Jessica McDaid

‘Borderless English’?

Contestations of Space and Labour in Ireland as a (Pre)adolescent Immersion Destination

Abstract: Immersion experiences in English-speaking countries are booming products among middle-class families in Spain. Brimming with promises of linguistic, cultural, social, and symbolic forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984), thousands of Spanish teenagers (8–18) mobilise annually abroad, hoping to ‘fix’ the ‘problem of English’ ‘once and for all’ (Codó & Sunyol, in press). Methodologically, to become immersed is to ‘learn-by-doing’ among native speakers in the native context (Doerr, 2013). Ideologically, immersion is hinged on the total consumption of the ‘Other’ (Ibid.), which categorises various stakeholders into performative dichotomies (e.g., ‘local’–‘global’, ‘consumer’–‘consumed’) (Doerr & Suarez, 2018), while naturalising expectations of language learning as occurring in a ‘borderless’, equal arena for those who engage with it.

The island of Ireland is currently marketed as a top immersion destination due to widespread imaginaries of the ‘innate’ ‘hospitality of the Irish’ and its supposed ‘virgin’ linguistic landscape, that allows for ‘authentic’ (Howard, 2016) ‘total’ immersion. In this configuration, immersion ‘success’ rests on the shoulders of teenagers: Spanish teens who must neoliberally ‘manage’ their learning (Martín Rojo, 2019), and the local youth hosts that are expected to provide the linguistic and affective labour (Hochschild, 1979) that immerses them. Labour which, as I argue, is invisibilised, exploited, and unpaid to the naturalisation of immersion as something that occurs ‘passively’ and ‘naturally’ (Doerr, 2023).

This chapter draws from in-depth, long-term multi-sited (Marcus, 1995) ethnographic fieldwork of Spanish teenage mobility to Ireland (North and South) engaging in two types of immersion products: a ‘Rugby+English’ summer camp in Dublin, and two boarding schools hosting cohorts for an academic ‘year abroad’. Through observations, website and social media promotional material, as well as interviews and focus groups with a variety of stakeholders across the Spanish and Irish context, I unpack the tensions of ‘space’ and ‘labour’ that stakeholders must constantly negotiate. Contrary to immersion ideologies of ‘borderless’ experiences abroad, I

Acknowledgments: I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the anonymous reviewers whose feedback and encouraging prompts greatly helped tune the vision for this chapter. I would also like to thank Kevin Petit Cahill for his comments on a very early draft of this, and Àngel Ceballada Frontera for our many conversations on ‘space’.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111034225-007

explore how immersion is a highly regulated, boundary-marked and boundary marking practice, the nature of which occurs along physical, material, linguistic, symbolic and/or social borders, that come at the benefit of some and the detriment to others.

Keywords: immersion, early study abroad, language tourism, linguistic and affective labour, language ideology

1 Introduction

In 2021, it was estimated that over 20,000 Spanish (pre)adolescents went abroad to English speaking destinations like Ireland (North and South) for 'year-abroad' language-and-education experiences, a trend that has been growing exponentially in the past decade, and one which the pandemic did not seem to put a decisive brake on (Labayen, 2021). For those teens mobilising during the summer for immersion stays, the figures are currently upwards of 100,000 (20minutos, 2020). Moreover, these numbers only represent those who travel through official routes (such as agencies, or through school ties with particular destinations), whereas a large bulk of this mobility is organised through backchannels such as immersion experience brokers, or by parents reaching out directly to sites of interest for their child to be immersed in (Codó & Sunyol, forthcoming). As such, these mobility practices abroad belong to the massively lucrative language tourism market (Schedel, 2022) of the current 'experience economy' (Pine II & Gilmore, 1998).

Yet, despite these mobility figures collected on Spanish early language-and-education exodus for English immersion, there is very little documented on the practice from a sociolinguistic perspective, and crucial ethnographic insight on the lived reality of this mass language tourism mobility is lacking. Questions such as why Spanish (pre)adolescents go abroad for immersion, who gets to go, and how immersion is done, in practice, are largely unanswered in the literature on language-and-education mobility or discussions on language immersion methodology (Llanes, 2011; Llanes & Muñoz, 2013; Muñoz, 2010). Similarly, insights into how this mobility is experienced by the local context and in what ways it can be consequential, and for whom, is left unaddressed, while the voices of teenagers, both Spanish sojourners and those of the local Irish host context are left unheard.

This chapter is thus an ethnographic inquiry into Ireland (North and South) as an English immersion 'space' for young Spanish mobility from a critical sociolinguistic perspective. Specifically, through extensive and intensive fieldwork following Spanish (pre)adolescents attending a 'Rugby+English' summer camp in the Republic of Ireland (RoI) during the summer of 2019, and later two boarding school

sites in Northern Ireland (NI) across the 2021–2022 academic year, I explore the bedrock of immersion ideology in terms of the romantisation, commodification, and open consumption of the target context and its people (Doerr, 2013; Doerr & Taieb, 2019) that make up the immersion 'space', in tandem with how this is lived by 'consumers' and the 'consumed'.

To this end, the chapter is organised as follows: firstly, I provide the contextual backdrop to the mobility trend in Spain and the ideological framework in which immersion as a practice operates. Section 2 is comprised of an overview of the methodology and data used in the study, whereas Section 3 explores the discursive and semiotic construction of Ireland as a 'borderless' immersion destination. Sections 4 and 5 are concerned with the negotiation of 'space' and immersion 'labour' through snapshots of lived experiences between sojourners and locals, and how categories assigned through immersion are taken up and contested by stakeholders, and with which consequences.

1.1 Spain's English 'Frenzy' and the Promise of Immersion

In Spain, immersion education abroad is currently trending as the most seductive methodology for English language acquisition. These experiences are particularly coveted investments due to the country's current obsession with English, of the same 'frenzied' nature Park (2009) has described in South Korea (SK). Indeed, similar to other contexts undergoing intense neoliberalisation processes such as China (Gao, 2019), SK (Song, 2010; Yang, 2018), and India (Highet, 2020; Relaño-Pastor & McDaid, 2022), the English language is often understood as a 'panacea' to various dimensions of instability and uncertainty. Having it is thought to provide 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984) and allow individuals to fulfil their 'full potential' (Park, 2016).

English has been gaining ground in the fields of education, employment, and leisure in Spain since the 1960's when the country (at the time a totalitarian state under Francisco Franco) began to open up internationally.[1] However, once again similar to the SK context where the 'IMF crisis' in the late 90s led to a restructuring of the country's labour markets along the neoliberal lines of 'human capital' (Block et al., 2012) with English 'constructed as an essential part of a skillset' the imagined elite global worker should possess (Shin, 2015, p. 6), in Spain it was the 2008 financial crisis when English and its acquisition began to take a different shape and intensity.

1 This is known as the period of *apertura* ('opening') in Spain. See Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla (2016) for an overview of this process.

The recession years left Southern European countries like Spain with devastatingly high unemployment rates. Today, this is still the highest in Europe, sitting at 12.8%, and the youth unemployment rate at 29.3% (datosMacro, n.d.). Moreover, those jobs that do exist are often low paid and precarious (the average salary rate in Spain is currently 20.2% lower than the average of the rest of Europe (Rollán, 2022)). Klimava (2022), in her ethnographic study on the role of language in the Spanish headhunting sector, saw how multilingualism has become a determining factor in the Spanish labour market since the financial crisis, with English in particular playing a fundamental gatekeeping role in accessing scarce junior and senior-level jobs.

The cultivation of multilingual policies has also played a key part in the transformation of the Spanish education sectors at a public and private level throughout the past decade (Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018). English became the focus of many of these efforts, as seen through attempts to enhance its acquisition with the implementation of English-medium programmes like CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) (Codó, 2022), English language assistantships (Codó & McDaid, 2019), the IB (International Baccalaureate) (Sunyol, 2019), and mobility opportunities to English speaking countries. Nevertheless, this process was intensified in the private education market to where many families turned as they began to lack trust in the efficiency of the public sector to ensure high quality English acquisition for their children (Resnik, 2015).

What these changes share in common is the pedagogical shift towards introducing the language at earlier stages (one of the major private language school chains in Spain for example offers English programmes for children from the age of 1), in larger quantities (more exposure), and more 'intentionally' (Sayer, 2015). That is, with a focus on oral and listening skills over 'cumbersome' traditional grammar-based methodologies. The latter are often considered by previous generations (many of whom are now those investing in and planning their children's acquisition) less useful in the 'real world' and less efficient at delivering the desired proficiency they expect in relation to the time and effort one puts in. These changes also illustrate how the question of English in Spain has now entered the home as part of Family Language Policies (Codó & Sunyol, in press), and how questions of its acquisition are at the forefront of educational decisions families currently face (Hidalgo McCabe & Fernández-González, 2019) as careful nurturers of their children's capitals (Park, 2016; Bae & Park, 2020).[2]

2 Similar to SK, it is often mothers who act as 'educational managers' (Park, 2007), organizing their children's extracurricular activities, which in Spain most predominantly revolves around English.

