linguistic and cultural diversity of their students and may make efforts to create a supportive and inclusive language learning environment. They recognize that some students may face unique challenges in learning the language of instruction and require additional support and accommodations. Furthermore, they often employ narratives that reinforce values of community, social justice, and equity, reflecting their commitment to promoting inclusivity and equality in language education. For example, Professor Zhou demonstrated:

At present, higher education has entered the stage of popularization, which means that the task of colleges and universities is no longer to cultivate social elites, but to cultivate qualified social citizens. The coverage of education has been expanded like never before, and the service targets of education have increased. I feel like some of my students are just not cut out for success in foreign language learning. They come from backgrounds where another language isn't spoken at home, and they lack the vocabulary and grammar skills to excel in the language. Sometimes they are seen as 'less than' by other students and teachers. It's a harmful thought that perpetuates the myth of meritocracy. We should respect the differences of students.

These reflections exemplify the characteristics of MCF, as they acknowledge that students' language backgrounds and fluency levels can constitute barriers to their success and suggest that not all students have equal opportunities or access to achievement. In contrast to MCP, which views success as solely dependent on ability and unaffected by language or cultural background, MCF recognizes that language proficiency is just one of several factors that affect academic success. Teachers who subscribe to MCF prioritize a comprehensive education that encompasses multiple subjects and skills in addition to language proficiency. This approach reflects a belief in the importance of promoting equity, social justice, and inclusivity in education, and recognizes the influence of social and cultural factors on student success.

MCP and MCF can significantly impact language education and how students are valued and supported in the classroom. CBTs who subscribe to MCP tend to prioritize instructional methods that prioritize language proficiency and view language as a crucial determinant of success. They place great emphasis on the language of instruction and prioritize students who exhibit exceptional language skills. However, it is crucial to note that MCP may result in a narrow concentration on language proficiency at the expense of other essential language skills. MCP may also reinforce existing social and economic inequalities by privileging those who are already proficient in standardized language forms, which can perpetuate linguistic and cultural biases and marginalize students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In contrast, CBTs who adhere to MCF may be more likely to adjust their teaching approach based on the needs of their students and consider the potential impact of social factors on their students' success. They may prioritize the development of multiple language skills, including non-standard dialects or languages, and aim to create a supportive and inclusive language learning environment that values the diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds of their students. It is imperative for CBTs to be aware of their own language ideologies and strive for greater inclusivity and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in their teaching practices. By doing so, CBTs can offer a more equitable and balanced language learning environment that recognizes and values diverse linguistic backgrounds and supports students' success regardless of their language proficiency. Overall, the choice between MCP and MCF ideologies can significantly impact language education and the ways in which students are valued and supported, highlighting the importance of promoting inclusivity and equity in language teaching practices.

### **Employment-Incentive Centripetality (EICP) Versus Employment-Incentive Centrifugality (EICF)**

Within the realm of language ideologies, the concept of employment-incentive places emphasis on the notion that language acquisition should be geared towards fulfilling the practical needs and objectives of learners, particularly within the context of their chosen profession or work domain. This ideology acknowledges the value of communication competencies that are specific to particular industries or occupations and endeavors to provide learners with the requisite language skills and strategies that are essential for succeeding in their preferred career trajectories. In the case of CBTs, the extent to which their language ideologies are oriented towards occupational concerns may have an impact on their perceptions of the relative importance of various languages in the realm of education.

The concept of EICP refers to a set of beliefs that place emphasis on the utilization of particular languages within specific professions or occupational roles. An example of this would be a bilingual language teacher who maintains the belief that the dominant language

of instruction in the classroom should be either the language of the prevailing social norm or the language that possesses the highest economic value in the job market. These individuals frequently articulate narratives that highlight the significance of specialized language skills for their students' future career prospects. For example, Professor Zheng stated:

I have noticed that many of my students come from families that place a strong emphasis on occupational-oriented language. Therefore, I make a point to emphasize the connection between language and career success with my students. I remind them that being bilingual is a valuable asset in today's job market and that language skills can help them advance in their chosen careers. [...] I often bring in guest speakers from various industries to talk to my students about how language skills have helped them succeed in their careers. Hearing real-life examples from professionals really motivates my students to continue learning and improving their language abilities.

CBTs that adhere to EICP tend to adopt a market-oriented perspective towards language education, placing a higher priority on the economic value of language acquisition. They believe that education should ultimately lead to gainful employment, and that language instruction should accordingly prepare students for their future careers. However, given the current employment landscape, it can be difficult to align the number of graduates with the demand for skilled professionals across different sectors of the economy, resulting in a potential mismatch that may necessitate some students changing their majors, thus undermining the economic benefits of their intellectual investment. To circumvent such scenarios, teachers are expected to maximize students' professional proficiency. Nevertheless, this strong occupational-orientation language ideology may have the unintended consequence of excluding and marginalizing students who possess weaker language skills.

