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Loring, Ariel & Ramanathan, Vaidehi (eds.) (2016). Language, Immigration and Naturalization: Legal and Linguistic Issues. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. ISBN: 978-1-78309-514-8 (pbk), pp.213, £29.95.

Reviewed by James Simpson (University of Leeds)

This edited collection continues a line of work on how language policy creates 'dis-citizens' by refusing people legitimacy (e.g. Ramanathan 2013). The book is largely about belonging – how people belong, or sometimes do not belong, and what they might (or might not) belong to – in terms of a nation state, and other real or imagined communities. Belonging has a tight association with naturalization and with a legal understanding of citizenship. A key argument throughout, however, is that the notion of citizenship should be disentangled from its legal dimensions: that it should be defined not in terms of status in a country but of participation and feelings of belonging. National policy-makers often beg to differ, and a number of the chapters focus on how new arrivals negotiate the legal processes of citizenship. And even for naturalized people, belonging is not synonymous with citizenship. The editors note (following Bloemraad et al 2008) that citizenship encompasses legal status, equal rights, political participation and an inherently subjective sense of belonging: hence one can belong in a legal sense but still not belong.

The book is organised around sections on Policies (chapters 2 and 3), Pedagogies (4-6) and Discourses (7-9). All but two of the nine chapters relate to the US context, the outliers setting the book slightly off-balance. The chapters adopt a critical stance in reporting empirical work from a range of traditions, from linguistic ethnography, to survey research, to corpus linguistics. This variety suits the conclusions drawn by many authors about the intersectional nature of citizenship debates. National language policies, and local enactments of such policies, maintain the division between those who belong and those who do not. But authors also note the racialized nature of ideologies about citizenship, and the connection between citizenship debates and social class – reminding us that issues of belonging are relevant to natives and newcomers alike.

The first of the chapters on policy concerns the English writing test for naturalization, referring to policy discourses about US citizenship. All the way back to WW2, citizenship handbooks described a 'good American' as one who works all day, learns to speak English fast, saves money to buy a home, embraces American culture and shows loyalty to the US. Missing from today's naturalization test topics, notes the author, Winn Baptiste, is reference to any 'national heroes and heroines of color' apart from Martin Luther King, thus portraying whiteness as the norm. In the second chapter of the section, Feuerherm & Roumani describe participatory action research with Iraqi refugees in the US, studying the discursive construction of citizenship and arguing that an official 'status' of citizenship might engender a sense of belonging.

The chapters on pedagogy begin with Lillie's study of language classes for migrants in Arizona, framed within a discussion of Arizona's notorious language policies. So much time is spent studying English by young migrants in Arizona that none is left for other

classes, an example of a language policy that seriously disadvantages migrant youth. This puts flesh on the bones on the argument that local conditions, policies and pedagogies can impede the citizenship process. The chapter ends with a call to change the policy 'in order to support these students in fully realizing their potential and sense of belonging in a diversified US as situated in a globalizing world' (p.96). What hope of that, though, as the US turns in on itself? McPherron's very different chapter (5) is about teachers and students of English becoming 'global citizens' in a university in China. He approaches the idea of global citizenship with ambivalence, asking whether the university promotes students' citizenship in global English at the expense of their Chinese citizenship and language identity. Griswold (chapter 6) explores how language ideologies play out in practice, in classrooms. Her exemplary discourse analysis approach examines IRF sequences in an adult citizenship class with a focus on the teacher feedback element. This work can be usefully read in concert with Baptiste's chapter, noting the importance placed on the family and on material goods in US citizenship ideologies.

Josic's study of citizenship and identity (chapter 7) follows high school students in Brooklyn as they navigate spaces of their schools and neighbourhood and – on a more abstract plane – their nationhood. The chapter homes in on the intersection of the immigrant experience of citizenship with social class, race and poverty. The author problematizes 'community', which none of the young people actually feel part of, and details their reservations about national, as well as their racial and ethnic identity. Long's chapter (8) on belonging and non-belonging in the Netherlands complements the others in the section well, thematically if not geographically. The site of the study is an urban gentrification project, and the practices and perspectives of the local inhabitants who are involved. This work attends to the role of the national language in maintaining state structures and hegemonies at a local level: Muslim non-Dutch speakers are perceived as non-participatory because the local meetings about neighbourhood gentrification are held in Dutch-only spaces, and access to these spaces is problematic for non-Dutch speakers. The final chapter in the volume is a corpus-informed CDA study of ideologies of citizenship in the *New York Times* by one of the editors, Loring. The findings reveal a view of citizenship shared by the sample texts as: 'concrete, static, official and finite.' As Loring suggests, in the final words of the volume, this normative framing of 'citizenship' highlights 'conflicting perspectives of who belongs and who should be excluded and re-emphasizes the connections between citizenship and geographical terrains.'

This book presents a much-needed challenge to the established binary of the immigrant and the settled population, and to banal discourses of integration and social cohesion, as well as adding weight to arguments for dissociating citizenship from legal status: language policies, national identities and feelings of belonging affect all citizens and would-be citizens, settled populations as well as new arrivals. The volume could be more coherent, with perhaps a sole focus on the picture in US contexts. Nonetheless this

is useful reading for anyone researching the interface of language and migration policy, in sites where forces of globalization meet entrenched discourses of nationhood.

References

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