The social group investing in the types of immersion-abroad products this chapter discusses are families across the Spanish middle-class spectrum who have the time and resources to procure and invest in such mobility. They are not just searching for 'any' type of English but are hoping for a 'breathtaking English' (Sunyol, 2021) for their children. In Spain, this English 'indexicalises' (Silverstein, 2003) a symbolic cosmopolitan, global family status and consequent 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977), and those who have it embody the international mobility required for its obtainment, as well as a series of soft skills imagined to be useful in the future career trajectories of sojourners (Codó & Sunyol, in press).

Many scholars (Waters, 2005; Weenink, 2008; Bærenholdt, 2013; De Costa et al., 2016) have pointed out the current mobility and multilingual imperative for the acquisition of a variety of linguistic, cultural, and symbolic capitals within neoliberal logics of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1991). Urciuoli (2008) seminally theorised the contemporary neoliberal labour market's demand of the worker as total reimagining of their personhood as a commodity, where a 'self' is made up of skills, of which those concerning 'aspects of the self and social interaction' (that is, 'soft skills') are most valuable. Indeed, much sociolinguistic and applied linguistic scholarship over the past decade has centred on the political economy of (particular) language(s) and (elite forms of) multilingualism as heavily commodified skills in contemporary labour markets (see Block et al., 2012; Flubacher & Del Percio, 2017; and Zimmermann & Muth, 2020).

Gillies (2011) describes how neoliberalism consists of an 'agility' imperative for its workers as 'agile bodies', who continuously prepare for future unpredictable markets. Zimmermann and Muth (2020, p. 271) 'argue for an understanding of 'future' as a metaphor that describes the relationship between neoliberal ideology and language learning', this is because 'investments' in and of language (Duchêne, 2016) are speculative, made in 'anticipation' of 'promising linguistic markets that ensure convertibility', the imaginaries of which stem from 'language ideologies of the nation state and as expressions of (post)colonial structures of inequality' (Zimmermann & Muth, 2020, p. 271).

Language learning, Martín Rojo (2019) states, plays 'a significant role in the construction of the 'successful' individual and in determining that those subjected to a neoliberal regime must be 'managed', 'guided', 'encouraged', 'trained' and 'empowered' to achieve their social and/or professional life goals' (p. 162). This 'managed' speaker is the 'self-made speaker' who constantly works on their language abilities in preparation for a speculative future (Ibid.).

The 'agility' imperative, however, is as much physical as it is metaphorical. Increasingly, 'going abroad' has become a credential necessity rather than a choice for many seeking cosmopolitan and global capitals (Courtois, 2018; McDaid & Sunyol, 2023). It has been widely noted how the language mobility industry has

made its way into education systems, cemented through Study Abroad programmes at university (Doerr, 2013; Kubota, 2016), language tourism or voluntourism channels (Jakubiak, 2020; Schedel, 2022), but also at pre-tertiary levels, such as Early Study Abroad (commonly known in SK literature as *jogi yuhak*) (Lo et al., 2015; Bae & Park, 2020), and immersion summer stays abroad (McDaid, 2020).

Zemach-Bersin (2009) critically denounces that we should look at how 'global citizenship' is commodified in the Study Abroad imaginary – semiotically and discursively sold through its promotional material –, as a 'purchasable' 'privatised identity' (p. 317). In this chapter I aim to further this line of analysis, by showing how, due to immersion ideology, the Irish context and its people are sold for their immersion potential for Spanish teens to become 'living embodiments of human capital' (Shin, 2015, p. 4).

1.2 Immersion Ideology and the Configuration of Immersion Spaces

To understand the investments and expectations of family investments in mobility for immersion in Ireland, we must first unpack immersion ideology. Immersion has at its core two main ideological underpinnings. The first is the idea of 'natural' language learning linked to widespread interpretations on how our first language is acquired, generally understood to occur 'easily' and 'passively' through socialisation practices (with family and later at school), and not in a language instruction classroom (see Petit Cahill, in press). The second, is the discursive bedrock of 'open consumption' of the 'Other', where one acquires language and cultural skills through 'learning-by-doing' (Doerr, 2013) like the natives, among the natives. In this formula, the traditional English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom ceases to exist, as does overt instruction, deemed 'tedious', 'boring', and 'ineffective' (McDaid, 2020). In its stead, the local space, its people, and their culture constitute both the place and means of learning. Therefore, *where* and among *whom* immersion takes place (or is imagined to) is fundamental to the creation, selling, and experience of immersion products.

In language tourism, 'language, together with accompanying identity ingredients, is being turned into a commodity' (Heller et al., 2014, pp. 546–547). This commodification is granted value (Park & Wee, 2012) based on the conceptualisation of the target context as an 'authentic' space (Howard, 2016), drawing on old ideologies of the nation-state that produces native speakers who are cultural ambassadors of delineated geographies (Heller et al., 2014). In immersion-abroad mobility to Ireland, the 'authentic' English language spoken by its native-speakers is simultaneously the source of attraction for its overseas tourism, but the daily use

of this language by its speakers is the performance of the touristic product itself (Ibid.), and the material that weaves the physical space into the immersion experience.

As a result, this study is deeply concerned with questions of 'space' in the production and consumption of Ireland as an immersion landscape. I understand 'space' along the terms of De Certeau (1985) and Lefebvre (1991) as something that is practiced, experienced, socially produced and contested. Accordingly, throughout this chapter I speak of immersion 'space' along a continuum of physical and human geographical terms, these range from 'space' as a 'place'; its identity/ies within nation-state logics (Northern/Southern Ireland, the Island of Ireland, etc.), the physicality of it (the 'epidermis', such as homes, schools, and streets) to the intrinsic affective dimension within its contours (Solana et al., 2016, pp. 42–43). The latter being how 'space', which in this case is being construed as 'immersive', is experienced, phenomenologically, by the individuals who inhabit it (as 'locals' or 'sojourners'), as well as the subjectivity affordances and constraints, in a Foucauldian sense, that emerge within it (namely, who can and cannot occupy spaces) (Foucault, 1972, 1977).

De Certeau (1985) postulates that we 'imagine spaces into being' through how we talk about, describe, dream, and remember them (pp. 141–144). In this line, 'imaginaries' are at the core of mobility practices more generally, and the configuration of tourism spaces more specifically. As Salazar (2011) argues, the imagination is a social practice and imaginaries require various forms 'oral, written, pictorial, symbolic or graphic- and include both linguistic and non-linguistic ways of producing meaning' to take shape and become operationalizable (p. 10). For this reason, social imaginaries of immersion which are intrinsically built upon social imaginaries of space are highly relevant to explore in tandem.

The question of language and space has been at the forefront of sociolinguistic research within the field of Linguistic Landscapes for over 20 years (Gorter & Cenoz, 2024, p. 26). My analysis of English immersion in Ireland aligns with Shohamy and Waksman's (2008) understanding of spaces as contested 'ecological arenas' with magnitudes of 'displays and interwoven 'discourses' – what is seen, what is heard, what is spoken, what is thought' (p. 313), that 'shape and design the public [and private] sphere' (p. 314), and the analysis of which incorporates 'synesthesias' (p. 317) of layered multimodal meaning, 'embedded in histories, cultural relations, politics and humanistic interrelations' (p. 328).

A number of prominent ethnographic studies have paved the way for discussions on the creation of immersion products through designated spaces. These include, among others, Petit Cahill (2022) on the Gaeltacht as an imagined community and place for Irish immersion, Zimmermann (2019) on the creation of a German immersion summer camp in the US, Gao (2019) on the emergence and

production of a Global English tourism village in China, and Schedel (2022) on Malta as an immersion context for 'work-and-learn-a-language' sojourners. However, there is a lack of ethnographic inquiries into Ireland as an English immersion destination, and accounts from (Spanish) teenagers who mobilise for this purpose, as well as the local host contexts that receive them are missing.

Questions of space naturally bring about questions of boundaries, frontiers, and borders. It has been widely remarked how today's postmodern, late-capitalist, and increasingly globalised society poses a major contradiction: what appears to be a more 'open' society in terms of mobility, identity, and markets, has in fact led to a resurgence of boundary-marking processes, such as the erection of walls and other various forms of gatekeeping (Bauman, 2000, 2004; Brown, 2010).

As Salazar argues (2011), '[w]hile tourism is a moving and mobile phenomenon that has helped tear down certain borders, it has erected new boundaries too' (p. 12). Aside from perpetuating 'haves', 'have nots', and 'degrees of having' (Maxwell et al., 2022), 'international tourism is the quintessential world-making business of difference projection and the interpretive vehicle of 'Othering' par excellence' (Salazar, 2011, p. 12). Yet, while marketing strategies continue to 'represent the world as 'borderless'':

> In reality travel for leisure is heavily regulated and monitored on local, national, regional, and global levels. [. . .] Divisions can occur along lines of social class, gender, age, ethnicity, race, and nationality (Mowforth and Munt 2008). Such social boundaries are also at play within the various groups of tourism stakeholders. (p. 13)

Linguistic and cultural differences can also emerge as 'divisions' within these practices (Lo et al., 2015; Kubota, 2016; Schedel, 2022). Therefore, I refer to 'borders' here in physical, material, linguistic, symbolic, cultural, and/or social terms (Grimson, 2008; Grimson & Segura, 2016).