EICF is an ideology characterized by bilingual teachers' acknowledgement of the significance of language proficiency for both professional and personal development, as well as for effective communication in everyday life. CBTs that adhere to the EICF approach prioritize teaching language forms that are applicable across diverse social and communicative domains, rather than solely within specific industries or professions. They recognize that by prioritizing a broad range of language skills, students may be better equipped to navigate the complexities of diverse social and cultural contexts. As a result, they often highlight the importance of a broad range of language skills that can be applied in diverse contexts, rather than just those that are most economically valuable. EICF represents a more balanced and holistic approach to language education, one that recognizes the importance of both employment-incentive and communicative fluency for personal, professional, and social success. As an example, Professor Ma stated:

I have come across families and students who do not place as much emphasis on occupational-oriented language. These students often prioritize developing English skills for personal reasons such as understanding media or communicating with friends. As a teacher, I try to approach these students differently by focusing on their personal interests or hobbies. I believe that this approach helps students maintain their motivation to learn the language, which, in turn, leads to positive results in the classroom. For example, if a student is interested in video games, I would try to incorporate gaming vocabulary into our lessons to make the learning process more enjoyable for them. I find that this approach not only helps students develop their language skills, but also instills a sense of confidence and pride in their unique interests and abilities. I don't want to stereotype or limit my students' career options.

The EICF ideology seeks to achieve a balance between developing learners' occupation-specific language skills and enhancing their general language proficiency. CBTs that adhere

to this language ideology recognize that students may need to utilize their language skills in diverse contexts beyond the workplace, reflecting a broader trend in language education towards a more holistic approach that acknowledges the significance of learners' language skills for various contexts and purposes. However, it is important to acknowledge that this ideology may overlook the fact that many students require specific job-related language skills in their future careers, regardless of whether they pursue academic or vocational paths. Moreover, downplaying the importance of teaching occupation-specific vocabulary and skills, which are crucial for students to succeed in the workforce, could be a limitation of this approach. Despite these potential drawbacks, EICF represents a promising approach to language education that seeks to balance learners' occupational and general language needs, and promotes communicative fluency and intercultural understanding in a variety of contexts.

The distinction between EICP and EICF lies in their respective prioritization of specific languages for professional success and the preservation and empowerment of multiple languages. Understanding these language ideologies is essential for creating inclusive and equitable language education environments that account for the diverse needs and backgrounds of learners. By recognizing the range of employment-incentive language ideologies and their implications for language education, teachers can design more effective language curricula that address the linguistic and cultural diversity of their students, and promote their linguistic and communicative competence in a variety of contexts. This approach fosters communicative fluency and intercultural understanding, which are essential for students' success in a rapidly changing global society.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

In an effort to illuminate the heterogeneous language ideologies exhibited by CBTs in the face of a homogenized language policy, this paper presents a qualitative analysis that delves into the main manifestations stemming from three distinct ideologies with respect to centripetality or centrifugality. Building on prior observations, it becomes evident that language ideologies held by CBTs are not singular in nature; rather, they possess a nuanced and multifaceted character. The research findings emphasize the multiplicity of bilingual teachers' ideologies, which encompass not only complementary viewpoints but also conflicting perspectives. The primary ideologies scrutinized in this study include: 1) standardization, 2) meritocracy, and 3) employment-incentive.

SCP and SCF pertain to the concept of language correctness, with teachers who subscribe to varying levels of this ideology demonstrating different degrees of emphasis on the utilization of standardized language forms in their instructional practices. Meanwhile, MCP and MCF are associated with hierarchical perceptions of language, in which teachers adhering to varying levels of this ideology display different degrees of affiliation with the capital nature of language and their pedagogical practices. Lastly, the economic aspects of language are embodied by EICP and EICF, as teachers espousing diverse levels of this ideology exhibit fluctuations in the degree to which they consider the economic benefits of language proficiency in their teaching practices.

Based on Bernstein's recontextualization perspective, the findings across these three dimensions collectively underscore the complexity and intricacy of CBTs' language ideologies. This investigation not only accentuates the heterogeneity of beliefs and values within language education but also underscores the necessity of comprehending and acknowledging these disparities. Teachers cognizant of the pervasive ideologies encompassing varying degrees

of standardization, meritocracy, and employment-incentive are better equipped to navigate the requirements and expectations imposed by their schools, students, and communities. Consequently, they can tailor their instructional practices and advocate for systemic changes that align with their personal beliefs. By strengthening their capacity to elucidate school life and competently perform daily tasks, teachers can contribute to the development of a more effective and equitable education system for all.