2 Research Context and Data

The research field of this chapter is spatially and temporally disjointed due to the nature of the mobility it studies. As such, I follow the methodological line of 'long-term' ethnography across a 'terrain' with multiple anchors.[3] It includes the Spanish context from where the (pre)adolescent mobility emerges, and the island of Ireland acting as the destination and host of this. It also dialogues with various temporalities in accordance with the timing of these mobilities (summer and

3 Along the lines postulated by https://uncanadienerrant.ca/terrains/.

academic year experiences spent abroad), and the span of time I have been engaged with this sector (since 2019). Having these multiple sites (Marcus, 1995) and various entry points (Heller et al., 2018) over time, allows me to speak over this mobility ethnographically in a way that 'better [reflects] contemporary thought on space, place, scale, and boundaries, and therefore social formations that are caught up in contexts of transnationalism and globalization' (Falzon, 2015, p. 103).

Over the course of my engagement in the field, I have come across a series of moments where imaginaries of Ireland sold by immersion propaganda have come into tension with the lived experiences of locals and sojourners. This chapter specifically focuses on the challenges that arise through the commodification of space and its people as a touristic immersive product, and how these are navigated by stakeholders. I try to show, through a selection of snapshots, what these pressure points look like and the ways in which they question the 'flush', 'borderless' imagery of immersion experiences. The specific sites where they took place are:

2.1 'Rugby+English' Summer Camp (RoI)

From July to August 2019, I embarked on an ethnographic journey at the Academy for Irish Rugby (AIR) in Dublin to study Spanish teenage mobility to a 'Rugby+English' summer camp.[4] There, adolescents (aged 12–18) from across the Spanish state would spend some weeks (usually around two to three) acquiring Rugby and English skills. The AIR prides itself in providing 'world class rugby adventures with an Irish spirit' (AIR, promotional material).

The AIR is located in Fintan, one of the most affluent towns along the Dublin coast. Originally founded in 1999 by two local rugby players for the purpose of providing rugby coaching services for local rugby players and teams, the AIR soon found themselves at the receiving end of an international influx of overseas players wishing not just to improve their rugby skills, but also their English. Over time they began to focus on developing these international ties, even partnering with a local private language school to offer English lessons some afternoons a week at an extra cost.[5]

Attending the AIR varies in price depending on whether the attendee is local (what they call 'domestic') or overseas ('international'). In 2019, the fee for inter-

4 All names of people and place are pseudonyms.

5 See McDaid (2020) for an in-depth analysis of this.

national players to spend a week at the AIR was 750€;[6] which included host family accommodation, meals, activities, excursions, etc. Domestic players paid 90€ for a week at the camp. If internationals wished to purchase the '+English' tier this had a cost of 850€ per week.

2.2 Boarding Schools Academic Year (NI)

During the 2021–2022 academic year, I carried out extensive 'live-in' ethnographic research at two boarding schools in NI – Imperial and Chester College –, hosting cohorts of Spanish (pre)adolescents for a school year.[7] Imperial is co-ed, meaning it is mixed for girls and boys to attend, whereas Chester is an all-boys' school. These are public, state-funded grammar schools regulated by the Department of Education and created for a local clientele. Being grammar schools, they are academically very demanding, with placement assigned based on grades.

However, as both Imperial and Chester have boarding departments, it is often the case that those students who may not have achieved the grades necessary to enrol as day pupils, can do so as boarders since boarding departments are internally regulated and dispose of a number of spots in the day school. This is how families effectively manage to 'buy' their child a spot to attend public, state-funded schools in NI (for the annual price of £12.000–£17.000 for UK citizens, and £15.000–£24.000 for overseas students), a loophole Spanish and Asian families have begun using for Early Study Abroad mobility projects.

2.3 Data Types

The width and breadth of the corpus that this chapter draws on reflects the field it studies. In total, across sites, this means +1,500 hours of observations (during rugby training sessions and matches, in classrooms, in extracurricular activities, on the weekends, at mealtimes, on public transport, during free time, etc.); +1,200 photos (of the AIR and the schools, the work students were doing in class, the

6 This price has since gone up to 999€.

7 This is part of a broader ethnographic project undertaken for my doctoral dissertation on young study abroad mobility among Spanish (pre-)adolescents for English immersion in NI boarding schools. This thesis is funded through an FI grant (reference: 2023 FI-3 00224) by the Agència de Gestió d'Ajuts Universitaris i de Recerca (AGAUR) and is co-funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). With ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (reference: CEAAH 5751).

walls of these spaces, activities carried out, etc.); +70 interviews and focus groups (with families, pre-adolescents, rugby coaches, teachers, other members of staff such as boarding department and managerial figures, language assistants, etc.); written data (field notes, advertising material sent to families, websites, pamphlets, WhatsApp conversations with stakeholders, etc.); as well as a wealth of social media data (of these sites over time, of some families and teenagers I have been closely working with, and of companies within the immersion-abroad industry).

This chapter also draws on discourses, conversations, and immersion ideologies found across the vast corpus of data collected within the funded ENIFALPO (English as Family Language Policy: Strategies, Mobilities, and Investments) project of which I am co-investigator.[8] Since 2019 we have been collaborating with families across Spain, Ireland, and the UK who have engaged in language mobility practices for English immersion.

3 The Semiotic and Discursive Construction of Ireland as an English Immersion Space

The island of Ireland has a long history of being a top destination for language tourists. However, this mobility has ballooned since the 1990s, becoming in 2016 the destination with the highest number of incoming international students in the world per head of population (O'Halloran, 2018). 78% of these incomers are of European origin, with Spain and Italy representing the bulk of this figure (O'Halloran, 2018).

Language tourism in the UK brings in £1.4billion (English UK, 2020), and around 960€ million to the Republic of Ireland annually (Marketing English in Ireland, 2021). Moreover, as became apparent during the height of the first covid lockdown when the sector was in jeopardy, there is an entire service industry built around this that generates jobs in accommodation, airline, education, and food sectors (Ibid.). Yet, this mobility and its various forms of impact on both local and international markets are often overlooked due to its naturalisation in the collective imaginaries of said contexts.

Products such as homestays where students 'go to a language school in the morning, do tourism activities in the afternoon, and reside with a local host fam-

8 ENIFALPO (PID2019-106710GB-I00), funded by MICIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033, led by Dr Ana Maria Relaño-Pastor (UCLM) and co-led by Dr Eva Codó (UAB). https://webs.uab.cat/enifalpo/.

ily' have been the island's strongest product for decades, particularly in places such as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick (RoI). This has recently broadened to new products, such as the academic year in a local high school residing with a host family or in boarding departments. The destinations have also extended to include NI; a space that had previously been largely left out of the language tourism industry, which some Spanish families have attributed in their interviews to NI's complex historical past.[9]

It is precisely this 'peripheral' (Heller et al., 2014) 'untouched' element that draws many Spanish families to the NI market, as it is conceived as a more 'virgin' language product that holds more possibilities for 'authentic' and 'total' immersion (interview data). Ireland (North and South) capitalises on its 'hospitality' as distinctive factor, with a piece by the Irish Times calling Irish host families 'the friendliest people you will meet anywhere' (1999). These depictions of the island are positioned as central selling points directly related to its immersion potential as a destination (Figure 1).

Figure 1: 'Ireland: crossing borders in education (1/2)' (Instagram 10/01/2024).

9 Northern Ireland is marked by a 30-year period of political conflict (late 1960s–1998) often referred to as 'The Troubles' or 'the Northern Ireland conflict'. There are over 3,600 deaths attributed to this period (https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Troubles-Northern-Ireland-history).

To choose Ireland as a destination is to ‘cross borders in education’, this English immersion agency post on Instagram advertises. The caption’s text and semiotics accompanying it provide clues as to how this occurs:

> Are you thinking about an educational adventure for your children? 🚌🤔
>
> By sending your children to study for a term or school year in Ireland, you are giving them the opportunity to grow in an integrating environment, where intercultural exchange and a sense of belonging flourish. 🌎👩‍👧
>
> Enter our BIO to tell you more. 👍
>
> (Author’s translation from Spanish)

The investment in Ireland as a destination is depicted as an ‘educational adventure’ where teens can ‘integrate’, have ‘intercultural exchanges’ and experience a ‘sense of belonging’ due to its innate hospitality as a land and as a people. The use of the family emoticon (👩‍👧) embodies the semiotics of ‘belonging’ and being ‘one more in the family’ that Ireland’s hospitality is believed to enable. The commodification of this is overtly spelled out in a second picture in the carousel of images contained in this post (Figure 2).

Figure 2: ‘Ireland: crossing borders in education (2/2)’ (Instagram 10/01/2024).

> **Why Ireland?**
> The reasons why students from these countries choose to study in Ireland are diverse, but some of the most common are:

> **Hospitality: Ireland is known to be a very hospitable country, which facilitates the integration of international students.**
>
> (Author's own translation from Spanish, bold formatting caption's own)

The message for prospective clients could not be clearer: while there are many reasons to study in Ireland, the main selling point is its hospitality. Why? Because this hospitality will break down intercultural borders that could arise in the experience abroad, allowing international students to integrate more easily and profoundly.

These qualities tend to appear juxtaposed with imaginaries of English people, often deemed 'unapproachable' and 'snobby' in comparison (fieldwork and interview data). NI boarding schools in particular take this theme a step further, as the leading website for boarding school stays reads:

> We deliver affordable excellence in comparison with other UK schools and add value with the unique culture and experiences only Northern Ireland can provide – real family values, a sense of community and belonging and a warmth like nowhere else. (Extract 1. Boarding NI, May 2023).

NI is strategically branded as a cheap place to obtain a prestigious British education due to it being part of the UK, while simultaneously playing on the stereotypical trope of a somewhat nostalgic, parochial destination where families (still) have 'real family values', and a 'community' that is 'warm' and one can 'belong to'.

Figure 3: 'Ready to start classes;)' (Instagram 6/10/2020).

The commodification of 'flush' belonging is strikingly clear in the discourse and semiotics of this social media publicity post by an English immersion tourism agency in Spain. 'Ready to start classes', three 'sisters' pose for a photo on their first day of school in autumn 2020 (Figure 3). Nevertheless, although it might try to simulate it, this is not a typical 'back-to-school' picture scenario, considering that, while two of them *are* Irish sisters, the third (on the right) is a Spanish teen, freshly arrived for her '#AñoEscolar' (*#SchoolYearAbroad*) immersion adventure in Ireland.

The agency the teen has gone abroad with captions the post: '[@handle] is ready to start classes;)', tagging local schools in the area of Catalonia where she comes from, and a selection of hashtags that appeal to families and adolescents in this sector. The message being marketed: 'we procure immersive products for Spanish teenagers to experience and embody the lives of local Irish ones during an academic year'.

The Irish host context is positioned as an open invitation to overseas students into their homes, effectively romanticising the home context as the space where 'true' immersion happens, while simultaneously downplaying the business side of this arrangement of those being commodified. Ireland is conceived not as a place where one simply *goes* to, but as a space where one can *belong* to due to the predisposed hospitable nature of its people to immerse them.

The complete removal of the EFL classroom and instead the foregrounding of Irish people, particularly within the family/home, as the source of language gains in immersion, renders the host context a 'passive and open 'laboratory' to fulfil [students'] desire for adventure' (Doerr, 2013, p. 227, citing Zemach-Bersin, 2009). English will happen 'naturally', 'passively', by 'osmosis', simply by being 'there' (McDaid, 2020). As a result, the expectations, and aspirations that are generated are that 'anyone can succeed' at capitalising through immersion as, theoretically, there are no 'boundaries' (physical, material, symbolic, linguistic, cultural and/or social) during the process to inhibit this; on the contrary, you are 'welcome' and 'belong' precisely there. For the 'self-made speaker' (Martín Rojo, 2019) and entrepreneurial language learner (De Costa et al., 2016), immersion in Ireland could not be more posed as the ideal product.

However, judging by this photo, inserting oneself as an 'equal' sibling seems significantly more complex than the marketing suggests; the three girls may be posing together, but their body language marks important differences between them. Looking at this image, it is hard for one not to think of Bhabha's notion of 'mimicry' (1984): these 'sisters' posing together are '*almost the same but not quite*' (p. 130, italics in the original). That is because this moment reflects two very different lived realities for these girls: for the Spanish teen this is the dawn of a big adventure which her family is investing in, whereas for the Irish host sisters, this is one (potentially

of many) school year(s) that will be marked by an overseas student residing with them, for the purpose of learning English and about their culture, from them.

The image of the 'three sisters' forewarns how 'immersion' is fundamentally contingent on native-speaker interaction and relationships with locals for linguistic, cultural, and social capitals. As Doerr and Suarez (2018) argue:

> Immersion is not a neutral label for a set of activities based on the amount of interaction with locals, how they live, or how much students reflect on it, as study abroad literature commonly implies. Rather, it is a performative label that reflects, but also defines, the meaning of the activity, as well as the relations between people involved and the contours of one's presence in a place. (p. 194)

Immersion ideology actively generates and disseminates performative binary categories such as 'local', 'global', 'domestic', 'international', 'sojourner', 'host', 'consumer', 'consumed', 'mobile', and 'immobile' with a real impact on those categorised. Ireland is sold as a language-and-culture learning playground, where anything, everything, and anyone is rendered a stakeholder within a performative category. However, this does not mean that these categories go uncontested by those who are forced to occupy them, as we shall see.

4 Contestations of Space and Labour in 'Borderless' Immersion

The AIR is located on the beautiful coastal town of Eader. Home to an important commercial fishing port, Eader is a middle to upper-class local village known across the country for its fish produce and for being a summer destination for affluent Irish families. Over the past decades Eader has grown into a very busy spot for international tourism (it is hard to miss the busloads of eager tourists that pile into main carpark on a daily basis during the high season), and language tourism is no exception to this.

One Saturday after doing fieldwork I decided to try the famous local fish and chip shop and joined a very long and hungry queue outside it. As I stood at length awaiting my turn, I got talking to the people around me who were a mixture of tourists and locals. There was a third group lining up who stood out from the rest wearing bright yellow tops: they were camp leaders. Wearing matching yellow backpacks, were dozens of teenagers, whom the leaders were trying to round up. These were overseas students (mostly of Spanish and Italian origin) who were coming to Eader for English language tourism purposes, much like the 'Rugby+English' kids I was following at the AIR.

Figure 4: ‘Fish and Chips for Yellow Backpacks’ (Photo by J. McDaid, Eader, 13/07/2019).

Suddenly, a very large order served up that went to the camp leaders, which was to feed the teenagers who, by that stage, were sat in circles, taking up a very large part of the promenade lawn (as seen in the clusters of seated individuals in the far right and left of Figure 4). A crowd of locals in the queue were angered by this, murmuring their discontent along the lines that they were missing out on their own fish and chips shop to tourists. This only further escalated some minutes later when several students began to throw their fish and chips at the seagulls plaguing the area.

In Eader and the entirety of the Dublin area, ‘yellow backpacks’ (an emic category) were the symbol of the language tourism massification of the local context.

Coming to terms with this mobility is something that the coaches at the AIR discussed with me during our focus group:

Extract 2. Focus group interview with AIR coaches, August 2019

1 J: okay (.) that's handy/ e:m (.) alright (.) so yes it seems to be that linguistic sta:ys (.) um (.) are really popular here (.) i mean they are
2 B: yeah\
3 J: i mean dublin\ is fu:ll of kids ((chuckles)) that are from: (.) e:h (.) spain/-
4 P: =yeah and we used to grow up you- you'd be getting anno:yed seeing the backpacks everywhere
5 B: yea::h\
6 P: everywhere yea:h (.) it doesn't change\
7 B: yeah\
8 J: everywhere/ and that was (.) em (.) gonna be my question (.) has it always been/ like this/
9 N: YEP
10 P: [as long as i remember yeah]
11 N: [as long as i remember yeah]
12 B: [dublin- dublin's the only: european] english speaking european capital city\ (2) so\ where else are they gonna go to learn english/
13 N: [when i was at school in fourth year we had spanish students in school yeah
14 P: [(i was gonna say) london but it's not really-]
15 B: [london isn't really- yeah it's-]
16 N: so that was wa::y-
17 J: so it's always happened/ you've always had that exchange/
[. . .]
18 B: well obviously\ well look where- (.) if you're spanish/ where are you gonna go to learn english/ there's only one country in europe that speaks english\ and that's ireland

To my prompt about language tourism, the coaches (aged around 18–35) draw on their own experiences as teenagers and young adults living with this mobility in Eader and the Dublin area. Growing up it meant always seeing 'backpacks' 'everywhere' 'for as long as [they] could remember' (4–11). However, once a source of annoyance, turns 12, 14, and 18 show a different perspective on the mass tourism: now that they are older, they can see its possibility as a business venture. As they argue, since Brexit, the RoI as a country and Dublin as its capital are now uniquely positioned as the only European destination that can provide authentic English immersion services (12, 22).

By turning their local product into an international one through the advertisement of '+English' they explicitly commodify and package English, the 'authentic' 'natural resource' sought by this mobility, for which they can then charge more and market to a wider clientele. In fact, throughout the past decade the AIR had shifted to almost exclusively cater international players, a large number of whom were Spanish (McDaid, 2020). Consequently, the coaches went from being passive stakeholders in the immersion consumption of the local space by language tourists, to becoming themselves active product producers for the immersion industry, this time with an economic return for their work as immersion providers.

Doerr (2023) argues that 'providing' immersion is an unrecognised labour for those who are expected to do it. The logics of 'ease', 'natural', and 'passive' existing in immersion methodology apply also to the host context and the expectations surrounding their task, obscuring who gets paid for 'the wages of global experience' (p. 280). The coaches' story shows how the process of gaining a return for immersion work among locals does not happen democratically. Capitalising on their own commodification (or participating in the industry actively, rather than passively) was not something the coaches were able to do until they were adults and build their business around it on their own terms. We will now turn to see how this unfolds within the context of the 'home'.