This research indicates that a strong emphasis on standardization in education engenders conflicts between policy and practice, as teachers could feel restricted by inflexible curricula and teaching methods that fail to address the needs of individual students. By grasping the balance between standardization and adaptability, teachers can modify their instructional practices to cater to each student's needs, thereby fostering more effective learning outcomes. Similarly, a strong focus on meritocracy precipitates competition and an emphasis on individual achievement, potentially neglecting the needs of students who require additional support or resources. Teachers aware of this ideology can work towards fostering collaboration and cooperation among students, as well as cultivating a classroom environment that is supportive of all learners. Lastly, a strong concentration on employment-incentive results in a narrow focus on job readiness and workforce development, potentially overlooking the significance of a comprehensive education that nurtures critical thinking, creativity, and civic engagement. Teachers who comprehend this ideology can advocate for a more balanced approach to education that prioritizes not only employment-incentive but also social equity and community engagement.

Moreover, a thorough understanding of language ideology can facilitate the development of positive identities for language learners. Teachers cognizant of language ideology can establish a classroom environment that supports linguistic and cultural diversity, thereby fostering positive identities for all learners. Language ideology also bears implications for language policy and planning. Language policies have the capacity to either promote or impede the utilization and expansion of different languages in educational settings. Grasping language ideology can aid policymakers in devising language policies that are equitable and inclusive, ultimately encouraging the use and development of a diverse range of languages.

As institutions responsible for transmitting culture, norms, and shared values, universities and their faculties bear the obligation to challenge prevailing norms and generate novel ideas that catalyze positive societal change. In this regard, bilingual teachers, in particular, should embody a broad spectrum of ideologies and philosophical perspectives, enabling students to be readily exposed to an array of intellectual approaches and frameworks. Language teaching serves a crucial role in this mission, as they encompass numerous disciplines and viewpoints that can revolutionize how society and the world are perceived. Faculty members in universities should be granted the opportunity to express their opinions on social issues and act as a catalyst for the exchange and collision of ideas. This approach can facilitate the promotion of pluralistic values while supporting individual spirit and creativity. Hence, it is imperative for research in language and education to persist in exploring the impact of these ideologies on educational outcomes and in identifying strategies that enable teachers to effectively navigate the complexities of these ideologies.

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**For citation:**

Wang Tianhua, Wang Ying. Exploring Chinese bilingual teachers' language ideologies: a Bernstein's recontextualization perspective // Journal of Psycholinguistics. 3(57), 2023. P. 111-127. Available from: doi: 10.30982/2077-5911-2023-57-3-111-127

УДК 81'27

ББК 81

DOI 10.30982/2077-5911-2023-57-3-111-127

Научная статья

**ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ИДЕОЛОГИИ КИТАЙСКИХ  
БИЛИНГВАЛЬНЫХ ПРЕПОДАВАТЕЛЕЙ: ПЕРСПЕКТИВА  
РЕКОНТЕКСТУАЛИЗАЦИИ ПО БЕРНШТЕЙНУ<sup>1</sup>**

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**Аннотация**

В данном исследовании изучаются языковые идеологии китайских двуязычных преподавателей в образовательном контексте. При этом под языковой идеологией понимается совокупность представлений о практике преподавания иностранного языка, являющаяся результатом интерактивного построения преподавательского дискурса и языковой модели в процессе реконтекстуализации языковой политики. Авторы используют качественный подход, анализируя рефлексивные нарративы 12 участников из Китая, чтобы изучить их приверженность трем типам различных языковых идеологий: Центростремительность стандартизации против

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<sup>1</sup> Работа выполнена при поддержке Проекта научного планирования ключевого образования провинции Хэйлунцзян [GJB1422037]; Проекта реформы преподавания Хэйлунцзянского университета [2021C59].

Центробежности стандартизации, Центростремительность меритократии против Центробежности меритократии, а также Центростремительность, стимулирующая занятость, против Центробежности, стимулирующей занятость. Выводы по этим шести направлениям указывают на многоаспектный характер языковых идеологий китайских двуязычных преподавателей, что говорит о том, что в системе образования возможно присутствие нескольких языковых идеологий. Вклад данного исследования заключается в содействии профессиональному росту преподавателей путем оказания им помощи в устранении расхождений между идеологиями, которые они стремятся поддерживать и внедрять, и идеологиями, которые они фактически реализуют в своей преподавательской практике.

**Ключевые слова:** китайский двуязычный преподаватель, языковые идеологии, реконтекстуализация Бернштейна

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**Для цитирования:**

Ван Тяньхуа, Ван Ин. Исследование языковой идеологии китайских билингвальных преподавателей: перспектива реконтекстуализации по Бернштейну // Вопросы психолингвистики №3(57) 2023, С. 111–127, doi: 10.30982/2077-5911-2023-57-3-111-127