4.1 Drawing up Spatial and Labour Contracts in Immersion

The international players that come to the AIR on a 'Rugby+English' adventure stay in host families across the Eader peninsular. This is advertised in their brochures in the following way:

> Each student will be placed with one of our exceptional host families for an authentic Irish experience. The host families are chosen carefully and are always located within walking distance of the school and club. This allows students to build experiences out of the classroom and off the pitch and make new friends. (Extract 3. AIR promotional material, website 2023)

The longstanding tradition of host families in the immersion industry is linked to widespread beliefs that first language socialization happens first and foremost in the home (McDaid, 2020; Lanza, 2021). In the case of Ireland, as we have seen, the concept of 'home' and 'family' is further steeped in essentialized imaginaries of its people. Living with an 'authentic' Irish family means an 'exceptional' 'experience' where international players can 'make new friends' and 'build experiences out of the classroom''. Despite the careful disguising of the material conditions of

these arrangements by romanticising the Irish family, the language employed evidences symbolic power relations between sojourner and host: what is being commodified is the notion of the 'authentic' English native-speaking Irish family; *who* is being commodified is above all the children of these, with whom sojourners are to 'make new friends'.

When I spoke to a group of Catalan boys at the AIR about their experience at the camp and how they were enjoying Ireland, they reflected on the 'BIG houses' in 'residential' Fintan. Commenting on the abundance of students they were seeing each morning coming and going from these homes, Otger (14) believed that these houses 'it's (.) e::h for this type- for- to host (.) students that come-'. Arnau (15) later chipped in, confirming this hypothesis after having spoken to his father:

Extract 4. Focus group interview with Catalan boys at AIR, July 2019

1 A: and the::n- i- i speak with my dad and he said like (.) that fintan it's like a neighbourhood of dublin that it's a place that (.) are big houses / big families / So: the e:::h a:::h recu- a:::h (2) how to say a:::m-
2 J: [in catalan /]
3 M: [*metodo* /]
4 J: method / methodology /
5 A: yeah a method that they have to:- to:: u::m (.) maintain the houses and the things is to take students

Much like the coaches in the previous section, we can see how these young teens make sense of the mass language tourism around them and how they fit into its material reality. Instead of the romanticised picture of the 'welcoming' Irish family altruistically engaging in this industry, the boys describe a gloss-free business arrangement of which they are a part and acknowledge the categorical boundaries of these agreements (i.e., students-hosts, consumers-consumed, payers-paid).

Their depiction of the host family as active 'commodifiers' who make a living out of mobilised incomers like themselves appears, at first, to grant the family (which could represent the local context at large) a degree of agency. That is, instead of an 'immobilised' target context which simply 'receives' and 'cares for' incoming students as sold in immersion and tourism discourses (Salazar, 2011; Doerr, 2013), locals are portrayed as business-minded. However, what is lurking in the shadows here is how this seemingly emancipatory logic in fact justifies the transactional nature of these immersion spaces to the boys, reinforcing the commodification of the local context with the understanding that 'they are also getting something out of it'. Moreover, what they are 'getting' is something they 'need', as hosting students is the 'method' Irish families use to 'maintain the houses'.

Immersion within host homes, the boys explained to me, consisted of the following. At the weekends or when they got home, they would sometimes 'play on the Wii with the daughter of the::- lady of the house', or watch something on their iPads in this girl's vicinity. This level of interactional involvement is something host siblings appeared to be willing to accept and engage in, however as we see in Extract 5 this is also where the contractual relationship between the two parties ended:

Extract 5. Focus group interview with Catalan boys at AIR, July 2019 (author's own translation)

1 O: yes well what i notice is that here/ well they are more timid (.) everyone
[. . .]
2 A: y::-[yes that is (.) the people don't open up]
3 O: well at lea:st (.) with the people of my age/ eh (.) that live here/ they're more timid
[. . .]
4 A: well it's not that they are timid it's just that they don't like the students (.) I mean that's what she said the- [the- the girl in our house]
[. . .]
5 A: ye::: i mean the students the- the irish who are from here (.) the kids of seventeen/ or of fifteen o of any age/ they don't like that students come
6 J: yes it's just- it's just that lots come
7 A: because LOTS of students come that's fi::rst of all\ and then because (.) the subject o::f (.) for example (.) the other day she said it (.) if you go to any party or something/ with the people from here/ don't go for any girl\ (.) because if the:::y're an irish girl that another has something with you will have a problem
8 J: oh really/
9 A: because you are students/ and i don't know what/ that's what the girl told me
10 J: which girl is that
11 A: the one we have at home who is seventeen

In this contract, they can play the Wii together within the confinements of the host home in accordance with what is expected of them as host siblings, but that the boys, as students, are unwelcome to extend this beyond this spatial agreement. Otger initially interprets Irish locals as being timid, but upon further reflection, Arnau explains that 'it's just that they don't like the students' (4) because of the tourism massification of this industry. The line is drawn at students attending

parties because they supposedly pose a threat to romantic opportunities for locals, among locals (7). These clear boundaries and the boys' passive and distant description of their host sister as the 'daughter of the lady of the house' and 'the one we have at home' (11) are in complete opposition to the depiction of the 'hospitable' Irish family as being 'characteristically predisposed to break down borders in the integration of international students'.

In the boarding school product, boarding often dubbed a 'home-away-from-home' (promotional material), boundaries between local and sojourning teens were also salient. I heard many frustrated accounts from Spanish teens about 'making a huge effort to speak to' or 'make friends with' a local teen at school, for them to 'completely ignore me later in the street', or even 'cross the street' to not say 'hello' (interview data).

The engagement of local Irish teens with Spanish students inside designated immersion spaces (the home and the school) versus their resignation to do so outside of these speaks to their felt ambivalence towards the mobility. The pushback from local youth towards students shows the gruelling reality of living with constant language tourism gentrification of their streets, schools and in their homes, the invasiveness of which they navigate by designating particular spaces as interactional or not. Moreover, we can assume based on the reputation of students as being 'annoying' and 'everywhere' that it might not be very 'cool' for local teenagers to be seen 'out and about' with incoming students (let alone bring them to their parties), in spaces beyond what are considered acceptable established zones within the arrangement.

Notwithstanding, there is also an affective reality to these arrangements which is glossed over and naturalised in immersion discourse. After all, how realistic and productive is it for locals to emotionally engage with this mobility, which dips in and out of their lives either for a lock of weeks in the summer or an academic year at a time? As various local students boarding at Imperial and Chester would remind me when speaking about making affective investments in Spanish teens, at the end of the day 'they always leave'.

Therefore, maintaining superficial level interactions with sojourners allows local teens to comply with the agreement their family or school has with this industry, while enabling them to preserve their personal boundaries against the unpaid affective (Hochschild, 1979) and linguistic labour this expects of them. In this sense, we can see how the local youth 'takes back the streets' from mass language tourism: acts of resistance that remind immersing-seeking students (and investors) that the local space and their affective realms ultimately belong to them, and that sojourners' access to a 'total immersion' rests in the hands of local teens.

5 Entrepreneurial 'Managed' Learners or Doing Immersion on their Own Terms?

We interviewed Maria Solsona for our ENIFALPO project in February 2022, several months into her year abroad immersion experience.[10] At the time, Maria was sitting first year of baccalaureate in a local all girls' school in a relatively rural area of the RoI. Her answer to our opening question immediately piqued my interest:

Extract 6. Interview Maria Solsona Ferrandis, February 2022 (author's own translation from Catalan)

1 E: so a little bit that you explain how you a:re and how it's going\
2 M: well\ very good\ u::m the family is rea:lly- that is it's very cool that is- oh i don't know\ i am very very good\ and u:h my friends are great/ come on they are spanish okay that is true\ i have eight spanish girls in my year/ bu::t u::m it's just that the irish girls- its just\no \no\ [laughs, shaking head]
3 E: oh really/ why/ no:/ o::r-
4 M: = i don't know\ that is/ it's like people who::- no\ they are very fake/ they give you dirty loo:ks/
5 E: oh
6 M: =and on top of that/ no becau:se okay\ OBviously/ probably/ well they are a li:ttle annoyed because we speak spanish in class and such\ but it's/ not like\ so it's like/ no\ i don't know how to explain it but no\ and it's not like they are very good people you know/ i mea::n\ it's like\ no\ so/ with the spanish girls/ it's all perfect

What Maria expresses is that she was simply not gelling with the local Irish girls in her class. Her quickness to discuss this topic as well the defensive tone and body language accompanying it gave us the impression that Maria, like many returnees, was probably used to being asked about the 'extent' of her immersion in Ireland and thus understood that that is what we wanted to hear about. After all, immersion 'success stories', and those most coveted by paying parents, entail 'flush' relationships with locals (as we saw in the image of the 'three sisters') which enable constant English-speaking opportunities, and index one's 'total immersion'. Moreover, considering how immersion in Ireland is posited as the perfect language learning destination for neoliberal 'self-made speakers' (Martín

10 Dr Eva Codó and I.

Rojo, 2019) to take advantage of it is unsurprising that Maria may feel the need to justify why she was not 'immersing herself' with native speakers.

However, what parents, and immersion proponents fail to realise (or accept) is that the reality of 'doing' immersion does not always translate into a seamless incorporation into the local context. At times you will not necessarily be allowed to, as we saw in Extract 5, and at others, you may not want to, as Maria conveys here. Ultimately, immersion is a product based on the interaction and relationships between locals and sojourners, yet a fact that is usually overlooked is that this is dependent on the willing cooperation of both of its parties.

A year later, in February 2023, we interviewed Maria again, to follow up on her experience after she had returned from Ireland and was settled. When discussing her friendships throughout the year she explained how her and the group of Spanish girls she made abroad had 'ended up coming together -basically because of the language, hey/', to avoid being 'alone'. We asked her how the relationship with the local girls had progressed, to which she answered that it continued in the same way 'but the Spanish girls we united even further/ and made even more of a clan against them and they ended up hating us even more\'.

Language choice, I observed, was one of the most powerful tools teens used to define physical and social borders in immersion abroad experiences. For being English 'immersion' spaces, Spanish was ubiquitous in the linguistic land- and soundscape. This was apparent across sites, but perhaps it was most striking in the academic year-abroad experience, a product prized on delivering 'total' assimilation and integration with locals. When walking around the common areas at both Imperial and Chester, the opposing duality of the setting was surprising. On the one hand, the landscape of heigh ceilings with wooden panelled walls, abundance of posters and signs in English, and the sight of schoolboys and girls dressed in their uniforms indexed a prestigious British-Irish institution. Yet, the constant soundscape of Spanish as well as the visual representation of large groups of its speakers usually grouped together would make one consider they were in a Spanish-speaking territory.

Indeed, it appeared that Spanish as a language spoken and written, as well as anything under the national cultural umbrella 'Spain' was woven into the fabric of the space. Instead of 'flush' immersion in Ireland, where the sojourners 'live' and 'do' as the Irish, it often felt during my fieldwork as though the Spanish teens had simply been uprooted and then transported culturally and geographically to Ireland – a stark contrast to the sold 'transformative' power and 'passing' potential sold in immersion propaganda. This was not singular to the Spanish teens but was also the case for the large body of Hong Kong students studying abroad there too. As one Head of Boarding explained to me concerning the lack of mixing: 'it's like oil and water' (fieldnotes).

Spaces, I saw, were practiced by teenagers on an ethnolinguistic basis. Therefore, who spaces 'belonged' to was a source of tension, one which weekends often brought to the surface. Boarders who lived locally would go home at the weekends, whereas overseas students (namely Spanish and Hong Kong) and L1-English speakers whose families lived far, remained. On these occasions, L1-English speakers were a minority. Consequently, when it came to language choices for games and films in the common room, chats during mealtimes, and other recreational activities such as building a fort or playing football outside, Spanish trumped. As a result, L1-English speaking teenagers often complained of boredom and feeling left out and would consequently seek out staff (or even myself) for 'craic', or spend most of the weekend on their electronic devices.

As an *immersion* space deliberately sought out for its 'passive', 'non-EFL' learning potential, located in what are understood as local, state-funded institutions (as opposed to international schools or other private centres), there were no language policies nor English policing guidelines. Moreover, considering that the immersion industry is discursively and semiotically built on the hegemonic idea that language learning will 'naturally' 'happen' through 'friendships' and interactions among local and sojourning teens, and which, as such, systemically invisibilises this very labour, perhaps it is unsurprising that there is little institutional reflection as to whether or how 'immersion' is ultimately 'happening'.

It is no revelation that those engaging in mobility programmes often gravitate towards their fellow ethnic communities while abroad for support and companionship (Moyer, 2018). Talburt and Stewart (1999) argued that, in Study Abroad contexts, the 'group' (ethnolinguistic, or affiliated category such as 'Erasmus') is used as a buffer space where the experience of the 'Other' (the host context) can be shared, evaluated, and processed (p. 171). However, it is revealing to find that this is also the case among sojourners from as young as 11, as I observed. Similar to findings by Wilkinson (1998) where 'American' suddenly 'became a salient label' to American study abroad sojourners in France (p. 32), 'Spanish' is not just imposed onto the teens upon their arrival in Ireland, but it is a category they strongly begin to adopt themselves during their stay.

An example of this was the abundant use of Spanish flags the teens hung up in their bedrooms, worn as bracelets, or attached to their backpacks. On the topic, Isabel from Murcia (16, Imperial) told me how she would not put a Spanish flag up back in Spain 'but here/ yes\', whereas Pau (11, Chester) from Catalonia explained how he had asked his mother to ship him a Spanish flag over after some weeks at Chester 'because all the others Spanish boys in boarding had one' (field notes). These remarks reveal a common desire among the teens to belong to the category 'Spanish' and be recognised by their peers as such.

But not all elements of Spanish culture were welcome in this display. At Chester, the use of Catalan among Catalan boys or symbolism pertaining to Catalan identity, such as openly supporting *Barça* (Barcelona's major football team and notorious rival team to Madrid's *Real Madrid*), was highly policed by fellow (pre) adolescents from the rest of the Spanish state. Wilkinson (1998) explains that the ethnic 'group' abroad 'seemed to serve an important function: it provided the confirmation of native identity necessary to face the potentially threatening situations of linguistic and cultural difference' (p. 32). To do this, however, meant presenting a homogenous and monolithic nation-state understanding of being Spanish.

Speaking and performing 'Spanish' was therefore a navigation system for young Spanish sojourners in a new linguistic and cultural environment. However, this came often at the expense of others: at an intergroup level, Spanish was felt to 'dominate' common spaces in boarding to the detriment of the minority L1-English speaking group, and at an intragroup level, the label 'Spanish' used was not-inclusive to other understandings or embodiments of national identities. Doing 'Spanish' also meant a renouncement of and/or contestation towards the hegemonic imaginary of immersion potential—the very logics of which sent them abroad in the first place, and towards which they should be actively 'working', as 'good' neoliberal learners.

This begs the question as to how relevant or realistic it is for the young sojourners to *want* this 'flush' insertion, or to want to do it on the terms laid out to them by their parents and the immersion industry. The 'responsible neoliberal language learner' is the naturalised subject in language mobility practices, however, as I have argued elsewhere (McDaid, 2020), the question of governmentality and self-management among age groups as young as those that engage in this trend (8–18) while abroad is dubious and requires further exploration. Teenagers may reproduce neoliberal discourses concerning their stays (Maria knows what is expected of her in Extract 6), but in-depth and long-term ethnography shows that this entrepreneurial spirit is not necessarily, nor can be, embodied simply because the lived reality of this mobility is far more complex and challenging than 'immersion', as a 'borderless' experience is credited, as this chapter shows.

6 Conclusions

Spanish (pre)adolescent immersion mobility for English is a Family Language Policy practice of 'hope' 'in which the malleable bodies of young children are represented as a window of opportunity for effective neoliberal logic of human capital'

in what is an increasingly unstable neoliberal and globalised context (Bae & Park, 2020, p. 283). Going abroad is posed as a 'short cut to linguistic fluency' (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 23) and the best way to obtain a 'breathtaking' English (Sunyol, 2022) through 'seamless' immersion.

The island of Ireland is currently being sold as the top destination for immersion experiences due to the 'natural' 'hospitality' of the Irish, intrinsic qualities which allow students to 'cross borders in education' (Figures 1 and 2) and 'integrate' more easily – the ultimate desire of immersion. However, by putting imaginaries of immersion in dialogue with situated practices observed through two industry products (a 'Rugby+English' summer camp in Dublin, and two boarding schools hosting 'year abroad' experiences), I have illustrated how space, commodification, and consumption are constantly being negotiated, accepted, and resisted in various ways by stakeholders. Through this, we have seen how, despite immersion discourse and propaganda of Ireland as a 'borderless' immersive context, the experience is fraught with border-marked and border-making processes for stakeholders of varying age groups and roles within the immersion industry.

This chapter has focused on unpacking bordering processes occurring around the tensions of 'space' and 'labour'. The following kind were observed: a) physical (namely, who owns space in immersion contexts, and how this is negotiated); b) linguistic (how immersion happens, what/who this entails for it to occur); c) material (what immersion labour looks like, who does it, how it is 'regulated', and who gets a return on this work); d) social (which categories are erected in immersion experiences and how this impacts the immersive process); and e) symbolic (whether one can 'immerse' and be recognised as such, and if all stakeholders want this).

What the boundaries and borders that arise reveal is that the ideology of immersion is fraught with tensions, and the immersion industry is built on a push and pull of dependencies. While the host context certainly benefits financially from the mass mobility of this industry, and host families and schools (have come to) depend on it, the burden of being a 'touristified' destination and living among and for language tourism is extremely taxing on local communities.

Arguably, the commodification and consumption processes involved in this practice are even more invasive than those of traditional forms of tourism as, in immersion, the sojourner comes to 'absorb' language and culture of the native by being around and among them at all times, in their streets, schools, and homes for lengthy periods of time. Moreover, the immersion labour of the local context is invisibilised through immersion ideology as those 'who provide immersion experiences are not supposed to do any labor, because the value is in sharing the mundane, 'usual,' 'the way it is,' experience with the visitors/study abroad students/voluntourists' (Doerr, 2023, p. 280). This 'creates an imbalance' and gener-

ates 'a situation that is conducive to exploitation' as 'nobody is getting paid for producing said commodity' except for intermediaries who 'reap the profit' (Ibid.).

This chapter has shown that the bulk of the linguistic and affective work taken for granted by the immersion industry is being carried out, exploitatively and invisibly, by local teenagers (host siblings and boarders), who are expected to build 'friendships' and interactional opportunities with sojourners, while adults around them (their parents, the schools) gain from their unpaid labour. (Pre)adolescent immersion abroad experiences in Ireland are part of a massively lucrative industry that is ideologically, discursively, and systemically built and dependent on the unpaid linguistic and affective labour of local teenagers. It is no surprise that local youth establish boundaries between themselves and immersion-seekers, designating particular spaces such as the home or school to engage with the Spanish teens, effectively 'taking back their streets' and gaining some agency on their own commodification and consumption.

The stories of the Spanish teens in Section 5 illustrate how there are also sojourners who they themselves might not want to be immersed, or who choose to do immersion on their own terms (and not on those of their parents' or the industry's). In the year-abroad experience, where (pre)adolescents are uprooted into a new language and culture for an academic year, speaking and performing 'Spanish' is used to navigate their new environment. However, this comes at the expense of in-group erasure of anything that does not fit the monolithic nation-state construction of 'Spanish', and the idea of 'total immersion' among locals towards which they 'should' be aspiring.

Young sojourners are confronted with profound questions of identity and are often put in place by fellow teenagers (including, at times, by their peers) as to what they embody, and *can* embody, in this new context abroad. That is, despite the promises of 'seamless' 'insertion' into the lives and doings of local teenagers in 'borderless' Ireland, at the end of the day, they cannot easily escape the categories and borders they embody abroad. This is in line with findings by Germann Molz (2005), where cosmopolitan mobility endeavours are in fact often 'routed in and routed through national affiliations that are often performed' as opposed to deterritorialised 'post-national forms of belonging' (p. 518). As Grimson and Segura (2016) argue, forms of boundaries (physical, material, social, symbolic) in mobility are particularly interesting to analyse as crossing borders does not necessarily mean the dissolution of these, and just because one is let into a space and its community does not signify that they are freely welcome to belong or recognised as belonging in it (Grimson & Segura, 2016, p. 41).

In this vein, it is relevant to question the realistic expectations for young neoliberal governmentality in this mobility trend. Immersion propaganda and widespread imaginaries of what immersion entails methodologically and ideologically

obscure the complexities and boundaries living immersion abroad entails for these teens, and teenagers must constantly move between their parents' hopes and anxieties surrounding their 'total immersion', and the spaces in which they can realistically operationalise during the experience. More ethnographic research into these tensions and their consequences on sojourners and locals is necessary in order to move beyond romanticised, zero-sum imaginaries of immersion (Doerr, 2023, p. 281).

References

Bae, S., & Park, J. (2020). Investing in the Future: Korean Early English Education as Neoliberal Management of Youth. *Multilingua*, *39*(3), 277–297. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2019-0009

Bærenholdt, J. O. (2013). Governmobility: The Powers of Mobility. *Mobilities*, *8*(1), 20–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2012.747754

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. (2004). New Frontiers and Universal Values. In *Debat de Barcelona VII «Fronteres»*. Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona.

Bhabha, H. (1984). Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse. *October*, *28*, 125–133. https://doi.org/10.2307/778467

Block, D., Gray, J., & Holborow, M. (2012). *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brown, W. (2010). *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Zone Books. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv14gpj55

Codó, E., & Patiño-Santos, A. (2018). CLIL, Unequal Working Conditions and Neoliberal Subjectivities in a State Secondary School. *Language Policy*, *17*, 479–499. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-017-9451-5

Codó, E., & Sunyol, A. (forthcoming). Activistas de la inmersión. Cómo las intermediarias moldean las experiencias de aprendizaje adolescente en el extranjero. *Sintesis*.

Codó, E., & Sunyol, A. (in press). "L'aprenentatge vital de l'anglès": els discursos de famílies catalanes sobre la mobilitat educativa adolescent a l'estranger. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*.

Codó, E. (2022). *Global CLIL: Critical, Ethnographic and Language Policy Perspectives*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003147374

Codó, E., & McDaid, J. (2019). English Language Assistants in the 21st Century: Nation-State Soft Power in the Experience Economy. *Language*, *Culture and Society*, *1*(2), 219–243. https://doi.org/10.1075/lcs.00017.cod

Courtois, A. (2018). Study Abroad as Governmentality: The Construction of Hypermobile Subjectivities in Higher Education. *Journal of Education Policy*, *35*(2), 237–257. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2018.1543809

datosMacro. (n.d.). *Desempleo 2023*. https://datosmacro.expansion.com/paro (accessed April 2023).

De Certeau, M. (1985). Practices of Space. In M. Blonsky (ed.), *On Signs* (pp. 122–145). Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press.

De Costa, P., Park, J., & Wee, L. (2016). Language Learning as Linguistic Entrepreneurship: Implications for Language Education. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, *25*, 695–702.

Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, L. (2016). *La apertura internacional de España. Entre el franquismo y la democracia, 1953–1986*. https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-apertura-internacional-de-espana-entre-el-franquismo-y-la-democracia-924615/

Doerr, N. M., & Suarez, R. (2018). Immersion, Immigration, Immutability: Regimes of Learning and Politics of Labeling in Study Abroad. *Educational Studies*, *54*(2), 183–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2017.1356309

Doerr, N. M. (2023). Afterword: The Wages of Global Experience, Post Unit Thinking, and Post Native Speaker Ideologies in Volunteer Tourism. In L. S. Schedel & C. Jakubiak (eds.), *Voluntourism and Language Learning/Teaching: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 269–295). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-40813-7_10

Doerr, N. M., & Taïeb, H. D. (2019). Affect and Romance in Study and Volunteer Abroad: Introducing our Project. In N. M. Doerr & H. D. Taïeb (eds.), *The Romance of Crossing Borders: Studying and Volunteering Abroad* (pp. 3–34). Berghahn Books. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvw048r2

Doerr, N. M. (2013). Do 'Global Citizens' Need the Parochial Cultural Other? Discourse of Immersion in Study Abroad and Learning-by-Doing. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *43*(2), 224–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.701852

Duchêne, A. (2016). Investissement langagier et économie politique. *Langage et société*, *157*, 73–96. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.157.0073

El coronavirus deja este verano a más de 100.000 adolescentes sin cursos de inglés en el extranjero (2020, June 15). *20minutos.es*. https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/4292056/0/cursos-idiomas-viajes-extranjero-perdidas-coronavirus-verano-2020-agencias-espana/

English UK. (2020). *Student Statistics Report 2020*. https://www.englishuk.com/facts-figures#sourcemarkets

Falzon, M. A. (2015). Multisited Field Studies. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 103–108). Amsterdam: Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.12211-1

Flubacher, M. & Del Percio, A. (2017). *Language, Education and Neoliberalism: Critical Studies in Sociolinguistics*. Bristol / Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783098699

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. A.M. Sheridan Smith (trans.). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1st American ed.). Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 87–104). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Gao, S. (2019). *Aspiring to Be Global: Language and Social Change in a Tourism Village in China*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781788922760

Gillies, D. (2011). Agile Bodies: A New Imperative in Neoliberal Governance. *Journal of Education Policy*, *26*(2), 207–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2010.508177

Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2024). *A Panorama of Linguistic Landscape Studies*. Multilingual Matters / Channel View Publications. https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.6947033

Grimson, A., & Segura, R. (2016). Space, Urban Borders, and Political Imagination in Buenos Aires. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *11*(1), 25–45.

Grimson, A. (2008). The Making of New Urban Borders: Neoliberalism and Protest in Buenos Aires. *Antipode*, *40*(4), 504–512. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00621.x

Growing Number of English Language Students Flock to Ireland of the Welcomes (1999, June). *The Irish Times*. https://www.irishtimes.com/business/growing-number-of-english-language-students-flock-to-ireland-of-the-welcomes-1.199897

Heller, M., Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2014). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and Tourism – Mobilities, Markets, Multilingualism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *18*(4), 425–458. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12091

Heller, M., Pietikäinen, S., & Pujolar, J. (2018). *Critical Sociolinguistic Research Methods: Studying Language Issues That Matter*. New York: Routledge.

Hidalgo McCabe, E. & Fernández-González, N. (2019). Framing “Choice” in Language Education: The Case of Freedom in Constructing Inequality. In L. Martín Rojo & A. Del Percio (eds.), *Language and Neoliberal Governmentality* (pp. 69–90). London: Routledge.

Highet, K. (2020). *Becoming English Speakers: A Critical Sociolinguistic Ethnography of English, Inequality and Social Mobility in Delhi* [Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation]. London: University College London.

Hochschild, A. R. (1979). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Howard, C. A. (2016). Touring the Consumption of the Other: Imaginaries of Authenticity in the Himalayas and Beyond. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *16*(2), 354–373. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540516635400

Jakubiak, C. (2020). “English Is Out There—You Have to Get with the Program”: Linguistic Instrumentalism, Global Citizenship Education, and English-Language Voluntourism. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *51*(2), 212–232. https://doi.org/10.1111/aeq.12332

Klimava, H. (2022). *Language and Access to Work: The Role of English in Recruiting* [Ph.D. Disseration]. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/674920

Kubota, R. (2016). The Social Imaginary of Study Abroad: Complexities and Contradictions. *The Language Learning Journal*, *44*(3), 347–357. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2016.1198098

Labayen, C. (2021, November 11). Los cursos en el extranjero de estudiantes españoles recuperan los niveles prepandemia. *COPE*. https://www.cope.es/actualidad/sociedad/noticias/los-cursos-extranjero-estudiantes-espanoles-recuperan-los-niveles-prepandemia-20211111_1612981

Lanza, E. (2021). The Family as a Space: Multilingual Repertoires, Language Practices and Lived Experiences. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *42*(8), 763–771. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1979015

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell.

Llanes, A. (2011). The Many Faces of Study Abroad: An Update on the Research on L2 Gains Emerged During a Study Abroad Experience. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *8*(3), 189–215.

Llanes, A., & Muñoz, C. (2013). Age Effects in a Study Abroad Context: Children and Adults Studying Abroad and at Home. *Language Learning*, *63*(1), 63–90.

Lo, A., Abelmann, N., Kwon, S., & Okazaki, S. (eds.). (2015). *South Korea’s Education Exodus: The Life and Times of Early Study Abroad*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *24*, 95–117.

Marketing English in Ireland. (2021, July 13). *ELT Industry of Ireland Forecasts 80% Decrease in Revenue for 2020*. https://mei.ie/elt-industry-of-ireland-forecasts-80-decrease-in-revenue-for-2020/

Martín Rojo, L. (2019). The ‘Self-Made Speaker’: The Neoliberal Governance of Speakers. In L. Martín Rojo & A. Del Percio (eds.), *Language and Neoliberal Governmentality* (pp. 162–189). New York, NY: Routledge.

Maxwell, C., Yemini, M., & Mygind Bach, K. (2022). *Nurturing Mobilities: Family Travel in the 21st Century*. New York / Abingdon: Routledge.

McDaid, J., & Sunyol, A. (2023). "GAPS", Workers with No Schedule: Hybrid Forms of Casualised/ Voluntary Workers in ESA Boarding Schools. In L. Schedel & C. Jakubiak (eds.), *Voluntourism and Language Learning/Teaching: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 243–268). Palgrave.

McDaid, J. (2020). *"Trying to Stay Ahead and Stay Relevant": Aspirations, Expectations and Practices in and around an English-Immersion Rugby Summer Camp in Ireland* [MA Dissertation]. https://ddd.uab.cat/record/232597

Molz, J. G. 2005. Getting a 'Flexible Eye': Round-the-World Travel and Scales of Cosmopolitan Citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, *9*(5), 517–531.

Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2008). *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World* (3rd ed). London: Routledge.

Moyer, M. (2018). English in Times of Crisis: Mobility and Work Among Young Spaniards in London. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *18*(4), 424–435.

Muñoz, C. (2010). Staying Abroad with the Family: A Case Study of Two Siblings' Second Language Development During a Year's Immersion. *ITL – International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *160*, 24–48. https://doi.org/10.1075/itl.160.02mun

O'Hallaran, M. (2018, February). Ireland tops table for English-language students. *The Irish Times*. https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/ireland-tops-table-for-english-language-students-1.3388773

Park, J. S.-Y. (2009). *The Local Construction of a Global Language: Ideologies of English in South Korea*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Park, J. S.-Y. (2016). Language as Pure Potential. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(5), 453–466.

Park, J. S.-Y., & Wee, L. (2012). *Markets of English: Linguistic Capital and Language Policy in a Globalizing World* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203120323

Park, S. J. (2007). Educational Manager Mothers: South Korea's Neoliberal Transformation. *Korea Journal*, *47*, 186–213.

Petit Cahill, K. (in press). Challenges facing summer colleges to transform Irish into a means of communication. Eire-Ireland

Petit Cahill, K. (2022). La Gaeltacht: Une communauté imaginée. *La Bretagne Linguistique*, *24*, 309–324. https://doi.org/10.4000/lbl.3807

Pine II, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998 [2011]). *The Experience Economy*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press.

Relaño-Pastor, A. M., & McDaid, J. (2022). Exporting European CLIL to India: Flexible Appropriations for Complex Language Debates. In E. Codó (ed.), *Global CLIL: Critical, Ethnographic and Language Policy Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Resnik, J. (2015). The Development of the International Baccalaureate in Spanish Speaking Countries: A Global Comparative Approach. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *14*(2), 298–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2015.1051951

Rollán, E. (2022, August 9). El salario medio español es un 20,2% inferior al promedio del resto de Europa. *Invertia – El Diario Económico de El Español*. https://www.elespanol.com/invertia/economia/20220809/salario-medio-espanol-inferior-promedio-resto-europa/693930863_0.html

Salazar, N. B. (2011). Grounding Mobilities: Rethinking Border-Crossing Tourism and Migration. In E. Judd & J. Zhang (eds.), *Mobility and Migration in China and the Asia Pacific Region* (pp. 8–25). Beijing: Intellectual Property Publishing House.

Sayer, P. (2015). "More & Earlier": Neoliberalism and Primary English Education in Mexican Public schools. *L2 Journal*, *7*(3).

Schedel, L. S. (2022). The Price of Immersion: Language Learners as a Cheap Workforce in Malta's Voluntourism Industry. *Multilingua*, *41*(2), 181–200. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0178

Shin, H. (2015). Language 'Skills' and the Neoliberal English Education Industry. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(5), 509–522. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1071828

Shohamy, E., & Waksman, S. (2008). Linguistic Landscape as an Ecological Arena: Modalities, Meanings, Negotiations, Education. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 353–371). New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203930960-30

Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life. *Language & Communication*, *23*(3), 193–229. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2

Solana, M., Badia, A., Cebollada, A., Ortiz, A., & Vera, A. (2016). *Espacios globales y lugares próximos: setenta conceptos para entender la organización territorial del capitalismo global*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Song, J. (2010). Language Ideology and Identity in Transnational Space: Globalization, Migration, and Bilingualism Among Korean Families in the USA. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *13*(1), 23–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050902748778

Sunyol, A. (2019). *Multilingualism, Elitism and Ideologies of Globalism in International Schools in Catalonia: An Ethnographic Study* [Ph.D. Dissertation]. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Sunyol, A. (2021). A Breathtaking English. In J. E. Petrovic & B. Yazan (eds.), *The Commodification of Language: Conceptual Concerns and Empirical Manifestations* (pp. 89–107). Abingdon / New York: Routledge.

Talburt, S., & Stewart, M. A. (1999). What's the Subject of Study Abroad?: Race, Gender, and 'Living Culture'. *The Modern Language Journal*, *83*(2), 163–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/0026-7902.00013

Un Canadien Errant. (n.d.). *Terrains*. https://uncanadienerrant.ca/terrains/ (accessed April, 2023).

Urciuoli, B. (2008). Skills and Selves in the New Workplace. *American Ethnologist*, *35*(2), 211–228. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00031.x

Waters, J. L. (2018). *In Anticipation*: Educational (Im)mobilities, Structural Disadvantage, and Young People's Futures. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *39*(6), 673–687. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2018.1533541

Weenink, D. (2008). Cosmopolitanism as a Form of Capital: Parents Preparing their Children for a Globalizing World. *Sociology*, *42*(6), 1089–1106.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). Study Abroad from the Participants' Perspective: A Challenge to Common Beliefs. *Foreign Language Annals*, *31*, 23–39.

Yang, J.-S. (2018). *English Education and Social Reproduction: An Ethnography of Adolescents in a Korean School* [Ph.D. Dissertation]. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Zemach-Bersin, T. (2009). Selling the World: Study Abroad Marketing and the Privatization of Global Citizenship. In R. Lewin (ed.), *The Handbook of Practice and Research in Study Abroad: Higher Education and the Quest for Global Citizenship* (pp. 303–320). New York: Routledge.

Zimmermann, M. (2019, June). Learning German Through Real Conversation in the Woods: Analysing the Promotional Discourse of an Immersive Summer Camp in the US. In K. Petit (Chair), *Immersion education: A social approach*. Paper presented at: IV EDISO Conference, Santiago de Compostela.

Zimmermann, M., & Muth, S. (2020). Entrepreneurial Visions of the Self: Language Teaching and Learning Under Neoliberal Conditions. *Multilingua*, *39*(3), 269–275. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0045